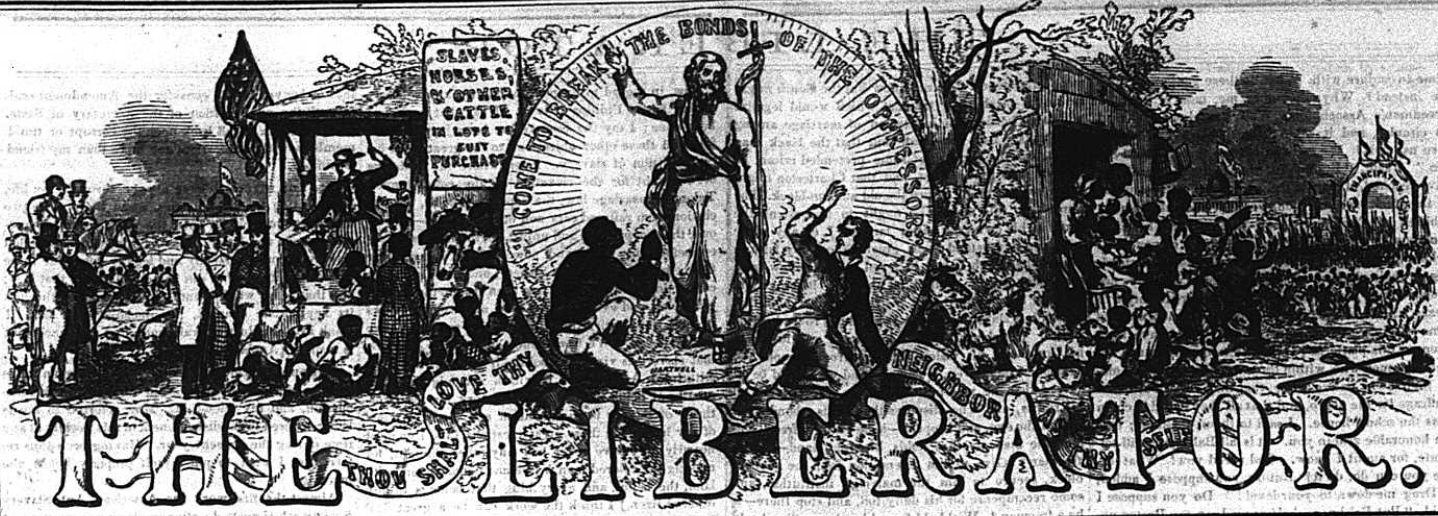


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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"They thus down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST!"

J. E. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 21.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1790.

The Liberator.

THIRTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

(Photographically reported by Jas. M. W. YERRINTON.)

BUSINESS MEETINGS.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, May 9.

The Society assembled in the vestry of Dr. Channing's Church, but the attendance was so large that it was deemed advisable to hold the sessions in the church itself, and the meeting was accordingly called to order by Mr. Quincy, one of the Vice-Presidents.

ARON M. POWELL, of Brooklyn, and JAS. M. W. YERRINTON, of Boston, were elected Assistant Secretaries.

WM. I. BOWDITCH, Esq., of Boston, Treasurer, offered the following report of the financial condition of the Society -

Audited Account of the American Anti-Slavery Society, from May 1, 1864, to May 1, 1865. Table with columns for Debit and Credit, listing various accounts like Standard account, Treasurer's account, etc.

The report was accepted.

OLIVER JOHNSON then moved the appointment of a Committee to prepare a roll of the members of the Society, which motion, after some discussion, was carried, and the following gentlemen appointed the Committee: Oliver Johnson, E. D. Draper, Aaron M. Powell, Rev. J. T. Sargent, S. May, Jr., and Edward M. Davis.

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On motion of Mr. GARRISON, a Committee of five was appointed by the chair to prepare business for the Convention, as follows: Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Foster, Thompson, and Bowditch.

Mr. FOSTER moved the appointment of a Committee of five to nominate the officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

Mr. GARRISON opposed the motion, on the ground that the time had arrived for the dissolution of the Society, and that being the case, of course, the election of officers would be superfluous.

Whereas, the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society was rendered necessary by the universal complexity of the nation in the guilt of the slave system;

Resolved, That, uniting our thanksgivings to the God who has emancipated millions at the South for the wrongs he has wrought, and rejoicing with joy unexpressed that "the year of jubilee is come," so that further anti-slavery agitation is uncalled for, we close the operations and the existence of this Society with the present anniversary.

Resolved, That a Committee of the Society be appointed to liquidate whatever debts the Society may owe; and that the Committee shall appropriate whatever balance of funds may be in their hands in such manner as they shall deem best promotive of the rights and interests of the colored population.

Mr. PHILLIPS expressed the hope that the motion for the appointment of the Committee would pass. He thought the question in regard to the disbandment of the Society could not be decided until the close of the sessions to-morrow; and if it was decided to continue the organization, the members of the Society might be obliged to remain in the city another day to transact the business.

Mr. GARRISON said the Society ought not to stultify itself by any superfluous action. It was well understood by the members of the Society, that the conviction was clear in the minds of the great body of those to whom they had entrusted its management for so many years, that the time had come when, as a matter of good sense and propriety, the Society should be dissolved, and they had made up their minds to act no longer in an associated capacity.

Mr. PHILLIPS hoped the question would be met upon its merits, and not upon the auxiliary question of the appointment of a Committee. If Mr. Garrison would be kind enough to hand his resolutions to the Business Committee, he thought he could say that they should be instantly reported to the Society, thus bringing the matter distinctly and decisively before the body.

Mr. JOHNSON moved to amend the motion, so that it should read, that a Committee be appointed to nominate officers to serve the Society in case it shall vote to continue its existence. Mr. FOSTER accepted the amendment, and in that form the motion was carried. The Chair announced the Committee as follows: Stephen S. Foster, Edward M. Davis, Rev. John T. Sargent, Robert Purvis, and Elizabeth C. Stanton.

On motion of ROBT. PURVIS, the Business Committee was increased by the addition of the name of Thos. Garrett and Henry C. Wright.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the resolutions previously read by himself, and also one by Mr. Phillips, for the consideration of the meeting, without any committal on their part.

Resolved, That since the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery is not yet ratified, and consequently the system of slavery stands in the eye of the law untouched; and, whereas, there are still thousands of slaves legally held within the United States; therefore, this Society calls upon its members for fresh and untiring diligence in finishing the work to which they originally pledged themselves, and putting the liberty of the negro beyond reach.

EDWARD M. DAVIS moved the adoption of Mr. Phillips's resolution.

Messrs. FOSTER and REMOND expressed the hope that Mr. Garrison's resolution, inasmuch as it presented the issue whether the Society should disband or continue its organization fairly and plainly, would be the resolution taken up for consideration.

WM. H. BURR, of New York, moved to amend Mr. Davis's motion by substituting, in place of the words "Mr. Phillips's resolution," the words "Mr. Garrison's resolution." The amendment was adopted, and the motion passed.

GEO. T. DOWNING proposed to amend the resolution by inserting the phrase, (from the Declaration of Sentiments,) "and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans," but finding that the passage could not well be introduced, he subsequently withdrew his motion.

SAMUEL KEESE, of Keeseville - It seems to me that the fact that we are doing so much for the relief of the freedmen, and the fact that the whole people are concerned to engage in that work, render it necessary to disband this Society, and then the members will be at liberty to take hold of that work, and join with those who are engaged in the effort to secure to the colored people their rights as American citizens.

C. L. REMOND - I differ very materially from the friend who has just taken his seat. If I understand the Declaration of Sentiments and the Constitution, the object of this Society includes the very point to which our friend Mr. Keese refers, for the emancipation of the slave and the elevation of the free people of color were the original objects of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Now, I am not among the number who would retain for a moment any one of the members or officers of the Society against his or her wish; for I hold that the men or the woman who remains reluctantly within its pale is of no service to our cause at this critical moment, and it strikes me they have but little to do but ask to be excused. I cannot understand the necessity for disbanding the Society, especially since it is doubtful in my own mind whether a new Society could be got into full play before some valuable hours, days, and perhaps months shall be lost to us.

Now, while I am upon the platform, allow me to remark, once for all, that if I understand its spirit, it is, that individual judgment shall remain inviolate upon it; and if I shall differ in my remarks from my friend Mr. Garrison, or any other member of the Society, I protest against the imputation, that the colored man who differs from his old and tried friends becomes an ingrate. Sir, if there is one word which I hate next to slavery, it is ingratitude; still, I hold that, as colored men or as white men, we may differ from these old friends without being liable to that charge.

Now, sir, how does the case stand in this country? It is assumed (and I do not know that I object to the assumption, only when things are brought to a very fine point, as they are sometimes here) that our white friends understand the black man's case; that they have so often put their souls in his stead, that it cannot be otherwise. To a great extent, this is true; but in many particulars it is not true.

I defer to some and reverence others - and I hope no man can prove himself more grateful than I feel towards our friends - I do assume here that it is utterly impossible for any of our white friends, however much they may have tried, fully to understand the black man's case in this nation. I think I could name one or two men, perhaps a dozen here, who get very near to it, but not exactly "on the square," so to say. Our friend Mr. Garrison told us to-day, that anti-slavery being the order of things, there is no further necessity for anti-slavery work. Why, sir, if my friend should go out upon the highways and byways here, and put the very question which he has assumed as a foregone conclusion, he would find himself so utterly overwhelmed with opposition that he would hardly understand himself. I deny, from beginning to end, that anti-slavery, according to this platform, characterizes any State in this country.

I think I am competent to interpret the language of the Declaration of Sentiments, if any man living be. I was the author of it; and, unless I have grown demoralized, I ought to know what I meant, and what this Society meant in using that language. This Society is "The American Anti-Slavery Society." That was the object. The thought never entered my mind then, nor has it at any time since, that when slavery had received its death-wound, there would be any disposition or occasion to continue the Anti-Slavery Society a moment longer. But, of course, in looking over the country, we saw the free colored people more or less laboring under disabilities, and suffering from injustice, and we declared that, incidentally, we did not mean to overlook them, but should vindicate their rights, and endeavor to get justice done to them.

The point is here. We organized expressly for the abolition of slavery; we called our Society an Anti-Slavery Society. The other work was incidental. Now, I believe slavery is abolished in this country; abolished constitutionally; abolished by a decree of this nation, never, never to be reversed (applause); and, therefore, that it is ludicrous for us, a mere handful of people, with little means, with no agents in the field, no longer separate, and swallowed up in the great ocean of popular feeling against slavery, to assume that we are of special importance, and that we ought now to dissolve our association, under such circumstances, lest the nation should go to ruin! I will not be guilty of any such absurdity.

But is this to retire from the field of labor in regard to whatever is to be done in putting down prejudice, and giving the colored man his political rights? I hold all such representations, come from what quarter they may, to be slanderous. No man thinks of doing it; no officer of this Society, who is to retire, proposes to give himself up to idleness, or to abate his testimony against the proscription of men on account of their color. It is part of our nature, it is part of our duty to each other as fellow-men, it is part of our obligation to God, to denounce every where all proscription on account of the manner in which it has pleased God to

never more rise in our country than at the present moment. And yet we are to understand that anti-slavery is the order of the day! Sir, it is not true.

