

TFIRTY-FIFTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA

Female Anti-Slavery Society.

February, 1869.

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1869.

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1881

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REPORT.

During another year we have watched the fierce struggle between the opposing principles of Liberty and Despotism, which has convulsed the Nation and threatened its life. During another year we have held on our way, taking our part in that contest, the result of which is to determine the weal or woe of this Republic. The fourth decade of our Society's existence is half completed; and we are still looking forward, with hope and faith, to the hour when those for whom we have so long labored shall be securely invested with the rights of men, and our work be accomplished. As we glance backward through those thirty-five years, and then look over our field to-day, we find no language vivid enough to describe the glorious victories of our cause; or to express our gratitude and joy over the marvellous deliverance which our God has wrought for an oppressed people.

In one of the proudest of these States* where, a few years ago, a colored skin marked a man as a *chattel*, we have recently seen one colored man inaugurated Lieut. Governor of the State, and another

* Louisiana.

elected a Representative in Congress; in another of those States,† we have heard a political party, assembled in Convention, declare that they will never "recognize any distinction of race or color," in "education, the ballot, or other civil or political right." In the city of Washington we have seen a National Convention of colored men assemble, from the North and South and East and West, and, day after day, discuss political questions, while the press of the country, Republican and Democratic, reported their proceedings in respectful language. For the first time in our Nation's history, the colored men of the South have been legally recognized as voters in a Presidential election. Louisiana, through her Legislature, prohibits "any distinction in the treatment of persons, on account of color, on the public conveyances, places of entertainment or of public resort, within her commonwealth. Massachusetts puts a colored man, once a Virginia slave, into the jury box of her Superior Court. Maine and Missouri utter their rebuke of the treachery which refused to convict Andrew Johnson, by sending Hannibal Hamlin and Carl Schurz to the United States Senate. Minnesota and Iowa have abolished all political distinctions on account of race or color, in those States. In the District of Columbia, in our Territories, and in nineteen States, colored men are, legally, in possession of the ballot,—the American citizen's seal of freedom.

† Mississippi.

The triumph of the Republican party in the October and November elections was hailed by every liberty-loving soul as a triumph for Humanity. On one side of this fierce contest was arrayed the despotism of the country, north and south; its unchristian hatred of the colored man; its vulgar prejudice of race; its contempt for the rights of the poor and the oppressed. The enraged and defeated rebels of the South (not the less rebels because defeated,) joined hands with the leaders of the Democratic party in the North, and gave them their heartiest sympathy and such help as they had to give. The men whose ideal corner-stone of a Nation was the right of slaveholding; the men whom the moral atmosphere of slavery had so corrupted and debased that Andersonville and Libby became possibilities in the nineteenth century, in a land called civilized, rushed to that party's platform as to an ark of safety.

On the other side were gathered the friends of universal freedom and equal rights, who see, in every human being, not nationality but Manhood; and those who, though not having attained to this idea of human brotherhood, have learned to abhor the wickedness of chattel slavery; and those who, though not having even learned this lesson in morals, have seen their country's life endangered by the monstrous system, and have resolved that every trace of it shall be eradicated from the land forever. On which side of this conflict were enlisted the prayers of the oppressed colored people and the loyal white men

of the South, on which side rested the hopes of all true souls and the benediction of God, who can doubt? It was a hard-fought battle, and when the result seemed doubtful, every friend of freedom trembled; but when, in an agony of fear, at the eleventh hour, a cry arose in the Democratic camp, "Let us change the name on our banner that we may save our principles!" a shout of joy from the opposing host rang through the land; for they knew that the day was won.

If these events, which we record with grateful joy, constituted a fair representation of our review of the year, and of the present situation of our cause, we might congratulate one another upon the consummation of our work, close the records of our society and depart to other fields of labor. But the most cursory examination shows us that the hour of the slave's *complete* enfranchisement has not yet come. The glorious triumphs won are, we doubt not, heralds of the final triumph; but they are not to be mistaken for it. All that has been gained is yet to be made secure, and to that work abolitionists are pledged.

