XXXVIIth CONGRESS.

FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.....WASHINGTON, May 6, 1862.

Mr. TEN EYCK (Rep., N. J.) presented a petition, asking equal privileges in the mails for certain newspapers.

Mr. SHERMAN (Rep., O.) offered a resolution that the Secretary of War communicate to the Senate copies of all reports of the officers in command at the recent battle of Pittsburg Landing. Laid over.

Mr. King presented petitions in favor of a bankrupt act.

The Homestead Bill was then taken up, the question being on Mr. Carlile's amendment.

The amendment was rejected, by Yeas 11, Nays 28.

The bill was then passed by Yeas, 33; Nays, 7.

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Browning, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Cowan, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harris, Henderson, Howe, Kennedy, King, Lane (Ind.), Lane (Kansas), McDougall, Morrill, Pomeroy, Sherman, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson, Wilson (Mass.), Wilson (Mo.), Wright.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Carlile, Davis, Powell, Saulsbury, and Willey.

The bill for the incorporation of the Washington and Georgetown Railroad was taken up and discussed till the morning hour expired.

Mr. ANTHONY (Rep., R. I.) moved to postpone the special order. Negatived—Yeas 14, Nays 23.

The Confiscation bill was taken up.

Mr. WILSON (Rep., Mass.) offered an amendment to the amendment of the Senator from Vermont striking out all after the first section, and substituting the second section. It provides that the act shall not be construed in any way to affect the punishment of any person for treason.

The third section authorizes and requires the President to seize property of the leading Rebels substantially the same as Mr. Sherman's amendment to the original bill.

The fourth section provides that whenever deemed necessary to suppress the Rebellion, the President be authorized to seize personal property of other Rebels not included in the list.

The fifth section provides that when the owners of property flee, so that they cannot be brought to trial, if they do not appear by a certain day specified, the property be confiscated and the slaves freed.

The sixth section provides that the President be authorized and required to make proclamation, and fix the day not more than 30 days after, and all persons who continue in rebellion their slaves shall be free.

The seventh section provides for voluntary colonization and emigration.

The eighth section gives the President power of amnesty.

Mr. WILSON briefly explained his substitute.

Mr. CLARK (Rep., N. H.) said he thought the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts went a great way toward harmonizing the differences in the Senate. He thought, if it were referred to the special Committee, we might have a bill on which all could agree. He moved that all the bills be referred to a special Committee of seven.

Mr. HALE (Rep., N. H.) thought under the Constitution we had no power to give the President power to point out crime and liberate the slaves of any man by simple proclamation. He was opposed to all these bills which look to punishment before conviction in a proper Court. He said the bill of the Senator from Illinois was reported to the Senate on the 12th of January, 1862. It had been considered twenty-five days, and there had been twenty speeches made on it, which, with the running debate, makes 173 columns of *The Globe*. He did not think the evil would be remedied by the reference to any Committee.

Mr. WILSON (Rep., Mass.) thought the days spent in maturing such important bills well spent. If the Senator from New-Hampshire had spent his time studying the bill, instead of finding out how much time had been spent, he thought he would not so readily pronounce this amendment unconstitutional. He contended that Slavery was the real cause, and we could punish the Rebels more by taking their slaves than in any other way, and he believed we had the constitutional power to free the slaves of every Rebel. He believed the whole free people would vote for such a bill. He thought it was a duty we owed to the nation and to humanity to strike down the power of Slavery, so as to secure future peace and safety. It was an opportunity which comes to nations once in ages, and ought not to be neglected. If Congress neglected its duty in this respect, he believed the same leaders of the rebellion would come back to these chambers to shake their bloody hands in our faces. He warned the Senate not to undermate the power of Slavery.

Mr. HALE said the Senate need not argue about the moral or evil strength of the Slave Power. He felt it more than the Senator from Massachusetts ever did. He had the Slave Power send a message from this city to the Democratic Convention in his State to reconsider his nomination to Congress, and the Democratic party nominated another man. He knew all about the strength of the Slave Power. If in our zeal against Slavery, the Senate infringed on the Constitution, it would, in the language of the Senator from Vermont (Collamer) make our institutions a failure. The early Anti-Slavery people adhered strictly to the doctrine of non-interference with Slavery in the States. The Democratic and the Whig parties were destroyed for want of fidelity, and the Republican party sprang up, and he did not want written on their tomb-stone—The party that split on the rock of its predecessors. If there was anything the Republican party had declared early and late it was fidelity to the Constitution, and he wanted the Constitution still left after the rebellion was over.

Mr. HARRIS (Rep., N. Y.) said he had voted the other day against a reference to the Committee, composed partly of enemies to the bill; but he thought now, after so long a discussion, if it could be referred to a Committee of friends, a bill could be prepared that would meet with general approbation.

