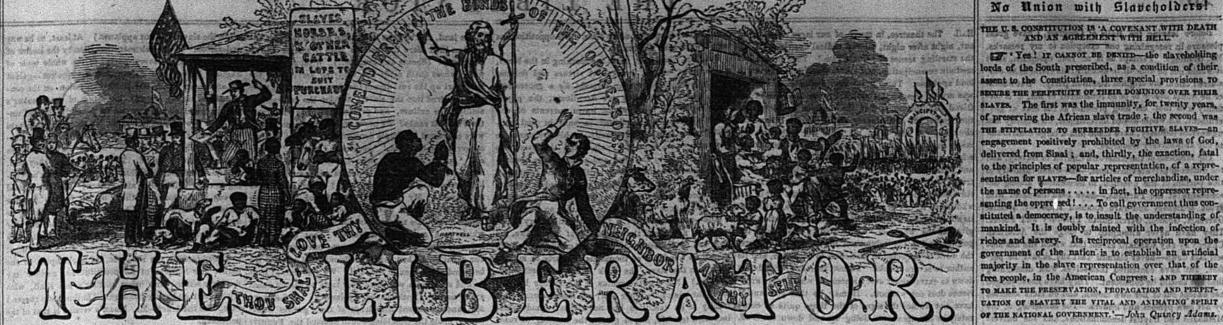
Fire opics will be sent to one address for TEX mak, if payment be made in advance. Til resittances are to be made, and all letter the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to Larrid, (POST PAID.) to the General Agent. Merchanisments making less than one square in-softer times for 75 cents—one, square for \$1 00. The Agents of the Anti-Slavery Societies are auiel to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial The smooth of responsible for any of the debts

Innal PRILLIPS.
The Squains of The Liberator, both sides of reserves are impartially allowed a hearing.

the paper, vil :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray EMEND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and

LU LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. VOL. XXIII. NO. 7.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholdi

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

rme stipulation to surrespen fugitive slaves—an engagement 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 staves—for articles of merchandize, under

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1853. WHOLE NUMBER 1152.

THE LIBERATOR.

SPEECH

TENDELL PHILLIPS

Meting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, Thursday Evening, Jan. 27, 1853.

fangit Pantities came forward, and was received a bal cheering. He presented, from the Business ites the following resolution :-

leaded, That the object of this Society is now, as privis been, to convince our countrymen, by arpubling is a heinous crime, and that the duty, for and interest of all concerned, demand its immedition, without expatriation. Ira, Mr. PRESIDENT, to notice some objections that

o han made to our course, ever since Mr. GARRIbean his career, and some of which have been or ergel again, with considerable force and emphaa is the columns of the LONDON LEADER, the able ormals very respectable and influential class in Engal Thope, Sir, you will not think it waste of time iner such a subject before you. I know these obein have been made a thousand times; that they sten often answered; though we have generally daniel to them in silence, willing to let results speak But there are times when justice to the slave mitallow us to be silent. There are many in this gr, many in England, who have had their attenstanel, recently, to the anti-slavery cause. They mying, which is the best and most efficient method of eng at! Engaged ourselves in an effort for the which time has tested and success hitherto aped, we are, very properly, desirous that they all pis us in our labors, and pour into this channel fell tide of their new zeal and great resources. emply convinced ourselves that our course is wise, can honestly urge others to adopt it. Long experier gives us a right to advise. The fact that our are, more than all other efforts, has caused that agtales which has awakened these new converts, gives is right to counsel them. They are our spiritual liten for their sakes, we would free the cause we stal trust from every seeming defect and plausible etin. For the slave's sake, we reiterate our exuntions, that he may lose no tittle of help by the nities or misconceptions of his friends.

All that I have to say on these points will be to you. the President, very trite and familiar; but the facts may be new to some, and I prefer to state them here, in lesses, where we have lived and worked, because if restraints are incorrect, if we claim too much, our extions can be easily answered and disproved.