Slavery is dead in law. Dead by the Constitution of the United States. Congress has declared the colored man a citizen of the United States, and included him in its bill of Civil Rights. All this, and all that we have recorded during the last few years of victories won, have been extorted, one by one, from the Government, since that hour of peril when the Nation gave its reluctant consent that her colored

sons should fight the battles which saved her life. Each concession to the right which she has made, each deed of justice done, has educated the people upward, and made the next step in the same direction easier; but in no hour of the Nation's distress or rejoicing has she fully repented of her sins against the race whom she enslaved, nor been truly converted to the love of righteousness. At each step, since the first burst of loyal indignation against the rebellion of the South, when righteous displeasure against the slaveholders created a brief sympathy with the race to which their victims belonged, has the Nation hesitated and faltered, and asked what degree of justice towards the colored man would be absolutely necessary for its own safety. Political parties ever keep a sensitive finger on the Nation's pulse; and the Republican Party, when, at the Chicago Convention, last May, it declared Negro suffrage in the South a doctrine of its platform, thought it necessary to announce through, at least, one of its radical organs, that this measure was absolutely necessary for the safety of Union men, white and colored, in the rebel States.

In the Southern States the spirit of slavery still lives and rages. Most appalling and heart-rending testimony to this fact is constantly published in Northern and Southern journals. Assassinations of loyal men, white and colored, by night and day, have been so frequent in the South during the past year that Committees appointed to investigate them, offi-

cially report that it is impossible to number them with any approach to accuracy. *The New Orleans Republican, The Nashville Republic, The Frankfort (Ky.) Commonwealth,* and many other Southern journals, narrate the cruelties perpetrated on the helpless negroes, in defiance of law, and sustained by public sentiment, stronger than law. We read of preachers shot in the pulpit, or followed to their homes and brutally murdered; of innocent men dragged from their beds at midnight and tortured to death; of women driven from the school-houses where they were quietly teaching little children to read, and allowed only the alternative of scourging or flight; of homes destroyed by fire while the occupants were thankful if they escaped the assassin's knife; of tragedies so terrible that we sicken at the narration, and ask if the arm of our Government is palsied.

The Special Committee appointed by the Texas Constitutional Convention to inquire into and report upon the alleged prevalence of lawlessness and violence in that State, report that they found great difficulty in obtaining testimony, partly from the unwillingness of gentlemen to testify, and partly from their fear of assassination if they should do so. Therefore, they say that they are confident that their report presents a very imperfect view of the actual violence and disorder in that State. They obtained proof of nine hundred and thirty-nine homicides in the State, during the period between June, 1865, and

June, 1868. The Committee say: "In our statistics we have not embraced assaults with intent to kill, rapes, robberies, whipping of freedmen, and other outrages, many of which are found to be most cruel and wanton; such a summary would impose an almost endless task."

Gov. Warmouth, of Louisiana, reports one hundred and fifty murders in the county parishes of that State, in the period of six weeks; and among these murderers were recognized ex-justices of the peace and constables. Union men, appealing for help, declared that without protection it would be impossible for them to remain in the county parishes of the State.

Gen. Sibley, in his official report of the massacre at Camilla, Georgia, in September last, says that no action whatever had been taken by the civil authorities towards bringing the guilty parties to punishment. Gov. Bullock, of that State, in his recent message, says: "The fact that there is not in Georgia adequate protection for life and property, and the free expression of political opinion, is so well known and understood as not to need argument, or the presentation of evidence which has reached me from many portions of the State."

The recent action of the Legislature of Georgia, in expelling, by the vote of a large majority, the twenty-nine colored members of that body, and the ineffectual protest of Gov. Bullock against this high-handed defiance of the Reconstruction laws, furnish

startling evidence that the spirit of slavery lives and reigns in Georgia. The brutal murder, publicly and in open day, of the Hon. B. F. Randolph, member of the South Carolina Senate, bears similar testimony for that State. And from Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and other States, we hear the same terrible reports of cruel outrages on innocent victims, and bold defiance of State and National law. In the United Senate, last December, Hon. George S. Julian stated that hundreds of persons are still held in slavery in Kentucky. Even in Maryland we have the testimony of Judge Bond that "the negro is not looked upon as a man with human capacities or rights."

