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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

J. BROWN TERRINTON, PRINTER.

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THE LIBERATOR.

MONOLY OF THE SOIL.

LONDON, 1847.

DEAR SIR:

I will send you, when opportunity offers, a tract which has just been issued here, on the right of aristocracy to the soil. You, I know, are interested in all things that involve the rights of man, and this question is one that lies at the root. It is one that must come up for consideration in the new world, and ought to be well considered and understood; for it is of supreme importance.

The use of the soil was given to man as man—not to the individual, but to the race—and the use has been, a most important one in the days of the ignorance, converted into an abuse. You will see the argument for resuming possession on the part of society at large, is well stated; and I am in hopes, by sending a few copies to you, that if the parties in New York who advocate the redistribution of the land there, should see fit to do so, they may apply to you for the spare copy, and that its arguments may reach those who feel interest on this subject in America.

I have only seen reference to their doctrines on the subject, extracted into a paper here now dead. Those extracts led me to think that, though right in principle, they underrated the means of change. According to my recollection, the 'Young America' (I think that was the name of the paper) advocated the right of every man to the actual personal possession of an equal share—a scheme which would not work permanently, and if sought to be carried out, would work injury to the principle contended for.

The true scheme of reform, in this respect, is to compensate all existing interests—to vest the whole into the hands of the State—and to let it out on leases for lives, or years sufficiently long to induce improved cultivation by the lessees, reserving all mines and minerals to the State. By these means, the rent on the Royalties, or tolls, would go to provide the general expenditure for the general good, to sustain the orphan, the aged, the impotent, and the poor—to provide national education, to form harbors, roads, canals—to bridge, public halls, and for other public exigencies.

The administration might be by municipalities, under a Supreme Board; the letting by public auction, as a check upon corrupt bargaining; and as the value of all land increases with the increase of population, the increased exigencies would meet with an increased income.

If any gentleman, who may take an interest in this question, would do me the kindness to forward to me any of their publications on the subject, addressed to 137 Cheapside, London, England, I shall feel obliged, and have much pleasure in acknowledging the obligation.

EDWARD SEARCH.

W. L. Garrison.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.

The e is a great deal of truth in the following remarks respecting this obdurate, impudent, yet circumspect and sagacious advocate of perpetual slavery, from the Providence Journal:—

In reading the eloquent speech of this great statesman, it seems, and in assenting to the justness of many of its views, we are painfully reminded of the fact that, of all the men in the country, he himself is most responsible for the evils of which he complains. The annexation of Texas is the cause of the mighty evils under which the country is suffering, and of those greater evils by which the country is threatened, and this was the work of John C. Calhoun. All the schemes of speculators and demagogues, all the miserable bettlegoing of Tyler, all the bold falsehoods of Polker, could never have accomplished that great work of iniquity, if Mr. Calhoun had thrown his great name in the scale of truth and right and justice. But in all the origin of the business, in all the initatory measures, in every thing which made the war inevitable, he acted with those who now constitute the war party. He acted with them up to the point, which, when reached, he thought, he saw that the interests of slavery ended, and then he left them. He is not the first man who has found how much easier it is to lead men upon a wrong course, than to arrest them in it.

It will not do for Mr. Calhoun to say that the war might have been prevented, if prudent counsels had prevailed. He knew very well that prudent counsels would not prevail; and to guard against the possibility of that, he overthrew, in the Baltimore Convention, the most prudent and sagacious of the candidates, and forced upon the country a man who he knew would be the pliant instrument of the party.

Such is the man who now stands up and depreciates the work of his own hands. Such is the man who now stands up to show, by ingenious argument, how we might have extended slavery, wronged Mexico, outraged civilization, and ourselves escaped the evil consequences; as though the examples of all ages and nations did not provide a punishment for national as well as for individual wickedness.

Some things may be anticipated in the judgments we form by the general consequence of events.—From allusions already made to well known facts, it is settled in our own judgment, beyond all reasonable doubt, that within a very limited period, Mexico is to be one more State of the United States. If any lesson is to be learned from the past, nature and providence have decided this matter. We have attained at the prospect, depreciate the union of such strange and in some respects conflicting materials, as Mr. Calhoun does—abolitionists even may turn up their noses in aristocratic arogance at the thought of a deteriorated race—it is all in vain—resistance will prove unavailing. Assuming this to be a fact, is it not infinitely better that the thing should be accomplished at once, than that the process should be prolonged by annexing a slice at a time? This would only keep the country divided by fierce partizanship and angry debate.—The war spirit would be fostered among our own people and the Mexicans too. Each instance of union would lead to a severe struggle in both countries, and very likely to a war. Let us at once know the precise work before us. If it is to tame, school, educate and humanize 4,000,000 of Indians, remove all impediments out of the way, establish the rights of conscience—afford ample and complete security to person, property, employment—and then let us take the business in hand with vigor and good hope. Nothing less can be done that ought to be done. The wave of improvement can be made to roll over even Mexico, blind and sensual as she undoubtedly is! So far from looking with scorn upon our people, we should rejoice to see representatives from her independent States taking their seats upon the floor of Congress. She has some men amidst her darkness and ruins. Let us recognize them as brothers and those whom they represent!

THE LIBERATOR.

SOUTHERN DEGENERACY OF MIND.

A soul-inspired correspondent of the Christian World illustrates the Southern mind as the natural degeneracy of the South, under the withering influence of Slavery, in the following graphic manner:—

Washington, Henry, Jefferson, Marshall, all the great souls of Southern men of the last century, were expanded into the full dimensions of the greatness possible to them in their early manhood, by the spirit of universal emancipation, which began this nation by the Revolution, and then died here, (The great men of our Revolutionary period, South and North, were all Abolitionists, universal humanity men. They committed the fatal mistake in the compromises of the Constitution. At the decisive moment in the young nation's destiny, their great trust in the power of abstract right, which had done all for them, failed. They compromised with the Devil—they died—the Devil triumphed—went backward. Then they bequeathed to their posterity the burden and the necessity of another Revolution, to undo the work of their hands, by the smiting providence of God, had been strengthened and appointed to meet, as none therefore should ever meet it. There was but one fit offering due from the sons of the Revolution, upon the altar of God and Humanity, namely, liberty to the slave, and they gave it not, but withheld it. Then the Southern Revolutionists, Washington, Henry, Jefferson lived to see this, and lament over it. It is most touching now to read their words. Washington's letter of tribute to Lafayette for his services in participating in the late Revolution in France, for the purpose of emancipating the slaves; has this—"Would to God, a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country! but I despair of seeing it." Jefferson says—"The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people; and it is a strange phenomenon, if it be such, that have pleaded so long in vain, and should not have produced a single effort, nay, I fear, not much wishing, considering how little pains have been taken by our fellow citizens to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation.' And hear Patrick Henry—"I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this execrable evil. I hope that we can do its to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let its transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a legacy of misery, unhappy lot, and our abhorrence of slavery! They called upon posterity in vain, they relied upon posterity in vain. It was vain to expect, that if they, the heroes in the revolution, could not do the work, their children, corrupted by the inheritance of sin as wealth and power, would have the heart and strength for it. The race of men which succeeded them at the South, felt the curse of slavery organized into an institution of the country, upon their natures, dwarfing them. The men of slavery of 'the last seven and forty years,' this country's men at the South, have been dwarfed.

This condition of things at the South is God's testimony against the oppression of his image. Souls are degenerate in the midst of slavery. If Southerners are incensed at this statement of facts of God's decreeing, nevertheless let the fa ts of God's decreeing be stated. Let the Southern premier that pride and arrogancy and an evil way have power to strike down the intellect to bestial insanity, and to turn a regal nature into a mere mule with exen. Let no man seek to hide from the South its inevitable degeneracy.

The recognized law of universal liberty is the only law of a great soul's growth now. It may be born great, but it cannot grow and wax great, except under the nurture of this expanding law, revealed in our universal humanity. The man is a slave, my soul is chained. The universe for genius to dwell and expand in, is freedom. Inward experience, alone with the great God and his works, developes the world's great man. Mr. Calhoun's slave may be the world's great man. Mr. Calhoun cannot be. He is the cast-iron child of a peculiar institution. No word from God ever inspired his age. Posterity will not know him. A soul enlarged to the full measure of what this age requires for greatness, cannot be affirmed of a single white man, born and dwelling in the South, of all the generations, which in this century have succeeded to fill the places of the Revolutionary men. The noble souls of the South, whose hold their roots in the rich soil of that Revolutionary period, and lived to cast their shadows into this century, have died out now and they have left no peer behind them to commemorate their memory.

The God and Father of man has written this dread sentence over the door of every slaveholder's homestead—"Degeneracy of mind *shall be inherited here.* You may possibly find it nurtured in the solemn silence of the slave's wronged soul, but not in that of the master. In the nineteenth century, no slaveholder can hide from the eye of God his soul were blind as Sampson's, to the infinite source of the fact in the laws of the spiritual universe. Mr. Calhoun seems to see the mere outward facts, and almost always wrong in his reasonings upon them. He has no spiritual insight, no wisdom.

Not. Let us echo the language of Mr. Calhoun, till the idle rivers of the South repeat it back, and their banks are alive with the concert. No—the South produces no poetic inspiration in the arts: insight into the laws of matter in her intellect is dead. No—the South produces no poet; the inspiration of poetry in her heart is dead also. Slavery has killed them.

No. The genial intellect, with its wards still, creating the machinery of this animated civilization we see in today, is not here. The good soul is, must be free, and sing only in and of freedom. No. The divine gift of inventive genius, the diviner gift of poetic utterance, never descends upon the South. Mr. Calhoun and he who more distinguished son would account that a glory, which is her most conspicuous shame. Let shame and contumely be upon the land, shame and outcast from modern civilization, alien and outcast from modern literature, which yields to this teeming age no invention, no poem. Let it be written upon the gate of the South, her direst condemnation—*no inventor, no poet lives here.* The South is a drone in the hive of modern civilization. The South is a mute in the grand poetic chorus of the age.

The literature of the world is against her. The civilization of the world is against her. The religion of the world is against her. She ought to beg pardon, on her bended knees, to universal humanity, for making shipwreck of the grandest promise of a nation that was ever launched upon the heaving bosom of time.

And we will not forget, we will ever remember, that we of the North, are accessory with the South in all this wrong, and the destiny which hovers about it.

B.

From the Philadelphia Non-Slaveholder.

WESTERN VIRGINIA.

Much has been said in the public papers, lately, of the intention of the Slaveholders of Virginia to the extinction of slavery in that part of the State. We had hoped that the discussions which have been carried on there for a year or two past, originated in a conscious sense of the sinfulness of slavery, and that, in the end, whatever mode of emancipation might be adopted, the welfare of the slave, as well as the interest of the master, would be consulted and secured. We now fear that the ground of these movements is no other than that of the great mass of our Slaveholding Republican States, with no reference to the good of the victims of their cupidity. The ruinous effects of slavery upon the prosperity of the State, both in respect to the interests of the free white population and in preventing the ingress of enterprising white freemen, seem to be the main inducement for this attempt to remove or modify slavery.

Dr. Ruffner, President of the Washington College, Lexington, Virginia, recently presented, at a public meeting in that place, 'Outlines of a scheme for the removal of slavery.' He proposes that the further importation of slaves into Western Virginia shall be prohibited by law, but the *exportation* of slaves from the State shall be still permitted as heretofore,' with some restrictions in regard to age, which will amount to no restriction at all. The existing generation of slaves are to remain in their present condition, but their children, after a certain day are to be emancipated at an age not exceeding twenty-five years—unless they shall have been sent out of bounds from the State before they arrive at the age of five years. The latter emancipation are to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic; and 'churches and benevolent people are to attempt their religious instruction.' They, says Dr. Ruffner, 'an improved class of free negroes would be raised up.' But what does he propose to do with them in this scheme for the removal of slavery? He informs us in the 5th article, 'LET THE EMANCIPATED BE COLONIZED. THIS WOULD BE BEST FOR ALL PARTIES.' He then goes into a calculation to show how readily the small number eventually left in the State and emancipated, after the great mass had been removed as slaves by exportation to other States, could be sent to Liberia! 'So easy would it be,' he adds, 'to remove the *bugaboo* of a free negro population, so often held up to deter us from emancipation. Such are the principal features in the grand scheme proposed, for what? Not, surely, for the emancipation of the slaves in Western Virginia, but for their *removal* from the State either as slaves or freemen. Let the author of it exhibit, in his own language the motives by which the advocates of this miscalled emancipation are influenced. 'By this measure, says Dr. R., 'slavery will be slowly but surely abolished, without detriment or inconvenience to slaveholders. No peculiarly loss can be sustained, except at the option of the slaveholders, who, *if they think that the money will gain that way they may sold by keeping them and their children as slaves* in West Virginia. If they choose to stay, and submit to the operation of the emancipation law, they have the certainty of gaining, by the rise in the value of their lands, than they will lose in the market value of their slaves, in consequence of the emancipation law.

Undoubtedly such a law would immediately attract emigrants by thousands from the North—farmers, manufacturers and laborers—who would bring their capital, their skill, their industry, into the country, to improve its agriculture, draw out the wealth of its mines, and make its idle water-falls and coal beds contribute to the prosperity of its manufacture. Before the law would emancipate a sing e negro, it would already have added more to the value of the land and the property of West Virginia than all her slaves are worth. If any man among us have many slaves and little or no land, he can *easily profit by the law* as well as others; LET HIM SELL NEGROES, and buy land.'

In relation to the plan before us, it cannot even be said that 'the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel?' for there is neither mercy nor justice in it to the slave. He is to be exported, lest the country may be enriched, its agriculture improved, the wealth of its mines drawn out, and the 'value of the landed and real property of West Virginia' enhanced. We hope something better than merely selfish from the growing agitation in Virginia. The preamble to a measure so shocking to every feeling of justice and humanity, so thoroughly and exclusively selfish on the part of its enactors, could bear little resemblance to that which was attached to the Pennsylvania Act of emancipation. Short as this came of full justice, yet the slaves were not to be exported from the State, and consigned with their posterity to be worked to death in the rice swamps, or in the cotton plantations and sugar estates of the South. The object of Pennsylvania was to *abolish*, not *remove or transplant* slavery. A penalty of seventy-five pounds was imposed by the Act of 1780, on any person or persons who should send or carry any negro or mulatto slave or servant for term of years, out of the State, 'whereby such slave or servant would lose those benefits and privileges, which by the laws of this State are secured to him or her.'

From the Liberty Bell.

'HAVE ANY OF THE RULERS BELIEVED?'

BY SAMUEL MAY, JR.

At the close of the day—the *Lord's* day called by many who seem unwilling to have it employed in doing the Lord's work—at the close of a day which a little compared with it, seems to all unselfish slavery labors in one of the beautiful rural towns of Massachusetts, I sat with a friend, conversing with the friends of the great cause which had assured and startled the nation. Among other has he said to me, 'How is it, if this anti-slavery cause be all that it professes to be, and all that I believe it to be, that so few of our public men and respectable men refuse to have any thing to do with it, stand aloof, and even oppose it? Here are Mr. ——, and Mr. ——, and the Hon. Mr. ——, good men, much respected among their neighbors, good causes; but neither of them gives, or can be persuaded to give, the least support to the anti-slavery movement.'

Premising that this question was asked in a town which carries on a very lucrative trade with the Southern States in an article indispensable to the preparation of the great cotton fabrics for markets; premising, too, that one of the gentlemen named had recently come forth into political life, and that another had recently been elevated to a conspicuous office in a Southern city, I will endeavor briefly to set down the substance of the reply which I made to my friend's question.

'Though I do not personally know the persons you have named, yet regarding them as represent tatives of a class, and a very large class too, I have no doubt that I can correctly assign one of the chief reasons which impel them to the course you name. These gentlemen are unwilling to make the sacrifice which truth demands; they cannot consent 'to be of no *reputation.*' To be the 'solitary advocates of discountenanced truth' is a species of martyrdom, and they cannot undergo it. *Their* meat, their very breath is found in such a social position as will bring them consideration, influence and emolument; and they will take the step, by which this position, with its clear established results, will be endangered. They resemble those men, in Jesus's time, who, though they could not deny the claims of Jesus, yet would not *confess* him, because they had gone forth from the ruling power, that, if any man did confess him, he should be put out of the synagogue. These men do the same thing. The essential truths of anti-slavery, they cannot deny; they are even forced into some abstract admiration of them; but they never touch them with one of their fingers to help their progress and triumph—lest they should be put out of their synagogues, and lose political synagogues. And why? For the self-same reason that was given for the conflict of their predecessors—they love the praise of men more than the praise of God. Yes! let them profess what they please, be their outward seeming fair as it may, this is the thing they do; they 'seek the praise and the rewards which come from men, and not those which come from God alone.' Were the reverse true of them, how soon and certainly would you see them pursuing as earnestness they now pursue worldly schemes, the incorruptible treasures of righteousness—striving for *undefiled* rewards.