But I will not occupy the time further, except to say, that standing as we do at this moment between the fires of rebellion in the South, and this hatred of the colored man in the North, I hope nothing will be done within this Society that shall look like a betrayal of our movement. I know how much our friends have been tried, how much they have sacrificed; and I do not blame those who are growing old, like myself, for their desire to retire. Still, sir, this retirement may be done in a way that shall cause great harm to our cause, and great harm to the colored people throughout the country. I hope, therefore, that this Society may be continued, and if its present officers desire to retire, we will endeavor to succeed them with others.

H. C. WRIGHT - Chairman, it seems to me that the discussion before us may be reduced to a small compass. It is not the question of the effects of slavery, but of slavery itself, that is before us. It is not the question whether the colored man shall have the right to the ballot; it is not the question of hatred to the negro; it is simply the question of chattel slavery. Is chattel slavery in the United States dead - sufficiently so to justify the disbandment of this Society - or is it not? This Society never had had an existence but for the existence of chattel slavery. We did not form this Society, mainly nor prominently, to secure to the colored man his right to vote. The denial of that right is the result of that slavery which we undertook to overthrow. All these incidental things came in as arguments why we should exist as an Anti-Slavery Society; but slavery being dead - legally dead - Mr. PHILLIPS - Will Mr. Wright prove that?

Mr. WRIGHT - That is the question, I want to state, for discussion; let us free it from all these things. Is slavery dead, constitutionally and legally dead, in this nation? That is the question before this meeting, it seems to me.

As to this talk about retiring from this movement, it comes with ill grace from anybody, in my judgment. Has anybody thought of retiring from the movement, while, in his opinion, anything was to be done to secure the object of this Society? The Society was formed solely to abolish, not that injustice which prevents the colored man from voting, but to abolish chattel slavery.

Mr. REMOND - Will Mr. Wright answer me a question? Is not the elevation of the free people of color set forth as one of the objects of the Society in its Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution?

Mr. WRIGHT - I will answer it by asking another. Would the Society have existed at all, had there been no chattel slavery? I answer, no; Mr. Remond will answer, no. The Society never would have been brought into existence if there had been no chattel slavery.

Mr. REMOND - We should have had nothing to talk about. But, inasmuch as slavery did exist, and we formed an Anti-Slavery Society, I simply ask if the elevation of the free people of color was not an object of the Society at the outset?

Mr. WRIGHT - I repeat, the refusal of the right of the colored man to vote is not slavery, in the sense which we formed this Society to oppose. Hatred of the negro because he has a black skin is not slavery, in the sense we have talked about for thirty years. It is simply and solely the question of chattel slavery that we want to settle; and the question before us, in relation to our movement, is simply this: do we need an Anti-Slavery Society, when there is no slavery in the country?

Mr. PHILLIPS - Do you mean to say there is no slavery in the country?

Mr. WRIGHT - I am not arguing that question, but it is the question that must come before the meeting, and be discussed. I don't want the question dodged; that is what I mean. Let us meet it fairly. Is or is not slavery abolished in this country? If it is, we do not want the Society any longer. If it is not abolished, then we want the Society. [Mr. PHILLIPS - Hear, hear.] Now let us settle that question.

Mr. GARRISON - (Referring to a remark made by Mr. Remond) - I do not ask the Society to permit me to retire. That is language I do not understand on this platform. I shall retire when I think proper, and I shall think proper to do so at the end of this anniversary.

I think I am competent to interpret the language of the Declaration of Sentiments, if any man living be. I was the author of it; and, unless I have grown demoralized, I ought to know what I meant, and what this Society meant in using that language. This Society is "The American Anti-Slavery Society." That was the object. The thought never entered my mind then, nor has it at any time since, that when slavery had received its death-wound, there would be any disposition or occasion to continue the Anti-Slavery Society a moment longer. But, of course, in looking over the country, we saw the free colored people more or less laboring under disabilities, and suffering from injustice, and we declared that, incidentally, we did not mean to overlook them, but should vindicate their rights, and endeavor to get justice done to them.

The point is here. We organized expressly for the abolition of slavery; we called our Society an Anti-Slavery Society. The other work was incidental. Now, I believe slavery is abolished in this country; abolished constitutionally; abolished by a decree of this nation, never, never to be reversed (applause); and, therefore, that it is ludicrous for us, a mere handful of people, with little means, with no agents in the field, no longer separate, and swallowed up in the great ocean of popular feeling against slavery, to assume that we are of special importance, and that we ought now to dissolve our association, under such circumstances, lest the nation should go to ruin! I will not be guilty of any such absurdity.

But is this to retire from the field of labor in regard to whatever is to be done in putting down prejudice, and giving the colored man his political rights? I hold all such representations, come from what quarter they may, to be slanderous. No man thinks of doing it; no officer of this Society, who is to retire, proposes to give himself up to idleness, or to abate his testimony against the proscription of men on account of their color. It is part of our nature, it is part of our duty to each other as fellow-men, it is part of our obligation to God, to denounce every where all proscription on account of the manner in which it has pleased God to

make His children. We, however, are not distinctive on this question of elevating the colored people. If we were, then there might be an argument, not for perpetuating the American Anti-Slavery Society, with no slavery to abolish, but for organizing a special movement, whereby we should seek the moral and political elevation of the emancipated. But we are no longer, I say, peculiar in this respect; we have the million with us. I hold the speech of my friend, Mr. Remond, to be a caricature of this nation, in its present attitude, and a perversion of the views and feelings of those who are about to retire from this Society. We mingle now, thank God! with the great mass of our fellow-citizens. I have only to go before any loyal audience that may be gathered for the discussion of this question, and assert that it is the right of the colored man to vote, to have the verdict given there, as it was given here to-day, strongly in favor of the measure.

The newspaper press of the country - the loyal press - is almost universally, I think, friendly to the measure; at any rate, we, a handful of Abolitionists, are the special champions of that movement. Let us mingle with the mass, then, and endeavor to work with the mass, and not affect isolation or singularity, nor assume to say, "Stand by, we are holier than you," when we are no better. I maintain, therefore, that what was put into the Declaration of Sentiments, in reference to the elevation of the free people of color, was incidental to the grand object - the abolition of slavery. Slavery being abolished, the change that has done that work is a change that will cooperate with us, and speedily give the colored man all his rights. (Loud applause.)

AARON M. POWELL - I have attended, for the last ten years, the anniversary meetings of this Society, and always with peculiar interest. I attend this one with an interest peculiar - differing, in several respects, from any which has preceded it. First, I rejoice in my soul that, in the progress of the arduous struggle in which we have been engaged, we are no longer perplexed with the issues of past years; that the question which perplexes my own mind, as I know it does that of others, is not one in which we differ, I infer, in motive, but one which, from the peculiar condition of national affairs, occasions a difference of opinion, honorable and honest on each side, as to the methods and means of activity under the changed condition of affairs. I look abroad, and I see slavery, not, in my own conviction, literally and actually dead; I do see it, according to all proper and sensible legal constructions, dead. I believe that if the statements of this country are the true men that the hour demands, it will be pronounced as their verdict that slavery, from the moment war began, ceased in this country. But I remember that that declaration has not yet in form been uttered. It is a fact which I am bound, in a candid and dispassionate survey of the field, to recognize. I look abroad, however, and see the slave system shattered, and crumbling to pieces with a rapidity which is indeed most gratifying. It was my privilege and pleasure, a few days ago, to look into the faces of many thousands of men and women, created in the image of God, and as truly, in their appearance and spirit, men and women, as the members of this Society here assembled; and to see them in their joy and thanksgiving appreciating, in a most noble spirit, the freedom which has come to them, in this transition hour in the nation's experience. I saw, with my friend Garrison, two thousand, I suppose, of the number, just arrived from plantations, and they greeted their friend and liberator in a manner which I wish all of you could have witnessed. (Applause.) I wish some artist, with the moral insight to appreciate the significance of the event, might have been there to have given us that picture as a fit and proper historic contribution to the picture gallery of the nation. But I remembered, while I was there, that these people came from plantations still organized on the basis of the old despotism, made, if possible, still more infernal and diabolical in the reign of terror and of cruelty in this transition hour. It was enough to stir one's soul to its innermost to listen to the statements of these people as to the condition of things they had just left behind. We are not, then, relieved from the burden of labor which has heretofore borne upon our shoulders. I am glad that there are many here to share it; and I was rejoiced at the spirit manifested by the representatives of the Federal Government in the case of these negroes coming within the Federal lines. I was glad to see the evidence of heartfelt sympathy and interest in their welfare which many of these men manifested. But I remember, nevertheless, that the peculiar service which will be attributed to the American Anti-Slavery Society in history will be, that it acted as the prompter of the lax conscience of the people at large, in hours and moments of peculiar danger.

Now, I am rejoiced to remember, as I stand here, that the war is substantially at an end, but I believe that, with its ending, peculiar responsibilities are thrown upon the shoulders of the citizen. We are at this hour just where our fathers stood when they began to organize this national government. I think that we, as Abolitionists, should be heart and soul and hand in earnest in this work. I think we are competent still to advise. I believe there never was an hour when our friends were watched as they are this very day; and therefore, while I have peculiar pleasure in the thought that we have reached this stage in our movement, I have an anxiety which is inexpressible, that we make no mistake, either individually or collectively. I believe there is still felt, in the hearts of many men and women who constitute a working element in this Society, a longing for advice and counsel and earnest labor; and there would be a feeling of bereavement, I know, in my own case, and I believe it would be shared by others, at the loss of the intimate association with men and women who think and feel substantially as I do in regard to the present condition of affairs. I do not assume that, as a necessity, the American Anti-Slavery Society, in form and name, must continue; I do not believe there is a moral principle necessarily involved in this question; but I do believe and feel, from my innermost depths, that as a people - not necessarily to be exclusive and peculiar - we have still a line of labor and duty which no other association, as yet, is adequate to carry out. [Hear, hear.]

Now, there is a single point which I want to suggest in connection with the general remarks of my friend, Mr. Garrison. I have felt always and I feel still, that there is a value which can scarcely be esti-

mated, in a numerical or mathematical sense, in a thoroughly independent attitude of an individual or an organization. I cannot with my own convictions look to any organization, as yet, where I should feel myself entirely at home, and free to do the kind of work which I believe still needs to be done. If I became part and parcel of the prevailing political policy, I do not need to rehearse to you, who have been educated in that view of things, wherein, by virtue of my membership in that party, I may, at a critical hour, or either be forced to do violence to my convictions, or to put my convictions under my feet, that my party may be benefited for the time being. I think the last year has furnished its illustration, which I will not dwell upon, to show the disadvantage of political associations, viewed in the light which I name.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think we have still a duty to perform in regard to the completion of the work of abolishing slavery itself; but our main duty is in connection with the condition of the freed people of the nation, and of the whites of the nation, North and South - still to act as educators and prompters, in the sphere wherein the compromising education and principles of the whites, in the past, have disqualified them at the critical moment to meet the insidious advances of the enemy, now disarmed upon the battlefield, but still potent in the brain; an enemy which has always beaten us, and with whom we cope at disadvantage if the acute and conscientious brain of the Abolitionist, as individuals or as an organized body, giving individuals greater power, shall be withdrawn.

