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

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 6. BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1865. WHOLE NO. 1775.

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

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the State where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in SUCH A WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERPRETED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, according to the LAWS OF WAR; and in subjugating the slave, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

The Liberator.

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Phonographically reported by JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.

THURSDAY, Jan. 26.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

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

[These resolutions were published last week.]

These resolutions seem to me to cover all we need to say of the present position of public affairs. The future just opening upon us has one question for abolitionists, and that is, the terms of reconstruction. The great danger in that future consists in three facts. The first is, that the prejudice against the negro is not more than half eradicated from the North. Secondly, that the Republican party, which has the Government in its control, is weakened in its principle by the admission of Democrats into its councils. Thirdly, that the Executive plans certainly an immediate reconstruction of States, within the next few months.

The first element to which I adverted—the continuing prejudice against the negro—and the second—that the Republican party is not itself able to command a decisive vote on questions of absolute justice to the negro—make the third—the wish of the Executive to reconstruct under such circumstances—vitally important to an anti slavery point of view. I have no doubt any more than the most sanguine among us, that if the same pressure could be continued upon the Administration which we have enjoyed hitherto, and which has made 1864 out of 1861, we should compel liberty out of the present aspect of affairs. But that pressure was composed of two elements. On the Southern side it was war, on the Northern side it was discontent with the Executive. The Government has travelled from 1861 to 1864 not of its own will. I do not regard it as having accomplished one single step self-moved. In every case, it has been bayoneted up to it by the pressure of outside public opinion—by a distinct intimation from almost every quarter, and especially from abolitionists, that its course and attitude were not satisfactory. On the Southern side, there was another element—war. As long as that continued, it ripened the South and the North. It educated both parties. Our defeats educated the Northern mind—our victories educated the Southern mind; and while this process went forward, there was no great fear that the Government would be able to baulk the purposes which underlie the great civil convulsion. But the press and the general public have measurably discontinued, within the last six months, this critical pressure and relaxed of the attitude of the Administration. The public mind has largely settled down into the conviction that the question is safe, somewhere—either in the purposes of the Executive or in the march of events, and consequently the press and the general public have largely discontinued their criticisms. On the other hand, when we look at the South, there is a battle going on inside the Confederacy far more momentous in its influence on our future than any battle Grant will fight, or than Sherman has fought; that is the contest between the statesmen of Georgia and Richmond as to which shall lead the Confederacy. Vice President Stephens, Gov. Brown, and the class of men whom they represent, are undoubtedly wearied with the efforts already made to establish independence, and satisfied that they have done enough. I do not look upon them as having exhausted their means, or as intimating that they have exhausted their means. On the contrary, even Sherman,—certainly a competent judge,—writing from Georgia itself on the 25th day of October, two months after the victory at Atlanta, commences his letter with an observation of this kind, which he repeats in another letter of the same date—"This war is only begun." Doubtless he meant, "I see around me so many evidences of the means of continuing the war, that, in a military point of view, it is only begun." If any party at the South discontinue it, they discontinue it not of necessity, but of purpose. Now, the Georgia plot, so to call it, unhorses Davis and throw him from the saddle, is a momentous one as regards the anti-slavery issue. If they conquer, the idea of peace dominates in the Confederacy. When that idea gets the helm of the Confederacy, peace will be made; no doubt of it, because the whole tone of the Republican party is peace, on some condition or other, shortly, from political and military necessities, as they judge. We were told in Washington, by a dozen members of the House, that if North Carolina should knock at the door to-day, having chosen Senators and Representatives, and should say, "I wish to enter as I stand; I will discuss slavery when I have entered, but I submit to the flag—admit me!"—we were assured, I say, by half a dozen members, "We could not take a vote; she would be admitted by acclamation." Such is the temper of Congress itself. But Congress, even in that mood of mind, recognizes and confesses that the wish for the speediest reconstruction prevails in the White House, with tenfold the intensity that it does in its own body. It, therefore, from any respectable portion of the South, especially from a portion that had got control of the Confederacy, an offer of peace should come, there would undoubtedly be negotiations resulting in it; and every man who is acquainted with the state of public feeling even here knows, that if Georgia should ask to-morrow to be admitted to this Union on the basis of freeing her slaves within ten years, or twenty years, every other man in the community would say, Amen! that two-thirds of the Republican party would honestly say, Amen! For you must remember that the Republican party is not to-day composed of, certainly not ruled by, its original elements, educated by thirty, or twenty years of political struggle. It consists, on the left hand, of a converted Democratic, on the right hand, of a converted Bell-Everett section—men who "see men as trees walking," have no definite conception of the necessities of the question, no real experimental knowledge of the subject; and their very honesty of purpose entitling them to influence, doubles their danger to us. They would deservedly influence politics, and control it, through the press and public opinion. They honestly believe to-day in the madness of immediate emancipation, and any scheme which repudiated it would have their earnest sanction. Added to this is another element. The President has distinctly avowed to the House Committee on Reconstruction—"I will sign almost any bill on that subject which admits Louisiana; I will sign no bill which does not admit her." In other words, he practically endorses the statement of General Banks at the Tremont Temple, that the reconstruction of Louisiana is the model which the Executive sets to the other States for the reconstruction of civil government; because, in the first place, this very avowal says to Congress, "It is safe thus to reconstruct Louisiana—reconstruct it"; and, secondly, every man knows, that any one State which passes the doors of Congress will necessarily be the model for every other; because, Louisiana once admitted as she stands, if Georgia or South Carolina comes up to-morrow, they will justly claim, "Give us the same privileges and terms that you have accorded to Louisiana;" and every man acquainted with politics in general, or the state of parties in particular to-day, knows that you could not rally a vote against such a proposition. Louisiana, then, is the model State. Thirdly, that the Executive plans certainly an immediate reconstruction of States, within the next few months.