The charges to which I refer are these: That in balling with slaveholders and their apologists, we inthat reason and common sense by plain statements and for ingument;-that we might have won the sympahis and support of the mation, if we would have subnicel to argue this question with a manly patience; ht instead of this, we have outraged the feelings of the samualty by attacks, unjust and unnecessarily severe, a is nest valued institutions, and gratified our spleen inflariminate abuse of leading men, who were often cont in their intentions, however mistaken in their the that we have utterly neglected the ample means at by around us to convert the nation, submitted to scipline, formed no plan, been guided by no foreset, but hurried on in childish, reckless, blind and selected zeal-bigots in the narrowness of our views; adfantis in our blind fury of invective, and malig-

but julgment of other men's motives. ere are some who come upon our platform, and es a the aid of names and reputations less burdened an sur with popular edium, who are perpetually apag as to exercise charity in our judgments of those as and to consent to argue these questions he are are ever parading their wish to draw a line themselves and us, because they must be perthis wait-to trust more, to reason than feelingbalgs a generous charity—to rely on the sure influ and simple truth, uttered in love, &c. &c. I reject the torn all these implications that our judgments are admitable. I that we are lacking in patience,—that a have my other dependence than on the simple truth, the with Christian frankness yet with Christian love. meteres, to which you, Sir, and all of us, have sides istened, would be impertinent, if they were at ather ridiculous for the gross ignorance they bein a the community, of the cause, and of the whole

The gracie in the LEADER to which I refer is signed lat, and may be found in THE LIBERATOR of Decem 17, 1852. The writer is cordial and generous in to tempaltion of Mr. Garrison's claim to be the reprewhite of the anti-slavery movement, and does entire Mir la his motives and character. The criticisms of a surreprinted in the Christian Register, of this the trgin of the Unitarian denomination. The han of that paper, with their usual Christian courthe of truth, and fair-dealing, omitted all Iox's the one of regard for Mr. Gannison and appreciaat his metives, and reprinted only those parts of Samele which undervalue his sagacity and influence distincts the common objections to his method and Tou will see in a moment, Mr. President, that a talk such men and presses, Ion thinks Mr. Garnihe not been sufficiently wise and patient in win then to help the anti-slavery cause. Perhaps, be of the spot, it would tire even his patience park even his sagacity to make any other use o has that of the drunken Helot-a warning to her digusting mean vice is. Perhaps, were he to be rould see that the best and only use to be hele of them is to let them unfold their own characand then show the world how rotten our Politics ad heligion are, that they bear naturally such fruit. a quotes Mr. Garrison's original declaration, in The

"I so sware that many object to the severity of my stage; but is there not cause for severity? I will so tuck as trath, and as uncompromising as justice. It is in expost—I will not equivocate—I will not expost—I will not retreat a single inch—axp I will be

it is prefended that I am retarding the cause of temporation by the coarseness of my invective, and

the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question, my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God that he enables me to disregard 'the fear of man which bringeth a snare,' and to speak his truth in its simplicity.

I don't have same 'nothing.' Heaven grant they may enjoy the same 'nothing.' Heaven grant they may enjoy the same 'll success with their predecessors! On our own side of the ocean, too, we ought deeply to sympathise with the leaders of the Temperance movement in their entire want of success! If Ion's mistakes about the anti-slavery cause lay as much bringeth a snare,' and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power.'

He then goes on to say :-

This is a defence which has been generally accepted on this side of the Atlantic, and many are the abolition-ists among us whom it has encouraged in honesty and impotence; and whom it has converted into conscien-tions hindrances.

'We would have Mr. Garrison to say, 'I will be as

'We would have Mr. Garrison to say, 'I will be as harsh as progress, as uncompromising as success.' If a man speaks for his own gratification, he may be as 'harsh' as he pleases; but if he speaks for the downtrodden and oppressed, he must be content to put a curb upon the tongue of holiest passion, and speak only as harshly as is compatible with the amelioration of the evil he proposes to redress. Let the question be again repeated: Do you seek for the slave vengeance or redress? If you seek retaliation, go on denouncing. But distant Europe honors Wm. Lloyd Garrison, because it credi's him with seeking for the slave simply redress. We say, therefore, that 'uncompromising' policy is We say, therefore, that 'uncompromising' policy is not to be measured by absolute justice, but by practical amelioration of the slave's condition. Amelioration as fast as you can get it—absolute justice as soon as you

He quotes the sentiment of Confucius, that he would hoose for a leader 'a man who would maintain a steady rigilance in the direction of affairs; who was capable of forming plans, and of executing them,' and says :-

The philosopher was right in placing wisdom and executive capacity above courage; for down to this day, our popular movements are led by heroes who fear nothing, and who win nothing.