I recognize the clause of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society which relates to the elevation of the colored people; I believe it was the binding force; but I do not think it was the main question, it was incidentally connected with the main question. If slavery had been technically abolished, I should say there would be no force in the argument for the continuation of the Society, as an anti-slavery body, that slavery had not been formally abolished. Let me suggest, then, that I think we need to organize the work, that we need to continue organized labor.

But there is another thought which perplexes my own mind, and which I know weighs upon the Abolitionists who are listening to me. We are here under peculiar circumstances. We have known each other, respected each other, loved each other. There is a decisive and marked difference of opinion. Have we not, with our differing views, learned that we may respect each other while we differ? I state this as a practical part of the present situation. The American Anti-Slavery Society is nearly out of funds. The question of the continuance of the Standard is one of the subjects to come before us. Mr. Garrison, with a conviction which is firm and unalterable, I do not, with a view which I am bound to respect, if I do not fully agree with it, believes that his labor in connection with this Society is over. The Chairman of this meeting holds the same belief. Now, if the Society be divided by a strict party vote on this question, you can easily divine, from the debate which has already transpired, the result. There will be just that feeling which always exists between divided societies. I raise, then, for your serious consideration, the question, may not this Society agree to a dissolution, and, agreeing to it, may not such of its members as have in their hearts and consciences a sense of duty to labor, properly and wisely come together in a capacity covering the ground of the still not wholly abolished slavery, and the still broader ground of human rights, as affecting the nation in other particulars, and inaugurate a movement which shall be spontaneous, hearty and harmonious, because voluntary, and greatly useful in this period of the nation's crisis? I think I see the way open and clear for such action. I do not wish, for one, that the action of this day or to-morrow shall give rise to any imputation of motives whichever side may prove numerically the strongest. While I am free to say that I differ in opinion from my friend Mr. Garrison, I do not believe for an instant that he is other than he has ever been, and as I heard him pledge himself in the most noble and timely words to the thousands of freed people assembled in Charleston, their true and steadfast friend, (Applause.) In our action, then, let us be dispassionate, clear-sighted, seeking only the triumph of truth and justice, and I believe God and our own sense of responsibility will keep us from making any mistake.

WENDELL PHILLIPS - I am perfectly confident that twenty-five years of labor, affectionate labor, have enabled the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society to discuss this question and to decide it, either one way or the other, without any personal bitterness. I will not believe that, in regard to any individual much less marked and peculiar than our beloved leader, it can be necessary to say that there may be a practical difference of opinion on this question, without the slightest thought in any man's mind that it proceeds from any lack of devotion to the interests and the safety of the colored race. I consider that self-respect should lead us to ignore the possibility of any such misconception of each other's motives. Certainly, I have seen no necessity for anything of the kind, in any of the discussions which I have previously attended on this question. To me, it is a perfectly simple question, dividing itself into two parts. One is, as Abolitionists, is there anything for us to do? And the second is, granting that there is something for us to do, is there any peculiar facility and power conferred upon us in regard to doing it by remaining associated as we have been for thirty years? Have we got anything to do, and are we better able to do it as members of this Society? It seems to me these points include the whole question.

Now, what brought us together? Slavery; the system of slavery in the Constitution; the substantial existence of slavery on the plantation. Certainly, that brought us together. No matter that in our Declaration of Sentiments and in our Constitution, having been attracted by that great evil, we extended our pledge to something more, as my friend Mr. Downing has reminded us. But let us consider the point of view from which Mr. Garrison presents it. The question of slavery brought us together - what will naturally dissolve us? Why, the death of slavery - the legal and substantial death of slavery. Now, when we undertook to come together, what did we look at? We looked at the Constitution of the

United States. We said, "Here are provisions which make a system of chattel slavery legal under this government." That was the law that brought us together. Is it ended? Is there anybody in this house who undertakes to say that he can go into the office of any distinguished counselor in this city, or in any other city of the country, and ask him, "Sir, is slavery, beyond dispute, illegal in the United States of America, at this moment?" and that he will say, "Yes, sir." How stands the Constitution of the United States to-day - does it sanction slavery? and he will say, "It does, sir." Suppose I should say to a lawyer, "Can you tell me what fact will notify me that the legal existence of slavery is unmistakably ended?" he would say, "Yes, I can. Whenever the Secretary of State at Washington, by the advice of the Administration, or with the consent of Congress, or by permission of the Supreme Court, shall issue a proclamation declaring that the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery hereby and hereafter forms a part of the Constitution of these States, then slavery is at an end." Have you heard of any such proclamation? Of course not. When it will come, nobody knows. It may not come until next May; it may come next October. Some men count States one way, some another. On Mr. Sumner's theory, twenty or twenty-one States will be sufficient, and we make up that number by counting in Arkansas, Louisiana, and other States, which the legislative branches of the government have not yet recognized as States. Of course, therefore, they cannot be counted. We have not, therefore, covered even Mr. Sumner's theory. I agree with Mr. Sumner's theory as a lawyer; I think it is sound constitutional doctrine. But if it were covered, it would not matter. Gerrit Smith thought there was no slavery in the country years ago, but we did not dissolve. Lyander Spooner proved it beyond question, to his own satisfaction, but we did not dissolve. A great many men agree with Mr. Garrison that that Amendment is law, but how shall we know it? We shall know it when the appropriate departments of the government pass the act that seals it. The Secretary of State is authorized by the law of Congress, taking such counsel as he sees fit, to issue a proclamation and state when, in the opinion of the government, the Amendment is adopted. Up to the present time, no such proclamation has been issued. The government of the United States, therefore, at present, does not acknowledge the existence of the Constitutional Amendment, and slavery is yet, so far as the Constitution is concerned, a legal element of it.

This is one-half the question. We came together to abolish the system of slavery. That system was a legal matter; it existed in the parchment; it was laid up in the statute-book. Well, it lies there still. In the eye of the law, we have not touched it. My beloved friend, Mr. Garrison, used a word which suggested to me an old story. He said slavery has received its death-wound. Ah! Gen. Heath said, in the Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts, in 1789, "Gentlemen, if slavery is in Massachusetts, it has received its death-wound"; but it is not dead yet.

Now as to the substantial slavery. My friend Powell says, what everybody knows, that all around the Gulf there are black men by hundreds of thousands laboring to-day under the lash, and in the same bonds, untouched, that they did in the year 1860. Our sword has not reached them; Sherman has not reached them. Neither proclamations nor laws have reached them. We shall reach them. We shall send our scepter down to the Gulf, but we have not sent it. It has not lifted the yoke from their shoulders. Many a man's brother will die and be buried, and never know freedom; a thousand will die before this news, in its actual significance, reaches them. This is substantial slavery. Go into Kentucky, and you will find substantial slavery - so strong that it keeps thousands of black men in their chains, and holds the Legislature against your Constitutional Amendment; the virus of the system and the exhibition of the system both. Why, I have a letter from one of the highest officers and most active and devoted Abolitionists of Delaware, and he says to me, "For Heaven's sake, don't disband! If you haven't anything else to do, send all your force into this little State, and in three months you will give us an anti-slavery Legislature and the Constitutional Amendment" (applause). Shall I come here as an Abolitionist, and say that my work is done, when a man from that slave State holds his hand over the border, and says, "Come and help me out of a pro-slavery yassalage which does not permit me to labor to put my State on the side of the Constitutional Amendment, or sweep away one single relic of the disfranchisement or oppression of the black race in this State?" My work done! Why, here is testimony that it is not practically and substantially done. Hundreds of thousands of slaves at this moment know not liberty, and thousands never will. It is no time for us to disband.

Do you want to look at the exhibitions of the disease? My friend, Mr. Garrison, and others, say in reply to Mr. Remond, "These incidents are not what we referred to." No, of course we did not. I know a disease will last in its exhibitions long after the citadel is carried. But when the citadel is not carried, when legally and substantially it remains, it is germane to look at the exhibition. Down at Richmond, within a month, they wanted that Augnan stick of crime and filth, the Libby Prison, cleansed. "Whom did they send to make it fit for Christian men to enter? The white rebels of Richmond?" Oh, no; the black troops (cries of "Shame!") - the men who had fought for us, and bled the flag in their own blood on many a battle-field! Oh, if there is anything a Northern lover, at the bottom of his heart, it is a rebel - a good, true, strong, stalwart, unconquered rebel (Sensation). So, when our authorities - these very men in whose good purposes, in whose intention and determination the Anti-Slavery Society is to leave the just finished question - when they had peculiarly disagreeable and horrible work to do, the white men of Richmond, who had stood by and seen that prison grow into its state of hell, were delicately considered, and the colored troops were selected to do it! (Cries of "Shame!") And when these same "delicate" rebels could not bear the sight of a black face under the Union flag, we removed all our colored troops from Richmond, and sent them down to Petersburg!

In that converted government? Is it so thoroughly impregnated with the idea of justice to the negro, that the Abolitionists can afford to be generous about technicalities, and dispense with the etiquette of the question?

Mr. GARRISON—Where is the evidence of that fact? Mr. PHILLIPS—It is evidenced in all the reports that come to us from Richmond. Weibel sent away all the black troops, (1) and he himself was sent away very properly, by the Secretary of War. Why, out of that very prison a white soldier looked, and said to a black woman passing by, "Mother, give me one single taste of bread, for I am starving," and she handed him a loaf, and as it passed from her hand to his, the guard shot her down. (Sensation.) And yet those guards, and the men who stood behind them, are sedulously cared for by the government; their feelings, their prejudices, their antipathies nurtured—the black race is left for nothing! I do not trust such a government; I do not believe in it—that is, in the sense of leaving our question to it. We have got very near the end. We shall put the seal on the bond.

That is the work before us. Now, can we do it any better as the American Anti-Slavery Society than in any other capacity? My friends say, "We do not mean to give up work." I never suspected them of it. I never supposed they intended to give up work. No doubt they mean to work. My friend, Mr. Lowell, suggests that we break up the Society to oblige them, and then come together on a new basis. Ah! I cannot, for the slave's sake, if the majority are with me, consent to give up the prestige of the name of the American Anti-Slavery Society, (2) earned by thirty years of labor. (Applause.) When President Lincoln said to a citizen of Connecticut, who was counselling almost rebuking him upon the subject of slavery, "How dare you rebuke me, (3) when Wm. Lloyd Garrison applauds me?"—that was the significance of that name, which was that name represented thirty years of untiring, disinterested and courageous devotion to justice and honor. Now, the American Anti-Slavery Society has that same value, earned by thirty years of devoted labor. It means something that has stood through fiery trials. It has earned a reputation for good sense, for far-sighted statesmanship, for a clear insight, for standing by the right, and knowing how to stand by it. That reputation which it has earned belongs to us. The majority, as long as they hold together in a fair and Christian spirit, have a right to it, and for the slave's sake, I claim it, if it belongs to me. (Applause.) I will not pull down my flag until the United States pulls down hers. (Applause.) We ran up this flag of the American Anti-Slavery Society against the constitutional flag of slavery. When Wm. H. Seward pulls his down, I will pull down mine—not until then. (Applause.) Mine floats as long as his does. While there is a slave to free on any plantation of the States, this side of the Gulf of Mexico, this Society has work to do, and I am for keeping it together. (Renewed applause.)

