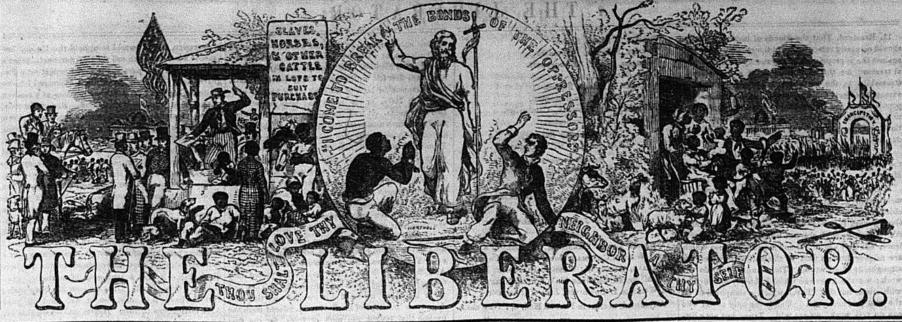
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see times for 75 cts.—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are auenerve subscriptions for the Liberator.

cosmitte. - Francis Jackson, Ellis MON, EDNUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, of Paulity. [This Committee is responsible is economy of the paper-not for

W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

TAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NA-TIONAL GOVERNMENT. - JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

TOL. XXII. NO. 6.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1852.

WHOLE NO. 1100.

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH

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 was

the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves-an en-

gagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,

delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-

sentation for slaves-for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . To call government thus con-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of

mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the

government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the

free people, in the American Congress, and thereby

to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION

AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VI-

Selections

MINVITATION TO KOSSUTH TO VISIT MASSACHUSETTS. ablasing speech was delivered at Pittsburg. a the 18th ultimo, by Erastus Hopkins, Esq., a delegated by Governor Boutwell to deliver

L'Engit the resolutions adopted by the Legisoring him to visit Massachusetts :-se Kundi :- I am directed by his Excellency of Massichusetts, to present to you to visit their Capital during the present The Resolve is, in fact, no less than in its the name and behalf of the People of the

ascerath' announcement delivered to you there with this announcement delivered to you entrasted to my charge, I must graduation of exhausted my official functions, is bring had the histor of introducing the Legislature of Massachushtts, [cheers,] with pleisure the unanumous and ence of her 400 Representatives, applaise.] I will venture to add a few if the record—only such words, however, if to be consonact with the sentiments

people. [Chevrs.] Missichuseetts would have you e of Missichuseetts would have you et of his constituted authorities, as no impliment. Never in her history, as an State, with one single and illustrions Massichusetts tendered such a' mark other than the Chief Magistrates of And even in the present in has she admires your patriotien, your s moved by your plaintive appeals and by as she is amazed at the irrepressible th fortand s increased under sufferings, r neegowing stronger as the darkness [ciers,] still it is not one or all of per citers, still it is not one of the combined, that can lead her to sucher dignity as an independent State re worship of a min. [Appliuse.] No. scrass she views you as the advocate and sentative of certain great princistitute ber own vitality as a State, -beers you as the representative of human n in another and far distant landase she views you as the rightful but exiled of a people, whose past history and whose de show her to be worthy of some better hands show her to be worthy of some better , that she seeks to welcome you to her that she seeks to attest to a gazing world,

[Great applause,] of Messachusetts. It is well that you landas portions of the Atlantic coast : that you have d the formidable Alleghanies, and planted a the confines of this great valley. It is troush-uld comprehend it's vast extent : that st mighty valleys-that when your soul has nied by these scenes, an d gratified by tions which adorn and bless themand not till then, should you turn your footse illustrious and highly and Puntan exiles, when, with religion for maid, they set foot on the Rock of Plyered the stern rigors of a New [Applause.] Their first born Education. [Applause.] Their popular Freedom [Great applause. rierousivemblazaned, as in those three words, he order in which I name them-Religion,

the cause of freedom she is not insensible, it to the oppression of tyrants she is not indif-

sist for the world. [Applause.] Here, sir, is a pre-eminently such, is the record of Massa-One word only need be added to bring ry to the present hour, and that is but a co star of the former—I mean prosperity. As the is their wealth, he finds a new fact added to said ages. Never have I seen the righte-saids, nor his seed begging their bread. rod, sir, that Massachusetts is the birth-Asencian liberty. When, then, you have full statute with which she fills these vast

d stetches herself over these mighty monn to our little nursery, so retired from the of the Craille where she was rocked. and we will she wyon the holy spot where baptismal, blood of the Revolution was on her consecrated head, the campte Washington first unsheathed his aword ance, [upplense,] and the fortifications of creeted for her entrenchment. From and balcomes of the Legislative Halls, invitation to you has emphated, these

in be seen. [Applause.] rethen, and stand a said these hallowed scenes: thou, listen to their silent eloquence, till though every fibre, and breaks up every mer from soil. Drink with us of these first s of American liberty, and you will find a fine that your last pilgrimage on this con-should be to such a pilce—that as you conas be to such a place—that as you em-died to Oid World, your parting act should be that at the most hillowed fountains of the New ? "stapplass." Sir, Massachusetts will welcome a Swisths descendant of illustration with cendant of illustrious exiles, who as for appression in the Old world, sought free-in the Nes. Her past history, her filial piety, for selcume as an exile. [Applause.] Her-the fix in legal resistance to relegal acts, in conconstruction of the state of th og silhout a piraliel, as she has been under the as anot a piraliel, as she has been under the staff a kind Providence, she can give but a caccing of her stewardship unless her institution of the stewardship unless her institution of Education, of Philanthropy, of Marian, can affer, most valuable information to all seek to found new States, or, like yourself, to report and revive those that are old. [Applause.] is a few of her institutions of Freedow. I mean seek of her institutions of Freedom. I mea sound of her institutions of Freedom. I mean a country manicipalities. There is no centralization of the country manicipalities. There is no centralization that the country of the countr ich town provides for itself--levxes, sustains its own schools, establish

ra consicipal regulations, and in each and all of tacts is independent of every other. The cause

ation and of Freedom is thus reposed in the

nands and hearts of the people. Reposed, und say? No, sir; it is because of those hearts and hands that Freedom and Education have no repose, but are pushed into the most active, vigorous and advancing life!

The aggregate receipts and disbursements of our little Democratic organizations are some four or five times larger than those of our State Treasury. It is true, therefore, that we have no centralization.— Phrough the system I have described, the people are the government, and the government is The 'seat of Government' is a fiction in Massachu-

setts, save as it signifies the hearts of the people.

I have thus detailed somewhat of the history and of he present condition of the State that seeks to welcome you as her guest. Come, then, to her borders; witness the truth of all and of more than I have ut-tered, as you shall find it attested by our institutions by the plenitude of our hospitality, and by the ac-lamations of one million souls. [Loud and longcontinued applause.]

To this address, Governor Kossurn replied in he following words:

Sir,-I consider it a providential indication that the public opinion of the people is developing itself in the constitutional way which your happy instituions-uniting the independence of self-government with the power of union-have founded as a rock of your present greatness, happiness and freedom, and for your future glory. I feel happy that the State Legislature of Massachusetts-of that commonealth which can proudly point out those glorious reminiscences of past history—was among the first of the State Legislatures to bid me welcome, after I and told openly the people of the United States ing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not who I was and what was my wish. After this avowal, your welcome was more than hospitality. I have the assurance of it in the official act and pronunciation of principles of the Chief Magistrate of your

Sir, I thank you for the benefit which you have bestowed upon my country's cause, by moving these ed the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. Forasmuch, then, as we are the hold in my hands. I thank you for the travels you have undertaken in bringing over to me this solace; and I thank you for the manner in which you have been pleased to deliver it to me. [Applause.] By your words I have already foretasted the soul-inspiring, the heart-elevating flood of that glorious well which you pointed out in your eloquent speech, and out of which, before I leave the United States of the general congregation and priesthood, over piles of America, I will carry home that inspiration which is wanted to meet adversities and danger, and to hope success such as that was which accompanied in such success such as that was which accompanied in such a glorious manner those struggles, the cradle of ticipate in them, gaze upon the scene with a delight which is your Crrr-State. Sir, I will come to Mas- and veneration founded neither upon wisdow, love or which I feel it is my duty, with gratitude and with reverence, to give.

KOSSUTH AND LIBERTY.

Still the cry is heard, Kossuth and Liberty! Liberty and Kossuth! The excited multitudes are still hronging about him, toasting and feasting him thousands of time and money are squandered on him, all for a name, a show, to gain popularity, while his countrymen in our cities are in a state of starvation. Read the following from the New York Journal of

· We visited, a day or two ago, the wife of a Polish the garret of a small house, in a central part of this city, with four children. One chair and a box constitute the furniture of her apartment. All of the in order to procure food. Even a part of the chil-dren's clothing and the few articles of bedding, with the exception of two sheets and a coverlid, are in the

This scene, reader, is in New York city, which has been so clariforous in its devotions to Kossuth and the Hungarians generally—in the city where nearly every man must have his head covered with a Kossuth hat, and his face with a Kossuth beard. If all this clamor about Hungarians and Liberty sprung rom pure motives, why would the above named Any thing to get up a stir, and make other nations think we are a great people. No matter whether it be a Jenny Lind, a Kossuth, or a Lola Whether a virtuous woman or a warrior, o he cast off mistress of a profligate king, it is all th same thing, provided Americans can use it to get up a stir that will be heard across the duck pend.

I can but think that Kossuth sometimes laughs in is sleeve, to think how complacently his admirer receive the coatings of soft soder with which he is daubing them. He knows how to tickle their vanity and draw on their sympathy, and their purses. Were he what he should is , he would despise their hypoc-risy, and spurn their 'aid and comfort,' so long as millions of their own countrymen are in chains. and many of his own people starving in our cities; but as I have said, he knows how to tickle their van-

ity. Does any person of common sense suppose, for a moment, that he is sincere in the lavish praises he is pouring out upon the Americans, thile be knows that one sixth of them are held by the others on a level with the brutes? I tell you, friends, that he despises the very people that he is flattering; his praises are used for the same purpose that we put a little water in a dry pump—to get more out. But I Jonathan in his simplicity thinks it all right, and holds up his face to receive the lather.—Portland Pleasure Boat.

OHIO ON INTERVENTION.

The following resolutions have been adopted by oth branches of the Legislature of Ohio:-

Resolved, That the war in which Hungary was itely seemingly overcome, was a struggle in behalf f the great principles which underlie the structure our own government, vindicated by the bloody bat es of eight years; and that we cannot be indiffer ent to their fate, whatever be the arena in which the struggle for their vitality goes on.

Resolved, That an attack in any form upon them

impliedly an attack upon us; an armed tion against them is in effect an assault upon us that any narrowing of the sway of these principles i weakening of our own influence most dangerous weakening of our own influence and power; and that all such combinations of kinggainst people should be regarded by us now as they vere in 1776, and so far as circumstances will admi

over our capital, and that our rulers are leading quiet (The Christiana prisoners have been all dis charged, the Grand Jury having returned the bills preferred against them as 'No Bills.' There remains only the case of Williams, now before the Court, in Philadelphia, to be decided, and, should be be acquitted, there will be an end of the matter. the sphere of her existence, more loudly disclaime

The Liberator.

AN ADDRESS.

Delivered at the Dedication of Liberty Hall, in Boonton, N. J., on Christmas eve, Dec. 24th, 1851, and repeated by request at the Dedication of a similar Hall in Newark. By MRS. R. GRAY. The ecclesiastical usage of the times requires that

when a mosque, cathedral or church, as they are called, is completed, the solemn act of dedication should be performed. In the order of events, we have met together for this purpose. The act, as it is usually performed, is called that of consecrating to a divine being, appropriating to a sacred use, &c. Having met to place our sacrifice upon the altar, (if I may be allowed the cant phrase,) yet with the almost universal views, feelings and customs in regard to this matter, we are proud to say we find no common ground of harmony or motive to action. Our feelings weil accord with those to which Paul gave expression when before the Athenians. The record informs us that his spirit was stirred within him when he saw the whole city given to idolatry. Standing in the midst of Mars Hill, he exclaimed - I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitions. For as I pissed by and beheld your devotions, I found an altar, with this inscription, To the Unknown Gol God that made the world and all things therein, 'secto temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life and breath and all things and bath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and bath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art and man's device. And the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent.' To an enlightened lover of massive granite, flowing drapery and gibled finery, are a most sickening farce. The vast crowds that par-

suchusetts. I entreat your kindness to be pleased to truth. Those who are called to officiate as masters of charge yourself with a written answer to those resoluceremonies, are as soulless in their performances as an automaton. Far be it from us, then, to mingle in the shout, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' Rather let us stand aghast at such a violent abuse of common sense, common honesty, and all the generous impulses of our common humanity. Having thus issued so bold a disclaimer, we will

astily appropriate a little space to some of the many grounds upon which it rests. The Athenians had placed upon an altar this inscription- 'To the Unknown God.' Their devotions, then, can only be cononsidered as idolatrous observances. But if there is an element in the religion of our own land that serves as a redeeming quality, when compared with that of the Athenians, we have yet to know it. They worshipped an unknown God. The God of our hristian America is preached as a God of love. But and worship a God of love. Mankind, from their very nature, exhibit in their conduct their own ideas of God. Look, then, at a vast army of priests, with present. Cases such as these should not be left unrelieved.

low-men-such, for example, as the Mexican war. A very good embodiment of the religious and po litical character of our nation was found in the person of Zachary Taylor. Standing with an immense army, equipped with glittering steel and bombshells, as the church directs, before a few troops of shrinking, enfeebled Mexicans, amid the roar and smoke of artillery, the groans and shricks of the wounder and dying, the General, as if in answer to prayer, is seized with sudden inspiration, and he breathed out the instruction, 'Give them hell!' Listen next to the reverend clergy, in their consecrated temples devoutly rendering praises and thanksgiving to Almighty God, not only for the success he had given them in administering hell to a peaceable and comparatively inoffensive people; but, continuing their supplications, they ask God to fill them with gratitude that they were not born in a heathen land, where people know nothing of the true God, where they now sciore the car of Juggernaut. They rejo ce with holy zeal that they have temples consecrated to so holy use. Look again at the scores and thousands o temples throughout the two divisions of the Union whose very walls have grown sooty with the vile breath of what is called praise and prayer to the God of slavery, which is like a lurid flame to the life and soul of the slave. Hear his groans, mingling with the clanking of his chains the death-knell of his manhood; while from the consecrated desk comes the authoritative instruction, 'Se vants, be obedient to your masters; and as woman's wail comes up from the dire pollution of the harem, it is only answered by the penal ensetment, 'If any slave woman shall presume to lit her hand against a white man, she shall suffer the penalty of death.' And the priestly instruction from the consecrated altar quickly follows with an injunction to be subject to the powers that be; and if the wretched being, by dint of the very death-struggle, escape the grasp of the tyrant, and through night storms and noon-day heat reaches our glorious New England, up starts Daniel Webster, the polluted and polluting sorcerer, who needs to he washed from a multitu'e of his iniquities. before he is fit even to be devoured of lions, and tells the people something about the majesty of law, and desires them to enforce the new bill, and end the wretched sufferer back to her prison-house. Then, in clerical vertments, the priest presents himself in his consecrated pulpit, and devoutly thanks

God that sound discretion and heavenly wisdom-

those guardian angels of our liberties—are hovering

and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honeste

From no source or authority is the right of woman to

lecide for herself how she shall divide and fill up

that have been screwed upon her limbs must be burst rom the face and eyes of priestly influence.