There is no question raised in these articles as to the work to be done, but only as to the mode of really downs.

ing it. The platform resounds with announcements of principle, which is but asserting a right, while nothing but contempt is showered on policy which is the realization of right. The air is filled with all high cries and pirited denunciations; indignation is at a premium; and this is called advocacy. * • • But to calculate, to make sure of your aim, is to be decried as one who is too cold to feel, too genteel to strike."

Further on, he observes :-

'If an artillery officer throws shell after shell which "If an artilery officer throws shell after shell which never reach the enemy, he is replaced by some one with a better eye and a surer aim. But in the artillery battle of opinion, to mean to hit is quite sufficient; and if you have a certain grand indifference as to whether you hit or not, you may count on public applause." "

"A man need be no less militant, as the soldier of facts, than as the agent of swords. But the arena of facts, than as the agent of swords. But the areas of argument needs discipline no less than that of arms. It is this which the anti-slavery party seem to me not only to overlook, but to despise. They do not put their valor to drill. Neither on the field nor the platform has ourage any inherent capacity of taking care of itself."

The writer then proceeds to make a quotation from Mr. EMERSON, the latter part of which I will read :-

Let us withhold every reproachful, and, if we can, every indignant remark. In this cause, we must renounce our temper and the risings of pride. If there small matter compared with the last decorations and completions of his own comfort—who would not so much as part with his ice-cream to save them from rapine and manacles. I think I must not besitate to satisfy the cheaper by placing the negro nation on a fair footing than by robbing them. If the Virginian piques himself on the picturesque luxury of his vassalage, on the heavy Ethiopian manners of his house servants, their silent obedience, their hue of bronze, their turbaned heads, and would not exchange the more intelligent but pre-carious hired service of whites, I shall not refuse to show him that when their free papers are made out, it will still be their interest to remain on his estates; and that the oldest planters of Jamaica are convinced that it is cheaper to pay wages than to own slaves,"

The critic takes exception to Mr. Garrison's approval of the denunciatory language in which Daniel O'Connell rebuked the giant sin of America, and concludes his articles with this sentence :-

'When Wm. Lloyd Garrison praises the great Celtic Monarch of invective for this dire outpouring, he acts the part of the boy who fancies that the terror is in the war-whoop of the savage, unmindful of the quieter muskets of the civilized infantry, whose unostentatious execution blows whoop and tomahawk to the devil."

Before passing to a consideration of these remarks of lox, let me say a word in relation to Mr. EMERSON. I do not consider him as endorsing any of these critiisms on the Abolitionists. His services to the most radical anti-slavery movement have been generous and marked. He has never shrunk from any odium which lending his name and voice to it would incur. Making fair allowance for his peculiar taste, habits and genius, he has given a generous amount of aid to the anti-slavery movement, and never let its friends want his cor-

Ion's charges are the old ones, that we abolitionists are hurting our own cause—that, instead of waiting for the community to come up to our views, and endeavoring to remove prejudice and enlighten ignorance, by patient explanation and fair argument, we fall at once, like children, to abusing every thing and every bodythat we imagine zeal will supply the place of commo sense—that we have never shown any sagacity in adapting our means to our ends, have never studied the naional character, or attempted to make use of the materials which lay all about us, to influence public opin ion, but by blind, childish, obstinate fury and indiscri-minate denunciation, have become 'honestly impotent and conscientious hindrances.'

These, Sir, are the charges which have uniformly ion, have won? My Lord Derby and his friends seem

class, demand the separation of Church and State, and the Extension of the Ballot, may well guess, from the fluttering of the Whig and Tory dovecotes, that soon

on the surface as those I have just noticed, it would be hardly worth while to reply to him; for as to these, he certainly exhibits only 'the extent and variety of his His remarks upon the anti-slavery movement are,