Mr. WADE (Rep., Ohio) said he had no hope of an efficient Confiscation bill if they went to a Committee. The bill of the Senator from Illinois did not go too far, and those who were impoverishing themselves to defend the nation, would not consider a bill to take the property of the leaders of this accursed rebellion as too sweeping! If the bill went to a Committee, it would come back a sort of milk and water concern, shorn of all force and strength.

Mr. SUMNER (Rep., Mass.) said he differed from the Senator from Ohio, and thought the time had now come for a reference of these measures to a Special Committee. We had more than a dozen bills on the table, some of them from those opposed to the measure, but others from friends. He believed the principle was safe if it did go to the Committee.

Mr. CLARK said, on no measure had we given so much careful thought. He did not make the motion with any idea of renouncing the principle of confiscation. He wanted an efficient confiscation bill, but at the same time he wanted it in accordance with the Constitution, and he believed that it could be done.

Mr. TEN EYCK (Rep., N. J.) said that although he had agreed to the bill reported from the Committee, he did not feel himself bound to every letter of the bill. He was in favor of a Confiscation bill, and he might say that without his vote, the present bill would not have been reported from the Committee. He should vote against its reference.

Mr. ANTHONY (Rep., R. I.) said he should vote for its reference, because he thought that now a bill could be speedily reported that would meet the views of the Senate.

Mr. TRUMBULL (Rep., Ill.) said he should not vote for its reference, but hoped a good bill might be passed, even though it went to the Committee; but he thought the tendency would be to dilute the bill down so as to become harmless. It saddened him beyond measure to see the same course pursued even at this hour, which led us into this war, even after a year of devastation and bloodshed. He asked if it was not time that we took counsel of judgment, and stop asking how the Rebels feel? At the commencement a small regiment at Charleston might have stopped the war; but nothing was done, because of being afraid of hurting the feelings of Rebels and traitors. It was idle to talk of confiscating the property of Rebels through Courts. We might as well make war through Courts. That was the very reason why we needed such a bill, because we could not act through Courts. He contended that the bill of the Senator from Vermont provided for taking all perishable or property expensive to keep, without Courts.

Mr. FOSTER (Rep., Conn.) spoke at some length in defense of those who voted for reference last Friday, against the charge of being opposed to confiscation, and unfriendly to the measure.

By consent Mr. FESSENDEN (Rep., Me.) from the Committee on Finance, reported the Tax bill with amendments.

Mr. McDOUGALL (Un., Ind.) said there had not been active unanimity in the Committee on Finance on the proposed amendments of the Committee. He offered a substitute for the bill as reported, embodying the views of the Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce of New-York on the subject of taxation.

Mr. SUMNER moved that 3,000 extra copies of the bill and amendment be printed. Agreed to.

Mr. SIMMONS (Rep., R. I.) also expressed dissent from some of the features of the bill as reported.

The consideration of the Confiscation bill was resumed.

Mr. COLLAMER (Rep., Vt.), at some length, defended his bill. He contended that we could not, under the Constitution, punish before conviction, but that we had power to provide further punishment for treason on conviction.

Mr. FESSENDEN said he had said nothing on this measure, for he had been constantly occupied for days, and sometimes nights, on the tax bill. He had been unable even to listen to most of the debate. Yet he had been set down by the Senator from Illinois as unfriendly to the measure, because he happened to vote for its reference. He knew it was a very important measure, and knew there were various opinions among his own political friends, and therefore voted for the reference, and did not know who made the motion for reference. He was in favor of confiscating the property of Rebels, and had been from the beginning, according to the Constitution, and no further, and he thought it best to refer the subject to a Committee for investigation.

Mr. TRUMBULL disclaimed any idea of pointing out any Senator. He had replied to some remarks made by a Senator, and said he supposed he was not in favor of confiscation. He suppored so from the vote he gave. He was glad if the Senator was in favor of confiscation.

On the suggestion of Mr. WILSON (Mass.), Mr. Clark modified his motion so as to make the number of the Committee nine.

Mr. COWAN (Rep., Pa.) denied that he was the enemy of confiscation. He thought he was the very Ajax Telemon of confiscation.

Mr. Clark's motion to refer was then carried.

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Browning, Clark, Collamer, Cowan, Davis, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Harris, Henderson, Howe, Kennedy, McDougall, Morrill, Powell, Saulsbury, Simmons, Stark, Sumner, Willey, Wilson (Mass.), Wilson (Mo.)—24.

NAYS—Messrs. Chandler, Dixon, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, King, Lane (Ind.), Lane (Kansas), Pomeroy, Sherman, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, Wright—14.

The Senate went into Executive session, and on the doors being opened adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. COX (Dem., O.), from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, reported the Senate bill appropriating $2,500 for indemnification to the owners and officers of the Spanish bark Providence, illegally detained by the blockade.