Magistrates of every grade and hue, from path naster to President, may wade up to their eyes in the slimy bogs of political knavery, and become so totally destitute of moral life as to sink into one mass of contagious rottenness, and still the trumpet coninues to sound from these consecrated domes, 'Renember those who bear rule over you, whose faith allow, considering the end of their conversation."

We might proceed in this strain, were it necessary, almost any length, but we think enough has been aid to show some good reasons why we disclain all participation in matters of which we have spoken; out we think it time to awake, and gather the little strength that remains, and speedily place our sacrifice ipon the altar of humanity, of religious liberty and uman progress. In the quotation we have just made rom Paul, he tells us that we are the offspring of God. At this point, we are not at issue with the postle. To the universal brotherhood of mankind, hen, who are the sovereign heirs of God, do we most truly and humbly make our consecration. With the immense family of man before us, whose love we fondly reciprocate, in whose sorrows we most cheerully bear a part, in whose sufferings we are willing o share and labor to remove, we catch a most thriling and ennobling inspiration, which is awakened by the God that lives in us. Our doctrine is, that the great law of humanity is the law of God. And hile we consecrate our labors to the work of bringing each human being into brotherly affinity with Ernst, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was afterwards added. each and every other, we proclaim ourselves the honored servants of the Lord Almighty. This solemn insceration you implies our active co-operation in emoving the grievous and multiform evils which very where surround us. Almost without interrupon, we witness and hear of scenes most shocking to our senses and appalling to humanity. From the beauful green isle comes the faint moan of the starving Helpless infancy, in all its innocence and purity, suffering a death deliberately and coolly inflicted by a by political demagogues, and religiously placed upon the altar of priesteraft. So totally false have these been to their trust as religious teachers, that their upils have not yet learned the A B C of their relaon to their kind. In view of these things, humanie shricks out; and would to God it were with the oice of an earthquake, until human equality were not only acknowledged, but engraven upon the tablet of every heart! It is said of the queen of song, (as she is termed,) that when invited by the Austrian Emeror to visit his realm, and share the honors of his ourt and kingdom, her simple but most impressive nswer was- 'Hungaryl' With most becoming appropriateness, the humanitarians of our own country. hen asked for the reason of their-malignant denuniation, as it is called by the cool headed and cold earted, may answer- Chattel slavery-woman slaery-the oppression of the hireling in his wages-a opulation of twenty millions subsisting upon the oductions of five millions, thus making mere parasites of four-fifths of our people. One innocent babe mouning for milk in the arms of its emac ated mothand within a stone's throw, another manacled with jewels, and glutted with needless indulgencies.

and monopoly; land piracy; taxation without repesentation; an unjust government, not deriving its wers from the consent of the governed, and fellows f the baser sort for rulers.' In view of these undeiable facts is it not time that hearts, and heads, and ands, and temples, were dedicated to the cause of umanity? Is there a human being that possesses, however small a degree, the attributes of his kind, hat is at a loss what to do? Is there one that dares o call himself a man, or herself a woman, whose soul as become so mutilated as to refuse to fill up the phere of their existence in works of humanity? A ork and worship so divine as this, so holy and godike is among the crowning honors that can adorn he image of God. We are most happy and grateful. s well as proud, to engage in it, and most sincerely ity as well as complain of those who will not join s. The highest honor we ask in life is this, and in eath, that, like Job, we may say, When the ear card me, then it blessed me, and when the eve saw ne, it gave witness to me, because I delivered the oor that cried, the fatherless, and him that had none help him; the blessing of him that was ready to erish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart sing for joy. I put on righte usness, and it clothd me: my judgment was a robe and a diadem. I as eyes to the blind, and tert was I to the lame. was a father to the poor, and the cause which I

new, not, I searched out. Love for humanity is one of the tenets of our sith; religious liberty another. The church and world are wont to make a distinction between civil and religious liberty, and have defined the word relijous to mean loving and reverencing the Supreme leing, and obeying his precepts; and the word civil a omething relating to the citizens and government of state. But the only liberty of which we can form just conception, is the liberty to think freely on all ibjects that can possibly come within the range of uman investigation, and to act in accordance with our conclusions just as freely as we think, if by so loing we leave the rights of all men quite unmolest d. This is what we mean by religious liberty, and is

omprehend. Liberty, by whatever term it may be preceded, has nd can have reference only to thinking and acting and this is a matter to be individually and conscien iously attended to; therefore, all liberty is religious iberty. This differs widely from the religious liberty ith which the world, and particularly the church ere familiar, which is a mere ecclesiastical grant or indulgence to think and act according to priest dicta ion, or, as brother C. Beecher has it, 'liberty to se lect the particular pair of handcuffs you would prefer to wear."

(Concluded next week.)

Since the division of the Methodist Episcop Church, in 1844, the Church South has increased 15,868, while the Church North has decreased 23,682, so much for anti-slavery.—Phil. Penn.

WENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The twentieth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, on Wednes day, Thursday and Friday, January 28th, 29th and

The meeting commenced at the Melodeon, on the first-named day, and was called to order at 10 1-2 o'clock, by the President, FRANCIS JACKSON. Cornelius Bramball and Samuel May, Jr., were hosen Assistant Secretaries.

Opportunity for vocal or silent prayer being given rayer was offered by John M. Spear, of Boston.

Samuel Philbrick, Treasurer of the Society, made his Annual Report of receipts and expenditures. The whole amount of receipts for the year was \$5,896 19. Expenditures, \$6,454 35. Balance remaining in the treasury, January 1st, 1852, \$540 07 The Report was certified by the Auditor of the Society, Edmund Jackson, as having been examined, nd found correct and duly vouched.

On motion of C. Bramhall, the Report was accept [The Report will be found printed in another place.]

Voled, that Committees on Business, on Finance, and on the Nomination of Officers for the ensuing year, be nominated by the Chair.

The following persons were nominated a Commitee on Business, and chosen :-

William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles C. Burleigh, Charles L. Remond, Parker Pillsbury, John M. Spear, Daniel Foster, Lucy Stone. Sarah H. The following were nominated, and chosen, a Com

mittee of Finance :-Lewis Ford, James N. Buffum, Nathaniel B. Spoon

er. Elbridge Sprague. The chair was taken by Effingham L. Capron, of

Worcester, one of the Vice Presidents of the So-Elmund Quincy, on behalf of the Board of Man-

agers, presented their Annual Report, from which he read copious extracts. The Report gave a detailed class of beings whose humanity has long been stifled skeech of the history of the cause, and of the operations of the Society, during the year past.

On motion, Voted, that the Report be laid on the able, and printed.

Wendell Phillips, from the Business Committee eported the following Resolutions :-

1. Resolved, That, as citizens of Boston and the Commonwealth, we record our deep disapprobation and indignant protest against the surrender of Thomas Sims by this city, its sanction of the cowardly and lying policy of the police, its servile and volunteer zeal in behalf of the man-hunters, and its deliberate, wanton and avowed violation of the laws of the Commonwealth, for the basest of all purposes, -slavetrading, selling a free man into bondage, that State street and Milk street might make money.

2. Resolved, That the circumstances of the case will not allow us to believe that this in amous deed was the act of the City Gov roment merely; and then, as Boston-born men, some of us, comforting ourselves in the reflection, that the fawning sycophant who disgraced the Mayor's chair was not born on the peninsula whose fair fame he blotted, but all was only the easy and shuffling tool of the monied classes, and therefore too insignificant to be remembered with any higher feeling than contempt.

3. Resolved, That we cherish a deep and stern indignation toward the judges of the Commonwealth whose personal cowardice, pitiful subserviency, utter lack of official dignity and entire disregard of their oaths witnessed, in silence, the violation of laws they were bound to enforce, and disgraced the Bench once honored by the presence of a Sedgwick and a Sew-

4. Resolved, That we do not forget, in estimating the character of the professed churches of Boston, that through the whole of this dismal and melanchol night of infamy, they upheld a merciless people i the execution of an inhuman law.

5. Resolved, That, in the rescue of Shadrach, the manly and successful resistance to Gorsuch and his bloodbounds, and the noble attitude of the city of Syracuse, we see cheering evidence that the love of Liberty and the reverence for Law have not died out in the land.

6. Resolved, That when we consider the critical state of parties and the public mind in relation to slavery, the fear:ul struggle going on between the rinciples of liberty and those of a merciless despotsm, the friends of the one being a Spartan band, those of the other a Persian host; when we consider, also, the anxious expectation with which the coming of Louis Kossuth was watched, the momentous weight attached to his lightest word, his eloquent professions of devotion to the principles of impartial liberty, and to being governed by the higher lav of humanity and universal freedom, and his position as the recognised leader of one-half of the reformers of Europe, we are forced to regard his course in relation to American slavery, his unqualified eulogies of indiscriminate praise of our leading statesmen, his endorsement, in such glowing terms, of the Mexican war, his purposed and pledged silence on the infa-

our Constitution and its present administration, his mous system of human bondage, his uncalled for and ungenerous, if not cowardly, rebuke of a fellowcountryman, the editor of an American press, for his ntended to embrace all that the term can possibly opposition to the monstrous provisions of the Fagitive Slave Bill, and his hardly disguised censure of the abolitionists,—as falsehood to his high professions, treason to the cause of humanity and human rights, injurious to the nation he seeks to aid, fatal to his own ame, in wordly phrase, worse than a crime, a folly, if he supposes such a course will give him either sincere sympathy or effective aid; and an added blot on the dark brow of American slavery, that she has suceeded in melting in the lap of her temptations nother of the great historic names of the age, and left him 'to grind in the mill' of her infamous ser-

he Society adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON. Met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair. The Resolu-

sions reported in the morning being in order. Grones W. PUTNAM, one of the lecturing agents of the Society, spoke in their support, including some account his experience as a lecturer. He spoke of the high satisfaction and great benefit he had received, while accompanying that eloquent and fearless advocate of the cause, George Thompson, into the State of

New York and Canada, during the early part of last year. He also adverted to the various successes he had had, while laboring as an agent in the States of Maine and Massachusetts. PARKER PILLSBURY, of New Hampshire, spoke in

upport of the Resolutions, and expressed the hope hat the Society, whose anniversary celebration we are now commencing, would prove true to its duty; hat it would meet the great and crying wants of the ountry, teaching the way of life, of freedom and of alvation to the thousands and tens of thousands, who ave outgrown the bounds of sect and party, who tave thrown off the chains of a dead church and a eartiers religion, and are struggling to come into he true light and to the true worship of God.

JOHN RAND, of Milton, said he responded very cartily to what had been said, though his friend Pillsbury had used some expressions which might be misunderstood. He said he was, he hoped, a Chrisisn; he had aimed to be such; he hoped to die uch; and because he was a Christian, he was thereore an abolitionist. For fifteen years, he had been n sympathy with this Society; but he desired to-day o contess his short-comings in duty; he felt he had not long to live, and he was resolved to devote himself more fully and entirely to his work as a Christian and an abolitionist. Look on me, he said, all of you, and hear me avow myself an abolitionist, a friend and reader of the Liberator, who admires and loves the oure Christian doctrine which the Liberator mainains, (although often denounced as infidel,) and witne s my resolve to devote myself more completely to he anti-slavery work, ready to bear the reproach Christ and of the truth, both within and without the

P. PILLSBURY said a few words by way of explanation. When missionaries go to foreign lands, and denounce the idolatrous practices there prevailing, they do not feel bound frequently to stop and say, But understand me, friends; when I denounce your dolatry and cannibalism, I do not mean to denounce ure religion, or anything else that is good. So here. We have a religion in this country. Men all around eall it Christianity-and that religion is protecting under its ample folds, sins and sinners of the vilest tamp. It is apologizing for, and bringing the names f God and of Christ to justify, the grossest abomintions, the most terrible wrongs against man, and the nost flagrant contempt of the laws of God. When we denounce this thing, is it necessary to explain that we do not mean to denounce the truth of God and the ighteousness of Christ?

JOHN M. SPEAR detailed some of his own experiences as a laborer in behalf of the Prisoner. He had met with many professed Christians,-ministers and others,-who would give him no aid, and would not permit him to speak for the prisoner in their pulpits, because he was a friend of Wendell Phillips and The odore Parker.

with the advice often given us by many, who profess to have made great attainments in religion, that we should conduct our reform in a Christian way. What a 'Christian way'? Listen to Jesus, when he arraigns the church and religious teachers of his day as hypocrites and criminals; not going into the kingom of heaven themselves, and hindering those who would go; a generation of vipers, &c. We are told, oo, that the Church must refom the world. Indeed! Is the church which upholds slavery, and other kindred wrongs, the fit power to rid the world of those wrongs? The church which is to reform the world. we have been taught, is one against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, not one which becomes itself the advocate of the worst doctrines of hell. The rue church must drive its ploughshare deep under he foundations of that church which is the chief oulwark of American slavery.'

Adjourned to 7 1-o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY EVENING. Edmund Quincy, one of he Vice Presidents, in the chair.

The resolutions before the Society were read by he Secretary.

Parker Pillsbury and Wendell Phillips spoke ably d eloquently in their support.

[A phonographic report, by J. M. W. Yerrinton, of hese speeches, and of those made on the two subsement evenings, will be published as soon as possible. The Secretar.e., therefore, refrain from giving even an utline of those speeches.]

Adjourned to Thursday morning, 10 o'clock.

THURSDAY.

Met at the Melodeon, according to adjour The President, in accordance with a previous vote, cominated the following persons a Committee to eport a suitable list of officers of the Society for the nsuing year, and they were chosen said Com

Edmund Quincy, of Norfolk Co. Effingham L. Capron. " Worcester Co. Essex Co. Middlesex Co.

William Ashby, Geo. W. Simonds, William Durfee, Bristol Co. Plymouth Co. Hampshire Co. Johnson Davee. Addison Everett, Barnstable Co. Joshua H. Robbins,

Jasper H. York,

Francis Wood. The resolutions, reported by the Business Commite, being in order, the meeting was addressed by Nahaniel H. Whiting, of Marshfield.

Suffolk Co.

Mrs. REDLON, of R. I., spoke of the injurior Mrs. REDLON, of the Boston churches; and adduced the instance of a young friend of hers, who had been a corrupted in principle by the preaching of the Beptist churches with which he was connected, as to ome to the support of the Fugitive Slave Law, which he had viewed with abhorrence, and had con iomned as inhuman and unchristian, when first en-

Resolved, That all friends of the cause, in attend ance at these sessions, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar each, or such other sum as may be in their power, toward the necessary expenses of this annual meeting-for which purpose they will be called upon, from time to time, by the members of the Finance Committee.

Resolved, That we urge upon all the friends of the cause immediate and earnest attention to meet the exigencies of the time, by taxing themselves, and appealing to those about them for more ample means, to send the living lecturer and the printed page throughout a land now awaking, as ours is, to the momentous importance of the slave question.