With such a moral atmosphere pervading the South, the question naturally arises, "How can the colored man maintain his personal freedom, or use the ballot, which is legally his?" Southern newspapers, inspired by the very soul of Slavery and the Rebellion, answer this question. They tell us that it is and shall be through fire and blood that the freedman shall walk to the polls; that if he dare to exercise a freeman's right to vote according to his own choice, he shall do so at the peril of starvation for himself and his family, unless speedier vengeance overtakes him. Where the opening of a Registration office is a signal for an assault of rebels upon their loyal neighbors, and for the murder of Registrars; where armed ruffians take possession of the polls, applauded by the popular press, it seems bitter mockery to tell

the colored man that he is invested with the right of suffrage. The same cruel threats addressed to the negro; the same contempt for human rights which filled the Southern press a year ago, breathes through it still. *The Richmond Enquirer* again proclaims that if the negroes will refuse to vote for their old masters, they shall be driven from employment. The *Meridian (Miss.) Mercury* says:

“With the skull and cross-bones of the “lost cause” before us, we will swear that this is a white man’s government. *We must make the negro understand we are the men we were when we held him in abject bondage*; and make him feel that when forbearance ceases to be a virtue, he has aroused a power that will control him or destroy him.”

Even the *Republican Banner*, published at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, claiming to be an organ of the Republican party there, says:

“Let it be distinctly borne in mind that the *Republican Banner* will strenuously oppose the rights of negroes voting in any election in this State. Believing as we do, that this class of *citizens* are not capable of exercising the right of voters, we shall hereafter advocate the repeal of that portion of the Constitution which gives this class the right to vote, and urge its adoption at the next meeting of the Legislature.”

“We are for white men doing the voting and holding office, and none others; and if the white men cannot run the country upon Republican principles without the aid of negro votes, let the country go, and give it up to the disunionists and those who sympathise with them.”

While the spirit of slavery thus incarnates itself, and utters its voice in the South, Andrew Johnson occupies the Presidential chair in Washington, and, defying law and public sentiment, aids with sympathetic heart and liberal hand the enemies of liberty.

Yet, with all these forces arrayed against the freedmen, we account it a grand triumph that he has won the legal right to hold the ballot; and when we see him, with the zeal of a benefactor of his race, with a hero's courage and a martyr's constancy, confronting peril and death to exercise a freeman's right, we are re-assured that the day of his full deliverance draws nigh.

We are frequently asked, what more we demand of the Government, on behalf of the colored race of the South. Declared free by Executive Proclamation and Federal Constitution; endowed by Congress with the ballot; made eligible to State and National offices, and elected to fill them; what more could the most vigilant and exacting abolitionist require? *Our reply is that we demand the Nation's bond of security for all this.* By the heavy price of its purchase—the blood of a hundred battle-fields, the anguish of bereavement silently endured in thousands of homes, and the heritage of taxation of the bread of a generation yet to come; by the accumulated wrongs of two centuries crying aloud for atonement; by the untold value of all that has been won for the colored man of the South, and by the fearful perils which confront him to-day, we demand the strongest pledge of the

safety; the surest protection of his rights which the Government can give, *viz.*, a provision of our Federal Constitution which shall make the colored man politically equal with the white man, throughout the Nation. Without this he holds his new-born citizenship, even his personal freedom, by a precarious tenure. The enactments of one Legislature may be repealed by its successor, or rendered nugatory by courts. The decrees of Congress relative to the Constitutions of Reconstructed States, may be modified or rescinded by the opposite party when it comes into power, or at the pleasure of the party which enacted them. But when the colored man's right of suffrage shall be protected by the United States Constitution, he cannot be deprived of it without the consenting voice of three-fourths of the States of the Union. The fierce hatred towards him which prevails in the South; the determination plainly manifested by his late masters to reduce him to a new form of slavery without its name, shows how little he can rely for protection on the governments of the Reconstructed States. It may be said that a strong party, friendly to freedom, is in possession of the Federal Government; that it has secured for its candidate the presidential office, and that, in its keeping, the rights of all men will be safe.

To this confident assertion we reply, first, that the party now in power may, in a few years, be succeeded by its lately defeated opponent. It is an alarming fact that the loyalty of the nation, aided