Now, you will ask, "What will we do?" This we will do: we will continue the publication of the Anti-Slavery Standard. If we cannot afford it once a week, we will publish it once in two weeks; if we cannot afford it once in two weeks, we can publish it once a month; and we will say to the American people—weekly, fortnightly or monthly—"The judgment of the men who have given their noon of days to the study of this question, and who have proved the sincerity of their views by a life devoted to it, is that there should be no peace and no reconstruction that does not put land under the foot of the negro, and a ballot in his hand. (Loud applause.) Well, what does Washington say? We are told that the Cabinet meetings which have been held recently have exhibited the largest disposition to adopt this view, and that the President says to his friends, "I must have the expression of public opinion to sustain the Administration in such a step." Who shall give it to him? It is to be done by Senator Sumner assembling a Convention of his friends in Massachusetts, and Dickinson doing the same in New York, and letting the determination of the people be manifested through the channel of these and similar Conventions in other States. And are we nothing? Mr. Garrison says it is almost self-conceited for us to stand isolated, that is assuming to ourselves a great deal. I have stood isolated so long that I am quite accustomed to it. (Laughter and applause.) I know where I stand, and I know that, small as have been our numbers, we have been looked to in the whole settlement of this question as men who studied and understood it, and that is all we were responsible for. I know that, standing side by side with each other, with the persistency and devotion of thirty years, increases our influence a hundred-fold. I want to continue in just that position. I want all that past for my background. I want all that

(1) This is not the first, nor the second, nor the third time that Mr. Phillips has been so unfortunate as to make unjust and unfounded allegations against prominent individuals, hastily assuming them to be facts on the statement of anonymous letter-writers. The following letter from General Weibel, effectually disposes of Mr. P.'s charge against him. "HEADQUARTERS TWENTY-FIFTH ARMY CORPS, ARMY OF THE JAMES. BY THE FIELD, VA., MAY 5. "Editors of the Cincinnati Gazette, Cincinnati, Ohio: It is wholly untrue that I removed a guard of colored soldiers from Mr. R. E. Lee's residence in Richmond. This lie was circulated by some misinformed newspaper correspondent. "Another equally false report was circulated by another correspondent, viz: That I would not let my colored troops march through Richmond. My colored troops were marched by through the heart of Richmond, and twice through the main streets of Petersburg. "The rebel women, who are alone and defenceless, as far as my experience goes, are perfectly satisfied with my colored troops, and I have a dozen colored soldiers at the vicinity of my camp. "The only remark I ever heard about the colored soldiers was from the more sensible rebel ladies, who said that their people had made a great mistake in not arming their negroes before we did. "Please publish this as conspicuously as you did the falsehood. Cincinnati is my home, or you would not have seen this. I remained silent as long as the lie was published only in the Eastern papers. Respectfully, G. WEITZEL, Major General United States Volunteers."

(2) When the Society had no prestige, but was wholly opposed by both Church and State, it was then a power and a necessity. Now that it has a prestige, it proves what a revolution has taken place in Church and State on the slavery question, and that it is no longer distinctive or essential as an anti-slavery instrumentality.

(3) We are not contented with this statement as here made, for Mr. Lincoln never indulged in such a style of address. What he may have said, whether soberly or jealously, respecting our approval of his general course after he gave the death-blow to the slave system, and when all the powers of darkness were combined against him, we do not know; but Mr. Phillips is quite too much inclined to put words into the mouths of public men, by a free rendering of their language, which they would not sanction.

(4) If the "prestige" of the Society is suddenly reduced to this— "If we cannot afford the Standard once a week, we will publish it once in two weeks, or once a month!" Paltrian organization! What is this but an admission that, through the mighty revolution which has taken place in public sentiment, the Society has consumed its distinctive work!

name to conjure with. What do these gentlemen offer me instead? Why, they offer me, most of them, a Freedman's Association. Well, I sat down and read their circular, and it said, "Gentlemen! Christians! give us funds! We want to elevate the degraded negro." I said, "Enough! If that is the only goal you have reached, if that is the average of your estimates of the black race, after four years of such sublime exhibition of Christianity and patience and heroism, somehow or other I don't belong to you, or you don't belong to me." (Applause.) Well, who do I find standing on their platform as speakers? Men who have not touched the Garrisonian enterprise for twenty-five years with a forty-foot pole (laughter); men who, so time within a quarter of a century, would have been seen on this platform—(Mr. Garrison)—So much the better—men who, within three months, have told me, in their own native State, that they dared not claim suffrage for the negro, and that all they dared to claim was the school-house. I said to them, "Go on; it is an honorable goal in you. In all Baltimore will tolerate for aught I know. God speed you! What little you can do, do it! But do you suppose I 'drag me down to your level!' Do you suppose I 'put Baltimore, half-gassed, on my Boston agitated lips!' No, indeed. (Applause.) I said, "Thirty years have I worked, that I may say, in the community in which I live, whatever my conscience dictates; and if you have not worked your way up to that level yet—God speed you—but I do not come down to yours." A friend suggests that these men may feel very uncomfortable, and may think us very much in their way. An infant, just getting on to its feet, says to its mother, "Mother, you are very much in my way." (Laughter.) Why, it is just possible we may consider them in our way, if they were likely to be in anybody's way; but they will not be, until they put into the front rank, and on their platform, a man who to-day represents the vanguard. The Freedmen's Associations are doing a good work, and a work that is needed; but not the work of an Abolitionist of the American Anti-Slavery Society to-day; and therefore you have not applied me a substitute for this Society in any that I see around me. Legally and substantially, our work is not done; and by every association of history, by every natural result of past labors, we are a hundred-fold better able to do it, organized as the American Anti-Slavery Society, with its old banner, than we are either as individuals, or as enrolled in a new organization.

But, friends, this is confining the discussion altogether too narrowly. I do not know what Mr. Garrison meant when he wrote the Declaration of Sentiments, and the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society—

Mr. GARRISON—I do. Mr. PHILLIPS—Of course he does; and his construction is sufficient for his guidance, but not for mine and not for yours. The clerks who wrote the Constitution of the United States are one thing; the people who accepted it are another. Now, we accepted the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society; we all came under it, and labored under it. It has one harmonious, indivisible idea; it is the safety beyond peril and the equality without a doubt of the colored race in this country. (Applause and cries of "Hear, hear.") If Garrisonianism means anything, it means that; and in all prior time, we have claimed it. In the day of mobs and perils, that was the meaning of all our efforts: The negro an equal with the white man—the word white banished from our Constitution; I will not say (although we have generally added that) and from our society. Well, we stand to-day not only with technical and substantial slavery, but we stand with the black race on the heights of Canaan, it is true, but by no means in it. Prejudice is very rife. All over the country, the colored man is yet a Pariah. Now, friends, my abolitionism, when I pledged my faith to that Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was, "Absolute equality before the law; absolute civil equality" (loud applause); and I never shall leave the negro until, so far as God gives me the power, I achieve it.

Mr. GARRISON—Who proposes to do so? Mr. PHILLIPS—With this Society, so mighty a weapon for that purpose, justified by its Constitution in continuing, pledged, as I think, by its thirty years of utterance, to continue, I cannot consent to see it disband. I want every doubter to remember that the flag of slavery floats over the Constitution. Mr. Seward has not opened his lips to proclaim the adoption of the Anti-Slavery Amendment; Chief Justice Chase does not authorize it; Congress does not authorize it; and in Delaware, Kentucky, and along the Gulf, hundreds of thousands of slaves are in chains. Substance and theory, fact and law, are alike still unsettled. Now, while there is one legal slave in the Union, the American Anti-Slavery Society has no right to disband. (Applause.) While there is one single act to be done to make certain the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment, this Society has no right to disband. (Renewed applause.)

The Society then adjourned, to meet on Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, May 10. The Society met again at the hour of adjournment, Edmund Quincy, Esq., in the Chair. The resolution offered by Mr. Garrison in reference to the dissolution of the Society was read by one of the Secretaries, and the discussion upon it continued.

Rev. Mr. SPAULDING, of Salem, Mass.—I hope this Society will not disband. The meetings it has held in town and country, through a long series of years, have done a great deal to enlighten and inspire the general mind. Its organ in this city, which has been conducted with ability, would be greatly missed by its subscribers. Do you propose to haul down your Standard? The Herald lives. Is there no work for you to do? Mr. Greeley is in tears through fear that Jefferson Davis will be hung. I hope you will try to save him. (Laughter.) Is the Liberator to be given up? Why, the Courier still lives. Who will take care of Lunt? And, not to forget my own profession, who will look after Adams and Blagden, and men of that stripe among the clergy? The Liberator has done a good work in bringing the clergy to their duty, and I think much yet remains to be done in that direction.

But it is said—Slavery is dead—why was against the dead? We were told yesterday, I think by the President of this Society, that the Constitutional Amendment was passed. Well, the government does not think so, or it would, through the proper channel, announce the fact. President Lincoln did not think so. He was very anxious that Louisiana should be admitted as a State, in order that it might act upon the Amendment. He was afraid the egg would be smashed before the bird was fairly out. I think if we could ask the slaves of the Gulf States if they regarded themselves as free, they would point to the fetters still upon their limbs. I expect the Amendment will pass. The hand is uplifted that shall, in form, at least, give the death-blow to slavery; but let us wait until the hand falls before we disband. Let us wait until the thunderbolt has smitten the monster to the earth; and I think it would be well then to have a jubilant anniversary round the grave of the evil that has oppressed us so long. I am not entirely certain that the work of this Society is accomplished. I had thought that the Amendment would take the four millions of slaves at the South from the market; that it would secure them the marriage institution; that it would bring to them some recompense for their labor; and in trying to gather up in my thought what we should surely gain out of this struggle, I have permitted myself to stray into rejoice in these results; but the remarks of Frederick Douglass last evening, in the Cooper Institute, had had the effect to shake, in some measure, the faith I had permitted myself to cherish. He pointed out that privileges and rights might be wrested from the black man by unfriendly legislation. I do not know but he might be compelled, notwithstanding the adoption of this Constitutional Amendment, to toil for his

mere subsistence. I do not know but the South might refuse to establish a tribunal which would legalize within its borders the institution of marriage among the blacks. I do not know but that the black man might, on the ground of some pretended crime, be thrown into the market, and that Charleston might call upon Boston to return the old auction-block. The remarks of this man, who ought to understand the perils of his own race better than I, or any white man, can understand them, greatly shook my faith in the results which I had believed would follow from this Amendment. I think, at the best, it can give to him but a small portion of his rights, and I hold that a man is a slave just to the extent he is robbed of his rights. (Applause.) Blind him hand and foot, seal his lips, close his vision, shut out from his soul the harmonies of heaven, if you can, and we should be all agreed that he is indeed a slave. Rob him of all his rights, and who disputes that he is a bondman? Touch the eye, and it opens—is he entirely free? Unbind the manacle that holds his right hand—is he a freeman? Give him exemption from the auction-block, secure to him the marriage institution, and some recompense for his daily toil, and stop there—is he a freeman? Withhold from him the spelling-book, take from him the ballot, deny him the right to occupy a place in the jury-box—be he a freeman? I think not. Here is a felon shut up in his cell—the door locked, the iron bar placed across it. That felon has chains upon his limbs, and the bolt is driven into the wall. Now, turn the key, lift the bar, throw open the door—is the man at large with the chain still upon his limbs, with the bolt not yet wrenched from the wall? I think not. Have you satisfied his desires? Have you restored him to liberty? No. Until you melt the chains from his limbs, wrench the bolt from the rock, and bring him into the open day, and leave him in the full enjoyment of his God-given rights, you do not make him a freeman.