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realm. By the Queen's Bench or the Privy Council, a magistrate at the end of the earth can be unseated according to the will of Parliament. That is England but that is not America. Put up the fence between you and Louisiana or South Carolina, and the Federal law sans to it, not over it, except in two or three specified cases. Suppose (what is by no means certain) that we got an amendment of the Constitution prohibiting slavery. Many Abolitionists have said, that with the prohibition of chattel slavery, and an Abolitionist for Chief Justice, the negro is safe. How unwise! On the other side the State fence is Robert Small and Gov. Aiken. On this side is Salmon P. Chase and the Federal Constitution. Why, if Gov. Aiken has any brains, he can grind Robert Small to powder in nine hundred and ninety-nine different ways without trespassing on the anti-slavery amendment; and until he does, Salmon P. Chase cannot interfere. When I come to speak to you, in a moment, of Louisiana, you will see that Banks has actually set them the example and given them the very method by which to grind the negro without restoring chattelism. Do not let us forget the history of the anti-slavery struggle, and what it has taught us of the limited authority and influence of the Federal Government. Every man of you, fifty years old, can remember the experience of the Federal Government in 1831, when the strongest power in the nation grappled with the State of Georgia, and was defeated. When Georgia seized a converted Cherokee, in 1831, and said, "I will hang him," Chief Justice Marshall said, "You cannot; it is unconstitutional." Orthodoxy rallied from Massachusetts Bay to the Mississippi and said, "You shall not; it is infamous." Where is there a stronger power than the Orthodox sects of the North for a army and the Supreme Court for a general? Congress denied the legality of the proceeding. The press of the country, ignorant and exultant, said, "It can be done." "See if it can!," said Georgia, and hung him up. Then she took Samuel Worcester and put him in jail. Behind him stood the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign and Domestic Missions, in front of him the Chief Justice, but Georgia turned the key on him, and there he lay, until, for sore, reign will, she chose to open it. South Carolina took our black seamen out of ships and put them in jail. Winthrop even was lifted to manhood enough to prove it was illegal; the Secretary of State proved it was unconstitutional; Massachusetts remonstrated; the Northern conscience was roused to its depths; but the black seamen lay in jail, why do you ask? "Cotton wool or jail will put you in" was the answer. We had the Federal authority, the North, and the Constitution on our side, but they availed nothing. Texas took six of our black men and sold them, ten years ago, and we do not know to-day where they are. Unconstitutional, all of it; public opinion on our side largely at the North, but Congress said, "We know no means by which to check a State." Chief Justice Marshall exhausted all his ingenuity in the Cherokee case. The interlocking of State and Federal authority is so complex, that when a State, short of war, chooses thus to throw herself athwart the Government, it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to interfere with her.