however equally inaccurate. I claim, before you who

know the true state of the case, I claim for the anti-

slavery movement with which this Society is identified. that, looking back over its whole course, and considering the men connected with it in the mass, it has been marked by the soundest judgment, the most unerring foresight, the most sagacious adaptation of means to ends, the strictest self-discipline, the most thorough research, and an amount of patient and manly argument addressed to the conscience and intellect of the nation, such as no other cause of the kind, in England or this country, has ever offered. I claim, also, that its course has been marked by a cheerful surrender of all individual claims to merit or leadership-the most cordial relcoming of the slightest effort, of every honest attempt to lighten or to break the chain of the slave. I need not waste time by repeating the superfluous confession that we are men, and therefore do not claim to be perfect. Neither would I be understood as denying that we use denunciation, and ridicule, and every other weapon that the human mind knows. We must plead guilty, if guilt it be, not to be able to separate the sin from the sinner. With all the fondness for abstractions attributed to us, we are not yet capable of that. We are fighting a momentous battle at desperate adds-one against a thousand. Every weapon that ability or ignorance, wit, wealth, prejudice or fashion can command, is pointed against us. The guns are shotted to their lips. The arrows are poisoned.' We cannot afford to confine ourselves to any one weapon. The cause is not ours, so that we might, rightfully, postpone or put in peril the victory by moderating our demands, stifling our convictions, or filing down our rebukes, to gratify any sickly taste of our own, or to spare the delicate nerves of our ing dumb suppliants at the threshold of the Christian world. They have no voice but ours to utter their complaints, or demand justice. The press, the pulpit, the wealth, the literature, the prejudices, the political arrangements, the present self-interest of the country, are all against us. God has given us no weapon but the truth, faithfully uttered, and addressed, with the old prophets' directness, to the conscience of the individual sinner. The elements which control public opinion, and mould the masses, are against us. We can but pick off here and there a man from the triumphant mawho cannot be argued out of his selfishness, must be shamed out out of it by the mirror of his hateful self held up relentlessly before his eyes. We live in a land where every man makes broad his phylactery, inscribing thereon, 'All men are created equal'-' God hath created of one blood all the nations of men.' It seems to us that in such a land there must be, on this question of slavery, sluggards to be awakened as well as doubters to be convinced. Many more, we verily believe, of the first, than of the last. There are far more dead hearts to be quickened than confused intellects to be cleared up-more dumb dogs to be made to speak than doubting consciences to be enlightened. (Loud cheers.) We have use, then, sometimes, for something

beside argument. What is the denunciation with which we are charged It is endeavoring, in our faltering human speech to declare the enormity of the sin of making merchandise of men-of separating husband and wife-taking the infant from its mother, and selling the daughter to prostitution-of a professedly Christian nation denying, by statute, the Bible to every sixth man and woman of its population, and making it illegal for 'two or three' to meet together, except a white man be present! What is this harsh criticism of motives with which we are charged? It is simply holding the intelligent and deliberate actor responsible for the character and consequences of his acts. Is there anything inherently wrong in such denunciation or such criticism ? This we may claim-we have never judged a man but out of his own mouth. We have seldom, if ever, held him to account, except for acts of which he and his own friends were proud. All that we ask the world and thoughtful men to note are the principles and deeds on which the American pulpit and American public men nlume themselves. We always allow our opponents to aint their own pictures. Our humble duty is to stand y and assure the spectators, that what they would take for a knave or a hypocrite is really, in American estimation, a Doctor of Divinity or Secretary of State.

The South is one great brothel, where half a million of omen are flogged to prostitution, or, worse still, are degraded to believe it honorable. The public squares of half our great cities echo to the wail of families torn asunder at the auction-block-no one of our fair river that has not closed over the negro seeking in death refuge from a life too wretched to bear-thousands of functives skulk along our highways, afraid to tell their een brought against all reformers in all ages. Ion names, and trembling at the sight of a human beingthinks the same faults are chargeable on the leaders of all free men are kidnapped in our streets, to be plunged the 'popular movements' in England, which, he says, into that hell of slavery, and now and then one, as if are led by heroes who fear nothing, and who wis by miracle, after long years, returns to make men nothing. If the leaders of popular movements in aghast with his tale. The Press says, 'It is all right'; Great Britain for the last fifty years have been losers, and the l'ulpit cries, 'Amen.' We print the Bible in should be curious to know what party, in Iox's opin- every tongue in which man utters his prayers and get the money to do so, by agreeing never to give the book to think Democracy has made and is making dangerous in the language our mother taught us, to any negro, headway. If the men who, by popular agitation, outfree or bond, South of Mason and Dixon's line. The to think Democracy has made and is making dangerous headway. If the men who, by popular agitation, outside of Parliament, wrung from a powerful eligarchy Press says, 'It is all right'; and the Pulpit cries, Parliamentary Reform, and the Abolition of the Test Acts, of high Post Rates, of Catholic Disability, of Negro Slavery and the Corn Laws, did 'not win any thing,' it would be hard to say what winning is. If the men who, without the ballot, made Peel their tool and men who, without the ballot, made Peel their tool and developing a constant of the pressure of the pre conquered the Duke of Wellington, are considered un-successful, pray what kind of a thing would success be? Those who now, at the head of that same middle class, demand the separation of Church and State, and Our aim is to alter public opinion. Did we live in a market, our talk should be of dollars and cents, and we