by the military prestige of its candidate, secured for the Republican Party a majority of only 800,000 among four million votes. When we consider the character of the party which to-day boasts so strong a minority, we cannot fail to see in it a formidable foe to the cause of freedom. Its platform, adopted at its last National Convention, declared the Reconstruction Acts of Congress to be "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." Raising the senseless cry of "negro supremacy," to frighten the ignorant portion of its constituency, its organs plainly declare that in the event of its success it "will undo all that the traitorous and usurping Radical Congress has done in the matter of the Southern States." They have united in the cry that "this was intended to be, and must always remain, a white man's government." During the Presidential campaign, this party was the relentless persecutor of the colored man; in the south driving him from the polls when it could not command his vote, and in the North raising the cry of "*No negroes in the Public Schools.*" So insensible to justice or honor has it become, that it was not ashamed to inscribe this anti-democratic, anti-christian, demand upon the banners which it paraded through the streets of Philadelphia on the day preceding the October elections. That such a party has received the endorsement of Wade Hampton, of Toombs and Semmes, and other prominent rebels, is no cause of surprise. We respect the sagacity of Wade Hampton when he declares, as he did in a

public meeting in Charleston last August, that he "wanted nothing else" of the party, after they had pronounced "the Reconstruction Acts of Congress unconstitutional, revolutionary and void." *That*, he says, was his "plank on the platform;" and he expresses his willingness "to wait in patience until that party should be triumphant, and apply the remedy in their own good time."

It is easy to foretell what would be the fate of the colored man, should the Democratic Party obtain possession of the Government before his rights are secured by the Federal Constitution.

Our second reply is, that the Republican Party has not proved itself worthy to be trusted with the keeping of those rights; and that in their hands he is not safe without this Constitutional protection. It did not dare to vitalize its platform with an Article asserting the equal political rights of all men, without distinction of color; and, as a very natural consequence of this timidity, sections of the party in different States have been guilty of the gross injustice of opposing the negro's efforts to obtain his rights as a citizen. Of that platform, Judge Bond said that he feared that it would hinder rather than help the cause of freedom in Maryland, and Thaddeus Stevens wrote, "It is like most of the Republican platforms for the past six years, lame and cowardly." The *Richmond Whig* exults over it thus: "The latest platform of the very party under whose auspices reconstruction is being carried on, recognizes the States now in their

practical relations with the Government, as having the exclusive control over suffrage within their borders. Whenever Congress admits the Southern States into the Union, their rights will, even in Radical contemplation, be the same. The Chicago platform will cover them as it now covers the others; and they can call Conventions and regulate suffrage to suit themselves. They will do it; and thus the same questions which the Radicals pretend to wish to settle, and which they have declared reconstruction should settle, will remain open. So their pretended reconstruction is no finality, no settlement, no pacification." One of the principal Republican organs said, apologetically, that the article relating to suffrage was accepted by the Chicago Convention, because they thought it best "to defer to the desires" of some members of the party, "and to win the elections with General Grant; and after that advocate a new Amendment of the Constitution, preventing the States from any unjust restrictions upon suffrage." A result of this miserable compromise with injustice appeared in November when the Republican State ticket in Missouri was elected by about fifteen thousand majority, and negro suffrage was defeated by fifteen or eighteen thousand; and the strongest Republican districts of St. Louis gave the largest majorities against it. In January the Kansas Legislature followed the example, and indefinitely postponed a resolution allowing negroes to vote. The same spirit of compromise between justice and what politicians call availability, which constructed

the platform of the party, also nominated its candidate for the Presidency. Gen. Grant was chosen to represent the party, when scarcely a man in the whole nation knew whether he held its principles or not; when many of its leaders really believed that he would accept a nomination from either party. His future course, whatever it may be, can never relieve them from the responsibility, which they then assumed, of hazarding the cause of freedom for the sake of their party's success.

It is a significant fact that in that grand procession of the Nation's soldiers and sailors, which Philadelphia saw and hailed with grateful heart last Autumn, the colored veterans of the war were not represented. What did it indicate? That the tenth Article of the Republican platform means that "of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the [white] brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of their country?" Or did it indicate that a powerful and really grateful party was afraid openly to honor the colored hero, lest by so doing they should endanger the election in Pennsylvania?

An examination of the records of Congress during the past year, shows the same struggle between the Conservative and Radical elements of the Republican Party that was witnessed in its convention. With the knowledge that assassination of loyal men was unchecked in the South, with the cries of the perse-

cutted freedmen in their ears, and their prayers for succor presented to the Senate and House, Congress was in session many months, during the past year, before either House could be induced to take efficient measures for their protection. With the Legislature of Georgia defying the Reconstruction laws, and expelling their regularly elected colored members, a Republican Congress assembled in September, merely to adjourn, and saw no reason for holding a session in October or November. The action of the House of Representatives in the impeachment of Andrew Johnson was hailed with joy by all the friends of freedom; and the action of the Senate in refusing to convict him, not only awakened their indignation against the SEVEN whose treachery won for them a notoriety of infamy; but it aroused serious alarm in loyal hearts, and mightily encouraged Southern rebels and their Northern allies.