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

Now, to my mind, an American abolitionist, when he asks freedom for the negro, means effectual freedom, real freedom, something that can maintain and vindicate itself. I do not believe in an English freedom, that trusts the welfare of the dependent class to the good will and moral sense of the upper class. This is aristocracy. The ballot in England is in the hands of some eight hundred thousand or a million of men, and the welfare of the rest trusted to their sense of justice. That is their philosophy of government, it is not ours. Our philosophy of government, since the 4th day of July, 1776, is that no class is safe, no freedom is real, no emancipation is effectual, which does not place in the hands of the man himself the power to protect his own rights. That is the genius of American institutions. Now, when I see the nature and relative position of the State and Federal Governments, and know that the white man of the North, if he wished to, could not protect the negro of Louisiana, even though that State fence between them,—could not, he would, and I still believe, Congress would compel, in the absolute sense of justice and freedom,—then, as an abolitionist, under such a government, I fall back on the democratic principle, and claim of the anti-slavery party that it shall be content with emancipation which does not put into the hands of the freedman himself the power to protect his newly-acquired liberty. (Applause.) No emancipation is effectual, no freedom is real, which does not take that shape. I argue it simply as a question of security, not of justice or of magnanimity. For a nation to ask a man to fight for them and then leave him without full citizenship, is an infamy which would make a man forswear all part in such a nation. (Loud applause.) I have seen a letter from one of our allied Captains, who writes—"I do not believe in the equality of the races. I do not accept the policy of allowing the negroes to fight. I do not believe in universal suffrage nor in universal freedom. But I believe in it as a white man's battle, and that white men should fight it. But," he says, "if the white man chooses to give himself to trade, and let the negro fight the battle, why shall not that defenda the country has a right to govern it." (Applause.) That is honest logic. That is the honest logic of an opponent of anti slavery. That is the logic of a man whose growing popularity, with such a heart, constitutes one of the greatest dangers of our future. If we are to believe in the sincere purpose of the Administration to arm the negro and give him his musket as the basis of his right to every privilege of citizenship, how shall we explain that when Sherman asked for Col. Bowman, months ago, to organize the negroes who sought our camp, from that day to this, though often repeatedly urged, no one has been sent him? From that day to this, the Government has never responded to his call. From that day to this, the Executive at Washington has not answered, though urged even by Maryland to do it. They leave him to enjoy the noblest achievement of the war by the most infamous act that ever disgraced a nation. When he swept across the continent, doing what no other had done before, had he gathered the only helpless got, the black man, into his ranks, his star would have taken its place in the highest galaxy of patriots and captains. But instead of that, with deliberate infamy, he paused at the end of a causeway a mile long, let the white men pass, and held back the negroes who had brought him horses, food, information, and then tore up the bridge, and stood by while rebel cavalry shot that mass of friends down as they would a herd of buffaloes. (Cries of "Shame.") The proudest action of the war is covered over with a blot sufficient to make any American unwilling to name it as done by his countrymen. Show me an instance, under any plea of military strategy or necessity, where a white man seeking our lines, in the whole four years, has been hurled back on the bayonets of the enemy, and our men stood by and saw him shot down, and I will grant some excuse, some plausible apology for this infamous butchery by the first military genius of the white race. I know, of course, in whose immediate presence and by whose immediate order the act was done, but as you do not seek out the name of the soldier who actually tore up the bridge, but visit your rebuke on this Davis who ordered the act, so I go farther and hold the head of the whole expedition, Sherman, responsible. Any marked act in that march which he has not censured, he must be held to have endorsed and approved. This infamy is too enormous for our indignation to be satisfied, grovelling down among petty underlings, like this Jefferson C. Davis. I hold Sherman responsible since he has endorsed it by silence. If the Administration remains silent, then I hold President Lincoln and Mr. Secretary Stanton the real murderers. They can hasten fast enough to relieve a General who spares the lives of his soldiers; we wait to see what they will say to one who murders them.

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

In that speech, Gen. Banks himself describes his system as one planned "*to prepare* the negro for as perfect an independence as that enjoyed by any other class." The anti-slavery agitation of thirty years stamps its contempt on any *preparation* of the negro for justice. (Loud applause.) If there is anything patent on the whole history of our thirty years' struggle, it is that the negro no more needs to be *prepared* for liberty than the white man. (Applause.) Yet Gen. Banks begins his speech by saying he has initiated a system to prepare the negro for liberty. He then goes on to say, that in the State of Louisiana, the negro is not allowed to make a contract. Now, I try him in two ways. He says neither the negro nor any laboring man in Louisiana can be allowed to make a contract. If he is sincere, why did he not put the white laborer as well as the black under his Provost Marshal? (Applause.) If his principle is a correct one, his law should be, "No laboring man in Louisiana shall fix the price of his own wages, fix the term of his own contract, leave the spot where he has agreed to labor,"—but there is no such rule. Gen. Banks, having laid down the principle that no *laboring* man is able to make a contract in Louisiana, proceeds to do—what? "To write that no *black* man shall make a contract! Showing the sham of the original principle. What he means, practically, is, "no laboring negro shall make a contract."