After a few words upon the subject, Mr. Phillips moved that the consideration of the second of these two resolutions be made the special business for tomorrow morning, at 11 1-2 o'clock. Adopted, unan-

W. L. GARRISON referred to what a previous speak er had said of Moses Stuart, of Andover, lately de ceased. What eulogies have been poured out upon this man! and yet who merits the severest censure more than the man who taxed his ingenuity to find a sanction in the Bible for slavery, who declared that even in the fourth commandment slavery was provided for, and who had exerted his great influence to reconcile the American people to the Fugitive Slave

Mr. G. next spoke of the course which Louis Ko suth had pursued, since he had been in this country professing to be a friend of universal freedom, an yet steadfastly refusing to see the three million, two hundred thousand slaves in the land, or say one wore for them, but pouring forth unmeasured and most extravagant eulogies on our country and its government Mr. G. pronounced him a parasite, and recreant to the cause of liberty. He said that there were twelve States in this Union, whose united population wa only equal to the whole number of slaves in the Union. Suppose the slaves to be transferred thither, and to take the places of the present inhabitants twelve entire States would be politically annihilated. Yet Kossuth calls ours a Land of Freedom!

Mr. G. referred to the recent case of kidnapping colored girl from Chester Co., Pennsylvania, and the death (doubtless the murder) of Joseph C. Miller, from whose house the girl was stolen; and who had gone to Baltimore to endeavor to save her. Between Baltimore and his home, nis body had been found with marks of violence upon it, suspended by two handkerchiefs to a tree. He read, also, from Bibb's Voice of the Fugitice, an account of a slave, Isaac Johnson, who with his wife and child endeavored to escape from slavery. They were pursued, and overtaken in Indiana; a shot from one of the pursuers killed their child, who was upon its mother's back, and the same shot took off part of her car. They then turned and fought their pursuers, one of whom was killed, and the other fled. Seeing that their child was dead, and they could do it no good, they left it lying by the side of the dead man, and fled. They succeeded in reaching a land of freedom to them, under the protection of a monarch's crown. Yet the Hungarian flatterer is everywhere telling what a liberty-loving nation this is !

Mr. Garrison then reviewed the present position of some of the prominent political leaders of the Union LUNSFORD LANE, once a slave, but for many years a resident in this neighborhood, (having purchased

his freedom,) made some very interesting remarks. WENDELL PHILLIPS presented the following form of a Petition to the United States Senate, which he hoped would be generally signed, in the intervals of

To the Senate of the United States :

The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, seeing that the attention of the Senate is turned towards the victims of despotic Governments and inhuman laws, respectfully ask that you would conside the unhappy lot of Drayton and Sayres, inmates of the prisons of the District of Columbia, convicted of acts which all humanity, the wide world over, applauds, and which nothing but barbarous laws condemn; and that you would take immediate measures for their relief.

Voted, that the Resolution on Kossuth be made the special subject of consideration this evening.

Notice was given that, by request of the Board Managers, Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Salem, would this afternoon deliver before the Society a lecture he had recently prepared for the Salem Anti-Slavery

Adjourned to quarter before three o'clock.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON. The Preside ed the Society to order, introduced to them Rev. Sam

Mr. Johnson then pronounced his address on the Present Aspects of the Slavery Question in the United States. It was a masterly discussion of the questions of Law, Government, and Conscience, in relatino to Slavery. After which, the Society adjourned to the evening.

THURSDAY EVENING. The Society again met, according to adjournment, Edmund Quincy in the

The sixth Resolution being in order for the evening was supported, in an exceedingly able manner, by William L. Garrison and Wendell Phillips.

Dr. Daniel Mann, of Boston, defended Kossuth the course he has pursued,-not as faultless, indeed, but on the whole, as good policy, and dictated by good motives. Charles C. Burleigh ably replied to Dr. Mann.

Adjourned to Friday, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

FRIDAY.

The Society re-assembled, according to adjourn ment, at the Melodeon, and was called to order by the President.

Mr. Carrison, from the Rusiness Committee, reported the following Resolutions on African Colonization:-

7. Resolved, That among the many revolting spects cles presented to the world is the attempt to coloniz the free colored population of this country in Africa, on account of their complexion; while, at the sam time, the oppressed of all other nations, however poo and degraded, are permitted to come to these shores and to share in all the blessings of civil and religious

8. Resolved, That nothing can surpass the hypocrisy, injustice, effrontery and impiety of the American Colonization Society; controlled, as it is, by Southern slaveholders and slave-breeders, and sided by North ern despisers and persecutors of our colored population; pretending, as it does, the utmost concern for the elevation and improvement of the native Africans. while conspiring for the degradation and enslavement of three millions and a half of colored Americans, so long as they remain here; and organized, as it i under the garb of philanthropy, to give greater security to the slave system, to enhance the value of slave property, and to get rid of an injured and afflicted

9. Resolved, That a true exemplification of the ization spirit is seen in the recent adoption of the State Constitution of Indiana, by which pains an penalties are imposed on the colored residents of that State, and the colored citizens of other States are prohibited from coming into Indiana.

10. Resolved, That this exclusion of colored citiens is not only cruel, but unconstitutional-not only inhuman, but treachery to the national compact; and proves the religion and politics of Indiana to be ination of cant and corruption, of hypocrisy and villany, of perfidy and ruffianism.

11. Resolved, That the friends of impartial liberty | should earnestly remonstrate, to the present Congress, against the appropriation of any moneys in the nation al treasury for the establishment of a line of mail steamships to the western coast of Africa, having among its objects the expatriation of the free colored population of the United States-such an appropriation, for such an object, being palpably unconstitutical, and disgraceful to the religion and humanity of

And it was Voted, on motion of Mr. Garrison, that the Resolutions be taken up this evening, at Fancuil Hall.

WILLIAM H. FISH, of HOPEDALE, addressed the neeting, in a very carnest and interesting manner, chiefly upon the instrumentalities by which the antislavery work is to be carried forward and consummated. These, he said, are not weapons of force or vio lence, but they are moral and spiritual-those which are mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of all wrong. The Church is to do the work; not the American Church, bloody and defiled with crime, but that Church which is composed of all the true, just and good. 'God is the only power who can do this work, we are told. True; but not a distant God, superintending afar off machinery which he long ago set in motion; but God incarnated in the lives of men, living in and animating the souls of his

DANIEL FOSTER took up the resolution on Kossuth He thought that Kossuth was not to be ranked with such a traitor as Daniel Webster. In his own country, he had taken a very noble position for the freedom of all; Daniel Webster was taking a precisely opposite course. He likened Kossuth to Horace Mann and Joshua R. Giddings, laboring for the right, but yet too much compromised by their position as politicians. Kossuth had been contrasted with O'Connell, in regard to the stand each took as to American slavery On the particular question of American slavery, Mr. F. admitted that O'Connell stood far before Kossuth but, as a whole man, he regarded him as far inferior. He expressed his opinion that O'Connell was a demagogue, taking money from the poor of Ireland for selfish ends. [Mr. F. was repeatedly interrupted, during his remarks upon O'Connell; but order was restored, and he concluded what he had to say.]

The hour assigned for the resolution on funds have ing arrived, it was Voted, On account of reasons assigned by Samuel May, Jr., to reconsider that assignment; and the hour of half-past three in the afternoon

was assigned for that purpose.

The discussion proceeded; Mary C. Hinckley, in few words, replying to Mr. Foster.

Mr. GARRISON showed in how totally different position Kossuth stood from Mann and Giddings, quoting such expressions of his as this :- ' You are a free and happy people; there are no tyrants here.' He vindicated Mr. O'Connell from the charges of Mr.

J. C. CLUER agreed with what Mr. Foster said about O'Connell, and charged Mr. O'Connell with having offered to send Irish regiments over to England to crush the Chartist movement.

Mr. Garrison said he did not wish to dispute Mr. Cluer, but he would rather see this offer of Daniel O'Connell, in black and white. Mr. Cluer said he could produce it.

DANIEL MANN supported the view of O'Connell's disinterestedness and devotion to Ireland, which Mr. Garrison had taken. He again justified Kossuth's silence on American slavery.

WENDELL PHILLIPS in some brief, but very conclusive remarks, defended Mr. O'Connell from the aspersions which had been cast upon him.

Daniel Foster said the benefit of free discussion was now apparent. He had listened closely to the remarks which had been made; he was now convinced that he had been wrong in his view of the character of Mr. O'Connell, and he withdrew the charge of to the Society, amounted to \$340. Pledges were demagogue, &c., which he had made against him .

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH objected to what had been said by several speakers, yesterday and to-day, in regard to taking the lives of slaveholders and kidnappers. We ought not to do or say anything to encourage a blood-thirsty spirit. We could not be too careful to keep the cause from all suspicion of relying upon such methods.

P. PILLSBURY said he thought that those speakers. who had undertaken to defend Kossuth, had done more to damage his cause, and to show the weakness and wickedness of his position, than even those

who had spoken against him. Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

G. W. F. Mellen spoke in regard to Kossuth, and offered a long series of resolutions, upon which no action was proposed.

The hour of half-past three, assigned for the question of funds, having arrived, the resolution on that subject was read by the Secretary, and was spoken to by Parker Pillsbury and Nathaniel H. Whiting. CHARLES SPEAR explained the matter which been referred to by Mr. Pillsbury, that the two

daughters of William W. Brown went to England with him, on board the British mail steamer, as servants. The agent of the steamer refused to take them as passengers, and would allow them to go only as against color had sway in a British mail steamer, as well as on our own shores.

Mrs. Replon and Mary C. Hinckley proteste against the employment of police officers to keep Abigail Folsom out of this meeting.

Mr. May, Mr. Garrison and others showed the ne sons and insult. No injustice was done to Mrs. Folsom.

LUCY STONE spoke of those influences, higher and etter than money, and without which all money was valueless, to carry forward our holy enterprise.

W. L. GARRISON offered the following resolution which was responded to, and passed, with acclama-

Resolved, That the anniversary of the kidnapping of Thomas Sims, in April last, be duly celebrated in this city on the recurrence of that memorable day, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Edmund Quincy, from the Committee on the Nom ination of officers, reported the following list, which being accepted by the Society, the individuals named therein were elected officers for the ensuing year :-

> President FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents. ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford. EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham. STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge. AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton. ADIN BALLOU, Milford. JOHN M. Fisx, West Brookfield. JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton. EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester. JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield. OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket. HENRY I. BOWDITCH, BOSTON.

JOHN C. GORE, ROXBUTY.

JOSIAH HENSHAW, West Brookfield. CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth. BENJAMIN Snow, Jr., Fitchburg. GRORGE MILES Westminet JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn. CYRUS PRINCE, Newton. JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport.

THOMAS T. STONE, Salem. BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth. WILLIAM ASHRY, Newburyport. JOHN BAILEY, Lynn. CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston. J. S. STAFFORD, Cummington. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge. RICHARD CLAP, Dorchester.

Corresponding Secretary. EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham. Recording Secretary. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston. SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline. EDMUND JACKSON, Boston. Counsellors.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, JOHN ROGERS, CORNELIUS BRAMBALL, ANNE W. WESTON, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN JOHN M. SPEAR, CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, SAMUEL MAY Jr., WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, JOHN T. SARGENT.

Adjourned, to meet in Faneuil Hall, at 7 1-2 o'clock

FRIDAY EVENING. The Society assembled in Faneuil Hall, which was filled at the appointed hour. The chair was taken at 7 1-2 o'clock, by Edmun Quincy, who announced the character and objects of the meeting.

The Resolutions, assigned for the evening, were ad by the Secretary.

W. L. Garrison spoke ably in exposure of the hypocritical and oppressive character of the African Colnization scheme. He was heard with close atten-

WENDELL PHILLIPS followed. He took up the Resolutions relating to the action of the City Government in the case of Thomas Sims. A speech of more terrible sareasm is rarely heard. It stirred up the passions of the baser sort of those present. They frequently interrupted Mr. P. with calling for cheers for Daniel Webster, and others; but not a word of Mr. Phillips's remarks was lost.

Mr. Garrison having announced that the platform was free to any one who desired to defend Mr. Webster in a manly, and not a rowdyish way, a young man, who gave his name as Abraham G. Drake, came forward, professedly to undertake that task. After a strange medley of talk, but little of which related to Mr. Webster, and in which he declared himself a 'regular loco-foco,' 'a thorough-going, Cass, proslavery Democrat,' and as 'going in for the Fugitive Slave Law,'-having exposed his own shame, and disgusted the decent part of the audience, he left the platform.

The following Resolution, from the Business Com mittee, was offered :-

Resolved, That the craven and time-serving conduct of Theobold Mathew and Louis Kossuth, under the poisonous influence of the American atmosphere. makes us remember afresh and honor anew the magnanimous spirit and courageous consistency of that true friend of America and of the human race, GEORGE THOMPSON, a man whose sympathies, overleaping the boundaries of nationality, include within their embrase the oppressed of all climes and all complexions.

The President then announced that, as this was meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, though we welcomed all to our discussions, none but members could be permitted to vote, and the votes of no others would be counted.

The Resolutions before the Society were then put to vote, and unanimously adopted. And the Society adjourned, sine die.

N. B. The collections made by the Finance Com mittee for expenses of the meeting, and as donations given, also, to the amount of \$800.

The number of names appended to the Petition in behalf of Drayton and Sayres, during the meeting,

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Recording Secretary. CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, SAMUEL MAY, JR. Assistant Secretaries.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS." At the Melodeon, Wednesday evening, Jan. 28, 1852.

PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON

I have been thinking, while sitting in this meeting, of the different situations of the anti-slavery cause FRIDAY AFTERNOON. The chair was taken by Ef- now and one year ago, when the last anniversary of

we had more sources of interest and of public excitement on that occasion than we have now. We had with us, during a portion, at least, of that session, the eloquent advocate of our cause on the other side of the water. We had the local excitement and the deep interest which the first horror of the Fugitive Slave Bill had aroused. We had, I believe, in our midst, some fugitives, just arrived from the house of bondage. It may seem to many, that, meeting as we do to day robbed of all these, we can calculate only on a session more monotonous and less effectual ir arousing the community. But, when we look over the whole land, when we look back upon the scene servants. He had therefore consented to their taking which have transpired in our own Commonwealth, that name, rather than they should be deprived of the at Christiana, at Syracuse, at the passage through the opportunity of going to their father. Thus prejudice country of the great Hungarian, at the present state of the public mind, it seems to me that no year, during the existence of the Society, has presented more en couraging aspects to the abolitionists. The views which our friend (Parker Pillsbury) has just present ed are those which, in our most sober calculation, we ought to rely upon. Give us time, and, as he has cessity of protecting the meetings from disorderly per- said, talk is almighty. We are apt to feel ourselves overshadowed in the presence of colossal institutions We are apt, in coming up to a meeting of this kind, to ask what a few hundred or a few thousand persons can do against the weight of government, the motainous odds of majorities, the influence of the press the power of the pulpit, the organization of parties the omnipotence of wealth. At times, to carry a favorite purpose, leading statesmen have endeavored to cajole the people into the idea that this age was like the past, and that a 'rub-a-dub agitation,' as ours is contemptuously styled, was only to be despised. The time has been when, as our friend observed, from the steps of the Revere House-yes, and from the depots of New York railroads-Mr. Webster has described this anti-slavery movement as a succession of lectures in school-houses-the mere efforts of a few hundred men and women to talk together, excite each other arouse the public, and its only result a little noise He knew better. He knew better the times in which he lived. No matter where you meet a dozen earner men pledged to a new idea-wherever you have me them, you have met the beginning of a revolution Revolutions are not made, they come. A revolution is as natural a growth as an oak. It comes out of th past. Its foundations are laid far back. The chilfeels; he grows into a man, and thinks; another perhaps, speaks, and the world acts out the thought And this is the history of modern society. Men un dervalue the anti-slavery movement, because they imagine you can put you finger on some illustriou moment in history and say, here commenced the grea change which has come over the nation. Not se The beginning of great changes is like the rise of the Mississippi. A child must stoop and gather away th pebbles to find it. But soon it swells on broader and roader, bears on its ample bosom the navies of mighty Republic, fills the Gulf, and divides a conti-I remember a story of Napoleon, that illustrates m

meaning. We are apt to trace his control of France

the Tuileries, or when he dissolved the Assembly by the stamp of his foot. He reigned, in fact, when his hand was first felt on the helm of the vessel of state, gitive Slave Bill signed by Millard Fillmore!!!-no and that was far back of the time when he had conquered in Italy, or his name had been echoed over public, once roused to indignation. Remember this, two continents. It was on the day when five hundred irresolute men were met in that Assembly which hundreds in the one scale, and the fanatic violence called itself, and pretended to be, the government of of State street in the other, that there is NOTHING France. They heard that the mob of Paris was to Daniel Webster being witness, strong enough to stand come down upon them, thirty thousand strong, to against public opinion, -and if the tongue and the turn them, as usual in those days, out of doors. And where did this seemingly great power go for its support and refuge? They sent Tallien to seek out a boy lieutenant,—the shadow of an officer,—so thin and of the same opinion. 'There is not a monarch pallid, that when he was placed on the stand before the President of the Assembly, that officer, fearful, if the fate of France rested on the shrunken form, the intelligent part of the people.' 'I thank thee, Jew' ashy cheek before him, that all hope was gone, ask-ed- Youn man, can you protect the Assembly? And the ashen lips of the Corsican boy parted only to reply-'I always do what I undertake.' Then and thropy. Grant it all. But take care, Mr. Statesman; there Napoleon ascended his throne; and the next day, from the steps of St. Roche, thundered forth the cannon that taught the mob of Paris, for the first time, that it had a master. That was the commencement of the Empire. So the anti-slavery movemen commenced unheeded in that 'obscure hole' which Mayor Otis could not find, occupied by a printer and a black boy.

In working these great changes, in such an age as ours, the so-called statesman has far less influence than the many little men who, at various points, are silently maturing a regeneration of public opinion. This is a reading and thinking age, and great interests at stake quicken the general intellect. Stagnant times have been when a great mind, anchored in error, might snag the slow-moving current of society, Such is not our era. Nothing but Freedom, Justice and Truth is of any permanent advantage to the mass of mankind. To these society, left to itself, is always tending. In our day, great questions about them have called forth all the energies of the common mind. Error suffers sad treatment in the shock of cager intellects. 'Every body,' said Talleyrand, 'is cleverer than any body'; and any name, however illustrious, which links itself to abuses, is sure to be overwhelmed by the impetuous current of that society which, (thanks to the press and a reading public,) . This agitation must be put down.' . It becomes us, is potent, always, to clear its own channel. Thanks to the Printing Press, the people now do their own inn have free course. Behold the great doughface thinking, and statesmen, as they are styled-men in cringing before the calm eye of Kossuth, who had office, have ceased to be either the leaders or the clogs nothing but 'rub-a-dub agitation' with which to res-

This view is one that Mr. Webster ridiculed in the depots of New York. The time has come when he is obliged to change his tone; when he is obliged to retrace his steps-to acknowledge the nature and the character of the age in which he lives. Kossuth comes to this country-penniless, and an exile; conquered on his own soil; flung out as a weed upon the waters; nothing but his voice left-and the Secretary of State must meet him. Now, let us see what he says of his 'rub-a-dub agitation,' which consists Pillsbury has described. This is that 'tongue,' that to the eternal principles of justice and right! the impudent statesman declared, from the drunken steps of the Revere House, ought to be silencedthis tongue, which was a 'rub-a-dub agitation' to be despised, when he spoke to the farmers of New

He says- We are too much inclined to underrate the power of moral influence.' Who is? Nobody but a Revere House statesman. ' We are too much inclined to underrate the power of moral influence, and the influence of public opinion, and the influence of the principles to which great men-the lights of the world and of the present age-have given their sane tion. Who doubts, that in our struggle for liberty and independence, the majestic eloquence of Chatham, the profound reasoning of Burke, the burning satire and irony of Col. Barre, had influences upon our fortunes nere in America? They had influences both ways. They tended, in the first place, somewhat to diminish the confidence of the British ministry in their hopes of success, in attempting to subjugate an injured people. They had influence another way, because all along the coasts of the country. -and all our people in that day lived upon the coast, there was not a reading man who did not feel stronger, bolder and more determined in the assertion of his rights, when these exhilarating accents from the two Houses of Parliament reached him from beyond the seas.' 'I thank thee, Jew !' This rub-a-dub agitation

then, has influence both ways. It diminishes the confidence of the Administration in its power to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, which it I so insolently on the people. It acts on the reading men of the nation, and in that single fact is the whole story of the change. Wherever you have a reading people, there every tongue, every press is a power Mr. Webster, when he ridiculed in New York the agitation of the anti-slavery body, supposed he was living in the old feudal times, when a statesman was an integral element in the State, an essential power in himself. He must have supposed himself speaking in those ages when a great man outweighed the masses He finds now that he is living much later, in an age when the accumulated common sense of the people outweighs the greatest statesman or the most influential individual. Let me illustrate the difference of our times and the past in this matter, by their difference in another respect. The time has been when men cased in iron from head to foot, and disciplined by long years of careful instruction, went to battle. Those were the days of nobles and knights; and in such times, ten knights, clad in steel, feared not a whole field of unarmed peasantry, and a hundred men of arms have conquered thousands of the common people, or held them at bay. Those were the times when Winkleried, the Swiss patriot, led his host against the Austrian phalanx, and, finding it impenetrable to the thousands of Swiss who threw themsolves on the serried lances, gathered dozens in his arms, and drawing them together, made thus an inlet into the closeset ranks of the Austrians, and they were overborne by the actual mass of numbers. Gunpowder came, and then, any finger that could pull a trigger was equal to the highest born and the best disciplined; knightly armor, and horses clad in steel went to the ground before the courage and strength that dwelt in the arm of the peasant, as well as that of the prince. What gunpowder did for war, the printing-press has done for the mind, and the statesman is no longer clad in the steel of education, but every reading man is his judge. Every thoughtful man, the country through, that makes up an opinion, is his jury, to which he answers, and the tribunal to which he must bow. Mr. Webster, therefore, does not overrate the power of this 'rub-a-dub agitation.' which Kossuth has now adopted, ' stealing our thunder.' (Laughter and applause.) He does not overrate the power of this 'rub-a-dub agitation' when he says-' Another great mistake, gentlemen, is some-times made. [Yes, in Bowdoin Square!] We think nothing powerful enough to stand before despotic power. There is something strong enough, quite strong enough; and if properly exerted, it will prove itself so; and that is, the power of intelligent public opinion.' 'I thank thee, Jew !' That opinion is formed, not only in Congress, or on Hotel steps ; it is made also in the school-houses, in the town-houses, at the hearth-stones, in the railroad cars, on board th steamboats, in the social circle, in these anti-slavery gatherings which he despises. Mark you: There i nothing powerful enough to stand before it ! It may be an almost divine institution; it may be the bank vaults of New England; it may be the mining interests of Pennsylvania; it may be the Harwich fisher. men, whom he told to stand by the Union, because its

e noted victory, to the time when he camped in ry operative, whom he told to uphold the Union, because it made his cloth sell for half per cent. more s yard ; it may be a parchment Constitution, or a Fu matter, all are dust on the threshing floor of a reading when you would look down upon a meeting of a few press are not parents of that, what is ? Napoleon said, 'I fear three newspapers more than

> earth,' he says, ' whose throne is not liable to be shaken by the progress and the sentiment of the just and We have been told often, that it was nothing but a morbid sentiment that was opposed to the Fugitive Slave Bill, -it was a sentiment of morbid philancure or change it in time, else it will beat all your alive, and we all know that the gentlest of nature' growths will, in time, burst asunder or wear away the proudest dead-weight man can heap upon them. It this be the power of the gentlest growth, let the stoutest heart tremble before the tornado of a people roused to terrible vengeance by the sight of long years of cowardly and merciless oppression, and oft-repeated instances of selfish and calculating apostacy. You may build your Cepitol of granite, and pile it as high as the Rocky Mountains, if it is founded on or mixed up with iniquity, the pulse of a girl will in time best it down. 'There is no monarch on earth whose throng is not liable to be shaken by the sentiment of the just and intelligent part of the people.' What is this but a recantation? doing penance for the impudence uttered in Bowdoin Square? Surely this is the white sheet and lighted torch which the Scotch church imposed as penance on its erring members. Who of you would imagine, that the man who said of the public discussion of the slavery question that it must be put down, could have dictated this sentiment- It becomes us, in the station which we hold, to let that public opinion have free course'? What, then, is that echo that we heard from Bowdoin Square a year ago in the station which we hold, to let that public opin cue Hungary from the bloody talons of the Austrian cagle !

This is statesmanship ! The statesmanship that says to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to-day, smother those prejudices,' and to-morrow, ' there in no throne on the broad earth strong enough to stand up against the sentiment of justice.' What is that but the 'prejudices' of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against man-hunting? And this is the man before whom the press and the pulpit of the country would have had the abolitionists bow their heads, and of the voice only-of the tongue, which our friend lay their mouths in the dust, instead of holding fast

I do not quote Mr. Webster's opinion for what it i worth, because it is worth nothing. He changed his opinion yesterday, and he may change it again tomorrow. But I quote it because we have been accustomed to come here, sometimes, and feel somewhat awed by the image of the colossal institutions about us, which seem to be opposing our progress. Be cause there are some who occasionally weary of this moral sussion, and sigh for something tangible; some power that they can feel, and see its operation. The advancing tide you cannot mark. The gem grows unseen. The granite increases and crumbles, and you can hardly mark either process. The great change in nation's opinion is the same. We stand here tolay, and if we look back twenty years, we can see a hange in public opinion-yes, we can see a grea change. Then, the great statesmen had pledged hemselves not to talk on this subject. They have been made to talk. These hounds have been whipped into the traces of the nation's ear, not by three newspapers, which Napoleon dreaded, but by one. (Cheers.) The great parties of the country have been broken to pieces and crumbled. The great sects have been broken to pieces. Suppose you connot put your finger upon an individual fact; still, in the great result, you see what Webster tells us in this speech-Depend upon it, gentlemen, that between these two ival powers, the autocratic power, maintained by rms and force, and the popular power, maintained by opinion, the former is constantly decreasing; and, thank God, the latter is constantly increasing. Real human liberty is gaining the ascendant ;- [he must in all this great drama is to show ourselves in favor of those rights; to uphold our ascendancy, and to carry it on, until we shall see it culminate in the

highest heaven over our heads." Now, I look upon that speech as the most remarkable Mr. Webster has ever made on the anti-slavery agitation to which we are devoted-as a most remark able confession, under the circumstances. I read it here and to you, because, in the circle I see around me, the larger proportion are abolitionists-men attached to the movement which this meeting represents-men whose thoughts are occasionally occupied with the causes and with the effects of its real progress. I would force from the reluctant line of the Secretary of State, his testimony to the real power of the masses. I said that the day was, before gunpowder, when the noble, clad in steel, was a match for thousand. Gunpowder levelled peasant and prince-The printing press has done the same. In the midst

of thinking people, in the long run, there are no great men. The accumulated intellect of the masses is greater than the heaviest brain that God ever gave single man. Webster, though he may gather into his own person the confidence of parties, and the attachment of thousands throughout the country, i but a feather's weight in the balance against the av erage of public sentiment on the subject of slavery A newspaper paragraph, a county meeting, a gather ing for conversation, a change of the character of dozen individuals, these are the several fountains and sources of public opinion in our midst. And, friends when we gather, mouth after month, at such meeting s these, we should encourage ourselves with considerations of this kind :-that we live in an age of demperatic equality; -that, for a moment, a party may stand against the age, but, in the end, it goes by the board :- that the man who launches a sound argument, who sets on two feet a startling fact, and bid it travel from Maine to Georgia, is just as certain tha he in the end will change the government, as if, to destroy the Capitol, he had placed gunpowder under the Senate Chamber. Natural philosophers tell us that if you will only multiply the simplest force into enough time, it will equal the greatest. So it is with the slow intellectual movement of the masses. It can scarcely be seen, but it is a constant movement it is the tide, it is the ocean, gaining on the prouder and strongest bulwarks that human art or strength can build. It may be defied for a moment, but, in the end, Nature always triumphs. So the race, if it can not drag a Webster along with it, leaves him behind and forgets him. (Loud cheers.) The race is rich enough to afford to do without the greatest intellect that God ever let the devil buy. Stranded along the past, there are a great many dried mummies of dead intellects, which the race found too heavy to drag forward.