The passage in the House of the bill to repeal the Tenure of Office Act, excited distrust of the wisdom or the integrity of the ruling party there. This bill is pending in the Senate, where, also, a bill has been introduced and referred to the Judiciary Committee, which provides that military government shall be revived in Georgia; and that the act of the Legislature of that State, expelling its colored members, shall be null and void.

On the Thirtieth of January, 1869, a deed was done for freedom which made the day an epoch in our country's history. The House of Representatives

crowned itself with honor, and made glad the hearts of the lovers of liberty, by the passage of the following Resolution :

Be it Resolved, That the following Article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be held as part of said Constitution, viz :

Article 1—Section 1. The right of any citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State, by reason of race, color, or previous condition of slavery, of any citizen or class of citizens of the United States.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this Article.

This Resolution received the affirmative vote of more than two-thirds of the members ; yeas 150 ; nays 42. On the Ninth day of February the Senate proved itself equally faithful to the cause of liberty by adopting, by a vote of 40 yeas against 16 nays, the following Resolution, which adds to the Amendment proposed by the House, the right to hold office, and the prohibition of tests of citizenship, based on nativity, property, education or creed. In this modification of its own Resolution the House will undoubtedly concur :

Be it Resolved, etc., Two-thirds of both Houses concurring—That the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, either of which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legis-

latures, shall be held as a part of said Constitution, viz :

ART. 15. No discrimination shall be made in the United States, among the citizens of the United States, in the exercise of the elective franchise, or in the right to hold office in any State, on account of race, color, nativity, property, education or creed.

ART. 16. The second clause, first section, second Article of the Constitution of the United States, shall be amended to read as follows: Each State shall appoint, by a vote of the people thereof, qualified to vote for Representatives in Congress, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, shall be appointed an elector, and the Congress shall have power to prescribe the manner in which such electors shall be chosen by the people.*

For this chief work of the session, this first step towards the affixing of the Nation's seal upon the slave's charter of freedom, we have looked with anxious hope and earnest prayer; working for its

* Since this Report was presented, the House has refused to concur in this modified resolution; the Senate has receded from its amendments, and both Houses have adopted, by more than two-thirds majority, the following:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

This amendment will now go to the State Legislatures for ratification.

accomplishment by all the means in our power; and we welcome it with unutterable gratitude to Him who has led us, step by step, from the beginning of our enterprise, to this hour of our last struggle for complete victory.

In reviewing the course of Congress during the year, we gladly bear witness to the fidelity and zeal with which some of its members have served the cause of freedom. The name of CHARLES SUMNER has been so long linked with such service in the Senate, that it is scarcely necessary to say that, from the opening hours of each session to its close, he is vigilant and prompt in the use of every opportunity to present and advocate the claims of the colored man to all the rights of a freeman and citizen. And there are other members of the Senate and House, who deserve honorable notice on the pages of Anti-Slavery Reports, and grateful remembrance in the hearts of their countrymen. On the first day of the present session, William D. Kelly and John M. Broomall of our own State, George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, and several representatives from other States, initiated the great work of the session, by presenting Bills and Resolutions designed to secure suffrage to all men without distinction of color. The records of Congress show their faithful championship of this measure; nor theirs alone. George W. Julian, Samuel Shellabarger, James M. Ashley, and others in the House and Senate, have done good service in the cause of freedom.

Every consideration of justice to the colored man, and of national safety and prosperity, urge the ratification of this Amendment, which Mr. Boutwell justly calls "the last of the great measures of reconstruction." To stop short of this would be to leave that work unfinished and to jeopard the safety of all that has been won. The adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, while it declared the black man a citizen of the United States, left his citizen's right of suffrage in the hands of the white man, to be given or withheld as the latter might choose. It was a violation of the fundamental principles of our government, and an insult to the colored man, intensified by the memory of his record during the deadly struggle for the Nation's life. Steadily, step by step, our National Legislature has reached that plane of justice upon which it sees and acknowledges the colored man's rights to full citizenship, and is ready to endow him with the strongest governmental protection of an American citizen. If by the treachery of the people this deed should fail of accomplishment, or be delayed until the compromiser's "more convenient season," it will be a stain upon our Nation's history forever. It will be another wound wantonly inflicted on that suffering race whose tears and blood have cried unto God against us through many generations. It will be another proof, added to the many which America has furnished to the world, that she is practically infidel to the fundamental principles of her own Declaration of Inde-