We never shall have a nation until it is governed by one idea. The idea of Massachusetts liberty is MANHOOD; a human being, not an artificial being; a thing created by God, not by law. The Southern idea of liberty has been a white race lifted into position by law, and a black race thrust down into its position by law. The idea of Massachusetts liberty is, a man competent to sell his own toil, to select his own work, and when he differs with his neighbor, a jury to appeal to. My will at the beginning of the road, and a jury at the end. That is liberty, according to the Northern interpretation. Gen. Banks's liberty for the negro is, no right to fix his wages; no right to choose his toil, practically no right; having once chosen his place, no right to quit it; any difference between employed and employer tried by a Provost Marshal, not a jury. History always repeats itself. In Jamaica, England tried her apprenticeship system, and said to the negro, "If you differ with your master, go to the Stipendiary Magistrate." Who was he? He was a commissioned Englishman, who travelled from plantation to plantation, arrived late in the afternoon, took a bath, a dinner, a bottle of madeira, went to bed, got up late, breakfasted with his host, and then coolly sat down on the piazza to hear what the negroes had to say. The negro never got any justice, of course. In the same way, Gen. Banks has set up what he calls a Provost Marshal. He has the American ingenuity as to phrases. It is not a magistrate, it is not a justice. You know we have never had slavery. Years ago, we had "the domestic institution"; then we had the "peculiar institution"; then "the patriarchal institution"; then a Methodist Bishop was requested, not to get rid of his slaves, but to get rid of his "*impediment*." (Laughter.) Mr. Choate, when in his last years he canvassed Massachusetts, said, not slavery, "but antagonistic system of labor." So Gen. Banks organizes labor, sets up a Provost Marshal,—a very innocent military officer,—who visits the white man, dines, naps, sleeps, gets up in the morning, and listens, at arms' length, to the complaints of the freedman. What chance of justice has he? His wages having been originally fixed by that Provost Marshal and the employer, without any voice of his, any difference is referred to the Provost Marshal; and practically, necessarily, though not included in the ostensible system, behind the Provost Marshal stands the lash. I have here the letter of a New England Brigadier General stating that to his knowledge, the freedmen are whipped. I have in my ears the confession of a New York Colonel that he had sent his own soldiers to see it done; and we have the statement, in Col. McKay's report, that whipping was undoubtedly practised on many plantations under this beautiful "organization of labor." Thus Gen. Banks stands over the black man to the white race in Louisiana, and then Mr. Lincoln insists that that State shall be admitted as a representative State, with two Senators to balance New York, and five Representatives to balance Connecticut. By all the record of thirty years, I protest. By every principle held sacred in the anti-slavery discussions of a quarter of a century, I protest against accepting that bastard as a true son of the rebellion. (Applause.) Louisiana is "keeping the promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." It is the desire for a profitable reconstruction. I do not believe it will be possible to reconstruct the States for a quarter of a century, if the attempt is made to reconstruct them of white men. This generation never will have their minds changed to that extent that they can be trusted. I said to one of the Provost Marshals of North Carolina,—the most Union State of all, it is said,—"How much Unionism is there in North Carolina?" "Well," said he, "when a man is half whipped and thoroughly starved, he is a very good Unionist." No doubt he is. The white race is no fit timber to build State with, and looking at the question in mere citizens, the ballot to the negro is indispensable, because we have no other timber to build States with, and unless we build with him, we must postpone reconstruction for so many years that the very patronage of political governments would swamp Republican institutions. Keep them territories, let the Democracy come in eight years or four, with the money power of this banking system in one hand and territorial governments in the other, and Republican Government will be almost a farce. God gives us but one bridge over the pit, like the line of the Mahomedan legend, fine as a spider's web. Stepone single iota to the right or left of absolute justice, and the nation is in the pit. (Applause.) All that the negro needs, and all that belongs to him, is the indispensable necessity of the white race, as well as justice to him. I contend, therefore, that what the anti slavery cause needs to-day is the most indignant protest against "Banks's liberty" in Louisiana, a most indignant repudiation of it as a reconstruction, the most earnest protest against the acceptance of such a State by Congress on every ground, unless we would lose half the fruits of the rebellion. A Government color-blind; no distinction of race in the camp or the senate; the negro entitled to vote and to be voted for; to fight with rifle in hand or to order the battle with stars on his shoulders; stars and office for the heart, brain and hand that can win and wield them. This is at once justice, fair play, magnanimity and necessity; the only pathway to safety and empire.