'So the young man, confident in his fair standing and habitual compliance with rules of external morality, came to the Saviour saying, 'What lack I yet?' and Jesus replied, 'One thing thou lackest; abiding in thy love of the world! be willing to bear the cross; come, *follow me.*' And he turned away from Jesus, in sorrowful rejection, yet in rejection of his call, and went back to court the world, and secure its gains and honors.

'Truly did Jesus say, 'How can ye *believe*, who who will have honor, one of another?' How strongly does he adjudge that love of human applause and honor is a barrier to all true faith—completely insurmountable! Let us not be deceived, they who love the world calls *respectable*—God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and things which are despised, hath God chosen; yes, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are. Such is the world's standard, and such is God's.

From Douglass's North Star, January 21.

FRANKLIN'S BIRTH DAY.

It will be highly gratifying to our friends in all parts of the world, to observe in the proceedings of this annual festival, published in another page, that the vulgar and senseless prejudice against colored persons, so prevalent in our land, was utterly repudiated by the gentlemen of the press in this city, on the occasion of this anniversary. It is indeed a most hopeful evidence of the progress of free principles, when the most intelligent and respectable citizens of all political parties, despising popular prejudice, cordially welcome colored men to gather around the festive board, on equal and brotherly terms with themselves. Prejudice against color cannot long live. We commend the fact to the New York Sunday Dispatch, New York Express, Bennett's Herald, and the Democratic Review.—We would also call the attention of the American Colonization Society, and all religious organizations, which keep up a distinction in their churches on account of color; but we will not dwell. The fact speaks for itself.

'Tis coming yet, for a' that,
When man to man the world all o'er
Shall brother be for a' that.'

A PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR NOT INVINCIBLE.

The promotion of Mr. Lewis to the Senate cabinet on the 17th of January, in honor of the birthday of Franklin. Among the persons who sat down with the gentleman of the quill, was Frederick Douglass, who is now a citizen, a freeman and an editor. A toast was given to him by one of his white brethren, that 'we recognize in the genius and industry of this orator and philanthropist, good augury of the elevation of his race.' Mr. Douglass made a very happy response, and gave the following sentiment:—'Gentlemen of the Rochester Press: Promoters of knowledge, lovers of liberty, foes of ignorance, despisers of prejudice, may you continue to give to the world noble examples by a free and intelligent union of black with white.' Another colored man, the publisher of the North Star, was also present, and offered a toast. Such a reception of colored men by the editorial fraternity speaks well for their intelligence and liberality, and indicates that the common prejudice against color is not altogether invincible.—*Sabbath Recorder.*

EDMUND QUINCY.

☞ In another column of this week's number, will be found a well-deserved, well timed, and eloquent tribute from the pen of William Lloyd Garrison, to the worth of that fearless champion and noble writer in the cause of human freedom, EDMUND QUINCY. We most heartily unite in this grateful commendation. Regarding him as one of the best in our ranks, we think him the least appreciated by the rest of the abolitionists. Coming from the ranks of the favored few in our land, it is not remarkable that he should be regarded with little cordiality by the mass of the free colored people, made up as they are of humble men and women, strangers to his habits and mode of life.—Mr. Quincy was one of the first abolitionists in this country, by whom we were kindly welcomed, and taught to forget our despised complexion. We were newly from the slave plantation, rude in our manners, rough in our expressions, and weak and wrong in our movements, and altogether unaccustomed to refined and educated society; and when to invite a colored man into the humblest abode of white persons, required great moral courage, he did not hesitate to welcome us to his home and hospitality—showing himself more of a man and less an aristocrat, than the fastidious men who are now calling him this meaningless name, to destroy his anti-slavery influence.—*Douglass's North Star.*

MR. GIDDINGS.

Mr. Giddings of Ohio, in his letter vindicating himself from some of the charges preferred against him for refusing to vote for Mr. Winthrop, says:

At a meeting of the Whig members of the House of Representatives, held on the morning on which the news of the war with Mexico was declared, Mr. Winthrop made a speech, urging the whole party to vote for the war. While the bill was pending in the House, he went among his colleagues, and personally urged them to sustain the bill, continuing as it did one of the most flagrant falsehoods ever uttered by a deliberative body. He succeeded in his efforts, and the bill was opposed by a very small number of the Whig party, who voted with them to carry out the base designs of an arrant usurper. His vote and influence were given to the war, and I think I alone ever aimed at American liberty. His name will descend to posterity as one who aided in plunging this nation into a war of conquest, rapine and slaughter—a war which, has already deluged a sister republic in blood, and if not soon arrested, must bury in oblivion the last vestiges of our Constitution. This was not a mere party act of Mr. Winthrop, of which he repented upon mature reflection. On the contrary, he subsequently, in his public speeches, attempted an elaborate justification of those acts, and continued support of the war, up to the day on which I was called to vote for him to the responsible office of Speaker. With these facts before me, had I voted for him, would I not thereby have sanctioned his course on this subject? Destructive of the Constitution as I considered his acts, could I, without regard to the oath I had taken, vote for him? Let a candid and unbiassed people judge.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second, the right of the South to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction that the South should possess popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . 'Reciprocal compacts between governments of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, in order to make sure the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND DYNAMICAL PRINCIPLE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE ALBANY PATRIOT AND THE ANNEXATION OF MEXICO.

We have been accustomed for some time past to look for strange things from the *Albany Patriot*, particularly since it has ascended to the regions of ether, and has been delighting itself with the transcendentals of Macedon. But we were not prepared to see it throw its ponderous length into the scheme of *carrying all Mexico per force of American* arms! So, however, it appears to be. We give a literal extract:—*Utica Liberty Press.*

For simplicity's sake, and to reduce the thing to a point, suppose one of the truest and ablest men in the country were put at the head of affairs as we have, with a Congress ready to approve his recommendations. Would it be his duty to withdraw the army from Mexico, and abandon the objects the disorder, confusion and violence that would ensue upon that step? For ourselves, we see no answer—No. Others will answer as nothing to their convictions. Suppose we were to all wars, from principle and policy, we still go to the righteousness and necessity of a national police. Thus, if it were in our power, we would carry the standard of Christendom and Kentucky vigorous enough, and blood with fractions sufficiently precise and enchantic, to compel Mexicans and Chinese into contact with the people that labor for them—to be the service rendered them up to the last horse and cent. Between knaves we would do it, those what might! Well, down in Mexico, the only endure all the oppression and extortion that can well be described, excepting only chastisement itself. They have no protections—no plain and obvious justice—no government. Should we shudder them to luck—priest-craft—military extortions—robber spoliations? We would do no such thing, but should feel called upon by the highest considerations to establish 'justice between a man and his neighbor' there as elsewhere, to reach for the settlement or therapy of the disease, low will. A word or two about the practical of

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From the Cincinnati Herald.

LETTER FROM JOHN P. HALE,

ACCEPTING HIS NOMINATION.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1, 1848.

SIR:—Yours of the first of November, notifying me that the Convention holden at Buffalo on the 20th and 21st of October last, had presented my name to the people of the United States as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, is before me.

It is due to candor to say, that while I appreciate, in its fullest extent, the favorable estimation of my fellow-citizens, as indicated by the nomination, I feel that it would be wrong in me, to my own wishes, I should peremptorily decline it.—Deference, however, to the opinion of those friends who have assisted me in my public duties and support, under circumstances and at times well calculated to test the ardor of their zeal and sincerity of their profession, has induced a different determination, and I therefore accept the offer, and consent that my name may be thus used in connection with that office.

In announcing my acceptance, as the official organ of that body, this result to which I have come, allow me to add, that as that Convention before its adjournment made provision for the assembling of another of a similar character, should unforeseen contingencies and emergencies render such a step proper, nothing would be more grateful to my own feelings than to find the good and true of every party, forgetful of the petty differences which have hitherto divided them, uniting together in one concerted and energetic effort to redeem the Government of the Union from the stigma and reproach to which it is now justly subject, for its support of human slavery, and the present unjust and aggressive war it has been so recently commenced, and is so relentlessly prosecuting for its extension and perpetuity.

Whenever such a movement shall be made in good faith and earnest purpose, I shall be most glad, with the consent of those friends who have placed my name before the people, to enrol myself among the humblest privates in the hosts who will rally under such a banner. I am not without hope that such a movement may yet be made.

It is sometimes expected of an individual when accepting a nomination, from a convention, no matter how remote the chances of his election, that he give some exposition of the principles he entertains, and the views of public policy by which he proposes to act.

In accordance with such supposed expectation, I will cheerfully say to you, Sir, that I coincide with the principles of the resolutions adopted by the Convention which made the nomination.

It has been suggested to me, and indeed I have private letters to that effect, that doubts have been expressed to some extent, and perhaps much more generally entertained than expressed, whether I really and truly am a 'Liberty party man and belong to the Liberty party,' and that it is expected of me that in this communication I should clear up and solve those doubts.

To this I do not pretend to understand what is meant by the question. If by it, it be intended to ask whether I am ready to co-operate with those who, by independent, organized and individual action, are striving to carry out certain principles, such as those embodied in the resolutions of the Buffalo Convention, who desire to withdraw from the institution of slavery all support which it is unconstitutionally receives from the General Government, and seek its termination by federal action where it exists by federal jurisdiction, and State action, where it exists by State jurisdiction, ever that our Declaration of Independence shall be something more than a rhetorical flourish, and the provisions of the United States Constitution, which declares, among other things, that it was ordained to 'secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity' no longer be a cruel mockery, then I belong to the Liberty party. But if it is proposed or intended that there is to be any magical influence in the name of 'party,' so that by joining it I become a better or worse man, or a superior or inferior of its officers or committees, then I say, most emphatically, I do not belong to any such a party.

I have been once formally and solemnly *read out* of the Democratic party, who make such high professions of regard for human rights, by a State Convention of the New Hampshire Democrats, expressly excommunicated for no reason, except a refusal to vote for a measure 'calculated and designed,' by the open declaration of its friends, 'to uphold the interests of slavery in the District of Columbia, and secure its permanent ascendancy,' and I am not anxious to place myself speedily in a situation in which I can be so treated by party, when any of its members may fancy they have the sovereign right to repeat the experiment upon me, for any cause, real or fancied.

Besides, to my mind, the great evil of the present day, and of our country, eminently is this universal disposition to merge the responsibilities of individuals in those of the irresponsibility of a party. Were it not for this, we could have a permanent and honorable peace with Mexico in less than three months; but in their blind partizan devotion to party measures, it is made a God higher than the party, or a rule of morals other than political expediency.

It is impossible for me farther to enlarge on this subject.

This, present session of Congress, with the developments which are constantly in progress, will afford abundant opportunity for those who feel any interest in the subject, in addition to what I have already spoken and written, to be informed of my views and feelings on the practical questions of the day. With much respect, I am, your friend and fellow citizen,

JOHN P. HALE.

HON. S. LEWIS.

THE COVENANTERS.

H. W. Curtis, a faithful anti-slavery lecturer in Ohio, gives an account of his visit to various places, and the incidents of his travels, in the Salem Bugle, and among other things says—

We found in Utica quite a large church of Old School Covenanters, who have been waiting for us, as it is known at all, to occupy the ground of our Society in regard to the United States Government. The members neither vote nor take office under the government of the United States. Like ourselves, they regard the Constitution of the United States as 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.' When we came into Ohio, we found the anti-slavery churches of this land for trial, we have universally excepted this body. When on the church question at Utica, we had the exception *before us.* The circumstance was no more novel than cheering. It is always a great satisfaction to have the evidence of our senses to an important fact, which we know to be true in regard to this; and can testify that we *have seen and now know* a church in our land occupying a true anti-slavery position.

We had the satisfaction, which proved to be a great one, of an early acquaintance with Mr. McFarland, the Covenanter minister—a *gentleman in every way—in heart and soul a reformer.* Formerly, he was an active anti-slavery lecturer—has often braved the fury of American mobs. But when anti-slavery in Ohio took a *political* turn, his principles forbade him to co-operate, and he has therefore since done but little out of his church. I think our visit at Utica will result in opening a way by which the powerful energies will be brought into active operation. If so, the slave's friends may well rejoice.

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 4, 1848.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASS. ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This Annual Meeting commenced in Boston on Wednesday morning, Jan. 26th, at the Melodeon.

The Chair was taken by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, at 10 1-2 A. M., and it was voted, that the Society do now proceed to business.

Opportunity for prayer being given, prayer was offered by John M. Spear.

Voted, That Samuel May, Jr. and Anne W. Weston be Assistant Secretaries during the annual meeting.

The following, on motion of Edmund Quincy of Dedham, were nominated and accepted by the Society as a Committee of Business:

William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Henry C. Wright, Eliza Lee Follen, Edmund Quincy, Edmund Jackson, Caroline Weston, Stephen S. Foster.

Subsequently, on motion of H. C. Wright, Daniel Ricketson of N. Bedford, and W. H. Ash of Hopedale, were added to the Business Committee.

The following, on motion of S. May, Jr., were nominated and chosen a Committee on the Roll and Finance:

Loring Moody, James N. Buffum, John M. Spear, Elbridge Sprague, John N. Fisk.

On motion of Samuel Philbrick of Brookline, *Voted*, That a committee of one from each county be nominated by the Chair as a committee to nominate a list of officers of the Society for the present year.

Samuel Philbrick presented his Report as Treasurer of the Society for the past year; which having been audited, was unanimously accepted by the Society. This Report will be found in another place.

The President nominated the following as the Committee to nominate officers of the Society, (with some vacancies to be filled afterwards,) and his nomination was accepted by the Society:

Edmund Quincy, of Norfolk; John T. Hilton, of Middlesex; John M. Fisk, of Worcester; Cornelius Brambill, Suffolk; James N. Buffum, Essex; Daniel Ricketson, Bristol; Henry H. Brigham, Plymouth; Nathaniel Barney, Nantucket.

Voted, on motion of G. W. Stacy, of Milford, that the annual Report of the Board of Managers be now heard.

The President left the chair, which was taken by Charles F. Hovey, Esq of Boston.

Copious extracts from said report were then read by Edmund Quincy, Corresponding Secretary.

Samuel May, Jr. gave notice that a copy of the petition to the Legislature, for secession from the Union, would be kept at the Secretaries' table for signatures, during the sessions of this meeting.

Henry C. Wright, from the Committee on Business, reported the following Resolutions:

1. Resolved, That while we deeply regret that the Slave Power should have been able to find one of its most willing and useful tools in the Pilgrim blood of Massachusetts, we must still recognize one virtue in Robert C. Winthrop, that, unlike his fellow Whigs, he has never been a hypocrite in politics; he has never pretended to own himself, or claimed to be any thing but the mouthpiece of Cotton, wheeler in Statestreet or wire in the Capitol; he cannot be accused of getting office, like Briggs, under false pretences; neither, like the Hon. Mr. 'Facing-both-ways,' did he signalize his youth by thunders against slavery on Plymouth Rock, and then, with the fame of many years upon his brow, say his prayers backward before the Capitol at Richmond; on the contrary, we are bound to allow, that he has always gloried in being a *Dough-face* from the beginning, at home and abroad, in every sphere, however bounded, and be the shame more or less,—that he has not sought for his bargain the decent cover of secrecy, but his prostitution has been open, in the market-place, and he has sold his wages insolently and shamelessly; that to guard against suspicion of hypocrisy even in quoting scripture, he took care to put on broad record, beforehand, in Faneuil Hall, a pledge to remind the world that in his case, at least, there were many things beside the Lord, 'which make men to be of one mind in a house.'

2. Resolved, That our deep regret is that such character linked with the name of Winthrop is forgotten in the sad reflection that, like wax beneath the seal, he is but what the schools and churches of Boston have made him, the faithful representative of the opinions of his native city; and that could we succeed in changing these opinions, the weathercocks upon our steeples would be laggards, compared with him, in shifting with the wind.