Now, I do not believe that this Society was organized to inaugurate the work of emancipation merely, but to carry it on, and to complete it. I do not believe it was founded to utter great prophecies, but to fulfil great hopes. I do not think it was established to go out upon the sea, and bring in the men floating in peril of their lives there, and place them so near the shore that it shall be within the compass of their vision, and then throw them upon an undertow that may take them all back into the very depths of the sea. In a speech which Mr. Phillips made a year or two ago, he said the object of this Society was to place the black man of America upon the solid ground of citizenship; it was not to leave him low down upon the shore of the dark, heaving sea of oppression. As he expressed it, it was not to leave him in a boat water, where Webster was wont to shoot snipes, but it was to carry him to Plymouth Rock, and leave him there. (Loud applause.) It was to take him to Banker Hill and Faneuil Hall, and leave him there. It was to take him to the ballot-box, and the jury-box, and the school-house, and the open church, and leave him there. It was not to let him go until it found for him the high ground of equality before the law. I have always supposed that you were to accomplish this full work before you were to disband; and if I have been right in this supposition, I think I may say that your work is not completed.

We learn by the last arrivals from the South, that the rebels of Louisiana are uniting with the pro-slavery Union men (if you can understand that term,) for the purpose of getting possession of the State government; and I ask you how long a period of time will be in your judgment elapse, if this plan shall be carried into execution, as I greatly fear it will, before the colored men of that State will receive the right of suffrage? They will not receive it until the Mississippi runs up hill. We learn from Richmond that the leading rebels of that capital are in great numbers taking the oath of allegiance. They are hungry for the amnesty oath. The owner of the Tredegar works has taken it, and for aught I know, the members of the rebel Senate and House of Representatives of that State have taken it. Doubtless they all will, and the people will take it; and the New York Tribune of this morning declares that this oath will prepare nine hundred and ninety-nine Virginians out of a thousand to discharge the rights of citizenship. Now, give the State government of Virginia into the hands of these nine hundred and ninety-nine subdued, crushed, but not regenerated or repentant rebels, the control of the Old Dominion, and when will that black man who informed the detectives and the soldiers of the Republic where the assassin of our lamented Chief Magistrate had found refuge, get his right to go to the ballot-box? When will Virginia give to the black man the right of suffrage? Not until the James river dries up, and Wise, and Letcher, and Gov. Smith have found the way to heaven. If the black man gets his right to the ballot at all, then he must get it from the General government, in the settlement of this difficulty, and I believe it to be the mission of this body to bring its influence to bear upon the government to compass this work.

On motion of Mr. Bowditch, speeches were limited to ten minutes, except with permission of the meeting.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.—I wish to say a few words on the resolution before the meeting. Putting all personal considerations aside, I wish to state how this question looks to my mind. I have given, with as much sincerity and disinterestedness, I believe, as I could, about twenty-five of the best years of my life to this Society, and the holy cause it has advocated. I have no desire for the Society to live one minute after its work is done. Out of regard to it, I would never wish any one to say of it, with truth,

"Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage." The moment its work is done, I wish it might dissolve, as it could then, gloriously, honorably, and I think, with the approval of all good men, and of God. While I essentially agree with the spirit of Mr. Garrison's resolution, while I agree essentially in the view that the abolition of slavery is practically accomplished, there is yet one consideration which prevents my giving a vote at this time to dissolve the Society. I feel, as Mr. Phillips succinctly and forcibly stated it yesterday, that the Anti-Slavery Society ought not to haul down its flag one moment before slavery hauls its flag down. I do not say before the United States haul its flag down. I believe the United States flag now testifies for freedom wherever it is raised; but until the flag of slavery is struck in such a way that the whole world shall see it beyond all mistake, beyond all doubt, and until we have engrained on the Constitution the principle that slavery is abolished and forever prohibited in the land, I want this Society to remain aloof.

Now, my idea and wish were, that our President should have remained in that office, as he has done for some twenty years past; and I know, if he had been willing to remain, no rival could have dislodged him from that place. No person looking at the matter unselfishly, and without any partisan feeling, could come here and ask Mr. Garrison to leave that place, that another might be put there. I never have had any doubt of that; and I am fully confirmed in it by the fact that the Nominating Committee; as I am informed, intend to nominate him, although it is known to be Mr. Garrison's purpose to vacate the office at this time. It is a handsome tribute to him. I know that if he had been willing to stand where he is a little longer, (as it seems to me he should, but he is a much better judge than I am,) there he would have stood, and the Society would have gone on as in times past, and been conducted on the same liberal, magnanimous, generous, faithful principles which have marked its career from the beginning. What, as it seems to me, would have met the present state of things would have been for the Society to pass, at this meeting, a resolution stating that whenever the Secretary of State should declare the Constitutional Amendment adopted, then the Society should be dissolved de facto, or providing for another meeting, when the members could come together and dissolve the Society.

Now, in regard to the point of the work to be done, as our friend Phillips tells us, I say that work has been done; I say the Society has been just as faithful to all these other objects as to the great work of the abolition of slavery. Everywhere the battle has been fought for the elevation of the colored man. Take the marriage law, the separate schools, the exclusion from railroad cars and other vehicles—one by one, these oppressive and unjust distinctions have fallen before the might and power which, I say before God, emanated from this Society, and those acting in connection with it. We have been true to these great principles, and every colored man and woman knows it, and they testify thankfully to the work we have accomplished. We have done that work. And now that slavery is virtually abolished, now that the Constitutional Amendment is within six, eight, or ten months of being ratified, and the work for the overthrow of slavery is so near an end, I say, in view of my interest in these great questions, (and I go most heartily, as I have never had any other thought, for making the colored man a free and equal citizen, with land, the ballot, and everything that belongs to any other citizen.) I think the work can be a great deal better accomplished out of this Society than in it. Take the leaves of this Society, and infuse it into every Freedman's Aid Society in the land, and every other society, and my word for it, that heaven will leave the entire mass, and its power will be multiplied a thousand-fold. Who that went to the Cooper Institute last evening but must have felt mortified at the representation made here yesterday of the Society which held that meeting? First, the President of the Society, a Maryland man, pledged it to every right of the negro, including his right to land, equal citizenship, the ballot. Then came our eloquent friend Douglass, who had doubted, at first, whether he was properly there, but he made a magnificent speech, and approved and blessed the Society, and allowed that he had not formed a true idea of its value and worth. Then came speaker after speaker, and finally Mr. Garrison, who made a very able and eloquent speech. I want to refer to a few remarks of my friend Douglass in his eloquent speech. He said he was doubtful that Society would outlive its usefulness; he was afraid whether we needed such a Society. He said, "Let us alone; we, the colored people, don't want assistance; we don't want help; let us alone; if you see us going to school, let us go; if you see us going to the ballot-box, let us alone; we don't want old clothes; we will take care of our schools, we will take care of our churches, if you will only allow us our rights." I think that was his exact argument. Now, Mr. Douglass was afraid that Society would outlive its usefulness, yet he is not willing that this Society, which has lived two and thirty years, should contemplate disbandment in the course of the year to come, because there is this great measure of political enfranchisement and other measures to be accomplished.

WILLIAM L. BOWDITCH—Mr. President, there are two or three notions impressed upon my mind which I would like to utter. We were organized as an Anti-Slavery Society. The abolition of slavery was the idea with which we started. It is true we also said, "We are to oppose all prejudice of color, and to use our efforts for the elevation and advancement of the free people of color." But I take it, we put these objects in our Constitution, not because those were our main objects, but because we intended to attack them as the bulwarks of slavery. Prejudice of color grew out of slavery, supported slavery, and therefore we contended against it. In just the same way we attacked the Church. We did not attack the Church as a Church, but simply because, as a brotherhood of thieves, it was the bulwark of slavery. We did not attack the Union as the Union, because we have always been in favor of a Union down to the Gulf, but we attacked the Union because it was a Union the corner-stone of which was slavery.

We then, organized for the purpose of abolishing slavery; we were and are abolitionists; and when our duty is performed, we are to dissolve. We are bound to keep our flag flying until slavery is abolished; until slavery is not merely dead, but buried. I want to make a sure thing of it. (Applause.) Now, slavery actually exists in the Gulf States. You remember, Mr. President, that in our State (Mass.) slavery was abolished by the adoption of our State Constitution; but it actually existed after the adoption of that Constitution, and it required a decision of our Supreme Court to declare that slavery did not exist, and that during those few years, it had never existed. It does not seem to me that our duty in the premises is determined by this consideration, that slavery actually exists in the Southern States at this time. I admit the fact to be as our friend Phillips says, that slavery does in fact exist in the Southern States. I agree also, with Mr. Garrison, in thinking that slavery is at this moment legally and constitutionally dead. I would not give two straws for any legal support that at present exists for the institution of slavery. The loyal States have carried on this government for the last four years. We have laid and collected taxes throughout the Union—in the Southern States as well as in the Northern States; we have sold estates at the South under our confiscation law; we have coined money; we have raised and supported and managed armies and navies; all our internal government has been carried on by the loyal States; all the external affairs of the government have been carried on by the loyal States alone. We are not bound, it seems to me, to wait for the seceded States to come back and unite with us. We have the power, under the Constitution, unless they please to come in, in the way pointed out by the Constitution, and exercise their powers. If they do not see fit to do it, it is their own fault. We do not suffer in consequence; we are all right. The Senate have acted on this principle. They have changed the number requisite to constitute a quorum of that body, in consequence of the withdrawal of the seceded States. Therefore I believe that slavery is disintegrated, and will surely die. I believe that slavery has been constitutionally abolished, and I have acted on that belief. I was born again (laughter) about twenty-three years ago, through the influence of my friend, Wendell Phillips. He gave me a very sufficient scourging, and I resigned my commission as a Justice of the Peace, because I had then aided fugitive slaves to escape, and intended to do the same again. But I have taken the oath to support the Constitution, and I have taken it honestly, and mean to abide by it. I do not feel under the slightest moral, legal or equitable obligation to support the institution of slavery at this present moment. I agree fully with Mr. Garrison in this respect. But that does not settle the question. It seems to me that we may believe that slavery is constitutionally abolished, and act upon that belief, because we must act upon our individual belief. But no department of the government has as yet declared that slavery is constitutionally abolished—neither Congress, nor the Secretary of State, nor the Supreme Court. Under these circumstances, it seems to me that it is our duty to remain together until the thing is made sure. We have, as members of the Society, duties to third persons, and we are bound to remain together until the government, through its appropriate organs, admits the fact that slavery is unconstitutional. Mr. Phillips said, and I believe he made the only argument that seemed to bear against the position I have taken, that we might take the opinion of the lawyers of this city, and they would all unite in the opinion that the Constitutional Amendment had not been adopted. Well, suppose they would? I don't suppose that one in fifty of them would have given the opinion that the President had the right to issue his Emancipation Proclamation. I don't suppose one in fifty of them would have decided that slavery was abolished in Massachusetts by the adoption of the Constitution, yet it was; and we all believe the Emancipation Proclamation abolished slavery wherever it operated.