I hail the almighty power of the tongue. I swear a legiance to the omnipotence of the press. The people never err. Vox por di, cor Dei'-the voice of the pe ple is the voice of God. I do not mean this of any sin gle verdict which the people of to-day may record bunting protected their decks; it may be the facto-

against the interests of smooth to a a a result, the race always mean right. It was mean right, and, in the end, they was mean right, and, in the end, they was mean right, and, in the end, they was mean right. right. I believe in the twenty miles twenty millions that live now, become this question of slavery, which prioritial he this question or season have sought to keep out of sight. They have locked up in the Senate chamber, they bear locked up in the communion table, they has the the superstitious and idolatrons terminal the supersitions and proming the state and the Union to avoid this quart to the state and the Union to avoid this quart to the state and the Union to avoid this quart to the state and State and the Union to avoid the state and the have kept it from the influence of the base democratic tendencies of the mass and the democratic tendencies of the mass and the state of the a hundred thousand bayonets.' Mr. Webster now democratic sense and the concealment, and forth people; launch it on the age, and all held it find a safe harbor. A man is always season find a safe harbor. A man is always seed to for himself. The soldier will be wild and himself; the merchant will be sold and himself; yes, he will be willing to good days. his own fortune, but he will not be real by his own include, our to make the fortune of his neighbor, Xe and to make the fortune of the same through yet was willing to sacrifice his own through yet was wining to benefit of his neighbor; and whenever to be able to show this nation that the introce of the not of the whole, the interests of a person not of the masses, are subarred by our fellow-men in bondage, then we shall be guns of the enemy, and turn their artisty as

I want you to turn your eyes from hours

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men. The dimension are present up and its, we are bullied by institutions. Amapea, the pulpit, or sits or the bruch and at the pulpit, by the finders of the

selves to be bullied by the judge or the com

serves to be built to see the serve when, if he stood side by side with n, or the pavement, as a simple individual, his idea said

have disturbed our clear thought as her h the duty of each anti-slavery man is supply Stand on the pedestal of your own industrial pendence, summon these institutions their partial judge them. The question is deep exouply a this judgment of you. This is what the current you, my friends; and the moment you will ave to do this, to rely upon yourselves that are truths I have read from the lips of the man ther country regards as its greatest statemer with over your path, assuring you that out of the tion, as certain as the sun at noon-day, the hi character of the American government will being If we lived in England, if we lived in Francis philosophy of our movement might be dame; philosophy of our movement might is edined there stand accumulated wealth, least them and old nobles—a class which popular spates slowly affects. To these, public opines is eligible. We have seen, for instance, the space bow. 1848 in Europe, deep as it was seministrated as it was for six months, retire, beaten, before then disturbed foundations of the government distinent. You recollect, no doubt, the tie of second enthusiasm which rolled from the Est of here the very feet of the Czar, and it seemed as iles was melted into one Republic. Men thucks new generation and indeed come. We wind no months, and the turrets and towers of old ison - the church, law, nobility, government-n-up above the subsiding wave. Now, there error institutions here. No law that can shife meament when popular opinion demands in steps The government is wrecked the moment the man pers decree it. The penny papers of this States Sims case, did more to dietate the decision dis Justice Shaw, than the Legislature that sells State House, or the Statute Book of Musucian I mean what I say. The penny papers of New li do more to govern this country than the Re House at Washington, Mr. Webster am win under a government of laws. He was need to mistaken, even when he thought the anti-cheen itation could be stopped. We live under a pre ment of men-and morning newspayers. (Apple Bennet and Horace Geeely are more really had of the United States than Millard Fillmen be Webster himself cannot even set a smin Why? Because, long ago, the chbing tide of pil

opinion left him a wreck, stranded on the side of We live under a government of men. The Day tution is nothing in South Carolina, but the limb is every thing. The law that says the colered in shall sit in the jury box in the city of Boxen sm ing. Why? Because the Mayor and Alden and the Selectmen of Boston, for the last filty have been such slaves of colorphobia, that the not choose to execute the law of the Commun I might go through the Statute Book, and that the same result. Now, if this he true agents is true for us. Remember, that the restr may be starved into anti-slavery, w put behind them an anti-slavery public and Wilberforce and Clarkson had to vanquish the eyed power of England, the West India interest overawe the peerage of Great Britain, bein conquered. The settled purpose of the great a class had to wait till all this was accomplished moment we have the control of public spinistwomen and the children, the school-hopes, tiet books, the literature, and the newspaper, - 669

ment we have settled the question. Men blame us for the bitterness of our jet and the personality of our attacks. It makes our position. The great mass of the period never be made to star and argue a long posts They must be made to feel it, through the high their idols. When you have lunched you se into the rhinoceros hide of a Websier of a Best every Whig and Democrat feels it his all principle that every reform must take for it with nistakes of great men. God gives as per se drels for texts to anti-slavery sermon. when Nature has provided you a manter lie is ster, that you exhibit him, himself a whole mener throughout the country. (Great cheering) I'm often, in the wide world's history, that you see all so lavishly gifted by nature, and called, in part currence of events, to a position like that ships occupied on the 7th of March, surrede is for power, and quench the high hopes of his rate man, since the age of Luther, has ever held a single hand, so palpably, the destinies and charges a mighty people. He stood like the Hebers profit. betwixt the living and the dead. He had has her upheld the cross of common truth and hoses, as the black dishonor of two hundred years would be been effaced for ever. He bowed his rassal balls the temptations of the firsh and of lurre. He per himself up into the Jap of the Delish of shreet, h the mere promise of a nomination, and the proshour of the age was bartered away, -not for a of pottage, but for the pramie of a mes of posts a promise, thank God, which is to be broken in thusiastic applause.) I say, it is not often that for idence permits the eyes of twenty millions of the ing people to behold the fall of another Lorde, by the very battlements of heaven, down into that less deep of the lowest deep of hell. (Great sension of health of the lowest deep of hell of the sension of hell of the sension of

I Let us see to it, that, in spite of the tendence of American prejudice, in spite of this moraid cheft that would have us hold up the sin but deep these ner, in spite of this effeminate Christiship, would let millions pine, let one man's feeing he jured; let us see to it, friends, that we be 'jured'; truth and uncompromising as justice; remaind jured; let us see to it. Friends, truth and uncompromising as justice; remember always that every single man set against this error be another Moses, overy single thought yet leads may be the thunders of another Xapoleon has a may be the thunders of another property as as steps of another St. Roche; remen live not in an age of minorities, when a Chan Fifth could set up or put down the slare man surrounded by twenty millions, whose opinion is neglected in a New Sec.

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of bullets is ov is over. The The age of aid of God, the linking on the s of reading men newspaper w iel Webster cou at the rub-a-du nineteen better. month; who n to their senses. that I want to the that, is attach can call itself s erect, and car

millions of the La ome up and tran weeds poured for them but time, at the foundations Is to the earth. with these marke e of that nature thinking, reading ness, that there is know it. But th ch beats so unint could be directe it to dust in th tol. Daniel Web - humane man us time, and n. (Loud and en -take the Ha rell mills—take al the day mus to, are on our sic ere is nothing hurled half of the destinies of the destinies et for one momes let these hearts promptings of a wickedness into as certain as i Capitol. That is eye from the ten thousand pulpi the millions o from the marbl from the navy r ccustomed to to the simplest ed protest that sh gnize in it the gr rolcano destine and bury in th this laughing pro-

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row in the manho shoot down,—God such. (Applause slave escapes to (ate this people in the rights of the makes up our holds his prope stant presence of very. Eternal vig ver is ever stealin or it is rotten. ws the dead rind with power become esprit du corps, Only by contin e be prevented ly by unintermitte ficiently awake to othered in mater , have sunshine ne good result; s m being melted gold of its own an age when the the mirror of f rs ago, built age llow and mud. I the cultivation ldren, to stop the fathers rescued f e waves that ro the broad field some men suppose sing themselves, said, that the every citizen ha 0 years ago, imag this marvellous nik to sleep. Rept g constantly ag is an importan chinery of the Sidicine. No; it e of the nation. we afford to do stir up the monoto of their minds, y be health in th by the very ner I mean what people of necessi people of necessit people of necessit people of necessit people in the testion which is the testion which is the testion of Jefferson are jest of Jefferson are in the Hancock and if the Hancock and the Hancock are to be waked are to be waked are to be waked as the people in the testion of t

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shothers may be the hundred who shall i the mind men of the other half of the contiadermine mean of the continue of the continue of the Paentering and worshipping reverentially American idea of the omnipotence of at American sentiment of justice, against the men, be the stand, no Conas send mough to endure. Remember this, section and anti-slavery gathering in a school know that, weighed against its solemn s terrible resolution, its earnest thought, shor himself, and all huckstering statesmen, in wite scale, shall kick the beam. Worshipping ngur, let us be willing, at all times, to be known the community as the all talk party. The a d bules is over. The age of men armed in The age of thrones has gone by. The seer. Inc sa de praised ! such statesmen-The age of thinking men has come. With and of God, then, every man I can reach, I will ducking on the subject of slavery. (Cheers.) The of roding men has come. I will try to imbue espaper with Garrisonianism. (Loud ap-The age of the masses has come. Now, wester counts one-God give him joy of it! at the 'rub-a-dub agitation' counts at least twento meters better. Nineteen, whom no chance of arion tempts to a change of opinions once a ooth; who need no Kossuth advent to recall

That I want to impress you with is, the great sepathst is attached to the opinion of every thing segment of itself a man. Give me any thing that mis cred, and can read, and he shall count one in self-ore of the Lord's sacramental host, that is vet one up and trample all oppression in the dust. neseels poured forth in nature's lavish luxuriance, or then but time, and their tiny roots shall rend asunor the foundations of palaces, and crumble the Pyrnot to the earth. We may be weeds, in comparior with these marked men; but in the lavish luxugere of that nature which has at least allowed us to y-thakug, reading men, 'Hearn, Webster being my there that there is no throne potent enough to stand place. It is morbid enthusiasm this that I have limes it. But they tell us that this heart of mine, and bests so unintermittedly in the bosom, is for could be directed against a granite pillar, would per it to dust in the course of a man's life. Your and Daniel Webster, is marble, but the pulse of mer humane man is beating against it. God will in is time, and the pulses of men shall beat it her [Loud and enthusiastic cheering.] Take the mes-loke the Harwich fishing skiffs-take the last min-take all the coin and the cotton-thank is the day must be ours, for the hearts-the jects, are on our side ! Boris nothing stronger than human prejudice.

imry se timentalism like that of Peter the Herstituted half of Europe upon Asis, and changthe destinies of kingdoms. We may be crazy. Tail to God he would make us all crozy enough to ing for one moment the cold deductions of intellect mist these hearts of ours bent, beat, beat, under becomptings of a common humanity. They have at satefaces into the statute-book, and destruction sist as certain as if they had put gunpowder under be Capitol. That is my faith. That it is which turns reve from the ten thousand newspapers, from the er thousand pulpits, from the millions of Whige, from the millions of Democrats, from the might of set from the marble government, from the fron arar, from the navy riding at anchor, from all that we escustomed to deem great and potent-turns in set to the simplest child or woman, to the first mur preductiest that shall be heard against had laws. seesing in it the great future, the first rumblings o hat release destined to overthrow all these prepara ions, and bury in the hot lava of its full excitement this laughing prosperity that now sits so secure or

All hail, Public Opinion! To be sure, it is a dan grous thing under which to live. It rules to-day in briesire to obey all kinds of laws, and takes you It rules again in the love of liberty, and rescues Stairsch from Boston court-houses. It rules tonerrow in the manhood of him who loads the musket to shoot down,-God be praised !- the man-hunter Genach. (Applause.) It rules in Syracuse, and he slave escapes to Canada. It is our interest to ed trate this people in humanity, and in deep reverence he the rights of the lowest and humblest individual that makes up our numbers. Each man, here, is fact, holds his property and his life dependent on the constant presence of an agitation like this of antislavery. Eternal vigilance is the price of libertypower is ever scealing from the many to the few The mana of popular liberty must be gathered each rollen. The living sap of to-day out grows the dead rin i of yesterday. The hand entrustd with power becomes, either from human depravior sprie da corps, the necessary enemy of the peoie. Only by continual oversight can the democrat in the be prevented from hardening into a despot sale by unintermitted egitation can a people be kept saff-tently awake to principle not to let liberty be amothered in material prosperity. All clouds, it is said, have sunshine behind them, and all evils have some good result; so slavery, by the necessity of its sholding, has saved the freedom of the white race from being melted in the luxury or buried beneath the gold of its own success. Never look, therefore, for in see when the people can be quiet and safe. At sail times despotism, like a shrouding mist, steals but the mirror of freedom. The Dutch, a thousand Pass ago, built against the ocean-their bulwarks of value and mad. Do they trust to that? No. Each for, the patient, industrious peasant gives so much hearths cultivation of his soil and the care of his thicken, to stop the breaks and replace the willow that the insect has caten, that he may keep the land bases rescued from the water, and bid defiance the waves that roar above his head, as if to snatch but the broad fields man has stolen from his realm. See men suppose that, in order to the people's govthis themselves, all that is necessary is, as Fisher Aus said, that the rights of man be printed, and ag every titizen have a copy.' As the Epicureans, 300 years ago, imagined God as a being who arrang-Mais marvellous machinery, set it going, and then tok to sleep. Republics exist only on the tenure of box constantly agitated. The anti-slavery agitatan an important, may, an essential part of the archinery of the State. It is not a disease nor a beautie. No; it is the normal state—the normal safe of the nation. Never, to our latest posterity, an we afford to do without fanatics, like Garrison, a stir up the monotony of wealth, and reawake the people to the great ideas that are constantly fading sat of their minds, to trouble the waters that there hay be health in their flow. Every government is skips growing corrupt. Every Secretary of State h by the very necessity of his position, an apos-I mean what I say. He is an enemy to he people of necessity, because the moment he joins prenament, he gravitates against that popular spation which is the life of a republic. A republic

anting but a constant overflow of lava. The prin-

then deferson are not up to the principles of to-

tel the Hancock and Adams of 1776, but he does not

apablic that sinks to sleep, trusting to constitutions

ad mechanicy, to politicians and statesmen, for the

they at its liberties, never will have any. The peo-

he are to be waked to a new judgment, just as the

ery aguation is a necessity of each age, in order

h keep slive this faithful vigilance which is con-

tandy in danger of sleep. We must live as did our

taha fathers, who always went to church, and sat

h was well said of Webster, that he knows.

borhood, with their musket-lock on the one side and a drawn sword on the other.

If I had time or voice to-night, I might proceed to a further development of this idea, and I trust I could make it clear, which I fear I have not yet done. To my conviction, it is gospel truth, that, instead of the anti-slavery agitation being an evil, or even the unwelcome cure of a disease in this government, the youngest child that lives may lay his hand on the youngest child that his gray hairs may see, and say, The agitation was commenced when the Declaration of Independence was signed; it took its second tide when the Anti-Slavery Declaration was signed in 1833: a movement, not the cure but the diet of a free people; not the homosopathic or the allopathic dose, to which a sick land has recourse, but the daily cold water and the simple bread-the daily diet and absolute necessity-the manna of a people wandering in the wilderness.' There is no Canaan in polities. As health lies in labor, and there is no royal road to it but through toil, so there is no republican road to safety but in constant distrust. . In distrust. said Demosthenes, ' are the nerves of the mind.' Let us see to it that these sentinel nerves are ever on the alert. If the Alps, piled in cold and still sublimity, be the emblem of Despotism, the ever restless Ocean is ours-which, girt within the eternal laws of Gravitation, is pure only because never still. (Long-

The Liberator

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FEB. 6, 1852. THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The twentieth Annual Mee ing of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held at the Melodeon and at Fancuil Hall last week, was in all respects worthy of its second decade. As eleven columns of our pres ent number are occupied with a report of the proceed ings, there is little space left for description or comment. The occasion brought together, as usual, from various quarters and remote distances, many of the sterling friends of our godlike cause, who, for many year, have unflinchingly maintained their post, no matter how thick the gloom or heavy the tempest, and whose countenances it is strengthening to gaze upon Such extracts from the Annual Report (from the pen of Edmund Quincy) as were read to the meeting made a strong desire to see the whole of it in print, which will be gratified in a short time. The principal speakers were Wendell Phillips, C. C. Burleigh, Parker Pillsbury, W. L. Garrison, Samuel Johnson, Lucy Stone, Nathaniel H. Whiting, Daniel Foster, and G W. Putnam. The speech of Mr. Phillips, on the first evening, was one of his happiest efforts, showing the philosophy of the anti-slavery movement, its nature and scope, the ground for encouragement and labor and what constitutes and is essential to the life and progress of nations. It was a speech for every age and people. We are happy to lay a faithful report of it before our readers, [see preceding page,] made by our skilful phonographic friend, J. M. W. Yerrinton.