3. Resolved, That the re-election of Geo. N. Briggs to office, with all the sins of his perjured and treasonable proclamation, places Massachusetts among the active supporters of the Mexican war; and that all the Resolutions which even *her* Legislature has passed, or can pass, are able to hide that fact; and that if Geo. N. Briggs has, as his friends claim, repented of that disgraceful act, he should be as ready to make as public 'proclamation' of his repentance as he was of his servility—and we trust his friends to sacrifice character in supporting one convicted of treason out of his own mouth, with nothing to justify their confidence but chimney-corner confessions.

Whereas, the boast of the people of these United States is, that they are the *freest* people on earth, while they hold and use one sixth of their fellow-countrymen as *slaves*,—that they are an *enlightened* people, while they punish as a heavy crime, the acquisition of knowledge among three millions of their number,—that they are a *civilized* people, while one sixth of the inhabitants are compelled, by law, to live in absolute *heathenism*,—that the blessings of liberty and free institutions are extended to all, while three millions of their number are outlawed, and hunted with bloodhounds and rifles, for attempting to raise themselves from the condition of *brutes* to that of *men*—from the condition of *slaves* to that of *freemen*; therefore,

4. Resolved, That this mismatched republic is a *wilful liar* and a *shameless Hypocrite*, against which the friends of freedom in Great Britain and throughout the world ought to be warned, as against the deadliest enemy of the human race.

Voted, on motion of E. Quincy, that the 4th resolution be taken up for discussion.

H. C. Wright briefly addressed the Society in support of the resolution, and was followed by Edmund Quincy and Stephen S. Foster.

At 1 o'clock, on motion of H. C. Wright, *Voted* to adjourn, to meet in same place at 2 1-2 o'clock.

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WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

Society re-assembled, according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

The resolution under discussion was again read, and was spoken to by Samuel May, Jr. and Wm. W. Brown, both in its support.

Leave being granted, the following resolution was presented by S. May, Jr., and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That every friend to the anti-slavery cause here present, be requested to enrol his or her name as a member of this meeting, and also to give one dollar, or such other sum as is thought proper, towards defraying the expenses of the annual meeting.

John Levy and H. H. Brigham were added to the Committee on Finance and the Roll.

H. C. Wright took the floor, in behalf of the resolution; but gave way, after a few remarks, to William W. Brown, who came forward again, he said, by request, to comment upon a letter lately received by E. Quincy from Enoch Price of St. Louis, Missouri, and which letter he [Mr. Brown] had not for the first time seen, when he arrived; it it declared himself the *owner* of Wm. W. Brown, said he had seen and read the Narrative, which W. W. B. has lately published, and which he admitted to be true in the main, and after setting forth several particulars as to the manner in which he became possessed of W. W. Brown, (chiefly by another person,) had offered to give him *free papers* if he, or his friends, would pay to his *agent in Boston*, the sum of three hundred and twenty-five dollars. Mr. Brown said, I have always felt that I run a great risk in passing around here, as I do, in Massachusetts; and now I am more than ever sensible of the risk I run; for at any unguarded moment I may be seized upon, even here, and dragged back to slavery in St. Louis.—Mr. Brown spoke with evident agitation. The audience expressed great sympathy with him, and by loud responses testified that there were many who would stand forth in his defence in any time of danger.

H. C. Wright resumed the floor, and concluded his remarks on the 4th resolution.

He was followed by Henry Clapp, Jr. of Lynn, who said that he thought the time which the Society had spent in discussion, was occupied, in showing the pro-slavery character of the U. S. Constitution and Laws, was, for the most part, thrown away. It might be well enough to show this incidentally, but it was more important to rectify public sentiment.

Mr. Clapp was replied to by J. C. Cluer, who vindicated the English, Irish and Scotch mechanics and operatives from certain remarks of Mr. Clapp.

Soon after 5 o'clock, adjourned, to meet in FANEUIL HALL, at 7 o'clock.

—

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The Society assembled in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

Resolutions 1, 2 and 3, were again read by the Secretary, and the large audience present was eloquently addressed in their support, by Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, H. C. Wright, Wm. W. Brown and Stephen S. Foster.

H. C. Wright offered the following resolution:

5. Resolved, That while this Republic exists in its present form as a Republic that sanctions slavery, there can be no reasonable hope that the miseries and oppressions, inflicted upon the masses by the despotisms of Europe, can be removed; inasmuch as the might of its example goes to strengthen the hands of tyrants, and to weaken those of the champions of freedom; therefore we would earnestly entreat all who are laboring for the freedom of man in Great Britain and Ireland—in Austria, Italy, Russia, and in all lands—to unite with us in our efforts to procure the dissolution of this slaveholding Union, by a moral and peaceful agitation, and thus to rid the world of this gigantic foe of liberty, and of the inalienable rights of man.

At 10 o'clock P. M., adjourned to meet in the Melodeon, to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Note. Faneuil Hall was well filled during the evening, and by an audience exceedingly attentive, evidently much interested, and sympathizing heartily with the resolutions and speeches; and scarce a dissenting voice or sound was heard during the entire evening.

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THURSDAY MORNING.

The Society met again in the Melodeon, the President in the Chair.

The first four resolutions were read and unanimously adopted, the Society acting upon them separately.

Stephen S. Foster took the floor in behalf of the measure of going to the polls to vote for persons publicly pledged not to hold any office under the existing Constitution of the U. S., if elected; and offered a Resolution on the subject.

Voted, To defer, for the present, the farther consideration of this subject.

The 5th Resolution was then called up, James N. Buffum, of Lynn, being in the Chair, and spoken to by J. C. Cluer, H. Clapp, Jr., R. B. Rogers, Mr. Parker, (late of London, now of Providence, R. I.) J. McCombs of Georgetown, Ky. and Lawrence. Wm. Lloyd Garrison, spoke a gentleman from Philadelphia, whose name was called for, but not given. After which, the 5th resolution was unanimously adopted.

Adjourned, to 2 1-2 o'clock.

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THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

Met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

Henry Watson, a fugitive from Slavery, addressed the Society in a brief narrative of some circumstances in his experience.

The following resolution was then read by S. May, Jr., who moved its adoption:

6. Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to the cause and each other, that we will, every exertion, in our various towns and spheres, to rouse abolitionists and Societies to their duty of contributing liberally to the treasury of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies; and that we will endeavor to assemble the friends of the anti-slavery cause, in the several towns where we live, as soon as practicable, for the purpose of laying this subject before them, and devising effectual means of accomplishing the end in view.

This resolution was supported by S. May, Jr., Wendell Phillips, Hiram Wilson, of Canada West, J. N. Buffum, J. M. Fisk, F. Hildreth and W. L. Garrison, and was unanimously adopted.

Edmund Quincy, from the Committee on Nomination of Officers, reported a list of names, which report was accepted, and the following persons thereby elected officers of the Society, for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT,
FRANCIS JACKSON, *Boston.*

VICE-PRESIDENTS,

Andrew Robeson, *New Bedford.*
Nathaniel B. Borden, *Fall River.*
Stillman Lothrop, *Cambridge.*
Amos Farnsworth, *Groton.*
Adin Ballou, *Milford.*
John M. Fisk, *West Brookfield.*
Joshua T. Everett, *Princeton.*
Effingham L. Capron, *Worcester.*
William B. Earle, *Leicester.*
Jefferson Church, *Springfield.*
William B. Stone, *Gardner.*
Oliver Gardner, *Nantucket.*
Nathan Webster, *Haverhill.*
George Hoyt, *Athol.*
John C. Gore, *Roxbury.*
Caroline Weston, *Plymouth.*
Zenas Rhoades, *North Marlboro'.*
Benjamin Snow, *Fitchburg.*
George Miles, *Westminster.*
James N. Buffum, *Lynn.*
Cyrus Pierce, *Newton.*
John T. Hilton, *Cambridgeport.*
Thomas T. Stone, *Salem.*
Bourne Spooner, *Plymouth.*
Charles L. Remond, *Salem.*
Charles F. Hovey, *Boston.*

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
Edmund Quincy, *Dedham.*

RECORDING SECRETARY,
Robert F. Wallcut, *Boston.*

TREASURER,
Samuel Philbrick, *Brookline.*

AUDITOR,
Edmund Jackson, *Boston.*

COUNSELLORS,
William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips,
Maria Weston Chapman, John Rogers,
Cornelius Brambill, Anne Warren Weston,
Henry J. Bowditch, Eliza Lee Follen,
John M. Spear, Charles K. Whipple,
James Russell Lowell, Samuel May, Jr.

W. L. Garrison from the Committee on Business, reported the following resolutions:

7. Resolved, That while we would express our deep gratitude to all those earnest men and women, who find time and strength, amid their labors in behalf of British reform, to study, understand, and protest against American slavery, to give us their sympathy and aid by munificent contributions, and by holding our Union up to the contempt of Europe—we feel that it would not be invidious to mention William and Mary Howitt, Henry Vincent and George Thompson, as those to whose untiring advocacy our cause is especially indebted in this country, and as for the hold it has gained on the hearts of the British people.

8. Resolved, That the discriminating sense of justice, the steadfast devotedness, the generous munificence, the untiring zeal, the industry, skill, taste and genius, of the fair feel bound to point out, have co-operated with us for the extinction of slavery, command alike our gratitude and admiration; cheering us under the discouragements, strengthening us under the difficulties, and consoling us in the afflictions of the Cause; and shall ever be to us both an incentive and an example in its sacrifices and its labors.

Remarks upon these resolutions were offered by S. S. Foster, W. L. Garrison, E. Quincy, D. Ricketson and W. Phillips, after which they were adopted, without a dissenting voice.

At 5 1-2 o'clock, adjourned to hold the closing session in Faneuil Hall, at 7 o'clock.

—

THURSDAY EVENING.

The Society met in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment, Edmund Quincy in the Chair.

Wm. L. Garrison, Chairman of Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

9. Resolved, That the Abolitionists of America hail with pleasure the movement of George Thompson and his faithful coadjutors for the encouragement of the culture of cotton in British India, in order to supply the demand of that staple in the British manufactories, independently of their cotton, at present, from the slave States of this country; believing, as we do, that the success of his object will materially forward the anti-slavery enterprise.

10. Resolved, That Henry Clay of Kentucky, in his late speech at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society at Washington, declaring that this country is only for the white, and not for the black man; that the free colored native-born inhabitants cannot and ought not to be admitted to equal rights and equality in the United States, but should be so trodden down as to render existence intolerable, and thus compel them to adopt Africa as their only alternative—demonstrably proves that he is the deadly foe of impartial liberty—that his pretensions to philanthropy are hollow mockeries—and that the Colonization Society, of which he is the President, is the embodiment of the slaveholding villany of the South, and of the pro-slavery ruffianism of the North.

11. Resolved, That this Society strongly sympathizes with the people of Ireland, and the lovers of progress throughout the world, in the deep sense they entertain of the services of DANIEL O'CONNELL, as a champion of human freedom, and especially as a friend of the African slave; that we gratefully recognize the faithfulness of his emphatic testimony against American slavery, of his indignant rebuke of American slaveholders, and of his cordial co-operation with American abolitionists; and that we regard with profound sensibility the event of his death, which has occurred during the last year, as one in which we have a common interest with them, and with the whole human race.

12. Resolved, That it becomes us, on this our first meeting since the venerable presence of Seth Sprague has passed away from our assembly and our fellowship, to recall to mind the clearness of vision, the purity of purpose, the fidelity of principle, the freshness of enthusiasm, which that Anti-Slavery Patriarch, the connecting link between the Elder and the Latter Dispensations of Liberty, brought to the assistance of the Slave; and to resolve that we will show we have profited by and love we bear to his memory, by the earnestness of our endeavors to live worthily of his example.

13. Resolved, That while we are willing to believe that many supporters of the Wilmot Proviso really consider its passage sufficient to prevent the extension of slavery, and while we rejoice at every such effort as evidence of awakening interest on the subject of slavery, and be willing even in its very failure to throw light on the path through which alone safety can be found; still we regard it as a matter of comparative indifference, whether that Proviso receives the sanction of Congress or not, feeling that the attempt to restrain slavery by laws from entering territory, is precisely similar to damming up the Mississippi with bulrushes, and that the man who expects any thing but failure from such a plan, has still the A B C of his country's history to learn.

14. Resolved, That an instrument which binds those who swear to support it to commit crimes of the blackest hue, and sins of the most tremendous magnitude, is morally and therefore in reality unauthorized or executed without aggravated guilt, and ought to be rejected with indignation and horror:—that such an instrument is the Constitution of the United States, which pledges the whole physical force of the nation to keep securely in their chains three millions of slaves, makes the entire national domain a slaveholding market, and provides for a slaveholding oligarchy, incomparably more despotic than any order of nobility ever existing in any age of the world.

15. Resolved, That this is not a question that can be postponed, or evaded, by any plea of policy or necessity; by the assertion that 'the powers that be are ordained of God;' by the excuse that there must be a government; by any disastrous consequences that may be predicted to trade or property: it is a question of humanity—a question of morals—involving the highest responsibilities, and relating to our obedience to God, and our duties to each other.

The meeting was addressed on the different subjects embraced in these resolutions by Dr. Grandin, of Boston, Wm. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Henry C. Wright.

Nahum Osgood, of Salisbury, a member, of the Liberty party, then asked leave to take the platform, which was granted, and he addressed the meeting in defence of the nomination of John P. Hale by Liberty party. He was much cheered by a delegation of his party which had just come from a meeting which had been addressed by Mr. Hale.

Wendell Phillips again took the floor in reply to Mr. Osgood, who afterwards rejoined, and was then followed by Stephen S. Foster, in a most searching exposition of the narrowness and illiberality of the so-called *Liberty* Party.

The Resolutions, which had been under discussion during the evening, were then taken up *seriatim*, and adopted.

The following resolutions were prepared for presentation to the meeting, but were accidentally mislaid and not found until after the final adjournment. Undoubtedly, if offered, they would have been adopted with great unanimity.

Resolved, That we receive with deep gratitude the Address of forty thousand Scotch women to the women of America, on the subject of Slavery; sensible of the vast amount of devoted labor requisite to embody so imposing a testimony—of the striking example it sets us to use with scrupulous fidelity all the means in our power for the emancipation of the slave, and the rebuke given to the laggard zeal by the unstirring efforts of these noble women in the welfare of a race whom they have never seen.

Resolved, That we recognize, with cordial satisfaction, the sagacity of our colored friends in this city, and their correct appreciation of their own position, and the welfare of the slave, in refusing to be made the tools of the Liberty party on a late occasion.

Resolved, That we deplore the continued degradation of our national character and purpose which find their meet and most welcome representative and candidate for the nation's highest office in that blood-hound of the Texan war, Zachary Taylor.

Resolved, That while we accord to J. P. Hale full honor for his magnanimous opposition to Texan annexation and the further extension of slavery, and would not abate one title due him for his manly course in that matter, we feel bound to point out to those who have given him the plausible professions of the late Liberty party have, in times past, been able to delude, the utter recreancy to anti-slavery character of a set of men who, with the claims of being an abolition party continually on their lips, hold up for their Presidential candidate a man who has never been willing to be known as an abolitionist, and whose principles on the subject no one has yet thought it worth while to find out; and call upon them to mark, that the event we have always prophesied has come to pass, namely, that the party has bartered its professions for votes, and sacrificed the only principle it ever claimed to have, to the availability of its candidate.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the firmness of purpose, integrity and sincere devotion to his idea of anti-slavery duty, manifested by John G. Palfrey, in refusing to put into the Speaker's chair one who, of course had been sedulously modelled to suit the slaveholders.

Resolved, That the choice of Robert C. Winthrop for Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives, was a grave insult to the people of this Commonwealth; that, under the guise of respect for New England, his election was the triumph of Cotton, Carolina, cunningly using him as a tool for her own purposes, a man whose only title to preferment was treason to his birthplace, and whose only characteristic is unbounded servility to the insolent assumptions of the basest oligarchy that ever crept into power.

Resolved, That while we are rejoiced to perceive, (as indicative of the change which is taking place in public sentiment,) a growing religious sympathy with the anti-slavery movement, we are still under the painful necessity of proclaiming the deplorable fact, that the great body of the American clergy and churches are giving aid and comfort to the Southern traffickers in human flesh, either by direct participancy in slavery, by religious fellowship with those who enslave their fellow-men, by using the pulpit and the press as potent weapons with which to assail abolitionists, by silence and indifference, or by treating the question of emancipation as foreign to their calling—a fact which proves their claims, as the true embodiment and genuine representatives of Christianity, to be utterly spurious.