I believe, friends, that there is more hope of safety to us in Richmond to-day than there is in Washington, because, as I said, speaking of the struggle within the Confederacy, if Jefferson Davis keeps the saddle, the negro is forgotten, and will claim his enfranchisement from St. Louis to St. Augustine, free every black, yea, give him a patent of nobility, before he will yield to the Yankee; and that process will educate us. Do not let us be trifling in the grand signs with which Providence beckons us forward. Whosever supposed he would live to see such an hour as we see to-day? Jefferson Davis marched out of Washington, his right hand full of fetters for the black, on which he had written "forever." To-day, he sits in Richmond with pale lips debating with his fellows whether the black man will defend and save him. [Mr. MAY—"God be thanked!"] He might be painted to-day kneeling at the very feet of the negro, begging help or salvation at the gulf which yawns beneath, and no hand but that of the black to save him. Such a change no other page of history shows us. God has given it to us, the glorious result of battle in the South, and as keen a struggle in Northern thought and purpose here. I see it as my friend [Mr. May] does, but what I demand of him is, that in the future as in the past, he shall give us that same keen criticism which has made 1865 out of 1861, which has bent Jefferson Davis to the feet of the negro, and which will yet force him to muster that very race against us, and Northern prejudice, half-exorcised by the thunders of Port Hudson and Fort Wagner,—the negro on our side,—will shudder down to its own place—the bottomless pit—when the negro carries a victorious banner against us. Then we shall confess "the negro will fight," not in the complacent tone of pitying condescension, but with wholesome terror and common sense. (Applause.) Yes, it is war at the South, and as keen a war between the Abolitionists of the North and the political policy which governs the Republican party, on which I base my hope—not in praises, not in wasting time telling how much has been done. The world knows that. It is the last step which makes success failure. It is the last half hour which actually consummates victory. As Napoleon said, it is the last fifteen minutes and the last regiment which decide which army beats. I know, as my friends do, how much has been done. Just so the soldier in front of Richmond to-day knows exactly how much has been done. He can count Chattanooga and Gettysburg, Antietam and Petersburg, and the Wilderness, and cry exultingly to Grant, "How much!" But suppose he should fold his arms, and say, "Lieutenant General, we have done so much that I am going home, and shall leave you to consummate the victory, military and alone, over Richmond," should we think that "policy"? It seems to me some of our anti-slavery friends stand today counting up success after success, created solely by the anti-slavery bayonet thrust into the White House, and having finished the list, they say, "Let us fold our arms, cry great is the Republican party, and trust Abraham Lincoln to consummate a perfect victory." Will Grant, even with all his past successes, make Richmond capitulate without an army? Just as soon as the Republican party can subjugate the slaveocracy without searching criticism and constant demand, "Onward! Justice, absolute justice, forthwith and forever!" To-day the balance hangs. Who are to gain or lose? Don't think that I exaggerate the problem. We have not measured "the job." More than half of it remains in front to-day. The fault of the American mind from the commencement has been in not probing and measuring the vastness of the work. Some two years ago, McClellan summoned Sherman to his side and said, "How many men will it take to hold Tennessee?" "Two hundred thousand," said Sherman. "Madness," said the "young Napoleon." (Laughter.) "Insanity. You are a fanatic; it won't take thirty thousand"; and he banished the fanatic west of the Mississippi, to take charge of an Indian post. It has taken three hundred thousand men to hold Tennessee;—the banished fanatic has swept across the continent and snuffs the breezes of the Atlantic, with conquered States for a retinue, while the young Napoleon has gone to study engineering in a foreign land! (Loud applause.) To-day there is an opinion similar to McClellan's—that the future is so near, so ready for our grasp, that we can afford to relax our efforts, disband, muster out, and trust the Generals and Senate, to complete the victory. McClellan, thinking that Tennessee could be held with thirty thousand! In time, I think you will realize that the fanaticism which is to grasp both ends of the continent is that which measures to-day, with anxiety, the severity of the trial and the vastness of the work before us. (Loud applause.)

SPEECH OF GEO. THOMPSON, ESQ.

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

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

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

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