Mr. PHILLIPS—I did not mean to say, in that sense, that that would be their opinion. I meant to say

that no lawyer would consider the Amendment sealed until the proclamation of the Secretary of State. I did not mean to fall back upon the corrupt or timid members of the profession, any more than my friend Bowditch. Mr. BOWDITCH—I have always, through my life, when acting for other parties, when there were two methods, one probably sure, the other absolutely certain, taken the latter. Now, I am quite sure that slavery is constitutionally and legally dead, but there is one way in which I can be perfectly sure that it is; and that is, by waiting until the government, through its appropriate channel, has declared that fact. I think it is our duty to wait until that announcement is made. (Applause.) FREDERICK DOUGLASS—Several gentlemen have been so kind as to refer to me in the course of this discussion, and my friend, Mr. May, referred to me as being opposed to the disbandment of this Society at any time during the present year. Having been thus referred to, I wish to put myself properly before the meeting. Almost the first work the American Anti-Slavery Society asked me to do, after employing me as an agent more than twenty years ago, was to accompany Stephen S. Foster and Abby Kelley (now Mrs. Foster) into the State of Rhode Island, to wage a most unremitting war against what was called the "Dorr Constitution," because that Constitution contained the odious word "white" in it. That was regarded as legitimate anti-slavery work at that time; and that work was most effectively performed, amidst mobs and all sorts of violence. We succeeded in defeating that Dorr Constitution, and secured the adoption of a Constitution in which the word "white" did not appear. We thought it was a grand anti-slavery triumph, and it was; it was a good anti-slavery work. When I came North, and went to Massachusetts, I found that the leading work of the Abolitionists was to put the State of Massachusetts in harmony with the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society. They said charity began at home. They looked over their statute-book, and whenever they found the word "white," there they recognized slavery, and they made war upon it. The anti-slavery ladies made themselves of no reputation by going about with petitions, asking the Legislature to blot out that hated word "white" from the marriage law. That was good anti-slavery work twenty years ago; I do not see why it is not good anti-slavery work now. It was a part of anti-slavery work then; it is a part now, I think. I do not wish to appear here in any fault-finding spirit, or as an impugner of the motives of those who believe that the time has come for this Society to disband. I am conscious of no suspicion of the purity and excellence of the motives that animate the President of this Society, and other gentlemen who are in favor of its disbandment. I take this ground; whether this Constitutional Amendment is law or not, whether it has been ratified by a sufficient number of States to make it law or not, I hold that the work of Abolitionists is not done. Even if every State in the Union had ratified that Amendment, while the black man is confronted in the legislation of the South by the word "white," our work as Abolitionists, as I conceive it, is not done. I took the ground, last night, that the South, by unfriendly legislation, could make our liberty, under that provision, a delusion, a mockery, and a snare, and I hold that ground now. What advantage is a provision like this Amendment to the black man, if the Legislature of any State can tomorrow declare that no black man's testimony shall be received in a court of law? Where are we then? Any wretch may enter the house of a black man, and commit any violence he pleases; if he happens to do it in the presence of black persons, he goes unpunished; that is "Hear, hear." And don't tell me that of those people there have become so just and honest all at once that they will not pass laws denying to black men the right to testify against white men in the courts of law. Why, our Northern States have done it. Illinois, Indiana and Ohio have done it. Here, in the midst of institutions that have gone forth from old Plymouth Rock, the black man has been excluded from testifying in the courts of law; and if the Legislature of every Southern State tomorrow pass a law, declaring that no negro shall testify in any courts of law, they will not violate that provision of the Constitution. Such laws exist now at the South. The next day, the Legislatures may pass a law that any black man who shall lift his arm in self-defense, even against a white man, shall have that arm severed from his body, and may be hanged and quartered, and his head and quarters set up in the most public parts of the district where the crime shall have been committed. Such laws now exist at the South, and they might exist under this provision of the Constitution, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any State of the Union. Then another point. I have thought, for the last fifteen years, that we had an anti-slavery Constitution—a Constitution intended "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." But we have had slavery all along. We had a Constitution that declared that the citizens of old Massachusetts should enjoy all the rights and immunities of citizens in South Carolina—but what of it? Let Mr. Hoar go down to South Carolina, and point to that provision in the Constitution, and they would kick him out of the State. There is something down in South Carolina higher than Constitutional provisions. Slavery is not abolished until the black man has the ballot. While the Legislatures of the South retain the right to pass laws making any discrimination between black and white, slavery still lives there. (Applause.) As Edmund Quincy once said, "While the word 'white' is on the statute-book of Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State. While a black man can be turned out of a car in Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State. While a slave can be taken from old Massachusetts, Massachusetts is a slave State." That is what I heard Edmund Quincy say twenty-three or twenty-four years ago. I never forgot such a thing. Now, while the black man can be denied a vote, while the Legislatures of the South can take from him the right to keep and bear arms, as they can—they would not allow a negro to walk with a cane where I came from, they would not allow five of them to assemble together—the work of the Abolitionists is not finished. Notwithstanding the provision in the Constitution of the United States, that the right to keep and bear arms shall not be abridged, the black man has never had the right either to keep or bear arms; and the Legislatures of the States will still have the power to forbid it, under this Amendment. They can carry on a system of unfriendly legislation, and will they not do it? Have they not got the prejudice there to do it with? Think you, that because they are for the moment in the talons and beak of our glorious eagle, instead of the slave being there, as formerly, that they are converted? I hear of the loyalty at Wilmington, the loyalty at South Carolina—what is it worth? Mr. MAY—Not a straw. Mr. DOUGLASS—Not a straw. I think my friend for admitting it. They are loyal while they see 200,000 able soldiers, with glistening bayonets, walking in their midst. (Applause.) But let the civil power of the States be restored, and the old prejudices and hostility to the negro will revive. Aye, the very fact that the negro has been used to defeat this rebellion and strike down the standards of the Confederacy will be a stimulus to all their hatred, to all their malice, and lead them to legislate with greater stringency towards this class than ever before. (Applause.) The American people are bound—bound by their sense of honor (I hope by their sense of honor, at least, by a just sense of honor), to extend the franchise to the negro; and I was going to say, that the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society were bound to "stand still, and see the salvation of God," until that work is done. (Applause.) Where shall the black man look for support, my friends, if the American Anti-Slavery Society fails him? ("Hear, hear.") From whence shall we expect a certain sound from the

trumpet of freedom, when the old pioneer, whose

Society that has survived mobs, and martyrdom, and suppress it, shall all at once subside, on the mere information that the Constitution has been amended, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be allowed in this land? What died of arming the negro, on the ground that it would make him a freeman? Why, they said, "The argument is absurd. We may make these negroes fight for us; but while we retain the political power of the South, we can keep them in their subordinate positions." That was the argument; and they were right; and while they retained the right to fight for the slave, while they retained in their hands the power to exclude him from political rights, they could have reduced him to a condition similar to slavery. Slavery would not call it slavery, but some other name. It has been called "the peculiar institution," and "social system," and "the impediment," as it is called by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has been called by a great many names, and it will call itself by a great name; and you and I and all of us had better wait and see what new form this old monster will assume, in what new skin this old snake will come forth again. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN—I am told that a very respectable gentleman, well known to every person in this nation, is present. I am also told that he has a messenger of good news that he may communicate. I refer to the Hon. HENRY WILSON, Senator of Massachusetts. If he is here, and will have the kindness to address the audience, I am sure he will receive a most hearty welcome. (Loud applause.)

Hon. HENRY WILSON—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I came here to-day, as I have been accustomed to whenever I had the opportunity, for the last twenty-nine years, to listen to the voice from the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I came not here, sir, to speak, but to listen. I understand that the question before the Society is on its dissolution or continuance, and upon that, sir, I have not a word to say; it would not be proper for me to do so. You have asked me, sir, to say a few words. I can only say that I believe slavery, which this Society was organized to extinguish, is today in its grave, and there is for it no resurrection. (Great applause.) There is not power enough anywhere in America to breathe vitality into that dead institution. But I do believe, sir, that the dark spirit of slavery lives in the hearts of the rebels. They are enslaved, but they are not converted. The bed of the nation is upon the institution of American slavery, and its supporters are defeated, conquered to-day; but their love of slavery, their disposition to make the condition of the black men of this country miserable, still lives, and it is the duty of all men in the American Anti-Slavery Society, and out of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to see to it that all the power of this nation is used, in every legitimate and proper way, to protect the freedmen of the South. Sir, I am in favor of all legislation that shall place the black man of the country exactly and precisely where I stand to-day (renewed applause); that shall give to him the right to go where he pleases in any and every part of the continent; that shall secure to him the fruits of his own labor; that shall, in a word, give him the same liberty, the same rights, that we all possess, in every respect. (Applause.) And, sir, I am in favor of using the power of this nation to make the Constitution of the United States what it declares itself to be—a Constitution for the protection of the people of the country and their posterity forever. Now, sir, I believe, if we carry out this idea, we must hold the reins in subjugation for years with the bayonet, or we must put the ballot into the hands of the colored men of the South. (Applause.) It must be the bayonet of the black man to protect the rights of the black man of the South, or the ballot in the hands of the black man to protect their rights. And, sir, peace, law, order, progress, humanity, Christianity, plead the ballot, and not for the bayonet. (Applause.)