Voted, On motion of H. C. Wright, that the Society do now adjourn, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
ANNE W. WESTON, } *Secretaries.*

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[Reported for the Liberator.]

SKETCH OF THE REMARKS OF MR. GARRISON,

Made in Faneuil Hall, on the Resolutions offered by him for the Dissolution of the Union, Thursday evening, Jan. 27, 1848.

MR. GARRISON, in rising to address the audience, was warmly welcomed. He said—

MR. PRESIDENT:—This is a weighty and momentous theme, which the resolutions offered demand one who has given it the most serious consideration. No one, I presume, can really think it *treasonable* to speak in Faneuil Hall of REVOLUTION.—Our fathers were revolutionists, and we applaud their act and honor their memory. If they had failed, they might to this day have been called rebels and traitors. But they succeeded, and are honored. I agree, Sir, with them, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, that revolution should not be undertaken 'for light and transient causes.' But, I say, in other words of that same Declaration, '*when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce us under absolute despotism, it is our right—it is our duty—to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for our future security.*' The treason, Sir, of which I would be guilty here to-night, is the treason of George Washington, of Samuel Adams, of John Hancock, and of John Jay.

The charge against us, therefore, is such that we can no longer, honestly or without guilt, stand by the government. It is such, we affirm, as no enlightened and unprejudiced man can support without the deepest sin.

I take it that every one present understands the character of the National Constitution; that, at its formation, the slaveholders demanded an oligarchy in the government, based upon their slave property, (I refer, of course, to the three-fifths clause)—they demanded the right of an increased representation in Congress on account of their slaves—not for the benefit of the slave! oh, no! it was a bonus for slave-*holding*; and the demand was complied with! Alas! as John Quincy Adams once said, there is, in all the history of human governments, nothing to be found more unjust and dishonorable than the compact which thus was formed by our fathers with slavery.

No man can deny that, previous to the formation of the present Constitution, say from 1776, at the commencement of our existence as an independent nation, to 1787, no means had been provided (or with any definiteness) for the re-capture of fugitive slaves. But in the Constitution, a *bargain* was made, by which the South, in the language of Cotton Pinckney of South Carolina, obtained a right to recover our slaves, in whatever part of America they may take refuge, *which is a right we had not before.*

The result of this bargain has been the enslavement of generation after generation of people—the degradation and chattelizing of many millions, and at the present time of *one sixth part* of our population. It is time it was overthrown!

Last night, you saw here a SLAVE—a slave under the laws of your land—a noble man—a MAN; but one whom Faneuil Hall cannot protect, or proclaim him free. Can we, will we support a Constitution which enslaves our brother? For if there were but a single man in the United States enslaved by that Constitution, it would be enough to demand the overthrow of the Constitution and the Union.

Supposing that George N. Briggs, or Robert C. Winthrop, or Josiah Quincy, should go into one of the Southern States, and there be thrust into prison, because they came from the old Bay State? Would not Massachusetts arise in her might? Would not old Faneuil Hall rock with agitation? [Loud cheering.] But who are Briggs, and Winthrop, and Quincy? More than men? More deserving the protection of the State than any of her other citizens? No! they are but men, and the humblest man in this region of the country, the blackest man in the State are as worthy of that care, regard and protection which the State is bound to give, and which it undertakes to give to all its citizens, as they! [Great cheering.]

I am telling you, my friends, no new things.—Would that these might sink deep into your hearts! You know how Massachusetts has been scorned and wronged by her Southern partners in this Union.—You know how Hoar and Hubbard, agents of your State, were driven insultingly out of South Carolina and Louisiana, and yourselves derided and defied in them. And how long, Massachusetts, will you bear these things? True, her Legislature adopted a memorial to Congress, calling on the National Government to interfere, as it was in duty bound to do, and redress her wrong. Then an edict should have gone forth from Congress, which would have made South Carolina kiss the dust, and driven Louisiana to the wall. Instead of that, when Mr. Adams presented in Congress the memorial of the State of Massachusetts, some Southern slaveholder moved that it be laid on the table, (under it, that is,) and it was done! and there Massachusetts lies to-day, with the heel of South Carolina upon her! As a citizen of this State, I want no other or better reason for dissolving the Union with South Carolina and Louisiana, than that THEY SEIZE OUR FREE-BORN CITIZENS, AND SELL THEM INTO SLAVERY.

Another reason why we are bound to go for the overthrow of the Union is this:—we never agreed, in forming it, to surrender our freedom of speech and locomotion. The Constitution indeed provides that the citizens of each State shall have the rights and privileges of citizens in every other State. Yet no one here can go to a Southern State, and speak for freedom like a man, without being *lynched*. There exists no power to prevent your being hanged up, as Senator Preston threatened, between heaven and earth. The Southerners, on their part, were to have the same freedom of speech and locomotion; and have they not had it? Has not the slaveholder come here, into every Northern community, and spoken *in defence of slavery!* and sought to corrupt the sentiment of our people, and deaden their conscience concerning slaveholding? He has! And has any molestation been offered him? None.—Yet no one of us can speak for *freedom* in the Southern States. No! not even Henry Clay himself is free to speak for freedom in the South! Let me show you a case, which recently happened in Maryland. A man named Gover, in Harford County, was indicted for circulating an incendiary publication. He had sent to another person a copy of the Life of Frederick Douglass. It was urged in his defence that, though originally of strong intellect, he had lately become greatly impaired in mind, by which he was induced to dwell upon the subject of slavery, [he had recently ceased to be a slaveholder] and he was acquitted of his great offence (?) on this ground alone. I have met with a case of a will, set aside as invalid, because thereby the testator had emancipated his slaves, and thus demonstrated his insanity! There! said Mr. Garrison, turning and pointing to the portrait of Washington, there is a man who was insane when he died! There stands GEORGE WASHINGTON, who by will emancipated his slaves! (Great cheering.)

Mr. Garrison went on to meet some of the objections to Disunion; such as, that we should fall into a state of anarchy—that all other States would make war upon us—and that the General Government would send an army to subdue Massachusetts, perhaps with old Zachary Taylor at its head. As to the last point—the possible invasion of Massachusetts by the troops of the General Government—in view of all this shrinking from a firm maintenance of our trampled rights, cost what it might, he was forced to exclaim—

'Now, by our fathers' ashes! where's the spirit
Of the true-hearted and th' unshackled gone?
Sons of old freemen! do we but inherit
Their name alone?'

Those who were in the hall were the descendants of revolutionary sires, whose memories they cherished, whose deeds they celebrated. Why this fear of the enslaver? Has the old Bay State no alternative but to wear servile chains, and cower under the lash of the slave-driver? Shall the fear of hostile invasion need be entertained? Let Massachusetts lead the way, and New England will follow her.—The other Northern States will join. It will be everything to have right and liberty with us; and if we are compelled to suffer somewhat as to our external prosperity, why should we hesitate to make the sacrifice? Better, a thousand times better, to suffer loss, better to DIE, than to LIVE *slaves!*—(Cheers.)

A late Southern paper has put forth the impudent declaration, that the South will dash the Union in pieces, if the North insists on the Wilmot Proviso. To this depth have we fallen. The North may not even set any new territory, to be added to the country, shall not be covered over with slavery; but to every haughty and imperious demand of the slaveholder, she must yield and bow, not only in silent acquiescence, but in servile readiness to aid every slaveholding scheme to its accomplishment.

We cannot be blind to our position, we cannot fail to understand our duty. We will work, then, and bide our time. We may not at once accomplish all we desire, but the good work shall go forward. If we cannot *achieve* the revolution we seek, we can at least BEGIN it!

Mr. Garrison was most loudly applauded as he resumed his seat.

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REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

Made in Faneuil Hall, Thursday evening, Jan. 27, 1848.

WENDELL PHILLIPS came upon the platform, amidst the warmest greeting of the audience, with which the ample hall was now well filled. On the table by his side, lay partly opened, the ponderous roll which contained the Address of the Women of Scotland to the Women of America, on the subject of Slavery, with SIX FORTY THOUSAND signatures.

Mr. Phillips commenced with a reference to this admirable Address, so powerfully recommended to us, and in a few eloquent words acknowledged the effective aid which the Anti-Slavery cause has always received from women. Women, he said, the Abolitionists of the old world first heard the doctrine and learned the lesson of Immediate Emancipation. Their voices have ever been clear and true in animating to the conflict, and in pointing out the way. These same women we have here to-night; forty thousand strong they come, and urge us not to cease in our contest with Slavery. The blessing of God be upon them. Forty thousand names closed the prisons of Massachusetts, at the Latimer time, so that the Slaveholder should not use them to hold his flying victim. Forty thousand, multiplied by ten, shall yet send Massachusetts swinging clear from that condition of despots, of which she now is one. And as O'Connell, the friend of every sect, sex, creed, color, and clime, the ocean of whose philanthropy knew no shore, once said that he would be a proud man who should be able to say to the women of England, Parliament has done your bidding, and the Slave Emancipation yet joyfully do the bidding of the noble and Christian women on her soil, who demand of her to cease from all partnership in the iniquity of slaveholding. (Cheers.)

Do you ask, why we do not trust parties, and plans, and churches, and compromises, but wish to rase all out, and begin anew? We answer, every thing that man could do, united to the Constitution, has been done:—to what effect, let the gloom of slavocracy, as it steals over our country's horizon, answer. We do not distrust the Union and political parties because they have failed once, but because, against slavery, they have always failed. Let me explain in an anecdote of Henry Clay on the stump. When some vote of his had offended his neighbors, an old friend took him by the hand, and said, 'Harry, I've voted for you always till now. I'm done forever.' 'Neighbor,' said Clay, 'do you own a flint?' 'The best in Kentucky.' 'Suppose it should once miss fire, what would you do?' 'Get the flint, and try again.' 'That's it, my boy,' said Clay, clapping him on the shoulder,—'do so with your friend,—pick the flint, and try him again.'

That now was my friend. Our case is just the reverse. We've got a rifle that *always* misses—we to stand picking the flint forever! (Cheers.) Seventy years all wasted—the hopes of two generations cheated—how long shall we wait? How long to earn the reputation of patient men? moderate men? men of sound common sense? The fox turned back from the lion's cave when he saw the tracks all inward, and none returned. Wise fox! Look the vast house of Slaveholding despotism, the long procession of hopes and promises, church plans, and cunning compromises, have been endlessly marching for seventy years. Who has ever seen one glad traveller of them returning from that bourne? Shall we not be as wise as the fable?

I wish to say a few words of JOHN P. HALE, for I find that I was not understood in what I said of him here last night. I have naught to say in derogation of Mr. Hale's claims—not a word to detract from his just merits. As a politician, Mr. Hale has done well; and on his own ground, as an opponent of Texan Annexation and of the Extension of Slavery, he has distinguished himself among the politicians of the day. So far, I have not a word to object to him. But when he comes to be put forth as a Representative of the Abolitionists, (Hive Mr. Phillips read from the letter of Mr. Hale, accepting the nomination of the Liberty Party.)

Mr. Hale does not say that he goes for the *immediate* termination of slavery. Ah! that little word *immediate*. What an amount of meaning it has, and how potent is it to show the real character of a man's opinions on the subject of Slavery! I do not blame Mr. Hale for not taking ground for immediate emancipation; he has a right to his opinions. All we can ask of a man is, that he shall be true to his own views and convictions. Mr. Hale did not seek a nomination from the Liberty Party.—That nomination was his misfortune, not his fault. He was sought out by the Liberty Party; they neither asked him what he believed, or what he would do, touching slavery. Liberty Party began by seeking the old plan of questioning a man first, and nominating him afterwards. In this instance, they have improved upon it—proposing to nominate first, and question afterwards!—but they ended in nothing, and then not questioning at all. At the Buffalo Convention Liberty Party stood up, balancing between two candidates for their nomination; on one side John P. Hale, on the other Gerrit Smith. And whatever may be said of the nineteen political propositions, which we understand to sink Gerrit Smith's political hopes beyond recovery, every one knows him for an outspoken abolitionist, going the whole length for immediate emancipation. Yet upon him Liberty Party turned its back—repudiated him! And why? Because he was not an *available* candidate!—and even up to this day, Gerrit Smith has never been took up John P. Hale, the Independent Democrat, never known as an abolitionist, because it was hoped he *would* be available, and 'save some.'

And what has followed? The Liberty Party candidate sits silent in the Senate house on the subject of slavery, and leaves it for Joshua R. Giddings, the Whig, too vile for 'Hale political venom,' to make his first declaration against what has been made in Congress this year against slavery. I said, to-day, to a Liberty party man, that John P. Hale had as yet made no war on slavery; and he replied, 'Mr. H. had not yet found an opportunity.' I told him I knew a man named Giddings, who made his opportunity. (Cheers.)

I repeat, I find no fault with John P. Hale, who *tried by his own standard*. Measured by his own yard-stick, he is an honest man enough, for what I know. But when put forth as an anti-slavery man, to represent the anti-slavery mind and conscience of this people, I will hold him to a strict anti-slavery measurement.

Mr. President, we hold ourselves a Grand Inquest for Freedom—Inspectors-General, may I say, of anti-slavery for old Massachusetts. By the right which some years of study and experience in the matter give us, we make this claim. We mean to hold ourselves free from any nomination of slaveholders, and we mean to give it no countenance and support; and we mean to see it abolished before we close our eyes in death, if we can. (Loud and continued cheering.) Over all political scheming, over all anti slavery sportsey, over all hypocrisy and pretence, will we hold our inquest and trial. If we can help it, no man shall go about in an anti-slavery garment, without the anti-slavery heart in his bosom. Liberty Party may work for her own ends. She may join what others she pleases to accomplish their ends. She may go for a homestead to the white man, and land for everybody, &c. &c.; but she shall, by putting on anti-slavery as a cloak, swallow up the enthusiasm of the honest abolitionists of the North. She shall deceive, Sir, those Scotish women, whose names are enrolled there (turn up to the table.) Those forty thousand women are the Tenth Legion, of which the Roman saying was, 'defect was impossible—the Tenth Legion was to the last.' and they shall not be deceived by any false pretences.

I thought last night, as I listened to the eloquent appeals and remonstrances of William W. Brown, how powerless are the men of Boston—wealthy and powerful though they be—how utterly powerless they are to protect their own kin in their own city! There is not, in all Massachusetts, the power which can save Wm. W. Brown from his master's grasp, should he come and demand him here. (A voice, 'Yes there is!') Yes! there are in Massachusetts, 800,000 beating hearts, which, if they would utter the word DISSOLUTION, would be omnipotent to shield and protect, to save him. But that word is come, not by mustering parties, or choosing unkningly 'available candidates,' but by Massachusetts coming up, as of old, and breaking her chains in Faneuil Hall. 'Treason!' some will cry—the powers that be are ordained of God.' 'The powers that be are the powers that shall be'—this I hold to be the true doctrine, and this ought to be the reading of the text. (Great applause.)

Old Sam Johnson, when, as long ago as 1770, he used to go down to drink his port at Oxford, was wont to give as a toast, 'Success to the next insurrection of blacks in Jamaica;' and he was consistent in so doing, for he believed in armed resistance to the wrong. To this end is this country fast approaching, if it do not in good time avert the catastrophe by giving the slaves freedom. If you would have freedom for the slaves, you must aiter the masters or lighten them. The Church will not free the slave—the State cannot and will not.

No, Sir, we may not trifle or dally with this thing. What brought about the Revolution of 1688? What the Catholic Emancipation? Fear of the

sinner. What accomplished the independence of these States? A determined purpose! Nothing short of purpose to put an end to the existing state of things. Liberty exists in the only thing, the only power, that ever wrested out freedom for any people. The power on that have ruled long, and learned to love ruling, will never give up that prerogative till they find they stand, till they see the certainty of overthrow and destruction if they do not!

And when insurrection comes—as come it must, and long, unless the nation by a speedy and thorough repentance save herself from that doom—then, Sir, I want the North to stand still, and let the contest between masters and slaves go on. I would not have a single word uttered by Northern lips to encourage insurrection—I would not have one Northern soldier lifted to aid even the slave in his bloody struggle for his liberty. But God forbid that I should, in any way, guarantee protection to the wife and children of the white man, that he may go forth with impunity to inflict violence, and woes which are worse than death, upon the wife and children of my enslaved neighbor. (Cheers.) I will have no part in enabling the white man to leave his own wife and children secure in his dwelling, while he goes forth to rifle and render desolate the humble home of his slave! (Great cheering.)