guments. Left to themselves, they would probably have the slave '! (Loud cheers.) een effective laborers, they have found, as we have, heir hands against every man, and every man's hand gainst them. The most experienced of them are ready acknowledge that our plan has been wise, our course fficient, and that our unpopularity is no fault of ours. out flows necessarily and unavoidably from our position. I should suspect,' says old Fuller, ' that his preaching ad no salt in it, if no galled horse did wince.' Our riends find, after all, that men do not so much hate us s the truth we utter and the light we bring. They find

that the community are not the honest seekers after why we take care that 'the memory of the wicked shall ruth which they fancied, but selfish politicians and etarian bigots, who shiver, like Alexander's butler, henever the sun shines on them. Experience has heir laurels. All we claim is, that if they are to be omplimented as prudent, moderate, Christian, sagaous, statesmanlike reformers, we deserve the same praise, for they have done nothing that we, in our measres, did not attempt before. (Cheers.) I claim this, that the cause, in its recent aspect, has

romising-that is all! It has neither become more eding. Mr. Hale, the head of the Free Soil movement, after a career in the Senate that would do honor to any the respect and confidence of the anti-slavery publican put his name, within the last month, to an appeal men as Adams. om the city of Washington, signed by a Houston and Cass, for a monument to be raised to Henry Clay! hausting the whole capacity of our language to paint the treachery of Daniel Webster to the cause of liberty, and the evil they thought he was able and seeking to do;—after that, could feel it in their hearts to parade them—are that, could feel it in their hearts to parade them—are the constitutional ability. So thoroughly had the work been done, that all classes of the people had made up their minds about it, long the evil they thought he was able and seeking to do;—after that, could feel it in their hearts to parade them—are the constitutional ability. selves in the funeral procession got up to do him hon-or! In this we allow we cannot follow them. The defer-it is said he wrote anxiously home to know whether he

would seek to prove only that slavery was an unprofit, clasp hands after the decision as pleasantly as before, able investment. Were the nation one great, pure When we look upon such a man as Henry Clay, his Church, we would sit down and reason of 'righteous-ness, temperance, and judgment to come.' Had sla- gainst the slave; of that irresistible fascination with which very fortified itself in a College, we would load our can- he moulded every one to his will; when we remember ons with cold facts, and wing our arrows with argu-that, his conscience acknowledging the justice of our cents. But we happen to live in the world—the world cause, and his heart open on every other side to the nade up of thought and impulse of self-conceit, and gentlest impulses, he could sacrifice so remorselessly his self-interest, of weak men and wicked. To conquer, we convictions and the welfare of millions to his low ambi ust reach all. Our object is not to make every man tion; when we think how the slave trembled at the Christian or philosopher, but to induce every one to sound of his voice, and that, from a multitude of aid in the abolition of slavery. We expect to accom-plish our object long before the nation is made over into to God when it pleased Him to call that great sinner saints, or elevated into philosophers. To change pub-lic opinion, we use the very tools by which it was form-we could not shape our lips to ask any man to do d. That is, all such as an honest man may touch. him honor. (Great sensation.) No amount of elo-All this I am not only ready to allow, but I should quence, no sheen of official position, no loud grief be ashamed to think of the slave, or to look into the face of partisan friends, would ever lead us to ask monor my fellow-man, if it were otherwise. It is the only uments or walk in fine processions for pirates; and thing that justifies us to our own consciences, and makes the sectarian zeal or selfish ambition which gives us able to say we have done or at least tried to up, deliberately and in full knowledge of the facts. three million of human beings to hopeless ignorance, So far, however you distrust my philosophy, you will daily robbery, systematic prostitution and murder, ot doubt my statements. That we have denounced and which the law neither can nor undertakes to prevent or rebaked with unsparing fidelity will not be denied avenge, is more monstrous, in our eyes, than the love Have we not also addressed ourselves to that other duty of gold which takes a score of lives with merciful of arguing our question thoroughly—of using due discre-tion and fair sagacity in endeavoring to promote our no more hateful to us than Haynau on the Potomac.