pendence. But we look not for defeat, but victory, in this final struggle of our cause. We are not unmindful of the danger which threatens us, in the venomous activity of the Democratic Party, in the apathy, or worse than apathy of a portion of the Republican Party and of the church. We know that another battle is to be fought, but we see around us most cheering indications of success. The voice of the Republican press has a truer and clearer tone than ever before. Its most influential journals are demanding the ratification of this Amendment, and are urging the party to work for this end with all its strength.

During many years it was the duty of Anti-Slavery Societies to rebuke the pro-slavery character of the Northern press generally. It is a far pleasanter duty which we perform to-day, in paying our tribute to the fidelity with which a large portion of it is serving the cause of freedom. It is impossible for us to record here the names of all the daily and weekly journals whose faithfulness we would gladly acknowledge, but it will not be invidious to mention, among the daily papers of our own city, *The Morning Post*, ever true to the principles of equal rights, quick to sympathize with oppressed humanity, and brave and faithful in criticising the errors and rebuking the faults of its own party; *The Press*, able and earnest in its advocacy of the doctrine of the pending Constitutional Amendment; also, *The Evening Bulletin* and *The Evening Telegraph*, who have given the measure their editorial support.

Another cheering indication is the fact that the leaders of the Republican Party are becoming aware that the establishment of negro suffrage throughout the country will be necessary to its success in the next Presidential election. This strengthens our hope of the ratification of the pending Amendment, and also of the passage of Mr. Sumner's Bill, which proposes to secure the same result by Congressional enactment.

If any evidence were needed, on the part of the colored people of the country, to show that they are not behind the masses of their white brethren in their fitness to use the ballot, their conduct during the last eight years has furnished it. Their readiness to bear their share of the burdens of the war, their patient waiting for justice at the hands of the Government, their manly and dignified protest against the outrage of which the Georgia Legislature was guilty, the high moral and intellectual tone of their political Conventions, eloquently plead their cause with the Nation, and will testify to the Nation's sin, if that plea shall be disregarded.

This cursory review of the year, and of the present situation of our cause, brings us to the consideration of the work before us. The weapons with which we began this moral warfare we have never changed. Our foe has met us on various fields and in various disguises, and our mode of attack and defence have varied with the demands of the hour; but our weapon has always been the application of truth to the human

conscience and heart. In the dissemination of the fundamental truth of the Reform which we sought to accomplish, this Society has mingled its labors with the American and Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Societies. During the last year its efforts have been principally devoted to the support and circulation of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. To this object the proceeds of the Festival of The Friends of Freedom, recently held by our own and the State Society, were appropriated. This journal, the only one in the country especially devoted to the advocacy of the colored man's claim to all the rights of citizenship, is not only doing a mighty work in the cause of his freedom, but is performing the office of an educator of the Nation, enlightening its conscience and quickening its moral sense. Far beyond the circle of its own readers its influence is carried by other journals, both daily and weekly, which re-publish, for their readers, its powerful editorials. Among all classes of the people, from the unlettered freedman of the South, to the Statesman of the Senate, we hear the most cordial testimony to the value and the influence of this organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

We have continued to memorialize Congress and our State Legislature in behalf of the complete enfranchisement of the colored man, and to testify, as we have had opportunity, against the unchristian spirit of *caste*, which the church denounces as "heathen," in Hindostan, but has baptized with the name of "an ordination of Providence," in America.

The work which remains for us to do, is to press upon the conscience of the Nation the truth which the present hour demands. It is ours to guard with unslackened vigilance every right of the freedmen. The secret of the success of Abolitionists has been that they have never compromised a principle for the sake of success. We still demand absolute justice, as far as governments can confer it, for our clients.

The work immediately before us is to do our part in creating a public sentiment which shall compel the Legislatures of at least three-fourths of the States to ratify a Constitutional Amendment securing the colored man in all a citizen's rights. To this end we may well toil with the fervor and courage of the heart of youth, and the calm faith, born of long and rich experience, which never doubts the final result.