Now, sir, I have no faith at all in what is called Unionism in the rebel States. I was at Charleston and Savannah, the other day, and I saw one solitary Union man, who admitted himself to be such. I have no faith in their love of the Union, no faith in their love of the triumph of the Emancipation Proclamation, or of the Constitutional Amendment. They are simply defeated; they have been beaten in the field. They are about this city to-day, purchasing goods, and admitting that they have been defeated and subdued. Therefore, it is of vital importance, I say, that all of us, on whatever theatre we may act, should see to it that the freedmen of the country are protected in all their rights; and that we should see to it, that we, all of us, may speak as freely and think as freely in South Carolina, in Georgia, and in Texas itself, as in Massachusetts or New York. (Applause.) The work of anti-slavery men, of lovers of liberty, equal, impartial, universal, is not ended in our country. In regard to particular societies and modes of action, people may decide as they please; but our duty is as clear as the track of the noon-day sun in the heavens to-day, and that duty is, with vigilance, with unwavering fidelity, to see to it that the men we have emancipated shall not be crushed by the dark spirit of slavery; by unfriendly legislation in any portion of the country. (Loud applause.) I have received a letter to-day from an eminent and distinguished military man in Kentucky. He says that slavery surrendered in Kentucky on the 23d of April. He has enlisted in that State, under the law giving freedom to the black man who will enlist in the service of the United States, about 25,000 men. Under the law making their wives and children free, slavery is perishing in Kentucky. This officer says he has present in his tent a young boy of five years of age, the son of a man who had been a slave, and he says that the boy is as white as any child he has ever seen in his life. The Government has called the 100 free men to arms, and I have no doubt they will gather on the 15th, and I have no doubt they will adopt the Constitutional Amendment. This Amendment I regard to-day as an achieved fact. It will be adopted in the country can perish or defeat. I will be satisfied; slavery will perish in name. Let us see to it that the thing itself perishes forever. Sir, I have not a word longer. For nearly thirty years I have not been accustomed to attend your meetings. I have not been able to agree with some of the views held by your Society, but in their love of freedom, in their devotion to the slave, in their willingness to stand with all on occasions to fight the battle of the Lord, and I know that I have warmly sympathized, and I have endeavored, in public and private life, to act to the feeling. And in the future, during what little life remains to me, either public or private, I mean that by my voice, my vote, whatever influence I may possess, shall be used to make our country—a glorious, free country of ours—this great democratic public of ours—to-day the most powerful nation under the sun—to make it so that the lovers of liberty all over the globe, as they turn their eyes toward it, will quote and commend our example. (Loud applause.)

ROBERT PERVIE—Mr. Chairman, the word which I desire to utter has already been spoken by the speakers this morning; and the reasons which have been given why this Society should not be dissolved are my reasons. I do not desire and shall not attempt to reiterate what has been said. The trusting confidence of the colored people in this Society—and which, I have never been betrayed—will not permit me, in my simple way, to say that I trust in God that my very best may cease to beat when its pulsations fall to bring with them stirring emotions of my obligations to you, my ever-enduring sense of my obligations to you, my (turning to Mr. Garrison,) to remain at your post until you have no question or doubt. (Prolonged applause, and cries of "Amen!")

(To be concluded next week.)

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION. The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in Boston, at the MELODEON, on Wednesday, May 31st, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

MEMBERS FROM THE WORLD OF MATTER AND THE WORLD OF MAN. By Theodore Parker. Selected from notes of unpublished Sermons, by Rufus L. ...

Having myself been largely instrumental in obtaining the fund in question, (which I may say without subjecting myself to the charge of egotism,) I feel that it is my right and my duty to protest against such diversion of it from its original design, and to claim its restoration to those who originally made the trustees of it.

In ideal attained. Being a Story of Two Southern Souls, and How they Won their Happiness and Lost it Not. By Mrs. ELIZA W. FARNSWORTH.

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A PROTEST.

LEICESTER, MASS., May 12, 1865. I am constrained to take this method of laying before the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society a subject which I had no opportunity to present at the late annual meeting, on account of its wholly unexpected adjournment.

According to the Treasurer's report, there is remaining in his hands a balance of over two thousand two hundred dollars. Of this amount, the sum of at least two thousand dollars was raised at the Subscription Anniversary in Boston in January last, being contributed, perhaps not wholly but nearly so, by those who supported and approved the management of the Society and of the Standard as then and for many years existing, and who approved the Standard's principle of giving a discriminating and honest support to the anti-slavery policy of Mr. Lincoln's Administration.

Formerly, as a general rule, the going of a good man to settle in the South was the loss of one more good man to the country and the world. Those who touched not only its pitch, but its cotton, its sugar, its rice, its business of any sort, were defiled. The trail of the serpent was over them all.

Having myself been largely instrumental in obtaining the fund in question, (which I may say without subjecting myself to the charge of egotism,) I feel that it is my right and my duty to protest against such diversion of it from its original design, and to claim its restoration to those who originally made the trustees of it.

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LETTERS FROM NEW YORK, NO. XXXIV.

New York, May 18, 1865. To the Editor of the Liberator: "What shall we do with the Negro?" has quite given way for the moment to "What shall we do with the traitor?"

It is now said that the volunteer troops of the United States are to be disbanded and discharged, and that the military force still to be kept on foot will consist only of the regular army. Four corps, reports say, are considered sufficient for present purposes, and of these, two are to be white and two of colored men.

They will return to their homes or make new ones. Why should not the latter alternative be deemed preferable by tens of thousands of discharged soldiers? Our people are a roving, an adventurous, a pioneering people. Those who wandered for pleasure, or health, or commercial speculation, have in past times been accustomed to go South.

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but of all who are identified with freedom by sympathy and philanthropic endeavor. If any one has felt depressed or apprehensive by reason of the late utterances of President Johnson, which would indicate that he still labors in the slough of black colonization, let him dismiss despondency.

DEATH OF REV. DAVID THURSTON. The Liberator announces the decease of Rev. David Thurston of Littlefield, Me., in the 57th year of his age. Father Thurston, as he was familiarly called, was the oldest minister in the State. He was a pioneer in the Anti-Slavery cause, and with Samuel Fessenden, (father of the Senator,) and others, took part in the first Anti-Slavery organization in New England.

SENATOR SUMNER. Senator Sumner has written a letter to a Committee of Colored Men in North Carolina, who asked him whether they should take part in the reorganization of that State, in which he tells them that it is their right and their duty.

LECTURE BY REV. CALVIN FAIRBANK. Rev. Calvin Fairbank, who was imprisoned for many years in Kentucky, gave a narrative of his experience and sufferings in Tremont Temple, Sunday evening. Mr. Fairbank was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment in the Kentucky State Prison in 1850, for aiding a slave woman to escape.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for June, 1865, is received. The following is the table of contents: A Letter about England; by John Weiss. A Prose Heroic; by Gail Hamilton. Harpocrates; by Bayard Taylor. Dely's Cow; by Rose Terry. Needle and Garden; VI. Going to Sleep; by Elizabeth A. C. Akers. Dr. Johns; V; by Ik Marvel. The Great Lakes; by Samuel C. Clarke. To Carolina Coronado; by Regard; by F. Sheldon. John Brown's Raid; How I got into it, and How I got out of it; by Major G. Rosenberg. Schumann's Quintette in Flat Major; by Anne M. Brewster. Richard Cobden; by M. D. Conway. Modern Improvements and Our National Debt; by E. B. Bigelow. The Chimney Corner; VI; by Mrs. H. B. Stowe. The Jaguar Hunt; by J. T. Brownbridge. Late Scenes in Richmond; by C. C. Coffin; "Carleton." Down; by H. B. Brownell. The Place of Abraham Lincoln in History; by George Bancroft. Ticknor & Fields, publishers.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE, for June, contains the following papers:—1. Washoe Revisited, (second number,) with illustrations. 2. From Teheran to Samarcand. 3. The Sun-Dial. 4. Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men. —VII. The Change of Base Effected—Illustrated. 5. Dirge for the Fallen. 6. Dobb's Dinner at Delmonico's—Illustrated. 7. Andrew Kent's Temptation. 8. The Americans on their Travels. 9. Contrast. 10. Recollections of Grant, with a portrait. 11. Armada; by Wilkie Collins. 12. The University of Oxford. 13. In Memoriam W. S. 14. Our Mutual Friend, by Charles Dickens—Illustrated. 15. Monthly Record of Current Events. 16. Editor's Easy Chair and Drawer.

SPEAKER BULLOCK'S CLOSING ADDRESS to the members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives was one of the finest efforts of his oratory. The following paragraph is a sample:—"Gentlemen, I will not detain you with much allusion, however fitting it might be, to national events. They have been decisive and sublime since our session began. The victories of our armies have come to us like thronging battalions. The confederacy of treason has at last fallen before the stout hearts and strong arms of our patriotic soldiers, and the ARCH-TREASONER, captured under circumstances which deprieve even treason of its dignity, is already under their guard on his way to the capital.

Gen. Gideon J. Pillow has been captured near Selma. Gov. Brown of Georgia has been placed in the Old Capital Prison at Washington. The Rebel Governor Vance, of North Carolina, has arrived in Washington, and is at a well-conducted and secure boarding establishment on Capitol Hill. The Rebel Gen. Early, it is said, died recently at Lynchburg. Previous accounts had left him there suffering from rheumatism in the stomach.

New Orleans advises report that Gen. Banks has compelled the President of the City Railroad Company to allow the blacks to ride in the cars of the company. Heretofore the company has set apart cars for the use of the negroes, but the General has now ordered that there shall be no distinction.

The capture of Jeff. Davis created a universal feeling of satisfaction throughout California. The people of Sacramento hung Davis in effigy. Davis, A. H. Stephens, Clay and Reagan are now safely incarcerated at Fortress Monroe.

TO THE READERS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. My labors as Resident Editor of this Journal end with the present number. I have occupied this post for twelve years—from 1853 to 1865 as the associate of Mr. SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, and from 1865 to the present time alone. My duties, though exceedingly arduous, have been very pleasant, for my heart has been in them as well as my mind, and my sympathies have had sympathy, encouragement and support from men and women with whom to be associated in so glorious a cause was at once a privilege and an honor.

THE ARREST OF JEFF. DAVIS. NEW YORK, MAY 21. The Herald's correspondence gives the particulars of the arrest of Jeff. Davis, fully confirming the official accounts already published. When the guard went to the tent, they were met by Mrs. Davis, who said, "Please let my old mother go, and she will return with me. Please let my old mother go, and she will return with me. Please let my old mother go, and she will return with me."

Only about \$8000 in specie was found with the party, though several boxes were not searched. They were brought along, however, and were delivered to the authorities at Washington. There were found on the person of Postmaster General Reagan papers showing that a large amount of specie had been shipped for London, which will also be delivered to the authorities by Col. Pritchard.