Oh! how degenerate we are! Our fathers, in their comparative weakness, could separate from Great Britain, their mother-country, their mother in religion, in laws, in literature, with every thing to bind them to her,—the land of Shakspeare and Milton, of Cranmer and Howard;—the land that gave us that mother tongue in which we read the Bible—the source of that glorious common law, jury, habeas corpus, and all rendered by that one epithet, as universal in the colonies, 'the mother country'—and all this they broke away, because they could not tax, or rob, or enslave them, an oppressive tax on their exports. And we! we cannot separate from our land of the McDuffies and the Calhounes—of whips and chains—from a land which has taught nothing good in religion or in laws—a land which never had a patriot—which, far from sending us literature, has to send to the North even for the shallowest of jests! (laughter and cheers)—we cannot, we do! we cannot leave this 'glorious Union.' We cannot indeed our connexion with the land of women-whipping monsters, and Zachary Taylor! Alas! are we cowards and degenerate? enfeebled and enslaved by love of ease, and love of gain? Oh! that the spirit of the earlier days of New England had come upon her again! Americans have never done but two things to be noted. They wrung themselves from the rude grasp of Nature—they snatched from the closing hand of despotism. To plant a republic—those are the two great events in our national history. What have we then to boast of in the word Revolution—we, the children of sires? We were born to be rebels—it runs in the blood. Our fathers sacrificed one generation to plant this beautiful land, another to redeem it.

Union Twice is reached! there are now two worlds for us to fight for. Let us imitate the other of their sires and dares—strive to model our State to the height of its idea of our age. If, wearied with so many labors, they sank to rest ere every head of the Hydra was destroyed; if, tempted by immediate ease, they left the heritage of the march unplanted, let us no longer delay in our way in turning proudly over the pages of their history, but close the book, and gird ourselves to the struggle—till with clear brow, in the face of Christendom, we can ask—'What our fathers left us to do, have we not done it? The atonement which their only sin demanded—have we not made it? Have we not, too, proved ourselves worthy of our sires, by willingness to sacrifice all the present to the welfare of the future?'

Amidst the most warm and general applause, Mr. Phillips took his seat.

REMARKS OF EDMUND QUINCY.

Made in Faneuil Hall, on Wednesday Evening, Jan 26, 1848.

Edmund Quincy addressed the meeting as follows:—

This is, Sir, the fittest possible place in which to discuss the subject of the resolutions now before us; for this subject is the position of Massachusetts, morally and politically, with regard to freedom and human rights. There was a time when Boston was the home of liberty, and Faneuil Hall the resistance to the noblest thoughts in behalf of freedom. Then, too, the voice of Faneuil Hall was the voice of Massachusetts. But, alas! the change. Boston, the old, mother of men, of heroes of States, has suffered herself to be led, hoodwinked and abject, to the foot of the Slave Power. Cotton, and with liberty for her motto and inspiration, though having a population only twice or three times as large as now dwell in this single city, she dared to brave and defy the whole British Empire in arms; and, pouring out her treasure and her blood freely, she accomplished at length her purpose, great and difficult though it was. It was but a few years after this, that the attempt was made, among the former Colonies, to form a union of States. The temptation to union was exceeding great. There was the fear of Great Britain, with from they had just been in a seven years' war—France, entering upon a career of revolution and conquest—the dread of poverty and debt, which hung very heavily, especially upon the Northern States—and of domestic disturbances and divisions, all of which, even at that early period, there had not several existence. In spite of all these temptations for herself strength and prosperity. The temptation was great—but so were the concessions which were demanded of her. She finally consented to a Union,—but it was a union which she knew could be created with the blood of the slave. For years, the devil tempted her, and she hitherto put by the price of her concessions—but it has not yet been always so. Massachusetts has indeed prospered temporarily, but it has not been owing to the Union. She has but immense sums by the Union; and I hesitate not to say, as my firm belief, that Massachusetts would, today, have been more prosperous, more powerful, and not endered into the present Union, than she now is.

Massachusetts once declared that Texas should never be annexed to the Union with her consent,—declared that she never would submit to it. That was a noble word—and worthy of the Revolutionary sires, if it had, only been a word of truth—if the heart of the State were honest in it, and prepared to back up the word with deeds. But how has it been? Shamefully, indecently, Texas is foisted into the Union, and sends her Senators and Representatives in the National Congress. What did Massachusetts do then? Did she call home her Senators and Representatives, resolved to maintain the right, and bear her own honor, to tear down the stars and stripes as a dishonored signal, and raise aloft the Lone Star Flag—determined to be herself, at once, independent and free? Nothing of the kind! On the contrary, she received Texas as a consenting party, and then, with her in the Union, she proceeds; and to those, who remonstrated with her, replied, in effect, through her Legislature, 'Texas is annexed—there is no help for it, and the petitioners have leave to withdraw their prayer.' And there, and thus, Massachusetts lies, prostrate and abject, at the footstool of the slave-holder, to help fight the war. And, without parley, may, with a much more honest liberality, Massachusetts consented to fight for slavery; and that she is even now doing! Massachusetts re-elected, as her Governor, the man who (treacherous to his past avowals) called out her troops, the man who betrayed her honor; while the candidate of the other party was selected because engaged in fighting the war, himself a creature of Old Bridges.

This is the position and the attitude of Massachusetts now; and it is the business of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in part, to expose this position, to bring her to a sense of shame for her base humiliation, and to induce her to prove and cast away an alliance, a Union, that is alike dishonorable and destructive to her.

Mr. Quincy, on taking his seat, was loudly applauded.

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

Made in Faneuil Hall, Wednesday Evening, Jan. 26

Wendell Phillips next took the stand, and read again the first three resolutions, which refer to Messrs. Winthrop and Briggs.

It may be asked, he said, why we select individuals, in this discussion, as the objects of our censure and reviews, instead of simply discussing principles. We tell us we should not attempt to awaken public feeling against individuals, but should enunciate true principles, and leave them to make their way among men and into practice. Sir, let those who like the work of preaching abstractions, do it; for myself, I have never been able to find an abstract sin. When I have met sin, it has always been embodied. The American Anti-Slavery Society tried the work of proclaiming and diffusing abstract principles, till it got all out of the people's sight. It went about, like Diogenes, in search of a principle, but could not find one. And if you have the search now, a similar disappointment awaits you; you will not find a *principle* current in the community; or, if you do, a dozen men claim it as their thunder, and you cannot tell where it belongs. If we should call for principles, like the spirits in the vasty deep, they would not answer us. If we go to Democrats for principles, they will answer us, 'I go to Democrats.' Whigs, in search of principles, we are laughed at for our pains. The very fault they find with us is for saying that their candidates have any principles. Prove it, say they. And John P. Hale—according to the confessions of the Liberty party, no one knows whether he believes the Constitution to be Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery? The truth is, every man who goes into politics has his coat trimmed on both sides, and turns it at his pleasure. We must attack men then, for they are the only objects of attack we can find. And we will attack those who stand in the way of freedom, in the hope that wherever the wrong is, it may be brought to light, and put to shame.

Mr. Phillips proceeded accordingly to speak of Robert C. Winthrop, the representative from Boston in Congress—of his betrayal of the true interests of Massachusetts—his venal course as a politician—his subservience to the Slave Power—his support of the War—his vote for a lie—his readiness to go for a Slavery-extension candidate—and his consequent reward with the Speakership.

Mr. Phillips spoke also of George N. Briggs, and his double-dealing with regard to Texas and the War with Mexico. He read the Congress of Mr. Briggs said the annexation of Texas was virtually a dissolution of the Union—that Massachusetts ought never to consent to it, and that, he believed, she would not consent to it. Then George N. Briggs, when he had got to be Governor, 'entreated' Massachusetts to volunteer to fight for a war, he uttered our denunciation of his shameless course; and a month afterward he came to this Hall, and indignantly said the Constitution had bound him to do as he had done, (and he showed himself a poor lawyer, when he said it,) and that he had sworn to do thus. What if he had? Did he not know that Faneuil Hall was the place where men broke their own chains, instead of forging chains for others!—where the Adamses, the Quincys, and the Otises, came to strike off their chains, that others might wear them, *who liked to do so?*

Like a Grand Jury for Christendom, we summon the slaveholder, and his apologists and instruments, before us. If their character appeared bad, it was our fault; the fault is in the character. We are daguerreotype painters, sir. Our pictures may, like these, be *sad*, but are always faithful and exact.

Mr. President, we go for men as well as principles. We judge men by their acts. Wherever we find a Governor, a mere professor and not a doer of the truth, a hypocrite in his pretended zeal for liberty, a deceiver of the people, we nail him to the counter as base coin; and whenever we find a South Carolina Speaker in the garb of a Boston boy, we nail *him* right to the floor of Faneuil Hall, and leave him there. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Phillips concluded a very eloquent speech of nearly an hour in length, of which the above is but a meagre sketch, amidst great applause.

REMARKS OF W. W. BROWN AND S. S. FOSTER,

Made in Faneuil Hall, Wednesday Evening, Jan. 26.

William W. Brown came to the platform. I stand here, to-night, he said, a slave—a piece of property. Some fifteen years ago, I should not really ever been a slave; but here is a letter from the man who claims to own me, offering to give up his claim to me for $325. He says he could have sold me once for two thousand dollars! It seems to me, then, that the anti-slavery movement has had some influence on the value of his property. Many among the abolionists have assured me of protection, if I should be in danger of falling into the hands of my master again. I thank them for their friendship and compassion. But, my friends, it is not this that I would chiefly ask of you, but that you will repeal your Fugitive Slave law which makes millions, beside myself, are made the *property* of others—made subject to their will, their avarice, their revenge, their lust, without the power of self-defence or redress. I wish there were a place in Massachusetts where I could stand free. But where can I fly? My master has his agent, in Boston, who will take the $325. Who is that agent? [Come forward, you recreant Yankee,' said Henry C. Wright, 'and show yourself.'] (Great cheering.) Who is that agent? And what have I to look for?

When I broke away from slavery, I took my course for Canada. I passed through Ohio and New York, I found men who would protect me, and who were laboring to overthrow the bloody institution which enslaved me. I stand with them; and after awhile commenced, in my way, to labor against slavery. I went, in full confidence, to the church; but I found that it was full of slaveholders, in full support of the Government, and Constitution, and laws, which made me a piece of property. I went to the political parties; they, too, were bound to slavery, and would do nothing for the slave. I turned again to the abolionists, and found it was almost alone those who would live as fellowship with slavery, 'no union with slaveholders'! (Cheers.) *They are the only friends of the slave who will have no partnership or alliance with his masters and tyrants.*

How much better are you, in Massachusetts, with respect to freedom, than the slaves? I was born so freely to the South. Samuel Hoar, the agent of Massachusetts, ran away from South Carolina; I ran away from Missouri. (Cheers.) Samuel Hoar ran away, because the Constitution of the United States could not protect him. I ran away, because the Constitution could not protect me. (Renewed cheers.) It will not protect any man of you, going to the South, unless you first identify yourself with the slaveholder.

Mr. Brown was warmly applauded at the close of his remarks.

Stephen S. Foster came forward to occupy the platform, he said, for a few minutes only. I have noticed, he said, in the remarks of several of the speakers here to-night, and in the responses of the audience, much indignation expressed against W. W. Brown, a professed runner in St. Louis, and against his agent, whoever he may be, here in Boston. It was well enough, perhaps; but did you forget that you long ago made provision in your Constitution for these very transactions? (A voice—'That was our fathers' doing.') Your fathers' doing! Yes! the fathers have sowed the wind, and the children's teeth are set on edge! (Cheers.) I could not find it in me, Sir, to be very hard upon the needy lawyer, who should act in Boston as the slaveholder's attorney! His meanness is lost in the iniquity of greater men than he. It is the Winthrops, the Briggs, the Websters, the Kirks, and the Brechers, who hold up, countenance, and baptize the infernal system of slavery, and the laws which authorize the slaveholder to retake his fugitive slave, by his agent or otherwise. These are the men chiefly to be held in scorn; these are the men who are worthy of a lively hold up and denunciation. It was for this, my friends, that I rose; to turn off your special indignation from the fourpence ha'penny lawyer, and even from the claimant of Wm. W. Brown, to those other men, more criminal, more directly responsible for the wrong which is done to the slave, to whom I have just referred. And this, as in all things, we are bound to judge a righteous judgment. [Applause.]

Money collected at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, to defray expenses, &c.

John Rogers, $1; Daniel Ricketson, 1; Reuben Weston, 50c; Wm. Ashby, 1; Bourne Spooner, 1; J. G. Dodge, 50c; Charles H. Hovey, 2; a friend, 1; a friend, 1; A. J. Fuller, 50c; Wm. Farwell, 1; cash, 2; A. Wyman, 50c; W. B. Caswell, 20c; T. P. Locke, 25c; cash, 50c; Emma Chipman, 25c; Mary Willey, 50c; a friend, 25c; Thomas Carpenter, 50c; Josiah Hayward, 1; J. Russell, 50c; John McCombe, 50c; cash, 50c; E. E. Bennett, 1; cash, 1; W. P. Peak, 15c; James Johnson, 25c; Francis Jackson, 3; Nathan Webster, 1; E. F. Meriam, 1; J. T. S. 50c; cash, 8c; P. Pearce, 1; a friend, 1; H. Jenkins, 1; Elbridge Sprague, 1; Alfred Williams, 50c; B. P. Rice, 50c; Alvan Ward, 50c; John Rand, 1; D. Allison, 50c; S. D. Rundell, 50c; cash, 25c; Edmund Quincy, 1; James M. Leelth, 50c; Benjamin Snow, Jr., 1; Charles K. Whipple, 1; Joshua Coolidge, Jr., 1; N. Richardson, 1; C. R. Black, 75c; Almira F. Fay, 50c; John R. Thurston, 25c; H. Paul, 25c; cash, 25c; A. R. Brambhall, 1; C. Brambhall, 1; George Jackson, 1; E. R. Pease, 1; Catharine Pease, 1; Francis Mary Robbins, 1; Robert B. Forster, 1; J. Merrill, 1; M. K. 50c; Lucy M. Haskell, 50c; Sarah Clay, 50c; Wm. Sears, 25c; B. D. Holmes, 50c; Elizabeth W. Williams, 50c; Abby G. Lindley, 1; Hannah B. Spooner, 1; M. M. Brooks, 1; J. H. Browne, 1; Samuel Barrett, 1; E. D. Draper, 1; Mary Plummer, 1; Jane Sillaway, 50c; A. Stanwood, 1; Jacob Leonard, 1; E. Y. Perry, 1; George W. Simonds, 1; David Merritt, 1; M. W. Chapman, 1; Eliza Lee Follen, 1; Mary G. Chapman, 1; A. S. H. Fish, 1; Jas. N. Buffum, 1; John Levy, 1; Sam'l May, Jr. 1; Richard Clapp, 1; Wm. W. Brown, 50c; Harriet E. Davis, 1; Mrs. Ashby, 1 50; Sarah J. Davis, 1; a friend, 2; a friend, 1; cash, 50; cash, 25c; do. 43c; Elizabeth Chapman, 1; Ellingham L. Capron, 1; Olivia Capron, 50c; C. Weston, 50c; Gertrude Barrett, 50c; John Corthell, 1; Mary Johnson, 1; Rhoda Berry, 1; Edward Phelps, 50c; Helen E. Garrison, 50c; Sarah T. Benson, 50c; Susan C. Abbot, 1; Jeremiah W. Bland, 50c; Rich'd Leonard, 50c; a friend, 25c; Lucius Ford, 1; A. Purinton, Jr. 1; Henry Carpenter, 50c; two friends, 75c; J. M. Fisk, 1; cash, 62c; John Boyd, 25c; Mr. Caldwell, 12c; Mr. Menzi, 25c; E. P. Burnham, 1; Dr. A. Farnsworth, 1; G. W. F. Mellen, 25c; a friend, 50c. Jonas Parker, 50c; cash, 25c; A. H. Morey, 25c; James Jackson, 1; Wendell Phillips, 1; Capt. J. O. Rees, 5; Henrietta Sargent, 1; Lewis Ford, 50c.	

TREASURER'S REPORT

Of Receipts and Disbursements from Jan. 1, 1847, to Jan 1, 1848.