Mr. COLFAX (Rep., Ind.), by unanimous consent, introduced a bill to punish frauds on the Government, which provides that all persons engaged in furnishing supplies of any kind for any Department of the Government by contract or otherwise, or performing any service therefor, who shall be found guilty of fraud in any United States Court, and all accessories thereto, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not less than six months, nor more than ten years, and a fine not exceeding double the amount of the fraud, and all officers are required when frauds are discovered to institute a suit. Referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Mr. BINGHAM (Rep., Ohio), from the Committee on Judiciary, offered a resolution that a Committee of two be appointed to go to the Senate, and at the bar thereof, in the name of the House of Representatives and of the people of the United States, impeach West H. Humphreys, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the several districts of Tennessee, of high crimes and misdemeanors, and acquaint the Senate that the House of Representatives will in due time exhibit particular articles of impeachment against him, and make good the same, and that the Committee demand that the Senate take order for the appearance of said West H. Humphreys to answer said impeachment.

In response to a question for information, the report of the Judiciary Committee was read. In effect the Judge has acted out his Secession proclivities.

Mr. MAYNARD (Un., Tenn.) showed the justice of the present proceedings for impeachment.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. DAWES (Rep., Mass.) called up the California election case. The resolution reported from the Committee on Elections declares F. F. Lowe not entitled to a seat as a representative from that State. Mr. Dawes explained that the prayer of the memorialists was founded upon a Statute of the United States as well as on the construction of the Constitution of the United States, California claiming three representatives in the present Congress, the number to which she is entitled under the apportionment based on the last Census.

Mr. DAWES (Rep., Mass.) maintained that if California under the new apportionment was entitled to three Representatives, every other State may claim the same advantages, but there could not be representatives under different laws, and hence the adverse report in this case.

Mr. PHELPS (Un., Cal.) stated some of the circumstances of the case, claiming that in the absence of any law determining when the census shall take effect for the purpose of representation, the right of every State accrues at the very moment the number of Representatives to which she is entitled is ascertained.

The resolution of the Committee was adopted.

The Pacific Railroad and Telegraph bill was taken up.

The bill contains the names of 75 persons in different sections of the country, who, with five Commissioners, to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and all persons who shall or may be associated with them, and their successors, are created into a body corporate and politic, by the name, style, and title of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. They are empowered to lay out, locate, construct, furnish, and maintain a continuous railroad, with the appurtenances, from points on the one hundred and second meridian of longitude west from Greenwich, to the western boundary of Nevada Territory. The capital stock is to consist of 100,000 shares of $1,000 each. The right of way is granted for the construction of the railroad and telegraph line to the extent of 200 feet in width on each side of the road, &c. The rails and all other iron used shall be of American manufacture, &c. Whenever forty consecutive miles of the road shall be constructed, patents shall be issued for the lands, as well as bonds of $1,000 each, payable in thirty years after date, bearing six per centum per annum interest, payable semi-annually, to the amount of sixteen of said bonds per mile for each section of 40 miles, to secure the payment of which the Company is to give a lien upon the road. The Government, at all times, is to have the preference for the transportation of the mails, troops, munitions of war, supplies, and public stores, at fair and reasonable rates of compensation, not to exceed the amounts paid by private parties for the same kind of service, and all compensation for services rendered for the Government shall be applied to the payment of bonds and interest until the whole amount is fully paid. The Company may also pay the United States, wholly or in part, in the same or other bonds, Treasury notes, or other evidences of debt against the United States, to be allowed at par, and after the road is completed, until the bonds and interest are paid, at least five per cent of the net earnings of said road may be annually applied to the payment thereof. The Company is to locate, within two years after the passage of this act, the general route. In fixing the point of connection of the main trunk with eastern connections, it shall be fixed at the most practicable point for the construction of the Iowa and Missouri branches. The line of railroad and telegraph shall commence on the one hundred and second meridian of longitude west from Greenwich, at the termination of the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad and Telegraph line, to connect therewith, as the act provides, thence running westerly upon the most direct central and practicable route through the territory of the United States to the western boundary of Nevada, there to meet and connect with the line of the Central Pacific Railroad Company of California.

The bill also extends aid to other companies on certain conditions.

The bill passed—79 against 49, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allen, Alley, Arnold, Ashley, Beaman, Biddle, Bingham, Blair (Mo.), Blake, Brown (Va.), Campbell, Clements, Colfax, Corning, Covode, Cutler, Davis, Delaplaine, Duell, Dunlap, Edgerton, Eliot, Ely, Fenton, Fessenden, Fisher, Franchot, Frank, Gooch, Goodwin, Granger, Gurley, Haight, Hale, Hooper, Horton, Hutchins, Julian, Kelly, Kellogg (Mich.), Kellinger, Lansing, Leary, Lehman, Loomis, Maynard, Menzies, Moorehead, Morrill (Maine), Nixon, Noell, Norton, Olin, Perry, Phelps (California), Price, Rice (Mass.), Riddle, Rollins (Mo.), Sargent, Sedgwick, Shellabarger, Steele (N. Y.), Stevens, Train, Trowbridge, Van Horn, Verree, Wallace, Walton (Maine), Ward, Washburne, Webster, Wheeler, Whaley, Wilson, Windom, Worcester.