cause? Yes, we have. Every statement we have made Why give mobs to one, and monuments to the other has been doubted. Every principle we have laid down If these things be necessary to courtesy, I cannot has been denied by overwhelming majorities against us. claim that we are courteous. We seek only to be honest No one step has ever been gained but by the most labo-rious research and the most exhausting argument. And If the grave that hides their bodies could swallow also o question has ever, since Revolutionary days, been the evil they have done and the example they leave, we thoroughly investigated or argued here, as that of might enjoy at least the luxury of forgetting them. slavery. Of that research and that argument, of the But the evil that men do lives after them, and Example rhole of it, the old-fashioned, fanatical, crazy, Garri- acquires tenfold authority when it speaks from the conian anti-slavery movement has been the author. grave. History, also, is to be written. How shall a From this band of men has proceeded every important feeble minority, without weight or influence in the argument or idea that has been broached on the antislavery question from 1830 to the present time. (Cheers.) nounced, vilified and contemned,—how shall we make I am well aware of the extent of the claim I make. I recognize as fully as any one can the ability of the new laborers—the eloquence and genius with which they have recommended this cause to the nation, and flashed idols of to-day, 'Here we are defeated, but we will onviction home on the conscience of the community, write our judgment with the iron pen of a century to do not mean, either, to assert that they have in every come, and it shall never be forgotten, if we can help it, nstance borrowed from our treasury their facts and ar- that you were false in your generation to the claims of

looked up the one and originated the other. As a mat-ter of fact, however, they have generally made use of of large majorities, and counting safely on the prejudithe materials collected to their hands. But there are ces of the community, can afford to despise us. They me persons about us, sympathizers, to a great extent. know they can overawe or cajole the present; their with Iox, who pretchd that the anti-slavery movement only fear is the judgment of the future. Strange fear, has been hitherto mere fanaticism, its only weapon angry perhaps, considering how short and local their fame abuse. They are obliged to assert this, in order to jus- But however little, it is their all. Our only hold upon tify their past indifference or hostility. At present, them is the thought of that bar of posterity, before now it has been taken up by men of thoughtful minds, is the army of honest men to come! Before that inry and its claims are urged by fair discussion and able ar- we summon you. We are weak here-out talked, out gument. My claim, then, is this: that neither the voted. You load our names with infamy, and shout charity of the most timid of sects, the sagacity of our us down. But our words bide their time. We warn wisest converts, nor the culture of the ripest scholars, the living that we have terrible memories, and that hough all have been aided by our twenty years' expe- their sins are never to be forgotten. We will gibbet the ience, has yet struck out any new method of reaching name of every apostate so black and high that his chilne public mind, or originated any new argument or dren's children shall blush to bear it. Yet we bear no rain of thought, or discovered any new fact bearing on malice—cherish no resentment. We thank God that he question. When once brought fully into the strug- the love of fame, 'that last infirmity of noble mind,' gle, they have found it necessary to adopt the same is shared by the ignoble. In our necessity, we seize neans, to rely on the same arguments, to hold up the this weapon in the slave's behalf, and teach caution to ame men and the same measures to public reprobation, the living by meting out relentless justice to the dead. with the same bold rebuke and unsparing invective that How strange the change death produces in the way i we have used. All their conciliatory bearing, their man is talked about here! While leading men live, ains-taking moderation, their constant and auxious they avoid as much as possible all mention of slavery, deavor to draw a broad line between their camp and from fear of being thought abolitionists. The moment urs, have been thrown away. Just so far as they have they are dead, their friends rake up every word they ever contrived to whisper in a corner for liberty, and parade it before the world; growing angry, all the while, with us, because we insist on explaining these chance expressions by the tenor of a long and base life. While drank with the temptations of the present hour, men are willing to bow to any Moloch. friends bury them, they feel what bitter mockery, a hundred years hence, any epitaph will be, if it cannot record of one living in this era, some service rendered to the slave ! These, Mr. Chairman, are the reasons

I have claimed that the anti-slavery cause has, from the first, been ably and dispassionately argued, every riven these new laborers back to our method. We have objection candidly examined, and every difficulty or o quarrel with them-would not steal one wreath of doubt any where honestly entertained, treated with respect. Let me glance at the literature of the cause, and try not so much, in a brief hour, to prove this assertion, as to point out the sources from which any one may satisfy himself of its truth.