THE THIRTIETH YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will be held at Longwood, (near Hamorton,) Chester Co., Pa., commencing at 11 o'clock, A. M., on Fifth day, (Thursday,) the 8th of Sixth month, (June,) 1865, and continuing, probably, three days. OLIVER JOHNSON, RACHEL WILSON, ANNIE M. STAMBAUGH, EUSEBIUS BARNARD, BENJAMIN C. BLOOM, MARY ANN FULTON, SUSANNA P. CHAMBERS, ALFRED H. LOVE, THEODORE TILTON, LUCRETIA NAYLOR, ANNIE F. KEAY, J. WILLIAM COX, CARROLL DICKINSON, JENNIE K. SMITH, ANNA E. DICKINSON, WILLIAM LLOYD.

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—The Yearly Meeting of Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 24, 25 and 26th days of June next. CHARLES D. B. MILLS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AARON M. POWELL, GILES B. SERRINUS, GEO. W. TAYLOR, and other gifted speakers from abroad, will be present to participate, and lend interest to the occasion.

NOTICE.—The American and Foreign Anti-Tobacco Society will hold its annual meeting on next Monday evening, at half-past 7 o'clock, in the Melodeon. WES BELL PHILLIPS, Esq., will preside. The Annual Report will be presented by Rev. Mr. TRASK, and a dozen short and pithy speeches will be made.

THEODORE PARKER'S "LIFE THOUGHTS." HIS MOST POPULAR WORK! "Lessons from the World of Matter and the World of Man." BY THEODORE PARKER. Selected from Notes of Unpublished Sermons; by RUFUS LEMSTON.

CLEANSE THE BLOOD. WITH corrupt, disordered or vitiated blood, you are sick all over. It may burst out in pimples, or sores, or in some active disease, or it may merely keep you listless, depressed, and good for nothing. But you cannot have good health while your blood is impure. Sarsaparilla purges out these impurities, and stimulates the organs of life into vigorous action, restoring the health and expelling disease. Hence it rapidly cures a variety of complaints which are caused by impurity of the blood, such as Scrofula, or King's Evil, Tumors, Ulcers, Sores, Eruptions, Pimples, Blisters, Boils, St. Anthony's Fire, Ringworms, Tetter or Salt Rheum, Sore Head, Ringworm, Cancer or Cancerous Tumors, Sore Eyes, Female Diseases, such as Retention, Irregularity of Menstruation, Whites, Sterility; also, Syphilis or Venereal Disease, Liver Complaints, and Heart Diseases. TRY AYER'S SARSAPARILLA, and see for yourself the surprising activity with which it cleanses the blood, and cures these disorders.

During late years, the public has been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of Extract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick, for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name has become synonymous with deception and fraud. Still we call this compound "Sarsaparilla," and intend to supply such a remedy as shall receive the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. We think we have ground for believing this a virtuous and irrefragable remedy for the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. We can only assure the sick that we offer them the best alternative which we know how to produce, and we have reason to believe it is far the most efficacious purifier of the blood ever discovered.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all druggists. March 18.

Poetry.

MARAH AMONG THE VIOLETS.

For the Liberator. BY KATY CARLISLE. First-born and darlings of the spring, In purple beauty dress, How low you bow, lovingly, On your sweet mother's breast!

Selections.

EDMUND QUINCY, ESQ. ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

The New York Independent, of last week, contains a very letter from Edmund Quincy, Esq. (who has for a full score of years been the corresponding editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, writing nearly all its able "leaders," in the course of which he gives his views as to the expediency of dissolving the American Anti-Slavery Society at the present time, as follows:—

I voted in favor of Mr. Garrison's resolution for the dissolution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, simply because I regarded it as the bare statement of an already accomplished fact. Slavery being practically abolished, wanting nothing of technical abolition but certain formalities, as sure to be performed as the world is to endure, it seemed to me that Anti-Slavery was, ipso facto, practically abolished too.

back for her humanity and kindness towards these suffering men.

And now, since Charleston has been set free, and two hundred colored persons, they told me, had joined together in a relief association, and had, although their poverty was such that they were obliged to work all day to obtain the means of livelihood for themselves and their families, worked through many hours of night, that they might collect a little raiment or a little means with which to clothe those of their own color that were going to school.

On the Sabbath day, after the sermon, I saw some of these noble philanthropists rejoicing together. Forming little companies, and singing of hymns, they were singing "Bells for the Lord" and other songs, "ringing their bodies as they sang." That was their mode of glorifying and praising God, and enjoying their religion. I was not turned away from it by any fastidiousness of taste, though it was not my manner of worshipping. They had had such hearts as I knew these people had might employ whatever method of worship they pleased. It was acceptable to God, and it was sweet to me.

quinn and secretion have withheld it, has been swallowed up in this rebellion.

All the orphans' funds, all the widows' funds, all the school funds, all the funds set apart for various eleemosynary purposes, were exchanged for Confederate bonds; and these bonds are not to-day worth the paper that they are printed on.—Widows' funds and orphans' funds went to found cannon, to make more widows and more orphans. And South Carolina is still a moral and a wasteland.

On the half-hour we had grief upon our keel, and were plowing our way back to Hilton Head, whither we had telegraphed to have steam raised upon the Suwa Nada, that we might leave immediately for the North. We could see no more sights. We had no more heart for pleasure. The heavens seemed dark. Nothing was left, for the hour, but God, and his immutable providence, and his decrees. I leaned on them, and was strengthened. But, oh, the sadness of that company, and our nights and our days' voyaging back!

quinn whether Mr. Thomas Lister could have heard any whispering about such a deadly conspiracy.

From the first moment I heard of the murder, I believed that the plan was known and approved at Richmond, if not concocted there. The means and the brute violence were the natural outgrowth of slavery. Men educated under such a system become familiar with assassination. In the first years of the war, I often heard people express a wish that we had such an able and gentlemanly President as Jeff. Davis. It seems to me that his ability has been chiefly manifested in bold, persistent falsehood, and the unscrupulous use of base and cruel means to accomplish his unprincipled designs.

I wonder whether the admirers of gentlemanly Jeff, will find anything to eulogize in his performance of his duty in the tragedy of assassination. How grandly the character of honest, kind-hearted Abraham looms up in comparison! Never was there such a triumph of homely sincerity and unpretending good sense over polished falsehood and boastful pride.

spined, insulted and abused on account of their color.

There is the real assassin of the President still at large. I do not wonder at the indignation which has been awakened by the late outrage, for it is a heinous crime. But let us see to it that it is a stern traitor will not restore a score of thousands to the mighty loss. We do not want to see these miserable men, we do not want to see their memory degraded, and we do not want to see the memory of the dead. We do want to see the man, if need be, let our wrath wax so hot that we will burn, until that which was a murderer was a laughing-stock is consumed from the face of the earth. As the people stand by the grave of Lincoln, to lift their right hands to heaven, and take a solemn vow upon their souls to give no sleep to any man who slumber to their cry, until slavery in every form is destroyed, and every man, black and white, stands equal before the law.

In dealing with the guilty leaders and instigators of the rebellion, we should beware how we take counsel of passion. Hatred has no place beside the calm and awful dignity of justice. Christian forbearance and patience are still virtues. For my own part, I should be satisfied to see the chief of the rebel army go out from among us homeless, exiled, for ever, and to see him, wherever he goes, the avenging Nemesis, to be met by the stern justice of God. In their school of barbarism; we cannot starve and torture them as they have starved and tortured our soldiers. Let them live. Perhaps that is, after all, the most terrible penalty. For wherever they hide themselves, the story of their guilt will pursue them; they can have no rest nor peace in that deep repentance, which, through the mercy of God, is possible even for them.

LETTER FROM MRS. L. M. ORSHED.

WATLAND, MASS., MAY 6th, 1865. DEAR FRIEND TILTON—Again the miracle of spring returns. Nothing but its familiar recurrence could prevent every one of us from regarding it as a miraculous manifestation of the Invisible Power. In view of its marvelous transformations, no wonder that human imagination early conceived of baggard old crones changed by the touch of a magic wand into beautiful young princesses. Already the decayed stubble of winter has given place to the bright, air-floats of cherry blossoms. The ground with beauty; but the breeze, as it wafts them, seems to sing, in sighing tones, "Fair pledges of a fruitful tree, Why do ye fall so fast!"

REMARKABLE DECLARATION.

FOUR YEARS ago, President Lincoln, when present at the raising of the national flag at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, uttered these words: "I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this country together. It was something in the Declaration of Independence giving liberty, not only to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time, the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have equal chance."

THE QUESTION OF TO-DAY.

John G. Whittier writes in the Villager (Amesbury, Mass.) his views of the present danger of our country and duty of her loyal people, from which we quote as follows: "In spite of all revelations of the utterly barbarous character of slavery, and its direful effect upon all connected with it, we were on the very point of trusting to its most criminal defenders the task of re-establishing the State governments of the South, leaving the real Union, white as well as black, at the mercy of those who have made hatred and bloodshed and murder a sacrament. The nation needed one more terrible lesson. It has it in the murder of its beloved Chief Magistrate and the attempted assassination of its honored prime minister, the two men of all others prepared to go furthest to smooth the way of defeated rebellion back to allegiance."

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S REMAINS IN THE CAPITOL.

Gaze, and yearningly shared his grief greeting; Solemnly gather at this, the last meeting; Lo! once again on the care-furrowed brow, Stamped by the seal of eternity now!

HENRY WARD BEECHER'S VISIT TO SOUTH CAROLINA.

In the New York Independent of the 11th inst. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher gives a very interesting and graphic narrative of his recent trip to South Carolina, from which we take the following extracts:— One of the most affecting incidents of my visit occurred on the Saturday night preceding this service. I was notified that a delegation of colored persons wished to call on me, and pay their respects to me. I was more than pleased. Nine came. They were plain, ordinary-looking women, with one or two exceptions; and all of them were very African. One of them that was to be the spokesman, was to make me, I understood, a little speech. What manner of speech it was to be, I had no idea. She was a thoroughly black woman, and was modest; and yet she had, withal, a certain sweet and graceful way with her. She had a little bunch of flowers, which she presented to me. And then, instead of making a speech, she merely said that they came to express to me their thanks for my interest in their people, and to pray God that I might be preserved and blessed, and that I might go to heaven. She repeated this over and over, in various forms. I was not tired of hearing it; but that was her little message. And when she had said what she had to say, she uttered some words of reply and then she shook hands with each of us. I honored them from the depths of my heart.

SUNNET.

THE MORNING NATION. As if I trod visions, on my bed, I saw a nation to the scepter. As of a household, and their heavy tread, Bearing away, to its last home, their head! Even with such rites a nation did inter That form resigned to earth, and grief to her! And in the concourse such wide grief I read. As if the woe of ocean, foaming near, Had all bewailed some lost one on the pier! "What woe is this?" said I, "such rites to crave?" An universal love the answer gave: "We bury thus a common friend, most dear, And follow him, thus weeping, to the grave!" April 19, 1865. —Boston Christian Register.

DESTRUCTION OF SALISBURY PRISON.

Gen. Sherman's man burned the notorious pen at Salisbury, where many unfortunate Union prisoners were held away. A few United States prisoners were taken away. A few United States prisoners were taken away. A few United States prisoners were taken away. A few United States prisoners were taken away. A few United States prisoners were taken away.

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