NAYS—Messrs. Ancona, Babbitt, Bailey (Penn.), Baker, Bliss (Va.), Browne (R. I.), Buffinton, Calvert, Chamberlain, Cobb, F. A. Conking, Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Cristander, Dixon, Donn, English, Grider, Harding, Harrison, Johnson, Kellogg (Ill.), Knapp, Law, Lovejoy, McKnight, Mallory, Morrill (Vt.), Morris, Noble, Odell, Pike, Porter, Richardson, Robinson, Shanks, Sheffield, Steele (N. J.), Thomas (Mass.), Thomas (Md.), Trimble, Vallandigham, Voorhees, Wadsworth, Walton (Vt.), White (Ind.), Wickliffe, Woodruff.

Mr. DAWES called up the Virginia contested-election case, and gave his reasons why the House should adopt the resolution reported by the Committee on Elections, and asked that the Committee be discharged from further consideration of the subject of the memorial of Joseph Segar, asking admission to a seat in the House as Representative from the 1st Congressional District of Virginia.

During the remarks of Mr. Dawes, the proceedings were interrupted by the reading of a copy of the dispatch from Gen. McClellan.

Mr. WICKLIFFE (Un., Ky.) said he had been pained during the fore part of this session, and almost during the whole of it, at the whispers of combinations with a view to disturbing the position of Gen. McClellan. He (Wickliffe) did not know Gen. McClellan personally, but had great confidence in him, from the reputation given him from various sources. He felt satisfied with him. He (Wickliffe) rose more to appeal to those gentlemen who have been disposed to find fault with him, and to have him removed from his command, to let him alone than to pass a compliment or encomium upon him. He (Wickliffe) hoped he would not hear any more whispers that Gen. McClellan should be removed from his command.

Mr. NOELL (Dem., Mo.) offered a resolution, which was adopted by 24 majority, that Mr. Segar be admitted to a seat.

Mr. SEGAR (Un., Va.) then qualified by taking the oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. WASHBURNE (Rep., Ill.), obtaining consent, made a personal explanation, briefly referring to a speech made by him in vindication of the report of the Committee on Government Contracts. He said that the remarks made by him on that occasion with reference to the gentleman from New-York (Conkling) were unparliamentary, out of order, and unjust to the gentleman and the House, and he trusted that both would forget they were ever made.

Mr. ROSCOE CONKLING (Rep., N. Y.) said he was glad the gentleman (Washburne) had, on reflection, characterized as unjust the remarks to which the House had listened. Without expressing assent or dissent from that opinion, he (Conkling) would content himself with the statement that if warmth of discussion had led him (Conkling) to do violence to the propriety of this House, or to wound the feelings of any member, he (Conkling) regretted it.

The House then took up the Nebraska contested-election case. Two reports had been presented—one from Mr. Dawes, from the majority of the Committee on Elections, declaring Samuel G. Daily the sitting Delegate, and the other by Mr. Voorhees, from the minority of the Committee, declaring J. Sterling Morton entitled to the seat.

Mr. DAWES claimed that Mr. Dailey was elected by 150 majority.

Mr. VOORHEES argued that Mr. Dailey had held his seat for nearly a year on the basis of an illegal and fraudulent certificate, especially in regard to the great seat.

Without disposing of the question, the House adjourned.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The first session of the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held yesterday morning in the Church of the Puritans, the Rev. Dr. Cheever's. WM. LLOYD GARRISON called the meeting to order at 10½, at which time the church was well filled. In the course of half an hour both floor and galleries were crowded with an earnest and frequently applauding audience.

On the platform were Wendell Phillips, Oliver Johnson, Theodore Tilton, and others, and among the audience was Brig.-Gen. Rufus Saxton, U. S. A., who leaves shortly for South Carolina.

Mr. GARRISON in his opening remarks congratulated the Society on the circumstances in which they met, hoping, nevertheless, for a more glorious retreat than that of the Rebels from Yorktown—the final retreat of Slavery from the country and the world. He acknowledged the just courtesy which opened a Christian church to a Christian movement, and closed by reading extracts from the Scriptures.