By balance of old account, rendered Jan. 1, 1847,	$849 10.
Cash rec'd from proceeds of Mass. A. S. Fair,	3474 30.
Do. rec'd from Finance Com. for collections at annual meeting,	202 84.
Do. rec'd from bequest of the late Henry Chapman,	100.
Do. rec'd from Caroline Weston for proceeds of Mass. A. S. Fair at New Bedford,	386 50.
Do. rec'd from A. Brazer of Ohio, on account of sale of books,	30.
Do. rec'd from Finance Com. collections at N. E. Convention,	342 25.
Do. rec'd from Agents and others for donations as published monthly in the Liberator,	1394 28.
Total amount of Receipts,	$6,777 36.

The disbursements have been made as follows, viz:

Paid R. F. Walliut towards expenses of the Depository,	$220.
Per order of the Board to the Treas'r of the Mass. A. S. Society,	3264.
Per order of the Board towards the expenses of Dr. Hudson's Trial,	75.
Rent of Office and Depository, 21 Cornhill,	202 78.
Expenses of Fanel Hall for Annual Meeting,	40 50.
For the use of Melodeon for do do do	35.
Use of Marlboro' Chapel Hall 4 evenings for S. S. Foster's Lectures,	20.
W. A. A. Society for use of Hall 2 evenings,	16.
For printing and posting handbill	8 25
Sundry bills for advertis'g, Ann'l Meet'g,	24 76.
Reporting speeches at Annual Meeting,	15.
Sundry bills for expenses of Fair,	65 50.
Per order of Board to Mrs. Frederick Douglass, during her husband's absence,	20.
For paper and printing Annual Report of Mass. A. S. Society,	90.
For printing Circulars,	6.
Harnden & Co. for transportation of packages,	6 45.
Expenses of Pic Nic at Waltham,	41 27.
Do. do do at Dorchester,	36 60
Do. do do at N. E. Convention,	36.
Dow & Jackson's bill for printing,	8 50.
Addison Davis for his services as lecturing	183 60.
Parker Pillsbury do do do do	537 37.
S. S. Foster do do do do	192 22.
Wm. W. Brown do do do do	386 85.
Sam'l. May, Jr. for his services as Genl. Agent,	470 92.
Loring Moody, for do as Financial Agent,	345 76.
Total amount of disbursements	$6466 76.
Leaving a balance in the Treas. on Jan. 1, 1848, of	306,58.
	$6773 36.

E. E. SAMUEL PHILBRICK, *Treasurer.*

Boston, Jan. 16, 1848.

I have examined the foregoing Accounts of Jan. 18, 1847, to the present time, and find it to be correct and properly vouched. Balance in the Treasury, amounting three hundred and six dollars, fifty-eight cents.

EDMUND JACKSON, *Auditor.*

CREDIT TO WHOM CREDIT IS DUE.

Boston, Jan. 25, 1848.

Mr. Garrison—Dear Sir: On two recent occasions, as General Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, I have visited towns in Plymouth County on Sunday, preached on the subject of Slavery to stated congregations, and lectured in the evening. In both instances, it was a Unitarian congregation that I spoke during the day, and the pastor of each society gave me a cordial and efficient co-operation. Towns alluded to are South Hingham and Kingston.

The Rev. J. L. Russell is pastor of the Society in South Hingham, and the Rev. Samuel Barrett is pastor of the Society in Kingston. To both these gentlemen, I am indebted for the cordial welcome they gave me as agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and for the readiness with which they opened their pulpits to me, to expose the guilt of the American people, and to advocate the cause of the enslaved. To them both I feel that the cause is indebted for their able and eloquent advocacy of it, in aid of my own efforts. In the most emphatic manner, they identified themselves with the oppressed, and with those who are laboring in behalf of the oppressed. The cause of Christian holiness, as honorable as it is rare, characterized their position and all their utterance. I feel that this testimony is due to these gentlemen, and ought to be expressed. It is not yet a time when a clergyman can take such position, without incurring the risk of losing favor and support; and it is all the more due to his honor, when he injects the sympathies and foregoes the approbation of popular leaders, and 'dares to be in the right with two or three.' The candor and apparent interest in the subject, with which I was heard by the congregations I addressed in these towns, is circumstance I mention with pleasure, and which calls for this acknowledgment.

It is proper to be said, in this connection, that on former occasions, I have spoken to the Unitarian congregations in Bolton, Duxbury, Norton, and East Needham, as Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, by request of those, who had full knowledge of the ministers of those societies, and that I have found, in every instance, those who heard the word with gladness, and who were ready to contribute, according to their ability, for its promulgation throughout the land. In the case of two of these societies, the pastors were then absent from home, (I refer to Mr. Edes of Bolton, and Mr. Gale of Norton,) and manifested a true interest in the anti-slavery cause, and a warm sympathy with its most active friends.

No one can justly say that I speak of these things with a view to securing credit to the denomination with which these gentlemen are connected, and with which I have been intimately connected myself in years past. On the contrary, that denomination deserves no credit (in my judgment) for the manly course pursued by the gentlemen I have alluded to; because the great mass of its members are decidedly anti in it, are decidedly adverse to their course, and would censure them for having admitted myself or any other friend of the Mass. A.S. Society to their pulpits. The honor of a frank and manly stand against popular prejudice and the national sin of slavery, and in behalf of the suffering and helpless slave of God's creation, is entirely, (as it ought to be,) the individuals who have taken it—not at all to those, though denominationally with them, who refuse to do any thing of the kind.

I wish it were in my power to say that I have visited and addressed societies of other religious denominations, with equal success in this matter of Slavery. But I cannot. No invitation to do so has been extended to me, with the exception of an indefinite one from the minister of a Wesleyan Society. But it may yet happen that the faithful anti-slavery speaker shall find entrance and a welcome in those pulpits in which present sympathy, in their pride and hardness of heart, has shut him out.

I remain, sincerely yours,

S. MAY, JR.

ANTI-SABBATH CONVENTION.

TO THE FRIENDS OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY:

The right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience is inherent, inalienable, self-evident. Yet it is notorious, that in all the States, excepting Louisiana, there are laws enforcing the religious observance of the FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK AS THE SABBATH, and punishing as criminals such as attempt to pursue their usual avocations on that day of religious rest which even Sabbatarians recognize as innocent and laudable on all other days. It is true, some exceptions are made to the rigorous operation of these laws, in favor of the Seventh-Day Baptists, Jews, and others who keep the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath; but this freedom is granted as a condescension, as a concession to religious sects, as a privilege, and not recognized as a natural right. For those, and the number is large, and steadily increasing, who believe that the Sabbath was ordained by God at the creation,—as a boon of good things to come,' which vanished eighteen hundred years ago before the light of the Christian dispensation, and therefore that it constitutes no part of Christianity,—*there is no exemption from the penalty of the law;* but, should they venture to labor even for bread on that day, or be guilty of what is called 'Sabbath-breaking,' they are liable to be either to fine or imprisonment! Cases of this kind have occurred in Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, within a comparatively short period, where conscientious and upright persons have been thrust into prison, for an act no more intrinsically heinous than that of gathering in a crop of hay, or selling a pair of spectacles or pocket publications. There is, therefore, no liberty of conscience allowed to the people of this country, *under the laws thereof*, in regard to the observance of a Sabbath day.

In addition to these startling facts, within the last five years a religious combination has been formed in this State, called the 'Massachusetts A. S. and FOREIGN SABBATH UNION,' whose specific object it is to impose the Sabbatical yoke yet more heavily on the shoulders of American people. In a recent appeal made by this Union, signed by the Executive Committee of that Union, it is stated that 'the Secretary (Rev. Dr. Edwards) has visited twenty of the Eastern towns, and spoken before more than thirty thousand miles, addressing public bodies of all descriptions, and presenting reasons why, as a nation, we should keep the Sabbath—all popular business, travelling and amusement, confined to six days in a week—and all people assemble on the Sabbath, and worship God.' A 'petitioner' (?) Sabbatarian, in Boston, has been injured by the Secretary, and 'what has already been done will put a copy of this document into more than three hundred thousand families.' Still greater efforts are to be made by the 'Union' for the furtherance of its object.

That this combination is animated by the spirit of religious bigotry and persecution, and by the spirit which banished the Baptists from Massachusetts, and subjected the Quakers to imprisonment and death, and recently enthralled this country—admits of little doubt. It is supported and sustained by the same spirit which has secured the enactment of penal laws against Sabbath-breaking, (all that is required to make a law, is a law,) and the disposition of the combination manifestly is, if they can increase their power, to obtain the passage of yet more stringent laws against those who do not 'esteem one day above another,' but esteem 'every day'—who are not willing that any man should judge them in respect to a holy day, or the new moon, or the Sabbath—those who mean to 'stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.' The supporters do not rely solely upon reason, argument, persuasion, but also brute force—upon penal law; and this, in seeking to crush by violence the rights of conscience, and religious liberty—the dearest their real spirit is revealed as at war with the genius of republicanism, and the spirit of Christianity.

Believing that the efforts of the 'Sabbath Union' ought to be baffled by at least a corresponding energy on the part of the friends of civil and religious liberty—

That the Sabbath, according to the Jewish Scriptures, was given to '*the children of Israel*,'—not to no other PEOPLE,—as 'a sign' between them and God, and perpetual throughout all the other Mosaic rituals belonging to the '*ministration of death*, WRITTEN AND ENGRAVED IN STONES,' on the introduction of 'THE MINISTRATION OF THE SPIRIT,' and the substitution 'A BETTER COVENANT, which was established upon better promises';—

That Christianity knows nothing of a holy day, but only of a holy life,—that possession of a spirit which works no ill to any one, and is 'THE FULFILLING OF THE LAW';—

That the worship of God does not pertain to any particular day—is not a special, isolated performance—and cannot 'come by observation'—but is purely spiritual in its nature, and comprehended in a cheerful obedience to the will of the Father, as far as it is made known;—

That the distinction made between sacred and secular days, is by no means warranted by Scripture, the *sacred* being the strict performance of religious observances, and the *secular* such as undoing heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, relieving the distressed, laboring in the field or in the workshop, public travelling, transporting the United States mail,—is a distinction not based upon reason or Christianity, but has contributed to lower the tone of individual and public morality, and to depress the immutable standard of moral obligation;—

That the sabbath, as now recognized and enforced, is one of the main pillars of Priestcraft and Superstition, and the stronghold of a merely ceremonial Religion;—

That, in the hands of a Sabbatizing clergy, it is a mighty obstacle in the way of all the reforms of the age,—such as Anti-Slavery, Peace, Temperance, Purity, Human Brotherhood, &c. &c.,—and rendered adamantine in its aspect towards bleeding Humanity, whose cause must not be pleaded, but whose cries must be hushed, on the 'sacred occurrence;—and believing, especially,

That all penal laws respecting the religious observance of any day, are unchristian, unrepublican and anti-christian, and ought to be immediately abrogated;—

That the interference of the State, in matters of religious faith and outward observances, is not only unwarrantable, but a usurpation not to be tolerated;—

That they who are for subjecting to pains and penalties, all who do not construe the Scriptures in their light, in regard to a religious observance, are actuated by a mistaken or malevolent spirit, which is utterly at variance with the spirit of Christ, which in various ages has resorted to the dungeon, the rack, the gallows, and the stake, for the accomplishment of purposes, for which ought to be boldly confronted and rebuked;—

We, the undersigned, therefore, invite all who agree with us essentially in the sentiments of the Sabbath question, to meet IN CONVENTION, in the city of Boston, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, the 23d and 24th of March next, to confer together, and to devise such measures as may be for the dissemination of light and knowledge, on this subject, as may be deemed expedient.

In publishing this call for an ANTI-SABBATH CONVENTION, we desire to be clearly understood. We have no objection either to the first or the seventh day of the week *as a day of rest from bodily labor for man and beast*. We do, on the contrary, *such rest is not only desirable, but indispensable*. Neither man nor beast can long endure unmitigated labor. But we also believe that it is in harmony with the will of God, or the physical nature of man, that mankind should be doomed to hard and wearing toil six days out of seven, to obtain a bare subsistence. We believe that a plentiful contribution, the rest of one day in the week is indeed grateful, and must be regarded as a blessing; but it is wholly inadequate to repair the physical injury or the moral degradation consequent on such protracted labor. It is not in accordance with the law of life, that our race should be thus worked, and only thus partially refreshed, and thus doomed to a premature death. *They need more*, AND MUST HAVE MORE, *instead of less rest*; and it is only for them to be enlightened and reclaimed—to put away those things which render them to grind in the prison-house of Toil, namely, idolatry, priestcraft, sectarians, slavery, war, intemperance, licentiousness, monopoly, and the like—in short, to live in PEACE, obey the eternal law of being, strive for each other's welfare, and 'glorify God in their bodies and spirits which are his'—and they will secure the rest, not only of one day in seven, but of every large portion of their earthly existence. To them shall be granted the mastery over every day as every honored blessing, and every afflicting affliction; for the earth shall be filled with abundance for all.

Nor do we deny the right of any number of persons to observe a particular day of the week as holy time, by such religious rites and ceremonies as they may deem acceptable to God. To their own master, they stand or fall. We claim for ourselves, and for every man, the right to worship God according to the dictates of our own CONSCIENCES. This right, inherent and inalienable, is chosen down in the United States; and we call upon those who agree to preserve civil and religious liberty to rally for its rescue.

By that infallible test of conscious rectitude which Jesus gave to his disciples, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,'—let those who Sabbatize on the first day of the week be measured. At present, they constitute a majority, and are intolerant in this community;—hence, the legislative power is in their hands, which they do not scruple to use for the purpose of binding and compelling their neighbors. Now let the case be reversed. Suppose this power were in the hands of those who do not Sabbatize, and they should proceed to enact penal laws, forbidding the observance of any day as the Sabbath—would not the Sabbatarians cry out against such laws as vexatious and tyrannical, destructive of the rights of conscience, and a disgrace to the age? Verily!

We are aware that we shall inevitably be accused, by the chief priests, scribes and Pharisees of the present time, as was Jesus by the same class of his day, as 'one that teacheth men we do not keep the Sabbath day'; but we are persuaded, that to expose the popular delusion which prevails on this subject, is a *sufficient reason, because of a pure Christianity, to promote true and acceptable worship, and to inculcate strict moral and religious accountability, in all the concerns of life*, ON ALL DAYS OF THE WEEK ALIKE. We do not propose a 'Sunday Convention' for this belief, we are content to stand in the same condemnation, on this point, with TENDALE, LUDLAM, BRAY, BARCLAY, WHITCHCOT, ROGER WILLIAMS, JOHN MILTON, PENN, FOX, PRIESTLEY, BENTHAM, PALEY, WHITBY, Archbishop WHATELEY, and a host of others, who are everywhere lauded by the various sects with which they are respectively, as among the brightest ornaments of the Christian Church, and who are essentially agreed with us in the opinion, that the Sabbath was a JEWISH INSTITUTION.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston, Mass.	
FRANCIS JACKSON,	"
THEODORE PARKER,	"
EDMUND JACKSON,	"
CHARLES F. HOVEY,	"
JOHN W. BROANE,	"
MARTIN STOWER,	"
CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,	"
SAMUEL MAY, JR.	"
ROBERT F. WALCUT,	"
SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline,	"
INCREASE S. SMITH, Dorchester,	"
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.	
LORING MOODY, Lynn,	"
ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford,	
STEPHEN S. FOSTER, Worcester.	
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,	"
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton,	
GEORGE W. BENSON, Northampton,	
PARKER PILSBURY, Concord, N. H.	
LUCRETIA MOTT,	"
JAMES MOTT, Philadelphia, Pa.	
LUCRETIA MOTT,	"
EDWARD M. DAVIS,	"
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH,	"
HENRY C. WRIGHT,	"
J. MILLER MCKIM,	"
THOMAS McCLINTOCK, Waterloo, N. Y.	
JOSEPH C. HATHAWAY, Farmington, do.	
JAMES EDDY, New York.	

☞ Editors of newspapers, friendly to civil and religious liberty, are requested to give this Call an insertion in their columns. It is an important document, and they whose names are appended to it should be allowed (to prevent misconception and misrepresentation) to state their own views in their own words. So far as penal legislation is concerned, in regard to the Sabbath, all parties should agree.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

☞ The proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the old Pioneer Society occupies so large a portion of our inner form as to exclude much original and selected matter, and to leave no room for comments. The proceedings speak for themselves. We are indebted to our friend, Samuel May, Jr., for the sketches of the speeches reported in another column. They are, of course, but mere sketches, and not full reports. The speech of Wendell Phillips, on Thursday evening, in Faneuil Hall, was one of the most eloquent and impressive ever made in that famous hall, though wholly unreported. We are glad to present even a mere outline of it.