The address on Conscience, the Higher Law, and the Fugitive Slave Bill, by Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Salem, (Mass.) was one of the best efforts we ever listened to, strong, symmetrical, grand, lacking nothing. It was listened to with the deepest interest and made a profound impression upon the large audience that heard it. We hope he will be besieged with applications to deliver it in other places, and will finally allow it to be printed, as it is well adapted to the times. Even the Boston Herald, (whose reports of the proceedings, from day to day, were very fairly given, honorably contrasting with the course pursued by the other daily papers,) alludes to it in terms of respect, as follows :-

'The lecture was received with delight and applause by the large auditory who heard it, and was, no doubt, to Garrisonian palates, "a feast of fat things." It was a masterly exposition of the "higher law" side of the question, and would have done good to grave Senators, reverend prelates, and party editors, had By Finance Committee, for Expenses of Annual Meeting Senators, reverend prelates, and party educats, and they been present to hear it. As for ourselves, we listened with pleasure and profit. Old Paul knew what he was about when he wrote, "Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." The people don't know what they lose by standing aloof from discussions which this and other ultra societies maintain. They give strong food, sometimes of hard digestion, the provided of the but good for mental and moral growth."

The meeting on Friday evening, in Fancuil Hall, whose doors were once more thrown open in equity, to the credit of the new Mayor and Board of Aldermen be it recorded) was numerously attended and I Ruiley one of the most stirring and effective ever held in H. Moo that time-honored building. The speech of Wendell hillips (in review of the events of the past year, and with particular reference to the kidnapping of poor John Noyes Sims) was excepting and intrepid to the last degree. A full report of it will be given in our next Gridley Beals number. It produced an intense sensation, and was Reuben Locke, Jr. greatly cheered throughout its delivery. Some 'lewd C K Whipple fellows of the baser sort, chiefly young men, were Kafwd Filiebrown prisent, to save the Union, and bolster up Daniel Early B Fay Webster, by behavings in a rowdyish manner, becoming such as are lost to all sense of decercy and self. Stranger respect. But they failed seriously to interrupt the E Sprague proceedings. At the close of Mr. Phillips's speech, Francis Jackson an invitation was extended to any one in the hall, S May, Jr who felt disposed to do so, to come forward, take the John Rogers platform, and defend Daniel Webster from the impu- Alden Sampson D Howland tations that had been cast upon him. What sort of a A Everett non-descript presented himself, and in what manner Hiram Gilmore tations that had been cast upon him. What sort of a he performed his part, we leave it for the Daily Her- Joseph Gilman

Mr. Garrison came forward and said—We have Sophia Guild heard cheers for Webster, Clay, and Abby Folsom, David B Bartlett and thus you group them!—The offic, a poor insane John W Pepper and thus you group them!—The offic, a poor insane woman, the other—it would be to his everlasting credit if we could say he was insane too, Why, among all the friends of the great recreant patriot, does not some one of them come to this platform to defend him? It is free for all.

This invitation brought up Abraham Gunnings Drake, who took it upon himself to defend the defender. He was a perfect Roaring K. Rouser. His advent was bailed with rousing cheers. He struck a Joshua Perry Stenen Albee Joshua Perry Stenen Albee Joshua Perry Roman and was brought down the house.

fierce attitude, and again brought down the house. Rutus Bates He walked the platform like a stag at bay; he shot Geo W Putnam Me walked the platform like a stag at bay; he shot looks of terrific intensity upon the excited auditory. He illustrated the three great principles of Demosthenian oratory, 'action, action, action.' After walking the platform in solemn majesty for a while, the volcamo of his cloquence burst forth. With arms extended, and inflated lungs, and voice of power, he exclaimed, 'I have come here at the invitation of the great abolition leader of the world, and I am going to give you a little information about that great Daniel who has been thrown into the jaws of these abolition looks, but who will, like his illustrious predecessor, be delivered from the den of their ferowcious jaws.

When the Declaration of Independence was signed, wasn't there slavery? Yaas! Dion't Peter Fanguil advertise slaves in the city? Yes, sir ree! What then; was it wrong? I go for my Keelentry, right or wrong. Wong commenced in the Garden of Eden—what othat? I am a red-hot loco-foco of the pro-slavery stamp. Hoseld! Les few here is additioned.

Wrong commenced in the Garden of Eden—what of that? I am a red-hot loco-foco of the pro-slavery stamp. [Good!] I go for the Fugitive Slave Law, and so does the great Daniel. When I first commenceed the political course of my existence, I was deter-mined to go for my Ked'ntry, and now I am deter-mined to rescue the immortal Daniel from the rank and file of the red-hot, infuriated, mad, insane, crax, demented, imbecile abolitionists. Why, because Eng-land only freed her black slaves in consequence of jeslousy of the United States. Therefore I go for Daniel Webster, head and foot, in all over, although the Harcocks and Adamses of to-day. The wouldn't vote for him.' The orator stalked off the

I wouldn't vote for him. The orator stalked off the stage like a conqueror fresh from victory.

This unique defence of the great statesman convulsed the house with laughter. During the confusion, Mellen, jealous of the laurels gained by Drakstepped forward, but the applause was so uprostouthe could not be heard. He stood beating the air for a few minutes, and slank away. and has to be regenerated, in each age. The anti-

And such was the defence of Daniel Webster is Fancuil Hall, and such his special champion !- T. such base uses do we come at last! The gree Apostate has faiten as the land as the lan Apostate has fallen as low as the gutter, and is su-

Into the Treasury of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society from 1st Jan., 1851, to 1st Jan., 1852. a proceeds of National A. S. Bazaar, in Boston, proceeds of A. S. Fair at Blackstone, do. do. at Leominster, collections at annual meeting in Boston, do. at N. B. A. S. Convention, do., Plymouth Female A. S. Society, part proceeds of Fair, 91 20 175 00 collections at 4th of July celebration in Abington, collections at 1st of August celebration in Worcester, bllections at meeting for reception of 72 28 Geo. Thompson in Boston, collections at meeting for reception of do. in Worcester, West Brookfield A. S. Society, to redeem 53 24 pledge, Concord Female A. S. Society, Concord Female A. S. Society,
Essex Co. A. S. Society,
Weymouth A. S. Society, to redeem
pledge, and for donation,
Old Colony A. S. Society, at sundry 133 00 79 01 times, Norfolk Co. A. S. Society, Portland A. S. Society, Hingham A. S. Society, Plymouth Co. A. S. S. Collections by Agents, and donations from 677 80 individuals in January, Collections do. do. in February, do. do. in April, do. do. in May, do. do. in June, do. do. in July, do. do. in August, do. do. in September, do. do. in October, do. do. in November, do. do. in December,

Add bal. in Treasury, Jan. 1, 1851, \$6994 42 Making a total of Disbursements during the same time. Paid Expenses of Annual Meeting,
Treasurer of American A. S. Society, per
order of the Board, \$122 15 3005 23 Printing and Paper for 500 copies Annual Report, expenses of New England A. S. Con., do. of Reception Meetings of Geo. Thomp-son in Boston and Worcester, Soirce expenses given Geo. Thompson on Expenses of 4th of July celebration at Abington, Expenses of 1st of August celebration at Worcester, Office rent and taxes, 21 Cornhill, Printing bills during the year, 50 copies Liberator, for members of Congress, Austin Bearse, for services and expenses, R. F. Walleut, for services as Agent and 392 88 Secretary, 392 88 S. May, Jr., for services as Gen'l Agent, 800 00 do. expenses while travelling, Charles C. Burie gh, for services and expenses as Lecturing Agent, Cyrus M. Burleigh, for do. do. Wm. L. Gartison, for do. do. Parker Pillsbury, do. do. 52 35 Lewis Ford, do. do. 25 03 Daniel Foster, for services, Lucy Stone, for services and expenses as 10:00 Lecturing Agent. J. J. Locke, for do. do. George W. Putnam, for do. do. William H. Fish, for do. do. 254 08 S. S. and A. K. Foster, for do. do. 174 29

Whole amount of receipts,

Total amount of disbursements, \$6,454 35 Balance remaining in Treasury, Jan. 1, 1852, 540 07

A. J. Grover, for do. do.

\$6,994 42 S. PHILBRICK, Treasurer Mass. A. S. Society. Brookline, Jan. 1, 1852.

Boston, Jan. 11, 1852. I have examined this account of the Treasurer, and find it correct and properly vouched. EDMUND JACKSON, Auditor.

COLLECTIONS.

A J Grover John M Spear D P Harmon J F Fingg Edwin Lewis L D Gray S F Tappan, Jr E D Draper Lewis Ford, S. Whitmore Ruth Buffum Isaac A Watson, James H Watson, E Y Perry. W L Garrison. Daniel Mann, Edmund Quincy, Almira A Fay Mary G Chapman, John Cordell, J H York, Mary Hewes, Mrs. Hollowell. Anna Alley, Louisa A Allen. John B Pierce, Ann R Bramhall, George Davey, W. Ashby, P B Cogswell, Nancy Hill, M B Goodrich, H E Weston, Wm Whiting, Mrs. Garrison, Mrs. Spooner, T Southwick, M Wellington, Nathan Cheney. J N Buffum Stephen Barker, A Stanwood, H A Hauptman, Sarah J Davee, Sarah Ford, F W Bonney, Richard Clap, S Marston, Nancy Lovell, M S Bowker, H M C., 8 Puilbrick. Lima H Oper. I. P Danforth, Anna Ford, 25 Menitable Haskell, 1 00 S D Holmes, Lizzie Thornton. Hester Ormsby, Z W H Spooner, Daniel Mitchell, Mary J Silloway, Charles F Hovey, Francis Wood, N B Spooner. Asa Brett, Lucy Stone, A C Cushing, John Clement. R Smith. Hannah Buffum. C B Pargo, D S Cauning, E H Merrill Maria S Page, Nathan Page, Jr., J N Harris W Phillips Ann G Phillips Various sums. 13 20

DONATIONS TO MASS. A. S. SOCIETY. West Brookfield A. S. Society, for 1851, - \$50 00 Mrs. George R. Russell, R. L. Capron, William Ashby, Mary G. Chapman, Bourne Spooner, Joshua Coo idge, Jr., Mary S. Lewis, J. H. York, E. A. Cotton, Sarah J. Davee Sarah J. Daves, Edwin Lewis, A. Stanwood, P. B. Cogswell, Two friends, \$2 each,

To the Mass. A. S. Society. Prancis Jackson, Wendell Phillips Ann G. Phillips Ann G. Phillips
Charles F. Hovey,
Samuel Philbrick,
Edmund Jackson,
Weymouth Female A. S. Society,
Samuel May, Jr.,
D. B. Morey,
Roxbury friends,
Addison Everett,
Thomas J. Heast Chomas L. Hunt. Joshus Perry, Jacob Leonard, George W. Symonds, W. J. Whitaker, D. P. Harmon, Robert R. Crosby, Hannah Leonard, W. H. Bartlett, John Rand,
Joseph W. Allyne,
Mr. Ross,
Mary L. Willard,
John Brown,
Mrs. Curtis,
George M. Rossen George M. Rogers, J. G. Dodge, O. West, Wm. P. Peakes.

A VOICE PROM TRELAND. Our Irish friends across the waters possess a clear vision and a discriminating judgment on the subject of American slavery, as they have demonstrated on many occasions, and again in the following instance, in which they justly condemn the pusillanimous and pro-slavery conduct of the 'American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,' by its deputation, in an interview with Kossuth in the city of New York. The rebuke is equally forcible and timely. Whether it will

At a Meeting of the Dublin Anti-Slavery Society, held in Eustace-street, Dublin, the 7th of First Month, (January,) 1852, the following resolutions were offered, discussed, and unanimously adopted :

1. That this meeting has read with grave disappro bation the report of an interview between a deputation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society arrival in New York, in which, after presenting an official address of welcome and sympathy, the deputation intimated that 'no reply was desired,' on the ground that, as the nation's guest, he should be absolved from any expression of sympathy which might compromise his cause by implicating him with any of the parties in the United States.

2. That this meeting considers that in thus voluntarily releasing Louis Kossuth from the duty incumbent upon him, as upon every one, to express sympathe with the down-trodden millions of republicar America, the deputation have, according to the extent of their influence, inflicted a serious injury on the anti-slavery cause, by establishing a dangerous precedent for every other visitor to the United States who may plead absorbing claims or peculiar interests as a release from personal effort for the slave, or the expression of sympathy for his wrongs.

RICHARD D. WEBB, Secretary. HEWETSON EDMONDSON. GEORGE ADDEY, KICHARD ALLEN, JOSEPH ALLEN. WILLIAM FISHER, JOSEPH FISHER, WILLIAM WEBB,

Members of Committee.

SALEM, Mass., Feb. 1st, 1852.

On Sunday evening, Jan. 25, 1852, I heard Parke Pillsbury deliver a masterly discourse at the Lyceum Hall in this city, from the text, 'I came not to bring peace on the earth.' The hall was well filled by an enlightened and attentive audience. Mr. Pillsbury's discourse was a written one, of the highest character as a literary production. The glowing imagination of the speaker clothed the subject with the life-fires of reality, and every one seemed living amid the scenes and circumstances he described. It requires a mind and heart like Pillsbury's to show up to the life the damning nature of slavery, the dupleiity of political parties, and the depth of the moral lethargy in which the church lies embedded.

The discourse made a good impression on the audience, and will be long remembered as one of those rare treats to which poor barren society is occasional. ly invited, where the chains of evil customs and the time-worn attire of error are thrown off, and we are permitted to see things as they are.

The time will come, when Pillsbury and his compatriots will be appreciated by the world, and their ors and mora children taught to revere their memories, and as predicted by the speaker, future generations, in speaking of the events of our times, will exclaim, 'There were giants in those days."

Preach on, noble Pillsbury, for the enemies of truth are myriads! Bravely, for they are mighty! Yet, remember the truths thou utterest must prevail, for they are Heaven-descended; and thy reward is the Heaven from whence they descend.

A FRIEND OF HUMANITY.

ANTI-SLAVERY IN WORCESTER CO. DEAR BROTHER GARRISON:

It may not be improper to make a brief report of day, the 18th ult., was very cold, attended with falling snow, and quite unfavorable to meeting-going in the country. Our Berlin meeting was, in consequence, rather thinly attended. There are a few names in Berlin, that answer to the call of humanity at any and all times. It is lamentable how few there are in \$3,400. those places, even where there is most of it, who can with any propriety be termed anti-slavery. Moral death pervades the masses of human beings in town and city. Mammon is the god worshipped by high and low, and whatever is supposed to stand in the way of his interests must be sacrificed. The slave system forms a part of his kingdom, and must not be disturbed; while the general law which leads men everywhere to hate those whom they have injured, comes in to help on this great wrong. However, Truth is stronger than Mammon, love is mightier than hate, and the slave shall yet be free. Since God is for us, who can be against us?

people were out to meeting in numbers ; but not America, with an Alphabetical Analysis ; the Declarmany of them found their way to our anti-slavery ation of Independence; the Articles of Confedera meeting. Our meeting, in the day time, was held in tion; the prominent Political Acts of George Washthe Unitarian meeting-house, West Boylston, which ington; Electoral Votes for all the Presidents and is at present unused. The audience was not large Vice Presidents; the High Authorities and Civil Ofbut attentive, and a friend expressed the opinion that ficers of Government, from March 4, 1789, to March a knowledge of the meeting was not well circulated 3, 1847; Chronological Narratives of the several among the people, though it had been given in some States; and other interesting matter; with a Descripof the school districts nearest the place of meeting.