After a rather long prayer by the Rev. Mr. Post of Jersey City, the Treasurer's Report, in the absence of Dr. BOWDITCH, was presented by OLIVER JOHNSON. An abstract is as follows:

Balance from last year's account	$1,086 96
Donations and subscriptions to The Anti-Slavery Standard	13,447 26
	$14,534 22
Expenses for publication of Standard, lecturing agents, &c	9,983 85
Balance to new account	$4,550 39

The Report, which exhibits a very favorable condition of the finances, was laid on the table till the business meeting in the afternoon.

Mr. GARRISON announced that Gerrit Smith had been expected to be present, but was prevented by duties at home. A letter from him was read, dated Peterboro', April 16, 1862, expressing his desire to accept the invitation of the Committee, and his wishes for the success of the meeting, and suggesting that discussion of the relations between Slavery and the Constitution might be omitted, because the question now belonged to the people. They must rise above the Constitution, if necessary, to destroy Slavery, as they had hitherto sunk below it in order to save Slavery. He vindicated the Abolitionists from the charges of inconsistency, on the ground that they had hitherto thought it necessary to break up the Union in order to put an end to Slavery, whereas now it is possible to reform the nation without destroying its integrity. A conversion there has been, but it is *to* Mr. Garrison, not *of* him; and a change, but the change is around him, not in him. His anxiety about abolition was at an end, and instead of it, his concern is to save the country and the nation, which is possible only through emancipation. The letter inclosed a draft for $50.

Mr. Garrison then referred to the omission of the annual meeting last year, and read the following statement of the Executive Committee, in place of the usual resolutions:

STATEMENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

For the first time since the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, its annual meeting was omitted one year ago, by the unanimous judgment of its Executive Committee, in order that, at so critical a period in the life of the nation, no opportunity should be given the domestic enemies of Freedom to make a moloccanic outbreak, whereby the traitors of the South might be stimulated to a more vigorous prosecution of their nefarious designs, instead of being perplexed and confounded by beholding an undivided North in the maintenance of popular institutions. Now the lines are distinctly drawn, and vast armies are in the field for the suppression of the rebellion, and all sympathy with the Rebels is disavowed, this Society deems it advantageous to resume the observance of its anniversary meetings in the usual manner.

However opposed it may have been either to the Constitution or the Union in time past, the Society has continued no resort to violence, acted into factious part, adopted no illegal or impolitic measures, and presented no other claim than that of the inalienable rights of the sovereignty of God and the sacred rights of human nature, against problems or arrangements regarded by it as cruel, wicked, and utterly indefensible. It is the prerogative of all citizens, whether in an individual or organized capacity, to criticise all those laws and institutions for which they are responsible, or by which they are required to be governed, and especially that Constitution which is "the supreme law of the land." And it is equally their right and duty to testify against whatever they conscientiously believe to be at variance with the principles of justice and the claims of humanity, as embodied in the Constitution or enforced in any of the laws under it. Loyalty to God forbids their being dumb in such an exigency. Beyond this, the Society has never gone a hair's breadth. Hence, those who accuse it of having pursued an incendiary, unlawful, treasonable course, are guilty of calumny.

The Society was organized for the Abolition of Slavery by peaceful and moral instrumentalities; it has used no others. It professes to regard the act of making man the property of man as a flagrant sin against God, and the denial of all human rights, and the Slave system as "the sum of all villainies." In this conviction it is sustained by the verdict of the civilized world and the common instincts of mankind; it is, therefore, neither fanatical nor mad. The charge of fanaticism and madness applies to those who advocate or sanction Slavery, not to those who plead for its immediate abolition. To be morally consistent, the Society could not but deplore and reprobate those compromises of the Constitution, admitted and carried out to the letter by the nation ever since its formation, by which fugitive slaves are permitted to be hunted and captured as freely in the Free States as in the Slave States—a slave representation is allowed in Congress, thereby greatly increasing the political power of a desperate and domineering Slave Oligarchy—and the National Government is bound, in an emergency, to interfere with its military and naval power for the suppression of a slave insurrection. It is specially with reference to these universally recognized compromises—no matter in what phraseology they are expressed or concealed—that the Society was constrained to pronounce that instrument "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and, consequently, to predict in due time that very overthrow which has now befallen it, through the treachery of those whom it was designed to conciliate and bind, and as the righteous retribution of Heaven.

It was neither a sacrifice of principle nor an abatement of its testimony, in this direction, on the part of this Society, to declare, as to the rebellion itself, that it was marked throughout by high-handed villainy and the blackest perfidy; that the theory on which it was attempted to be justified was wild and preposterous, finding no countenance whatever in the Declaration of Independence, or in any rational theory of popular sovereignty; that its object was as diabolical as its measures were base and dastardly; and, therefore, that the National Government, having done no wrong to the South, not sought to exercise any unlawful power over it, was clearly in the right, and imperatively bound, by its constitutional obligations, to crush the rebellion, at whatever cost to Slavery, the sole producing cause of the rebellion.