I will begin with certainly the ablest and perhaps the most honest statesman who has ever touched the out on nothing but timidity. It has taken to itself no slave question. When JOHN QUINCY ADAMS first broke new weapons of recent years; it has become more com- ground on the Texas Question, he confessed his debt to the full and able exposure of the Texas Plot prepared ersuasive, more learned, more Christian, more charita- by Benj. Lundy. Every one acquainted with the le, nor more effective, than for the twenty years pre- years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowledge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. Lundy, sho made long journeys and devoted years to the inves an-after a six years' course which entitles him to tigation. His labors have this attestation, that they stirred the zeal and strengthened the hands of such Look next at the Right of Petition. Long before any

member of Congress had opened his mouth in its de If that be the test of charity and courtesy, we cannot fence, the abglition presses and lecturers had examined give it to the world. (Loud cheers.) Some of the lead- and defended the limits of this right, with profound ers of the Free Soil party of Massachusetts, after ex- historical research and eminent constitutional ability.

nce which every gentleman owes to the proprieties of would be supported in Massachusetts; little aware of social life, that self-respect and regard to consistency the outburst of popular gratitude that the Northern which is every man's duty, these, if no deeper feelings, breeze was even then bringing him, deep and cordial will ever prevent us from giving such proofs of this enough to wipe away the old grudge Massachusetts had We do not play politics; anti-slavery is no half-jest favor of receiving the petitions, and advised to ref with us; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse their prayer, which was use accounted the power of Congress. His than life or death, on the issue. It is no law-suit, where District. He doubted the power of Congress. His charman and to the good feeling of opposing counsel doubts were examined by Mr. William Goodell, in two their prayer, which was the abolition of slavery in the it matters not to the good feeling of opposing counsel doubts were examined by Mr. William Goodell, in two which way the verdict goes, and where advocates can letters of most able and acute logic, and of masterly

ability. If Mr. Adams still retained his doubts, it is certain, at least, that he never expressed them afterward. When Mr. Clay paraded the same objections. the whole question of the power of Congress over the District was treated by T. D. Weld, in the fullest manner, and with the widest research : indeed, leaving nothing to be added. No answer was ever attempted The best proof of its ability is, that no one since has esumed to doubt the power. Lawyers and statesmen ave tacitly settled down into its full acknowledgment.

The influence of the Colonization Society on the welare of the colored race was the first question our moveent encountered. To the close logic, eloquent appeals nd fully sustained charges of Mr. Garrison's Letters that subject, no answer was ever made. Judge Jay llowed with a work full and able, establishing every charge by the most patient investigation of facts. It not too much to say of these two volumes, that they left the Colonization Society hopeless at the North. It dares never show its face before the people, and only ingers in some few nooks of sectarian pride, so secluded from the influence of present ideas as to be almost fossil in their character.

The practical working of the slave system, the slave ws, the treatment of slaves, their food, the duration their lives, their ignorance and moral condition, and e influence of Southern public opinion on their fate, ave been spread out in a detail and with a fullness of idence which no subject has ever received before in this country. Witness the works of Phelps, Rankin, Grimke, the 'Anti-Slavery Record,' and, above all, that encyclopedia of facts and storehouse of arguments, the 'Thousand Witnesses' of Mr. T. D. Weld. Unique in anti-slavery literature is Mrs. Child's 'Appeal,' one of the ablest of our weapons, and one of the finest efforts her rare genius.

The Princeton Review, I believe, first challenged the colitionists to an investigation of the teachings of the Bible on slavery. That field had been somewhat broken by our English predecessors. But in England, the o-slavery party had been soon shamed out of the attempt to drag the Bible into their service, and hence the discussion there had been short and somewhat superficial. The pro-slavery side of the question has been gerly sustained by Theological Reviews and Doctors of Divinity without number, from the half way and timid faltering of Wayland up to the unblushing and melancholy recklessness of Stuart. The argument on the other side has come wholly from the abolitionists. For neither Dr. Hague nor Dr. Barnes can be said to have added any thing to the wide research, critical acumen and comprehensive views of T. D. Weld, Beriah Green, J. G. Fee, and the old work of Duncan.