In the evening, we held our meeting in Thomas and other sources of Political and Statistical Informa Hall, a fine room owned by the Orthodox Society in tion at the Seat of Government. Fourth Edition. the village. The hall was well warmed and bril- Philadelphia-1851. It may be mentioned, in proof liantly lighted, and at the proper time quite filled of the sterling value of this work, that the Senate, with men and women. It is with very great pleasure Sept. 23, 1850, ordered 10,000 copies for its own use that I acknowledge the ' aid and comfort' given to the cause by Mr. Cross, the minister of the Society owning the hall. When I applied to him for the hall, DEAR MR. GARRISON : he kindly said that it was their regular anti-slavery In my last communication, I, by some slip of the concert, and that he would gladly give way, and let pan, made the Rev. Mr. Wilcox, whom I met at Harme occupy the time. He not only gave notice of the wich, an 'Unitarian' clergyman. I meant to say, lecture in his own meeting, but also sent a notice to 'Universalist.' Please make the correction the Baptist meeting; and it is due to them to state, that they omitted their usual meeting, in order to at- the kind assistance of Ezekiel Thatcher, held three tend the lecture. The Baptist minister, having an ap-pointment to preach at Oakdale, was not present himself, but Mr. Cross was present, and took a friendly ti-slavery people of the Cape are of the best and most part in the meeting. The large audience listened with reliable kind. God send us thousands like them, for

pecting a collection, they nevertheless responded to the call by contributing \$2,72 in aid of the good cause. It seemed to me that there was little diversity of opinion on one point-that of trampling under foot the Fugitive Slave Act, which just now serves as a test of men and professions. But I will not enlarge The cause is onward. Where aid is given by those whose position enables them to do much for its on ward march, it will be gratefully acknowledged; when it is withheld, still the cause will go forward, in spite of all opposition. D. S. WHITNEY.

Boylston, Jan. 31st, 1852.

A SCENE IN WASHINGTON.

A Washington correspondent of the Ashtabula, (Ohio,) Sentinel,-we think he must be the Hon. J. R. Giddings, from the pathos of his communication,writes to that paper in the following thrilling strain:

Yesterday, a servant man came to my room, sayresterday, a servant man came to my room, say-ing a colored woman wished to speak with me. I told him to show her up. He soon returned with her. She was sobbing, and evidently in great agony of mind. I asked the cause of her grief. It was some time before she could so far compose her mind as to relate to me her misfortune; which consisted in living under the barbarous laws enacted by Congress for the government of this district. She said her hus-band had just been sold to a slave-dealer, and taken to the barracoons of Alexandria—that his purchaser was intending to take him to Alabama in two or three days—that she had four children at home. At this point, she burst out into a loud expression of her grief. Her sobbings were interrupted occasionally with exclamation of 'Oh God! Oh my dear children! Oh my husband!" then appealing to me, 'Oh, master, for God's sake, do try to get back the father of my habes?"

of my babes?

I learned that her husband's name is Geo. Tooman His former owner is a female named Martha John-wood, living east of the capitol some half a mile. find a place in the columns of the Commonwealth re-mains to be seen.

George went to work this morning in the barn, at husking corn, without any suspicion of the fate which awaited him. The slave-dealer and an assistant came to the barn, seized him, placed hand-cuffs upon him, and hurried him off to the slave pen of Alex-

The woman hearing of it, followed him there on foot, and returned, and then sought me in the vain hope that I should be able to assist her. The day is said by many to be the coldest known here for years yet she has been exposed to the keen piercing winds yet she has and Louis Kossuth, late Governor of Hungary, on his seen her children since morning, when she left them although I think she was thinly clad. She had no without firewood. I endeavored to soothe her feel might yet be redeemed-that I would make inquiry and ascertain if I could find some one who would re purchase him, and permit him to remain in the district. It was dark when she left my room to return to her home, rendered bitter by the Tate of the husband and father. The cold winds rocked the building, and howled mournfully about the corners. I reflected upon the barbarous law by which Congress has authorized and encouraged such crimes and inflicted such misery upon the down-trodden of God's oor. 'I trembled for my country when I reflected hat God was just, and that his justice will not sleep forever.' I asked myself the question, will Heaver permit such wickedness, such barbarous cruelty to go unpunished? Yet, Mr. Fillmore, in his Message advises Congress to abide by the Compromise as final settlement of the slave question, and leave the colored women who are wives and mothers in this District to the operations of this savage law-would re to be sold in the manner above releave fathers be ated-leave children here to be robbed of their parents. And the Whig caucus resolve substantially that they will lend their aid to sustain this law. which would disgrace the tyrant of Austria, and would add a deeper infamy to Haynau, the butcher of the Hungarians.

My feelings are too much excited on this subjec to write coolly. I only wish the men of Ashtabula county, who, since 1848, have unintentionally susby their votes and influence, this Slave Trade could have witnessed the tears, the the deep anguish of that woman's heart, that the could have heard her wailings, her cjaculatory prayers for her children. Methinks they would not adhere to party dictation with so much devotion.

Free Negroes Convicted at Galveston .- We learn from the Galveston Journal, that four free negroes of the crew of the brig Billow (of Boston) have been convicted, in the District Court in Galveston, of concealing on board that vessel a runaway male negro slave with intent to prevent his return to his owner. The penalty for the offence is a fine equal to the value of the slave, and it was adjudged, that, unless the pris-oners pay this, they, in accordance with the law, will be sold, at the expiration of fitteen days, to the high-

Mary Ellis and Pamelia Parker have been ar sted at St. Louis, charged with aiding a female slav o escape.

Kiduapping.—Two men, named Banks and Buck, were arrested at Welden, charged with kidnapping two negro girls belonging to Portsmouth, Va.

HORRIBLE!—It has been ascertained that Joseph C. Miller of Chester county, said to have been connected with the kidnapping case, and supposed to have committed suicide, was poisoned by some persons un-known, and a-terwards hung. The body has been exhumed twice, and this is the conclusion arrived at. It is said the matter will be brought before the Exe cutives of Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Anderson, the popular actress, formerly mown as Ophelia Pelby, died at Jamaica Plains, on Sunday morning, at the residence of her mother, Mrs. Pelby. She had been unable, from sickness, to appear upon the stage for several years.

PITTSBURG, Jan. 29. Kossuth in Pittsburg.-Kossuth addressed the La die Association this afternoon. About 1000 ladies were present, and a few gentlemen. The proceeds real zed more than \$1000. The Rev. Mr. Howard It may not be improper to make a brief report of addressed Kossuth, on behalf of the ladies, and pre operations in this part of the anti-slavery field. Sun-sented him with a book containing all their auto

graphs.

Kossuth's reply was eloquent, and in it he regret-

year, in Europe, Asia and America. The Kossuth Banquet, on the 26th inst., netted

More Aid .- On Wednesday afternoon, in Pittsburg, Kossuth addressed the German population, in their native longue, at the German Evangelical Church. The building was well filled, and probably \$1,000 was realized.

CLEVELAND, Jan. 31. Kossuth arrived in this city this evening, at half past 6 o'clock. All along the route, he was met and cheered by immense crowds of people. At Salem and Ravenna, he made brief addresses to the crowd, and spoke to the masses at other places from the platform of the cars.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. We acknowledge the receipt from Hon. Charles Sumner, of a very valuable work, The 25th was a most delightful winter day. The entitled-The Constitution of the United States of tive Account of the State Papers, Public Documents

Lynn, Jan. 30th, 1852.

I went from East Dennis to Yarmouth, and, by carnest attention to the lecture, and though not ex- the slave's sake ! Yours truly, G. W. P. THE BLACK SWAN.

The Albany Register, a paper sufficiently aristo-cratic and hunkerish to be secure from any favorit-ism in the case, thus speaks of the merita of Miss Greenfield, the black vocalist, who has just made her debut in Albany :-

She possesses a truly wonderful voice, and, considering the poverty of her advantages, she uses it with surprising taste and effect. In sweetness, power, compass and flexibility, it nearly equals any of the foreign vocalists who have visited our country; and it needs only the training and education they have received to outstick them. have received to outstrip them all.

The compass of her marvellons voice embraces twenty-seven notes, reaching from the sonorous bass of a barytone, to a few notes above Jenny Lind's highest. The defects which the critic cannot fail to of a barytone, to a few notes above Jenny Lind's highest. The defects which the critic cannot fail to detect in her singing, are not from want of voice or power of lungs, but of training alone. If her present tour proves successful, as it now bids fair to, she will put herself under the charge of the best masters of song in Europe, and, with her enthusiasm and perseverance, which belong to genius, she cannot fail ultimately to triumph over all obstacles, and even conquer the prejudice of color—perhaps the most formidable one in her path.

She plays with ability upon the piano, harp and guitar. In her deportment, she bears herself well.

guitar. In her deportment, she bears herself well, and, we are told, converses with much intelligence.

Miss Greenfield made her debut at the Melodeon, in this city, on Tuesday evening last, before a large and highly respectable audience, and was received in the most flattering manner. Her voice is of immense volume and sweetness, and needs only careful training to place her in the front rank of her profession with Jenny Lind and Catharine Hayes. This [Thursday] evening, Feb. 5th, she gives another Concert at the Mclodeon-tickets, 50 cents each. May

FOWLERS AND WELLS, Phrenologists and Publishers, assisted by Mr. D. P. BUTLER, have opened a Cabinet and Bookstore in Boston, No. 142 Washington street, where professional examinations, with charts or written descriptions of character, may be obtained.

Books, on Phrenology, Physiology, Hydropathy, and Phonography, for sale. AGENTS and Bookseller supplied, on the most liberal terms.

TO LAWYERS AND OTHERS.

A lady, who is a ready penman and copyist, is desirous of obtaining writing, which may afford her remuneration. By addressing Mrs. B., Liberator office, further particulars may be known.

CONVERSATIONS.

Mr. Alcorr, on resuming his Monday Evening Conversations for the current season, at Rooms No. 36, School street, proposes to consider, with his company, some of the

MYSTERIES OF HUMAN LIFE. under the following colors and aspects, namely :-

Eve	ning o	of Feb. 2,	Sleep.
		Feb. 9.	Silence.
	**	Peb. 16,	Health.
	**	Feb. 23,	Success.
	**	Mar. 1,	Civility.
	***	Mar. 8.	Friendship.
	**	Mar. 15,	Religion.
our	s from	7 1-2 till 10 o'clo	ck.
		69 for the course	T

Tickets, at \$3 for the course, to be had at James Munroe & Co's. 134 Washington street. Boston, January, 1852.

PARKER PILLSBURY, An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture at the following places, on the evenings the days named :

Tuesday, Wednesday, Foxboro'. 11. 12. 13. 15. Thursday, Canton, Stoughton, Friday, Sunday,

ALONZO J. GROVER.

An Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will Warren, R. L., Tuesday, Pebruary 10. Warren, R. L., Tucsusy, Seckonk, Wednesday, "
North Attleboro", Thursday, "

Mansfield,

GEORGE W. PUTNAM. An Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as tollows on the evenings of the days named :

Saturday and Sunday, Feb. 7 and 8. Lawrence. Tuesday, Wednesday, 10. Georgetown, Thursday,

Friday, MEETINGS IN FALL RIVER.

PARKER PILLSBURY and ALONZO J. GROVER, Agents of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will hold a meeting in FALL RIVER, on Sunday next, Jan. 8.

DANIEL S. WHITNEY, an Agent of A. S. Society, will hold a meeting at OAKDALE, (West Boylston,) on Sunday next, Feb 8.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

C. C. Burleigh, an Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows :--Monday & Tuesday, Feb. 9 & 10, So. Abington.
Wednesday & Thursday, "11 & 12, W. Bridgewäter.
Saturday, "14, Joppa.
Sunday, all day, "15, E. Bridgewater, in the Town Hall.

N. H. WHITING will also be present on Sunday. DIED-In South Hingham, on the Istinst, of pul-monary consumption, Miss Harriet E. Cushing, daughter of John Cushing, aged 19.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE! FOR A SHORT SEASON ONLY!

XHIBITION daily, at Amory Hall, at 3 o'clock,

L and every evening, at 7 1-2 o'clock.

Admission, 25 cents. No half price tickets.

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Queen Victoria and the British Court. Superb View

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E. A. BRACKETT'S

MARBLE GROUP of the 'Shiperecked Mother and Child,' is now open on exhibition at No. 1, Amory Haill, irom 9, A. M., till 9, P. M. Admission, 25 cents. Jan. 16. WRITINGS OF W. L. GARRISON.

THIS day published, SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITTNOS AND SPEECRES OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

-415 pages, ducdecimo. Price—In cloth, \$1.00;
extra gilt, \$1.26. R. F. WALLCUT,

21 Cornhill.

21 Cornhill. *O, my brethren! I have told
Most SITER FRUTH, but without bitternees.
Nor deem my zeal or factious or mis-timed;
For never an true courage deed with bism,
Who, playing tricks with Conscience, dare not look
At their own vrocs. - COLERIDGE.

Phrenology. DR. N. WHEELER

Is prepared to make Professional Examinations with charts, or give verbal and written descriptions of character, at 265 Washington street, Boston.

Dissolution of Partnership. NOTICE is hereby given that the Partnership here-tofore existing, under the firm of Smith, Ober & Co., is this day dissolved, by mutual consent, the senior partner, Thomas Smith, having retired from the firm, and sold all his interest to his co-partners, who will settle all demands.

THOMAS SMITH,
DAVID B. MOREY,
REUBEN H. OBER.

The business of the old firm will be continued at the old stand, No. 2 and 3 Haverhill street, by Morey & Uber, where will be found a large assortment of Britania Wate and Glass Ware, and the customers of the old firm and others are invited to call and szamine before buying elsewhere.

Boston, January 1st, 1862.

3m.

BY CAROLINE A. DRIGGS. I have done at length with dreaming-Henceforth, oh, thou soul of mine. Thou must take up sword and gauntlet. Waging warfare most divine.

Life is struggle, combat, victory ! Wherefore have I slumbered on, With my forces all unmarshalled, With my weapons all undrawn?

Oh, how many a glorious record Had the angels of me kept, Had I done, instead of doubted, Had I warred, instead of went

But begone, Regret, Bewailing! Ve but weaken at the best-I have tried the trusty weapons, Rusting erst within my breast

I have wakened to my duty-To a knowledge strong and deep, That I recked not of aforetime, In my long, inglorious sleep For to live is something useful,

And I knew it not before, And I dreamed not how stupendous Was the secret that I bore-

The great, deep, mysterious secret Of a life to be wrought out Into warm, heroic action, Weakened not by fear or doubt.