Of the fifteen Slave States that were in the Union eighteen months ago, eleven are now in warlike rebellion, and confederated together for the overthrow of the Government, and the establishment of an independent slaveholding empire. The other four are held in forcible allegiance only by the presence of vast armies upon their soil, drawn from the North, and whose withdrawal, even now, would be the signal for those States instantly to revolt, and to join the Southern Confederacy. The rebellion, therefore, virtually covers the whole slaveholding dominion, includes nearly every slaveholder, and has no other object than the preservation and indefinite extension of Slavery, and the repudiation of all connection with free institutions. In one word, rebellion and Slavery are synonymous and convertible terms. Whoever would see the rebellion effectually and speedily crushed out, must demand the immediate and total abolition of Slavery by the Government, as a measure equally necessary and lawful under the war power; and whoever is for guarding or prolonging the existence of Slavery, on any pretext whatever, is directly aiding and protracting the rebellion. Traitors have no other claim upon the Constitution than to be hanged or shot. The traitors most deserving of this fate at the South are the slaveholders as a class, and with hardly an exception. They are the instigators, the leaders, the gigantic criminals, and upon their heads should fall an avalanche of retributive justice. Without them and the bloody and oppressive system to which they madly cling, there had been no rebellion, but in all the South, as in all the North, there would have been the spirit of loyalty and the prevalence of peace. Bad as is the Constitution, in its admitted Pro-Slavery compromises, it no longer answers the purposes or needs of this nefarious oligarchy; and, therefore, they trample it under their feet, and no longer claim any advantage or protection from it, for themselves or their "peculiar institution." By so doing, they not only vacate all their old constitutional rights, and utterly preclude all appeal in that direction, but place their whole Slave system at the mercy of the Government, which should have no mercy upon it, but instantly avail itself of this magnificent opportunity to smite it to the dust, and so in righteousness bring the rebellion to an end, and give peace and repose to our distracted and bleeding country.

Under these altered circumstances, Slavery is no longer a Southern institution, but a national responsibility, for the further continuance of which the Government and people are to be held amenable before God and the world. On no consideration must they be permitted to evade the duty of the hour. There is the right, there is the power, there is the sacred obligation to proclaim a jubilee to all who are pining in bondage in our land; and no device can be substituted for this, without involving them in blood guiltiness. If, before the revolt and secession, they were not answerable for the existence of Slavery at the South (though their complicity has been constant from the beginning), still, they can no longer avail themselves of such a plea. They stand as Pharaoh stood to the children of Israel, and can let the bondmen go free if they choose; and if they shall turn a deaf ear as he did, then other plagues shall assuredly scourge the land, and heavier judgments fall upon it. "Now is the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation."

To encourage and strengthen the Government in the performance of this legitimate and beneficent work, multitudes of petitions, signed by tens of thousands of the most intelligent and moral portion of the people of the North, have been forwarded to the present Congress, asking for a decree of universal emancipation. It cannot reasonably be doubted that such a decree would sweep through the rebellious South with irresistible power, and electrify with indescribable joy the entire North. Why should there be any doubt or delay? If there is no constitutional scruples against seizing the towns, ravaging the fields, and destroying the lives of the Rebels of the South, why should there be any against transferring four million of slaves from the side of rebellion to that of the Union, the Constitution, the Government, and breaking all their fetters? It will be an act not only of the highest political wisdom, but of transcendent glory and immortal renown to the Administration under which it is consummated. Then may the shout go up from the Atlantic to the Pacific, without cant or hypocrisy, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" [Applause.]

This society rejoices in those cheering signs of the times which indicate an increasing readiness on the part of the Government and people to make Slavery and the war terminate together. Among these are the act of Congress, prohibiting the return of fugitive slaves by any officers in the army; the proposition for the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia; the motion of Senator Wilson for a material change in the Fugitive Slave law, which will undoubtedly prevail; the proposition of Senator Sumner for the abolition of the inter-State slave-trade; the treaty concluded for the suppression of the foreign slave-trade between Great Britain and the United States; the recognition by the President of the incompatibility of Slavery with the safety and permanence of the Government, in his Message, recommending the abolition of the slave system in all the States, and proffering a generous co-operation on the part of the nation; the rising discussion of the question in the Border States; the restoration of Gen. Fremont to his command [loud applause], in spite of the calumnies of his enemies, and notwithstanding his freedom-giving proclamation in Missouri; the growing disposition of the Government to give succor and protection to all fugitive slaves coming under the flag, as evinced especially at Port Royal, and to employ them for their own and the general welfare; the orders of the Secretaries of the Army and Navy to arm at discretion the slaves coming within our lines; and, finally, the cleansing of the National District from all the pollutions of Slavery, by the emancipation of every slave within its limits. [Applause.]