THE PETITIONS.

All persons having in their hands copies of the Petition for Secession from the Union, or having it in their power to help forward this work of righteousness and humanity, are requested to see that the petitions are filled up as quickly as possible, and forwarded to some member of the Legislature, or, if preferred, to 21 Cornhill, Boston, to the care of SAMUEL MAY, JR., who will see that they are duly presented. *Let the work be not make longer delays!* LET US ONE HOLD BACK!

☞ Residents of Boston, who are prepared to sign this Petition, are urgently requested to call without delay at the Anti-Slavery office, 21 Cornhill, and record their names.

From the New England Washingtonian.

We take the liberty to transcribe the following certificate of Mr. Covert, in favor of the curative properties of Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry, to our columns. Mr. Covert (of the firm of Covert & Dodge, vocalists) has been long and favorably known in this city and vicinity as a vocalist of rare attainments. We have witnessed with painful anxiety, his declining health from the disease of which he speaks, and have almost despaired of his recovery—yes, we placed little hope in his recovery—but, unknowingly, thanks to the virtue of Dr. Wistar's Balsam, he is now, greatly to our surprise, enjoying most excellent health:

READ THE CERTIFICATE.

Boston, May 25, 1847.

Mr. S. W. Fowle:

Dear Sir—There are so many quack medicines at the present time, and each one having one or two certificates from real or imaginary individuals, that I have for some time had doubts of the propriety of giving my testimony in favor of your medicine. But being assured that I have been benefitted by its use, and feeling satisfied that by giving in my testimony in favor of it, I am only doing what I may, perhaps, be the means of saving some one similarly afflicted; I therefore cheerfully add my testimony in favor of Wistar's Balsam. But I know that it has done me great good. I have been afflicted with the *bronchitis* for a number of years, and by the use of a couple of bottles, I am cured.

"WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY,'

I am happy to say that I am almost free from the above troublesome disease.

If this should be the means of saving even one of my fellow-citizens from the (bronchial) troublesome and painful disease (bronchitis) I shall be fully paid for my trouble in writing the above communication.

Respectfully yours,

B. COVERT, Vocalist,
Firm of COVERT & DODGE.

None genuine unless signed I. BUTTS on the wrapper.

For sale by SETH W. FOWLE, 138 Washington Street, and by Druggists generally in the United States and British Provinces.

PAWTUCKET FAIR.

The Anti-Slavery women of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, will hold their Twelfth Annual Fair, at the Hall of the Exchange Hotel, on the 8th and 10th of February, commencing at 2 o'clock, P. M.

It is hoped that a larger attendance than ever, will be present, considering the hard times and poverty, and they will not fail to find the tables covered in tempting abundance, with the usual supply of articles for our friends, together with refreshments of every desirable kind and quality.

The call is universal. Come, then, for the slave's sake!

Rebecca Mitchell,	Elizabeth Shaw,
Mary Peck,	Maria Dexter,
Lydia Shaw,	H. H. Adams,
Alura Crowningshield,	Susan Sisson,
Mary A. Kenyon,	Esther Reed,
Susan M. Shove,	Abby Burgess,
Avis Sisson,	Amy Dexter,
	Ruth Sisson.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

There will be a meeting of the Middlesex Anti-Slavery

POETRY.

REFORMATORY.

From the [Dublin] Nation.

A SUPPLICATION.

De profundis clamavi ad te Domine.

By our looks of mute despair,
By the sighs that rend the air,
From lips too faint to utter prayer,
Kyrie Eleison.

By the last groans of our dying,
Echoed by the cold wind's sighing,
On the way-side as they're lying,
Kyrie Eleison.

By our fever-stricken bands,
Lifting up their wasted hands,
For bread throughout the far-off lands,
Kyrie Eleison.

Miserable outcasts we,
Pariahs of humanity,
Shunned by all where'er we flee,
Kyrie Eleison.

For our dead on bell is ringing,
Round their forms no shroud is clinging,
Save the rank grass newly springing,
Kyrie Eleison.

Death-devoted in our home,
Sad we cross the salt sea's foam,
But death we bring where'er we roam,
Kyrie Eleison.

Wherever-er our steps are led,
They can track us by our dead,
Lying on their cold earth-bed,
Kyrie Eleison.

We have sinned—in vain each warning—
Brother lived his brother scorning,
Now in ashes see we mourning,
Kyrie Eleison.

Heeding not our country's state,
Trodden down and desolate,
While we strove in senseless hate,
Kyrie Eleison.

We have sinned, but holier zeal
May each Christian patriot feel,
Oh! for our dear country's weal,
Kyrie Eleison.

Let us lift our streaming eyes
To God's dominions above the skies,
He will hear our anguish cries,
Kyrie Eleyson.

Kneel beside me, oh my brother,
Let us pray each with the other,
For Ireland, our mourning mother,
Kyrie Eleison.

From the American Cabinet.

THE UNIVERSAL JUBILEE.

BY JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

What shouts shall rise when earth shall hold
Its universal jubilee;
When man no more is bought or sold,
And one and all henceforth are free!
Then songs they'll sing,
That loud shall ring,
From rock to rock, from shore to shore.
Hurrah! they'll shout, 'we're free, we're free!
From land to land, from sea to sea,
And chains and fetters bind no more!'

Let every freeman strive to bring
The universal jubilee:
All hail the day when earth shall ring
With shouts of joy, and men are free!
Then each glad voice
Shall loud rejoice,
And chains shall fall from every hand,
Whilst myriad tongues shall loudly tell
The grateful joy of hearts that swell,
Where freedom reigns o'er sea and land.
Chelsea, Mass.

HOPE ON.

BY THEODORE A. GOULD.

Hope on! how oft the darkest night
Precedes the fairest day!
Oh, guard thy soul from sorrow's blight—
Clouds may obscure the day-god's light,
Yet shines it still as clear and bright
When they have passed away.

Hope on! though disappointment's wings
Above thy path shall soar:
Though slander drive her rankling stings,
Though malice all her venom brings,
Though festering darts detraction flings,
Still must the storm pass o'er.

If slave to poverty thou art,
Bear bravely with thy lot:—
Though keen her galling chains may smart,
Strive still to rend their links apart,
Hope on! for the despairing heart
God surely loveth not.

Hope on! hope on! though drear and dark
Thy future may appear;
The sun his storm-shroud hark
Still guides the helm, and hopes to mark,
Amid the gloom, some beacon spark,
His dangerous way to cheer.

Though wealth take wings, or friends forsake,
Be not by grief oppress!
Stern winter binds with ice the lake,
But genial spring its bands shall break;
Hope on! a firmer purpose take,
And leave to God the rest.

UPRAISE THE CROSS.

But yes, O chosen ones, and few,
Who hold the simple truths, by Jesus given,
Go ye in calmness on, while favoring Heaven
Marks out the path of usefulness for you.
Against the warrior's blood-stained spear
Upraise the Cross; and let your protest poured,
In the great name of your ascended Lord,
Against each evil of this earthly sphere.
Fear not, nor shrink. A task is yours,
Which must be done, ere sinks the day.
Guard, then, and spread the hallowed truth,
With manhood's strength and with the fire of youth,
And on God's altar lay!
The tribunals shall see, whose work endures,
When this substantial earth shall pass away.

FROM THE RUSSIAN.

The ass that looks upon the stars,
Is not the less asinine; the base
And cowardly, who boasts of scars,
Or wears a crown, may take the place
Of generous spirits in the throng;
Where usurpation reigns; for men
Confound the worthy with the strong,
Nor weigh pretension's clamor vain.

The hollowest vessels sound the loudest—
The richest treasures decpest lie;
Yet piled up wealth, and rank the proudest,
Are but tumultuous vanity.
I am a prince, with princely spirit;
A ruler, if I rule my heart;
A titled heir—if I inherit
Of virtue, wisdom, truth, a part.

TRUE BENEVOLENCE.

For others' weal let good men labor,
And not for fame or paltry pelf;
And mind the maxim, 'Love thy neighbor
As much as thou dost love thyself.'

THE LIBERATOR.

INSTITUTIONS FOR MEN, NOT MEN FOR INSTITUTIONS. No. III.

BROOKLYN, (CON.,) Jan. 16, 1848.

TO ANDREW PATON, *Glasgow, Scotland.*

DEAR FRIEND:

The following advertisement is cut from the 'Eutaw (Alabama) Whig.' Read it carefully, and get it inserted in the Scotch and English papers:—

'The sale of about 150 NEGROES, 44 MULES AND HORSES, 250 or 300 PORK HOGS, CATTLE, Corn, Fodder, Oats, Plantation Tools, Cooking Utensils, &c. &c., will commence on Friday, the 10th of December, 1847, at the plantation of the late John Jones, near Warsaw, Sumpter county.'

The sale was continued through Friday and Saturday; but as the deceased, John Jones, and his administrators, Wm. Jones, Jr. and John P. Evans, and the surrounding slave-traders, were devout Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists, and could not desecrate the Sabbath, the sale was postponed till Monday. It would have been an awful sin, in their opinion, to sell men, women and children, and mules and hogs together, on 'God's day'; so they postponed the work till Monday, and then went at it again, as the following, taken from the same advertisement, shows:—

'The sale will be continued on Monday, the 13th of December, at the late residence of John Jones, deceased, in Green county—say 114 or 115 NEGROES, 33 Mules and Horses, 7 yoke of Oxen, Pork Hogs, Stock Hogs, Cattle, Road Wagon, Corn Fodder, Plantation Tools, &c. &c.

The terms of sale, twelve months credit. Notes with two approved securities—interest to be added from sale. All sums under 20 dollars, cash.

WILLIAM JONES, JR.,
JOHN P. EVANS,
Administrators.'

They dared not continue this work on *Sunday*; they knew if they did, they should subject themselves to church censure among the Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians, notwithstanding they—as well as the condemnation of the Sabbath-trifling priests, and journals, and, probably, to imprisonment in the felon's dungeon. They knew they would be condemned—not for herding MEN, created in the image of God, with 'mules, hogs and plantation tools,' and selling them to the highest bidder,—for this they will have the Presbyterian General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, and the Conferences, Associations, and Presbyteries of America, have pronounced to be a pious and Christian practice,—but they knew they would be called to account by Church and State Courts, if they did this work on the *Sabbath*. They knew that it was the 'holy day' that the churches and ministers carved for, and not MAN. Their anxiety was for the DAY, and not MAN, turned into a beast. So soon as the 'Lord's day' came, they ran from the slave market to the meeting-house, to do the 'Lord's work;' i. e. to pray, sing, preach, baptize, commune, sanctify a nation in a day. Their eyes, lifted up their bloody hands, and make up solemn faces to God, and tell how good, great, loving, just and powerful he is—and how grateful they are, that he gave his Son to come and bear all their sins, and save them by his righteousness, his sufferings and death; and then, soon as the Lord's day is ended, and the devil's day begins, (for according to the slaveholding and war-making religion of America, the Lord has but one day and the devil six in the week,) they hasten to the slave-market, and put men, women and children, with mules, horses, hogs and plantation tools on the stand together, and knock them off to the highest bidder! Their religion teaches them they are confined to the meeting-house and to Sunday. This republic has made a God like unto itself. He is a great slave-breeder, slave-trader and slave-driver—and the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and dripping with blood, and a mighty hangman, whose great delight is to see human beings hanging by the neck on the gallows, and to bathe his hands and feet in their blood and brains on a well fought battle field. He is the personification of Slavery and War. He delights to put men, mules, hogs and plantation tools up at auction, and sell them to the highest bidder; but he frowns upon the wretch that dares to write a letter to plead for enslaved millions on 'his holy day;' he glories in a Perry, a Scott, or a Taylor, who cut, hew and tear to atoms the bodies of helpless and innocent women and children, and hurls his hottest thunderbolts of wrath at H. C. Wright for penning this plea for humanity on 'his holy Sabbath day.' Let him do so; I despise the being worshipped as God by manstealers and man-killers—by slaveholders and warriors, and their abettors—for, his worshippers being witness, he sanctions slavery and war, with all their essential principles and practices. Though clothed with the attributes of Deity by the church and clergy of this republic, he is a fiend of blood, as are Moloch and Juggernaut; and my honesty, and my devotion to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, must be according as I am, hated by him, who delights in robbery and blood. This nation worships at the shrine of a demon of wrath, revenge and cruelty. The presidency and war-making priests of this land minister, like the priests of Moloch and Mars, at the shrine of a demon, and offer upon a blood-stained altar, annually, thousands and tens of thousands of human victims. And the worst of all their abominations is, their vain attempt to throw around their robbery and murder the sanctions of the loving, forgiving, self-forgetting Redeemer—the sanction of Him, whose name is LOVE. Oh that all Christians would come to the rescue—to cut Christianity from all connexion with slavery in *name*, as it ever was in *fact*. Let all who would walk in the footsteps of the Prince of Peace, and of Him who came to break every yoke, and to purify and elevate MAN above all observances and institutions, and who would follow after their God and Father as dear children, walking in love,—would make a distinct issue with slaveholders and warriors, and their allies and abettors, and with all that is called religion and God, that sanctions any very and essential wrong, and electrically and loudly denounce them as the bloody coinage of hating, revengeful, bloodthirsty hearts—having no more affinity to Christianity and the Christian's God, than cannibalism and the being whom cannibals worship as God. It is pleasant to feel the wrathful thunderbolts of slaveholders and war-makers, who trade in slaves and human souls, and pour out innocent blood, falling upon my head for writing letters to expose their lying and hypocrisy.

I believe this world is to be regenerated and redeemed by the truths of Christianity. This was the mission of Christ—to abolish slavery, war, and all human observances and institutions that cannot exist without the enslavement and destruction of man in his physical, intellectual, social or spiritual nature. Christianity will accomplish its mission; but never, while war and slavery, those compounds of all sins and crimes, find protection under its holy sanctions. No man should shrink from being called an infidel, or an atheist, by slaveholders and warriors and their abettors; for we must be such in the estimation of all such contemners of all that is pure, truthful, just, and divine, or we cannot be Christians or honest men.

Read the following extract from one of the leading newspapers of this land, the New-York Courier and Enquirer. Read it, I say, and then tell me if you can ever again doubt the truths of Christianity, or that it will finally triumph over the world! Hear! HEAR!! HEAR!!!

'It is worthy of remark, that within the past year, Chief Justice Gardiner of Massachusetts and Henry Clay have all partaken of the communion in the Episcopal Church—Mr. Webster having received the communion about a year since, from the hands of the Rev. Mr. Southgate, with whom he went a-say fishing—as the fact being made in the public press. This public testimony of three of the greatest intellects of the age, and all, the last the same year, (!) to the truths of Christianity, is well worthy of note; and cannot fail to arrest the attention and consideration of all who pause in the midst of the *present* to reflect on the *future*, at the same time that the Episcopal Church may well be proud of being the church whose communion these three have been added to the truth, the value, the want and necessity of practical faith.