In this subtle sense of being. Newly stirred in every vein I can feel a throb electric-Pleasure half allied to pain.

"Tis so great, and yet so awful-So bewildering, yet brave-To be king in every conflict, Where before I crouched a slave! 'Tis so glorious to be conscious

Of a growing power within, Stronger than the rallying forces Of a charged and marshalled sin! Never in those old romances Felt I half the sense of life,

That I feel within me stirring, Standing in this place of strife. Oh, those olden days of dalliance, When I wantoned with my fate-

When I trifled with a knowledge That had well-nigh come too late ! Yet, my soul, look not behind thee! Then hast work to do at last:

Let the brave toil of the Present Overarch the crumbled Past.

Build their great acts high and higher,-Build them on the conquered sod, Where thy weakness first fell bleeding. And thy first prayer rose to God !

WINTER TO THE POOR. Stormy Winter comes again,

Bringing snow, and hail, and rain, Beating 'gainst the window pane-Rudely knocking at the door ! Boreas holds to-night a rout-See the shutters bolted stout, Fasten all the doors about. Stormy Winter is without-

God have mercy on the poor! On the poor, half-clad in shreds, Through whose low and leaky sheds Snows beat down on aching heads, Pillowed on the naked floor; He that looks may there behold,

Side by side, the young and old; Shrivelled arms the babe enfold-Oh! how dreadful is the cold-God have mercy on the poor !

See, the famished infant prest To the fond, but empty breast, While the mother bends distrest, Dropping tears upon the floor;

Thou who hear'st the raven's cry. Here look down with pitying eye-Or, let birds their bread supply-God have mercy on the poor! Hark! the storm is raging yet-

Who beside his fire can sit. And the sufferers forget, Shivering on the frozen moor? Ye, who downy pillows press, Ye, whose limbs soft robes caress, Pity and relieve distress! Oh, the storm is pitiless-God have mercy on the poor!

'HE'S NONE THE WORSE POR THAT What though the homespun suit he wears-

Best suited to the sons of toil-What though on coarser food he fares, And tends the loom or tills the soil : What though no gold leaf gilds the tongue, Devoted to congenial chat-If right prevails, and not the wrong, The man is none the worse for that.

What shough within the humble cot, No costly ornament is seen ; What though the wife possesses not Her satin gowns of black and green What though the merry household band Half-naked fly to ball and bat; If conscience guides the heart and hand, The man is none the worse for that,

True worth is not a thing of dress-Of splendor, wealth, or classic lore! Would that these trappings were loved less, And clung to honest worth the more! Though pride may spurn the toiling crowd. The tattered garb, the crownless hat, Yet God and Nature cry aloud, The man is none the worse for that

The following is the translation of a German ballad on a tipsy man, which has been set to music, and is often sung in Germany. It is rather droll in the original, and perhaps has not lost all its humor, in being overset, as they call it, in English:—

OUT OF THE TAVERN, &c.

Out of the tavern I've just stepped to-night: Street, you are caught in a very bad plight: Right hand and left hand are both out of place-Street, you are drunk-'tis a very clear case !

Moon, 'tis a very queer figure you cut; One eye is staring, while t'other is shut! Tipsy, I see; and you're rightly to blame; Old as you are, 'tis a horrible shame.

Then the street lamps, what a scandalous sight! None of them soberly standing upright: Rocking and staggering: why, on my word, Each of the lamps is as drunk as a lord,

All is confusion : now isn't it odd? I am the only thing sober abroad; Sure it were rash with this crew to remain: Better go into the tavern again. CHANGE COLV.

Reformatory.

From 'Voices of the True-Hearted.' HISTORICAL ERAS.

The world's Eras, for the most part, have been mighty efforts of courage or intellect, perverted to base uses. The love of what is noblest has not often been honored by pillar, or temple, or poet's song, or statesman's advocacy, or orator's culogium, or historian's record. Tyrtoeus, because he was full of the spirit of courage, has always sung of battle-fields : and as his songs were to Spartans, Spartans treasur. ed them up above any purer strains. Yet many noble aspirations doubtless graced the ages that have fled. The heart of man, though not perfect, has frequently beat for the true and right. Demosthenes, though a coward at Cheerena, was bold for Freedom in the popular assemblies; Tanered, though sometimes flerce, was often kind and pious; and even Xerxes, nurtured as he was with no feeling of brotherhood for his millions of serfs, wept with involuntary pity at what he conceived would be their miserable fate. Then, too, Isaiah and Jeremiah and David and Confucius and Socrates, by close union with God, felt and knew nobleness so in advance of their age, that the truth of it all is not even yet acknowledged by the mass of mankind. Then, too. thousands have gone down to their graves unwept and unremembered, whose voices, full of divine accents, falling upon ears not ready to receive them, died with the passing breeze.

The high task of weaving the fragments of nobleness that remain into a Philosophico-Religious history, and deducing from them invaluable conclusions with regard to God's government and man's duty, is reserved for some Freeman whose heart beats warmly for the right, and whose intellect can recognize truth even when covered by the dust which Malice and Ignorance have frequently flung upon it. We need that the Soul's progress from its lower to its higher destinies should be exhibited in the strong light of history. We need to be assured, by infallible proofs, that each age has made advances upon that which preceded it, even when at first glance the reverse would appear; and that in every age Love, when exerted, has been more justice and consanguinity. We must therefore ac potent than Hate and Violence to bring men to its neasures; and that Freedom has never led to license, but Tyranny always; and that Truth, with her pure, confiding aspect, has ever been more revered, even by her enemics, than Falsehood with her gorgeous trap- appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the pings and millions in her train. We need to have our Infidelity, in God's goodness and power, rebuked by stern facts that shall shame us into heroism that will not doubt of victory in God's causes, but will he as fully assured of it when arming for the assault, as if fully assured of it when arming for the assault, as if to the British crown, and that all political connecthe white flag already streamed from the battlements. to the British crown, and that all pointed connection between them and the State of Great Britain We need that no storm breaking upon our brows is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as

who in wonder and awe were styled prophets, but mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortune from those who were of the people, and uttered what many felt and acknowledged, and so shall be honored even when a purer philosophy shall have point d out to mankind some flaws in their positions. Magna Charta chall not have a name more imperishable than they. The world's archives do not contain nobler voices from masses of men. They are Eras in the

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

'IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776. By the Representatives of the United States of Amer

ica, in Congress assembled. When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and

to assume among the powers of the earth the sepaand of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the We hold these truths to be self-evident-that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that

among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of hapamong these are life, floerly, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments
are instituted among men, deriving their just powers
from the consent of the governed; that whenever
and probable results upon the destiny of the world,
the consent of the governed; that whenever ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to force. abolish it, and to institute a new government, laving its foundation on such principles, and organizing cision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadits powers in such form, as to them shall seem fastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and their oppressors, and to spill human blood like wa transient causes; and accordingly all experience ter, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotsion, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off potential, it is their right, and to provide new guards for a constant and to provide new guards for a constant and to provide new guards for a constant. One shall be such only as the opposition. evinces a design to induce the provide new guards for such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their formaccessity which constrains them to alter their formaccessity which constrains them to alter their formaccessity which constrains the material of the presentation of the presentation of the presentation of the provided by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws o

immediate and pressing importance, unless suspend-ed in their operation till his assent should be ob-tained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and legislature-a right inestimable to them, and

formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repos-itory of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his me He has dissolved Representative House presentative Houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasio

on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise: the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners: refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raisting the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judi-

Liary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected multitudes of new offices, and sent

hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent

of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from pun-ishment for any murder which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

The all parts of the For cutting off our trade with all parts of the

For imposing taxes on us without our consent :-

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:—
For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:—
For abolishing the free system of English law in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these calculations.

olonies:—
For taking away our charters, abolishing our most aluable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms f our governments:—
For suspending our own legislatures, and declar-

ng themselves invested with power to legi late for ing themselves invested with power to legi-late for us, in all cases whatever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our peo-

le. He is, at this time, transporting large foreign mercenaries to complete the work of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumdesolation and tyrainly, aiready begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfuly, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken cap-

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken cap-tive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruc-

known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruc-tion of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have peti-tioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by re-

repeated petitions have been answered only by re-peated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our have reminded them of the circumstances of ou emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspon-dence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of ation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of man enemies in war-in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled should quench the fire of hope that burns in our bosoms.

Within a few years have appeared three documents,
which are worthy of all note as indicating the unward which are worthy of all note as indicating the upward for the support of this Declaration, with a firm respirit of the age. They did not emanate from those liance on the protection of Divine Providence, we

II.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION The Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following Declaration of Sentiments, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth

portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed, since More than hity-seven years have elapsed, since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the Temple of Freedom was broadly this that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness. At the sound of their (Taun-pet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; sleep of death, and rushed to the strile of close; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that Truth, Justice and Right were on

their side made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physica

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in de-

slaves-never bought and sold like cattle-never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion-never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.

But those, for whose emancipation we are striving constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen-are recognized by law, and reated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities, as goods and chattels, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil, without redress; really enjoy no constitutional nor legal pro tection from licentious and nurderous outrages upon their persons; and are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother— the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband— at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they saf-fer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slaveholdindisputation races, and in the laws of the stavenor-ing States.

Hence we maintain—that, in view of the civil and

religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore, that it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the go free.

We further maintain—that no man has a right to We further maintain—that no man has a right to enslave or imbrate his brother—to hold or acknowl-edge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchan-dize—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to britain tize his mind, by denying him the means of intellec-tual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inclienable. To in-

The right to enjoy interty is inahenatic. To invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law—and to the his own labor—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is purecy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely, the sin is as great to enslave an Americal Therefore we believe and affirm—that there is no

Therefore we believe and affirm—that there is no difference, in principle, between the African slavetrade and American slaver;

That every American citizen, who detains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, according to Scripture, [Ex. xxi. 16.] a man-stealer:

That the alayes ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law:

That if they had lived from the time of Pharach down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity:

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an su-lacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social conpact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise, of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preference, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to

Because slavery is a crime, and therefore is not

between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction. We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force, to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they sup-port a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave, who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be cortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal, and full of danger: IT MUST BE

These are our views and principles—these our rese are our views and principles—these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the Everlasting

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if pos-sible, in every city, town and village in our land. We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke. We shall circulate, unspiringly and extensively, anti-slevery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the

cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches

from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions: and We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is colely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. Truth, Justice, Reason, Humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the

prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it, pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been mitnessed upon earth; to deliver our land from its deadliest curse; to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon; and to secure to the colored population of the United States, all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our regulation—whether we live to the contract of the promotion of a still greater cause.

Done at Philadelphia, Dec. 6th, A. D. 1833.

III

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS ADOPTED BY THE PEACE CONVENTION, HELD IN OSTON, SEPTEMBER 18, 19 AND 20, 1838.

Assembled in Convention, from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth and good will among men, we, the under-signed, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause

we cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government; neither can we shall reign with him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the Lord Almighty, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us; but rejoice, in Wherefore, we commit the lord Almighty, not in man.

Truth are met together, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, no distinction of caste, or inequality of sex of the can be a subject to the distinction of the can be a subject of the can be a subject of the can be a subject of the can be a subje ries; in which there is no distinction of rank, no division of caste, or inequality of sex; the officers of which are Peace, its exactors Righteousness, its walls Salvation, and its gates Praise; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other destined to break in pieces and consu

Cour country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity, only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, and

of interests at stake, and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and bloodthirsty soldiery, thronging these shores from abroad,
with intent to commit rapine and destroy life, may
not be resisted by the people or magistracy, then
onght no resistance to be offered to domestic troublers of the public peace, or of private security. No
obligation can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrong-doing
with impunity.

with imponity.

The dogma, that all the governments of the work are approvingly ordained of God, and that the powers that be in the United States, in Russia, in Tur

inat the pains of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves:

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man: any legislative body; against every edict of govern-ment, requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold military office.

Because slavery is a crime, and therefore is not an article to be sold:

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slave is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owner; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself:

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but, by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers: and As every human government is upheld by physi-cal strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office

Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused clock, rather that subject him to punishment.

and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its important of the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its important of the subject him to punishment.

We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, has been abrogated by Jesus Christ; and that, under the new covenant, the forgiveness, instead of the punishment of enemies, or set then upon a pillory, or extort money from enemies, or set then upon a pillory, or extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or sat them into prison, or hang them upon a gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. Vengeance is mine—I will repay, saith the Lord.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the
subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its
limits; we concede that Congress, under the present
national compact, has no right to interfere with any
of the slave States, in relation to this momentous
subject:

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is
soleinnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade
between the several States, and to abolish slavery
in those portions of our territory which the Constineust ultimately triumph over every assailing force.
We advocate no jacobinical doctrines. The spir-

it of jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence and nurder. It neither fears God, nor regards man. We would be filled with the spirit of Christ. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no wise resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But, while we shall adhere to the doctrines of

non-resistance and passive submission to enemies. we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God; to assail inquity in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal, and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time, when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall

reign for ever.

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, what ever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted, when swords shall be beaten into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell, or wield those deadly weapons, do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the Son of God on earth.

Having thus briefly, but frankly, stated our princi-

ples and purposes, we proceed to specify the mea-sures we propose to adopt, in carrying our object in-

We expect to prevail through the foolishness of oreaching—striving to commend ourselves unto every nan's conscience, in the signt of God. From the press, we shall promulgate our sentiments as widely as practicable. We shall endeavor to secure the our interests, or our reputation—whether we live to witness the triumph of Liberty, Justice and Human- ity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, beand national governments in relation to the subject of Universal Peace. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings and practices of society respecting the sinfulness of war, and the treatment of constitutions.

ment of enemies.

In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may arise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and

Firmly relying upon the certain and universal triumph of the sentiments contained in this Declara-tion, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against them, in solemn testimony of our faith in their divine origin, we hereby affix

mankind. We love the land of our nativity, only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, and liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us, than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. The Prince of Peace, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. "God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If he may use a dagger or pistol, they may employ cannon, bombshells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of interests at stake, and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and blood-thirsty suddiery, thronging these shores from abroad, with little to the reason and conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befull us, and resolving, in the strength of the Lord God, calmly and meekly to abide the same large of the Lord God, calmly and meekly to abide the same.

Hair a la Negress.—This is the name for the new style of dressing the hair now in vogue among the ladies of our fashionable its, on the reason and conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befull us, and resolving, in the strength of the Lord God, calmly and meekly to abide the save.

Hair a la Negress.—This is the name for the new style of dressing the hair now in vogue among the ladies of our fashionable circles. They have got tired of looking like white people, and are doing their best to similar the number of some and

A New York paper, commonding the Kossuth Hat, says that it is made of a material *calculated to allow the free escape of the gas from the head, an important quality in that kind of hat.

Never were 50,000 suffrages found in the whole French nation against any proposal of the powers in being, and it was rare indeed to find 5000. So says the London Times of former votes in France, But the number just given against Louis Bonaparte, eccording to his own report, is 640,737. There were about 1000 fires in London last car, and between 400 and 500 houses burnt.

VOL. XXII. MIL

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