But, cheering as are all these signs, they do not lay the ax at the root of the poisonous tree, which ought to be cut down at once, and destroyed forever; nor do they seal up or exhaust the fountain whence these bloody waters of rebellion naturally flow forth, which are now deluging the land. The subjugation of the South by the armies of the North is not reconciliation, is not the reformation of a broken Union, is not peace, while a single trafficker in human flesh finds legal protection, or a single slave is left to wear the yoke and clank the chain; and, therefore, in order that there may be an abiding peace, and a perfect Union, and a homogeneous people, and all abounding prosperity from the Atlantic to the Pacific, this Society will earnestly continue to enforce the duty of immediate and universal emancipation. [Applause.]

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN was introduced by Mr. GARRISON as having been once a slave, and therefore competent to answer the question which troubled timid people in view of Emancipation, viz: What to do with the slaves; and also the not less important question, What to do with the slaveholders. Mr. Brown spoke chiefly with reference to the former, considering the objections against Emancipation on the ground of the incapacity of the negroes, showing that both slaves and free blacks do support themselves at the South in spite of oppressive laws, and stating facts in regard to the hiring out of the former and the large amounts paid by them to their masters, in some cases as much as $600 a year. He quoted the evidence of South-Side Adams, unconsciously given in their favor, and read from Southern newspapers extracts concerning the generally good character of the free blacks. There need be no fear of the emancipated slaves coming North in large numbers. They have a right to come, but prefer the Southern climate. If idle and worthless, their competition with the workingmen of the North, who in some States had petitioned against their being allowed to come, could not be feared. Expatriation was unwise and unjust. The slave is a producer, his master a consumer, and if either is to be colonized it should be the latter. Equality does not depend on government and laws. Every one must settle for himself his relations to others, and the negro asks only liberty and the chance to do what he can. The blacks have shown themselves faithful to the Government, giving information and serving in all capacities in which they are allowed to. Mr. Brown, who spoke with clearness and force, and was much applauded, urged in conclusion that the nation owes a debt to the negro, a duty to itself, and a responsibility to the moral sentiment of the world; and that freedom must come, whether by the act of the Government or of the slaves themselves.

THEODORE TILTON, in a few characteristic remarks, announced that a collection would be taken up, saying that he made no further appeal than to send through the audience the hat of a man who had helped to freedom 2,000 slaves—Father Garrett of Wilmington, Delaware.

The Rev. ROBERT M. HATFIELD of Brooklyn followed with an earnest speech, declaring that the war is God's judgment on us for the sin of Slavery. If iniquity is in the Constitution, God is against it. Men can build no sanctuary for wrong that God will not search out. He had confidence in the honesty of the President, but believed he had no right to colonize the slaves against their will as a condition of emancipation.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The Chairman introduced Mr. Phillips, who was received with immense applause.