Christianity patronised by Daniel Webster and Henry Clay! (Proclaim thanksgivings, O priests!) By men who have done more to make this nation a nation of thieves, robbers and murderers, and who are themselves more thoroughly steeped in these and other crimes *personally*, than any two men now living! Priests, churches, missionary and Bible Societies, disband! cease your efforts! your work is done! Henry Clay, the adulterer, the adulterer, the man-stealer, with his firm ally and coadjutor, Daniel Webster, has determined to patronize Christianity!—has given a 'public testimony to the great truths of Christianity'! And the *Episcopal* Church, composed of slave-breeders, and slaveolivers, and man-slayers, is the channel through which this testimony has been added to the truth, value and necessity of *practical* faith'! Yes, Henry Clay, who lives by herding men with 'mules, hogs, horses and plantation tools,' and selling them to suit purchasers, has borne his 'testimony to the truth, value and necessity of *practical* faith'! How? By having his child baptized, making the oppressed go free, by doing justice and loving mercy, by ceasing from theft, robbery and murder? No; no; but by 'PARTAKING OF THE COMMUNION IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.' And this is the only way in which nine-tenths of the clergy and churches and politicians of this land add their testimony to the 'truth, value and necessity of practical faith' in Christ. Like their fellow-slaveholder and warrior, Henry Clay, they go to church on Sunday, eat a bit of bread, take a sip of wine, perform a prayer and a hymn, say or hear a sermon, keep a Sabbath, join a church; then separate husbands and wives, parents and children—scourge and imprison men for learning to read, or teaching others to read, the Bible—shoot men for any attempt to rise from the condition of beasts to that of freemen—go to slave auctions, buy men, women and children with mules and horses and wagons, and send their agents to Mexico to tear in pieces their women and children; and thus they testify to the 'truth, value and necessity of *practical* faith' in Christ! They run from the slave auction to the church on *Sunday*—snatch a bit of bread, eat it—seize the wine cup and drink—say a prayer, or hear the priest say some mumbo up their eyes—lift up their hands—consign Palfrey to hell for writing a letter on Sunday—and then they rush back to the auction stand and cry out—'Who bids for 150 negroes, 44 mules and horses, 250 or 300 pork hogs, cattle, plantation tools,' &c. &c. 'Who bids for this finely formed, intelligent *practical* Christian for any gentleman?' 'Who bids for this athletic, healthy boy Tom—who is honest, industrious, and a devoted *Christian*.' This, according to the teaching and practice of the American church and clergy, is the way to add your testimony to the 'truth, value and necessity of practical faith'!

Read the following, that, when Henry Clay and Daniel Webster bear their testimony to the necessity of a 'practical faith' in Christ by eating a bit of bread, and by sipping a glass of wine, (to which latter practice they are greatly addicted,) no allusion to the fact is made in the public press! When Jackson, Pollk, Calhoun, Porter, Scott, and others of the leaders in robbery and murder, take bread and wine in the name of Christ, the religious press and pulpits ring with the wonderful deed!

Why should Clay and Webster be so slighted? They have rivaled the others in slave-breeding and man-making. Why should they not rival them in eating bread and drinking intoxicating drink in the name of Christ?

It is now about 6 o'clock, Sunday evening. I have spoken twice to-day in the First Congregational Church in this town; and what is contained in this letter is the substance of my remarks in the church. I aimed to show, that the great mission of Christ was 'to *take away sin*'—i. e. to reclaim men from all their individual and social sins, and to abolish all human institutions and observances that cannot exist without enslaving or killing men. It is true that the religion of this nation is the greatest obstacle to the progress of Christianity, and to the regeneration and redemption of man; and the first step towards the kingdom of Heaven leads out of the slaveholding and war-making churches of this nation. I have had many hearts to-day; and one of the brightest features of the times, with us, is the universal desire of men's minds to see the utter insufficiency of the religion and God of this nation—in the being that is worshipped as God by slaveholders and soldiers and their allies—to save us from the gigantic and systematic wickedness habitually perpetrated among us. Is not this republic a huge Liar? Is not the American Church, with its Sabbaths, its sanctuaries, its slave auctions, its gallows and battle-fields, its slave-trading priests, elders, deacons and members, a disgusting Liar, Hypocrite and Blasphemer?

Well, dear friend, I have spoken and written this on SUNDAY, which is called 'God's day,' the 'holy Sabbath.' I am not a 'Doctor of Divinity,' nor a 'Theological Professor.' Am I a 'Sabbath-breaker,' a 'Sabbath-desecrator'? I give myself no trouble about it. I am not a slaveholder, a warrior, nor an apologist for war or slavery. I do not break human necks. I have nothing about breaking Sabbaths. I am a writing to be a Sunday-breaker as a Monday-breaker. In writing this, have I exerted a powerful influence on the morals of Congress, the priesthood and the churches of this land? I wish I could, for their morals are very 'bad,' and need to be influenced by something to make them decent, respectable and Christian. I am quite willing and feel very happy to share the *hell* of all *Sabbath-desecrators*—provided I MAY SHARE THE HEAVEN OF THOSE WHO NEVER DESECRATE MAN.

Yours, in loving remembrance,
HENRY C. WRIGHT.

PRACTICAL NON-RESISTANCE.

Among the good indications of the present age is a demand for the *practical* demonstration of what is professed. With the candid and truthful, something more is required than a *theoretical* advocacy of righteousness and Christianity. We have long been professed by an almost indefinite number, while many of the plainest injunctions of Jesus have been, if not totally disregarded, wrapt up in the woof of corruption and worldly wickedness. The indifferent and sceptical—nay, the benighted worshippers of a strange and unknown God, have seen the indistinct light of nature—have partly uttered reproof, and taught us to remember our acknowledged standard, with, at least, the appearance of consistency. In the meanwhile, the sense of shame, and an awakened conscience among those who are seeking for the right, have made a demand for *Practical Christianity*, and a few among the faithful have found 'have heard the call, and with good intentions are laboring to exemplify their professions. Thank God for this.

But is not the demand as obvious and imperative, that professed Non-Resistants exemplify, in the details of life and business, what is acknowledged in theory? Certainly, it is replied, why ask such a question? Well, we have made the inquiry for the simple reason, that many who are the loudest in their professions of Non-Resistance, and who have turned from withdrawn from the arrangements of the world, that they may be uncontaminated by the same, frequently evince a willingness to *conform* to what is admitted to be wrong;—nay, more, are ever ready to make part and parcel in the mania of money-making, and inordinate gain. It is asked, where are your *practical Non-Resistants*? And echo answers, 'where?' 'It is to be feared that many are resting in contentment with a theory beautifully expounded in words, but destitute of a *practical existence*. Modesty, if not a strict love of consistency, should admonish us to be careful in professing to be the lights of the world. He who raises a high standard of moral excellence and Christian perfection, becomes a spectacle to angels and men,' and is bound to be somewhat better than others of a retaliatory and unforgiving spirit. What do ye more than publicans and sinners?' may well be said of many who claim to glory in that

'Love, that Non-Resistant love,
Which triumphed on the Cross.'

We may possibly make proof of our profession in relation to the present corporations from duty. But an absence from overt crime, a periodical and spasmodic regard for right, is but a small advance in the divine life. It is the love and practice of goodness in the *unobserved details* of our daily walk—a meek and loving spirit toward those we may deem inimical and disagreeable—a willingness to be as Him who commands us that 'we love and bless our bitterest foes. It was the principle of the immortal Seneca, who said that he loved goodness so well, that he would not commit evil, though certain it would never be discovered either by God or man. Goodness has thus been defined to be the moral garment of a lovely *exterior*, which may command the approbation of those who fail to come in contact with our daily practice. Such goodness, too, is deep and hidden from common observation, yet the results are glorious.

The opponents of Christian love desire to test our faith, by *extreme cases*. I wonder at this, since they have at hand a far better criterion, and one from which if we shrink, and in the application of which, are found wanting, will make our logical and wordy professions like the 'sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.' Let them demand of Non-Resistants a total abstinence from every thing that would offend the royal law of love, which requires that we not only forgive and relieve an enemy, but that we love him with a brother's heart. Bland manners, smooth language, and good wishes, without the heart overflows with forgiveness and undying friendship, serve only to cheat and deceive. Nay, the spider's most attenuated thread is cord, is cable, compared with Non-Resistance built upon the sandy foundation of cant and profession. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' And the fruits of his life, who is our great Exemplar, are not to be mistaken.

'O how benevolent and kind!
How meek, how ready to forgive!
Be this the temper of our mind,
And these the rules by which we live.'

And after all, here lies the great danger of our failure to make Non-Resistance practical. Some have been more sorely tried than when impressed with the duty of forgiving 'seventy times seven.' It may require but little discipline to refrain from outbreaks of passion, and deeds of violence. But to *feel right* and *act right* toward those we deem our foes, requires a devotion to righteousness rarely possessed, if we, after without watchfulness and prayer. And let those who cannot attain to this be careful how they lay claim to Christian Non-Resistance.

But are there no exceptions to this duty of love and forgiveness? Alas! this doctrine of qualification has been fraught with mischief. It has frittered away the teachings of Christ, and pared off an influence, the want of which we have every reason to lament. Professed Non-Resistants are at fault in this matter. When the stern demand of duty is made, some are ready to ask, is there no discharge from this disagreeable part of the warfare? Let me explain my position, says one, ambitious to maintain the reserved rights of great *I*. My opponent, who ran well with me for a season, and who was wont ever to walk in agreement, has turned in another direction. We are at odds. 'Can two walk together, unless they be agreed?' Have I not a right to select my associates, and be free from others? Is it true, the brother whom I dislike has liberty to go to the left, and leave me in the right. But then, he opposes things which I cherish even as the 'apple of my eye'—he is therefore disagreeable to me. Now I will never injure him. No, indeed! But this will I do: *He may keep his side of the house, and I will keep the other.* If he is sick, and in trouble, I may visit him, but I shall have as little communication as possible. This is my practical method of treating enemies; and I claim to be—very moral—about right.

Can we practise thus, and hold up our hands as Christians—*Practical Christians, par excellence?* Brethren, what avails it? In the name of the Prince of Peace, let us do better, or hide the head in shame.

I have much more to say on this fruitful topic, but my trembling hand, which, for the last eight months has been paralyzed, admonishes me to stop; and I do so with the hope of finding strength to resume.

GEO. W. STACY.

Milford, Jan. 8, 1848.

From the Non-Resistant and Practical Christian.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of the N. E. Non-Resistance Society, held at Hopedale on the evening of January 11, 1848, the following votes were unanimously passed, viz:

1. That the Practical Christian be adopted as the official medium of communication with the public, for the N. E. Non-Resistance Society, the Executive Committee, Agents and Correspondents, and that it be recommended to the patronage of all who sympathise with us in this noble enterprise.

2. That our Corresponding Secretary, Henry C. Wright, be accredited to the public as the voluntary, unpaid Agent of the N. E. Non-Resistance Society; who, while perfectly free to employ his time and talents at discretion for the promotion of the moral reformation, receives the simple assurance that he will be the devoted advocate of Non-Resistance, and is cordially commended as such to the cheerful welcome, hospitality, pecuniary aid, and moral co-operation of all friends of the cause.

3. That H. C. Wright be requested to prepare his address to the *Christians*, and other tracts on the subject of Non-Resistance, and that measures be taken to ensure their general distribution.

4. That arrangements be made with our responsible friends every where for such a distribution of our Tracts as will cover their actual cost, and keep the Tract fund good for the publication of a perpetual series.

5. That all persons friendly to the object be earnestly invited to contribute to the Tract fund, that its resources may be rendered nearer equal to the demand of the times.

6. That Quarterly Meetings of the N. E. N. R. Society be appointed at such times and places as may be found most convenient.

7. That this Committee will scrupulously avoid running the Society into debt, or contracting any pecuniary liabilities for the furtherance of their measures, not warranted by means actually possessed.

REMARKS.

It gives us pleasure to say that the Executive Committee have entered on the discharge of their duties with one accord, in a prompt, energetic and hopeful spirit. They have secured the services of a long tried, faithful, efficient, uncompromising lecturing agent. He has consecrated his life to this great mission; and though he will not deny himself the privilege of advocating other doctrines and duties, as he may find occasion; and is under no bondage to the Society who have accredited him as their apostle before the public, he will nevertheless 'be instant in season and out of season,' the tireless defender of their principles.

He wishes, and we wish, could it be so, that he were multiplied by ten thousand, so as to reply quickly the great field that is already white for the harvest. Never before was such a door open for the true-hearted advocates of Christian Non-Resistance—we mean those who are willing to perform hard labor on a scanty subsistence. Money-making and fat livings are out of the question. Truth-loving humanity—truthfulness to hear the whole truth to the bottom, and an almost involuntary impressibility of mind for conviction is manifest in all directions. Multitudes, to whom the name *Non-Resistance* was at first only another for *absurdity, infidelity* and *anarchy*, have come to their senses, and now say 'GIVE US the *whole* thing length and breadth, for nothing less will satisfy truth.' The present Mexican war is opening the eyes of many—and especially the *time-serving tricks, hide and seek*, played off by our popular politicians in and out of Congress respecting this war. Honest men begin to see deeper and deeper into this *muddy water*, or rather this *bloody sea*, on which all our present political concerns are tossed. They begin to suspect that the principle of mischief lies at the bottom, and that whatever machinery is moved by a misnaming of violence, will continue only to come out—'Jesuitical and Diplomatic.' They begin to believe that men binding themselves by an oath to manage a political machinery whose grand motor power is the assumption of the power or tortures to that resist its operations, are fatally leagued with Anti-Christ, and cannot be true to Christian obligations.

A great revolution of public sentiment, opinion and practice is commencing; and this Non-Resistance question will be the question of questions for the next age. It is the only question which governmental and social reform will ultimately turn.—Laugh who will; but wait and see. The whole structure of human society and governments will undergo a radical change during the next thousand years. And the new order of things will be based on the foundation of repudiating all injurious force, offensive and defensive and relying on the inherent power of good to withstand and overcome evil. The present basis of human society and government is the demon principle of torture and destroy life at discretion, in other words, the *resistance of injury with injury*. This is the essence of the *barbaric code*. It belongs to the reign of barbarism, and human society may refine, polish, and gild it over, it is the same thing still, and will produce the same murderous results. It must be cut up root and branch. Non-Resistance must be cut up root and branch. Non-Resistance is the pick and shovel work of this tree. It will hew it down and cast it into the fire. Time will be required for this. 'Live upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, there a little,' must be given. But the work will be done; and another heaven and earth will be built.

Some are pleased to consider this a fragmentary and superficial view, especially those who hope for a reorganization of society. But they will find it a radical, vital, a comprehensive reform, without which all attempts to reform society must prove abortive.—We speak thus *positively*; for we are positive that we are right. If it prove otherwise, we will be the first place in the limbo of fools. But let our words be remembered by all who are watching the course of human events. We forbear.

Now, friends abroad, you see what the Executive Committee have done. You see what has been proposed and undertaken. You see what need we have of union and concert among all. Little lovers of this cause. You see what we have to do and hope for. Will you come to the rescue? Will you work with us? Will you come out of your snug corners, and the influence of your friends, the opposition have sought to drive you these few years past, and go into this work with whole hearts? One true soul can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight in this conflict with the powers of darkness. We do not appeal to the deserters and apostates, who, after blustering and vaunting themselves as Non-Resistants par excellence, are now ostracizing at the 'flesh-pots of Egypt'; but to the true-hearted and faithful, who have grown discouraged and inactive in the absence of valiant and zealous co-operators. To all such we say, 'come one and all to the work, and ye shall be blessed.'

MISCELLANY.

Washington Correspondence of the N. York Mirror.

MRS. GAINES'S CASE.

The Supreme Court room this morning, Jan. 13, was the scene of deep excitement. It was understood that the decree of the Court would be given in the case of Mrs. Gaines, which, with the anticipated presence of Henry Clay and Webster, drew a crowd of ladies, and as many members and others as could possibly squeeze in. The judgment of the Court was delivered by Judge Wayne, and occupied an hour in the reading. It covered the whole history of this interesting case, and gave all the points of evidence in favor of and against the legitimacy of the plaintiff. The opinion was beautifully written and eloquently read. Such a chapter of love and romance has seldom been given from any human tribunal. The judgment of the court reversed the Court given in Mrs. Gaines a fortune of seventeen millions. The learned Judges have decided that she had a fair claim to legitimacy, and that she lawfully inherits three-fourths of her father's immense estate. During the reading of the opinion, there was the most profound silence in the Court, and Mrs. Gaines's face was as pale as her artist. Millions hung upon the closing sentence; and the lips of the little lady parted slightly when the Judge came to the words—'and it is, therefore, the decree we finally pronounced in her favor, Mrs. Gaines was instantly surrounded by hosts of friends and admirers, and she left the room a greater lioness than either Clay or Webster, who set side by side within the bar. A bland smile overspread the withered features of her old advocate, Gen. Jones, who is to have a share of his fee, and congratulations were rife all round. There was a rush of the reporters to the telegraph office, and before I have time to write thus far, the triumph of Mrs. Gaines is flashing to the ends of the bright eyes, but over the wires to New-York and New-Orleans. The Hon. Reverdy Johnson, it is said, comes in for a share of the spoils, and he will receive, from the proof that he is a much better lawyer than statesman. There are thrilling incidents enough in this case to form one of the most exciting romances ever written. It illustrates every thing of material—love, intrigue, bribery, perjury, heroism, imprisonment, and death. The amount involved is about seventeen millions of dollars. The Court gives to