At the close of each year we recall the names of some of our fellow-laborers who have finished their earthly work and passed onward to the duties of a higher life. Two members of this Association, who were with us a year ago, are among this number. One* who has for many years labored with us, and one† who has borne a most faithful testimony against slavery, during a long life, and who, recently, had recorded her name in membership here. The year has been marked by the Nation's bereavement of a true son and faithful servant, whose latest breath was spent in pleading the cause of the oppressed, and in teaching a People lessons of

* Anna M. Gillingham.

† Hannah W. Steel.

true statesmanship. The colored man of the South, struggling to maintain his right of citizenship; the mother, lately a slave, bending with unutterable rapture over the face of her free-born child; the youths and maidens assembled around that long-desired, and, to them, long forbidden tree of knowledge, have reason to remember with benediction the name of THADDEUS STEVENS.

The path before us is brightly illumined with promise of the speedy consummation of our enterprise. We go forth upon it, inspired and strengthened by gratitude and joy for victories won; by hope that the year which we commence to-day will be the last year of our work, and by a solemn purpose that, with the help of Him who has been our pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, we will walk steadfastly unto the end.

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, in account with ANNIE SHORMAKER, Treasurer.

DR.

2d mo. 1868.	To rent of room for Annual Meeting.....	\$ 2 00
	“ rent of room for Stated Meetings,.....	9 00
	“ subscriptions to N. A. S. Standard 50 copies,	150 00
	“ printing Annual Report,	53 66
	“ postage,	5 72
	“ advertising,.....	4 70
	“ donation to A. S. Standard,.....	100 00
2d mo. 11, '69.	“ balance in Treasury,	230 98
		<hr/>
		\$556 06

CR.

2d mo. 1868.	By balance in Treasury,	\$318 06
	“ members' subscriptions,.....	88 00
	“ festival,	150 00
		<hr/>
		\$556 06

Checked and Audited.

The work which remains for us to do, is to press upon the conscience of the Nation the truth which the present hour demands. It is ours to guard with unslackened vigilance every right of the freedmen. The secret of the success of Abolitionists has been that they have never compromised a principle for the sake of success. We still demand absolute justice, as far as governments can confer it, for our clients.

The work immediately before us is to do our part in creating a public sentiment which shall compel the Legislatures of at least three-fourths of the States to ratify a Constitutional Amendment securing the colored man in all a citizen's rights. To this end we may well toil with the fervor and courage of the heart of youth, and the calm faith, born of long and rich experience, which never doubts the final result.

At the close of each year we recall the names of some of our fellow-laborers who have finished their earthly work and passed onward to the duties of a higher life. Two members of this Association, who were with us a year ago, are among this number. One* who has for many years labored with us, and one† who has borne a most faithful testimony against slavery, during a long life, and who, recently, had recorded her name in membership here. The year has been marked by the Nation's bereavement of a true son and faithful servant, whose latest breath was spent in pleading the cause of the oppressed, and in teaching a People lessons of

* Anna M. Gillingham.

† Hannah W. Steel.

true statesmanship. The colored man of the South, struggling to maintain his right of citizenship; the mother, lately a slave, bending with unutterable rapture over the face of her free-born child; the youths and maidens assembled around that long-desired, and, to them, long forbidden tree of knowledge, have reason to remember with benediction the name of THADDEUS STEVENS.

The path before us is brightly illumined with promise of the speedy consummation of our enterprise. We go forth upon it, inspired and strengthened by gratitude and joy for victories won; by hope that the year which we commence to-day will be the last year of our work, and by a solemn purpose that, with the help of Him who has been our pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, we will walk steadfastly unto the end.

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, in account with ANNIE SHOEMAKER, Treasurer.

DR.

2d mo. 1868.	To rent of room for Annual Meeting.....	\$ 2 00
	“ rent of room for Stated Meetings,.....	9 00
	“ subscriptions to N. A. S. Standard 50 copies,	150 00
	“ printing Annual Report,.....	53 86
	“ postage,.....	5 72
	“ advertising,.....	4 70
	“ donation to A. S. Standard,.....	100 00
2d mo. 1869.	“ balance in Treasury,.....	230 98

\$556 06

CR.

2d mo. 1868.	By balance in Treasury,.....	\$318 06
	“ members' subscriptions,.....	88 00
	“ festival,	150 00

\$556 06

LYDIA GILLINGHAM, Auditor.