Mr. PHILLIPS said: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I was delighted to hear the remarks of our friend from Brooklyn. I sympathize to a great extent with some of his views. But, at the same time, I have not sympathized for the last twelve months, and I cannot now, with the anxiety in relation to the fate of Slavery itself. My faith is firm. No lack on the part of men, no seeming change in the course of events, can alter it, that the events of the last twelve months have, in the essential sense of the word, abolished the system of Slavery in this country. I do not believe that it can survive many years. I do not mean that it is dead to-day; or that it will die to-morrow. I do not mean that it will not give us great trouble yet. What I mean is this, that in a national point of view five years, or ten, is nothing; when you stand at the sources of the Mississippi you can anticipate the Gulf. What I believe is this: we have opened in our national chapter that which is to secure the freedom of every man, and the Stars and Stripes be placed upon every foot of soil of this continent. Abraham Lincoln may not wish it, but he cannot prevent it; the nation may not will it, but the nation can never prevent it. God has launched us on an ocean in which the great laws of gravity which govern human affairs must govern our action. I believe, therefore, that we are not here to discuss to-day, specifically, the Abolition of Slavery; that is a settled, foregone conclusion. I do not care what men want or wish; the negro is the pebble in the cog-wheel, and its revolutions cannot go on until we get him out. The problem which God forces on this Nation is to eliminate Slavery from among its institutions. My reason for this view is based upon three or four facts. In the first place, I take note of evidence from the influence which I see facts have on the institutions of the country. The first time in our history for seventy years, the Government as a corporation has spoken Anti-Slavery words and done Anti-Slavery deeds. It is a momentous alteration in the heart that governs the Government. I allude to that fact here because I view it as a mile-stone, showing how far the great nation's opinion has traveled. For instance, ever since 1791 we have had a Fugitive Slave bill; we have had the civil arm of the Government pledged to the restoration of fugitives. Daniel Webster said it is the cement of the Union; it is the test of the loyalty of the North. To-day the Government at Washington, by an article of war, forbids the army to execute the Fugitive Slave bill, and it for the present, is the Government of the United States. Civil law is suspended. The Government acts militarily, soldierwise, no other for the present; and this Government, so acting exclusively in that capacity, amends the Fugitive Slave bill. Is not that a significant proof of the state of mind? When could that have been achieved before? Then, again, Mr. Lincoln turns to the Border States and says: "Gentlemen, I am ready to buy; I know the state of the country; if you want to sell your slaves, now is the time to trade; if you wait, when the swift current of the political stream sweeps beneath you, never say I didn't give you fair warning." He then goes on to say: "Gentlemen, I am trying cannon to put down this rebellion; it may not succeed. There are other efficient means, one is the abolition of Slavery. If I find cannon does not succeed, I shall use the other means." In other words: "If you are ready to sell, I am ready to buy, but if you won't sell, I am ready to take." [Applause.] When, since '89, has President or Statesmen ventured such a position? In both houses of Congress there is a majority professing that the Government has a right to abolish the slave-system by confiscation, and they have been spending many weeks in deciding what? Not that they have a right but whether they will execute the right—whether they will use the power. If ten years ago the American people, or the Abolitionists, could have promised this, that in twenty years the majority should be converted to the doctrine of John Quincy Adams, it would have been pronounced visionary. Look again: look into the Border States. In Missouri and Maryland the question is open; sides are beginning to be taken whether those States shall abolish or not. What is the significance of that fact? You have brought Boston down to Baltimore; you have located the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in the city through which passed the Massachusetts regiment on the memorable 19th of April. You have projected inquiry, with its Anti-Slavery discussions full into Missouri and Maryland. Is not that progress? Doesn't it show that the beginning of the end has come? But you go a little further, and for the first time the dome of the Capitol rests on Liberty without chains. [Great applause.] Certainly, when these things happen, men are beginning to recognize the manhood of the negro. But, as if this was not enough to encourage their sublime devotion of nineteen millions of people—the slave of whom hitherto the nation's thought has been whether or no he would work; not that the thought was whether mankind should recognize him as a drudge, but whether we could venture to give him a musket and let him own it—to-day, two departments of the Government conclude to give him a musket and let him own it. [Applause.] We have effected something beyond the question of whether he will work. That the nation is enrolling and arming the blacks, touches the fact of the liberty of every man. Now, my friend regrets, as I do, the great mistake made by the Government when they neutralized the proclamation of John C. Fremont. Could they have permitted that proclamation to stand, unpledged to it as the Government was, public opinion would have crystalized around it, and it could have relied on it, and on the sure ground of such a conclusion, the Government could have advanced directly to universal emancipation. I think it was a great point lost, but there have been several points lost. If, when Jefferson Davis first issued his letters of marque, the President had spoken the voice of New-York, and said: "If you touch our property, we take yours," the great metropolis of the nation would have said amen, and the country would have followed; and the action might then have inaugurated emancipation. But, notwithstanding that or those mistakes, they are but scratches on the surface. My friend only mistakes thus much. Abraham Lincoln only rules; John C. Fremont governs. [Applause.] I find by the pulse and opinion of the people, the real President of the American mind does not live in the White House; he leads the Mountain Department of Virginia—[cheering]—and history will record the realities and not the appearances of the present day; and the reality is, that although the votes of '56 omitted Fremont, although the caucuses of '60 omitted him, the people buried him in their hearts, and reproduced him, when the emergency required it, on the prairies of Missouri and elected him President of the crisis. [Applause.] That proclamation was lost! Oh, no; that is the wrong word. The beautiful rivulet which disappeared in Greece, according to a classic writer, reappeared in Sicily; and the stream which disappeared in Missouri comes up in Milwaukee with Hunter's name—[immense applause]—and Fremont, or through him the great normal purposes and blind instincts of the American people gropes its way to the temple of American Slavery, and it will drag it down to its ruin. Now, I believe that the heart of the American people is set on the abolition of American Slavery, and I believe it will accomplish its purpose, and in due time. I wish it could be hastened more intelligently, but we must take the nation as we find it. It is wonderful that we find it so well prepared as it is. Why only look. What has produced this sublime uprising? Certainly not the Church. As Theodore Parker said six years ago in this city at this very anniversary: "If the American Church had dropped through the continent no less than forty years ago, the Anti-Slavery enterprise would have been further ahead than now." He spoke the truth. And what was true of the Church was true of the State. The same hostility was maintained in the State as in the Church. The Abolitionists had no appeal but to the simple, the instinctive sense of right in the hearts of the people. We have been blamed again and again as agitators, because we did no reverence to the established institutions of the country and the wealthy churches, but laid the reins of this enterprise on the necks of the uneducated masses. We had nowhere else to lay them, and God gave us the instruments by which the heart of the masses could be reached. There is an old adage, "The devil is an ass." He always is, and when he framed the Constitution he put the fugitive-slave