On the constitutional questions which have at various mes arisen,-the citizenship of the colored man, the soundness of the 'Prigg' decision, the constitutionality of the old Fugitive Slave Law, the true construction when it suits their purpose to give it some attention, which we are all-to stand. Thank God! there is the of the slave code, -nothing has been added, either in they endeavor to explain the charge by alleging that elder brother of the Saxon race across the water-there the way of fact or argument, to the works of Jay, Weld, Alvan Stewart, E. G. Loring, S. E. Sewall, Richard Hildreth, W. I. Bowditch, the masterly Essays of the Emancipator at New York, and the Liberator of Boston, and the various addresses of the Massachusetts and American Societies for the last twenty years. The idea of the anti-slavery character of the Constitution-the opiate with which Free Soil quiets its conience for voting under a pro-slavery government-I heard first suggested by Mr. Garrison in 1838. It was laborately argued in that year in all our anti-slavery gatherings, both here and in New York, and sustained with great ability by Alvan Stewart, and in part by T. D. Weld. If it has either merit or truth, they are due to no legal learning recently added to our ranks, but to me of its old and well known pioneers. This topic has received the fullest investigation from Mr. Lysander pooner, who has urged it with all his unrivalled ingenuity, laborious research, and close logic. He writes as a lawyer, and has no wish, I believe, to be ranked with any class of anti-slavery men.

The influence of slavery on our government has received the profoundest philosophical investigation from the pen of Richard Hildreth, in his invaluable essay on Despotism in America,'-a work which deserves a place by the side of the ablest political disquisitions of any

Mrs. Chapman's survey of 'Ten Years of Anti-Slavery Experience,' was the first attempt at a philosophical discussion of the various aspects of the anti-slavery cause, and the problems raised by its struggles with sect and party. You, Mr. Chairman, [EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., in the elaborate Reports of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the last ten years, have followed in the same path, making to American literature a contribution of the highest value, and in a departent where you have few rivals and no superior. Whoever shall write the history either of this movenent, or any other attempted under a Republican Government, will find no where else so clear an inight and so full an acquaintance with the most difficult

Even the vigorous mind of Rantoul, the ablest man, rithout doubt, of the Democratic party, and perhaps the ablest politician in New England, added little or nothing to the storehouse of anti-slavery argument.

The grasp of his intellect and the fullness of his learnng every one will acknowledge. He never trusted himself to speak on any subject till he had dug down to its primal granite. He laid a most generous contribuion on the altar of the anti-slavery cause. His speecher on one question, too short and too few, are remarkable for their compact statement, iron logic, bold denuncia-tions, and the wonderful light thrown back upon our listory. Yet how little do they present which was not familiar for years in our anti-slavery meetings ! Look, too, at the last great effort of the idel of se

sany thousands, Mr. Senator Sumner; a discussion of great national question, of which it has been said that we must go back to Webster's Reply to Hayne, and Pisher Ames on the Jay Treaty, to find its equal in Congress; -- praise which we might perhaps qualify, if any adequate report were left us of some of those noble orations of Ames. No one can be blind to the mate ability with which he has marshalled the the radiant glow which his genius has thrown over all. Yet, with the exception of his reference to the anti-slavery debate in Congress in 1817, there is no train of hought or argument, and no single fact in the whole peech, which has not been familiar in our meetings and essays for the last ten years.

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Wendell Parker, utes by a facts de con-imenies p, Hon, n, John m Bor-ev, Cea, e Xea, erator, erator, ristian Fred

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Before leaving the Halls of Congress, I have great pleasure in recognizing one exception to my remarks Mr. Giddings. Perhaps he is no real exception, since it would not be difficult to establish his claim to be con sidere I one of the original Abolition party. But whether he would choose to be so considered or not, it is cer tainly true that his long presence at the seat of gov ernment, his whole-souled devotedness, his sagarity and unwearied industry, have made him a large contribute

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to our anti-slavery resources.

The relations of the American Church to slavery, and the duties of private Christians,—the whole case stry this portion of the question, so momentous among descendants of the Puritans,—have been discussed with great acuteness and rare common sense by Messrs Garrison, Goodell, Gerrit Smith, Pillsbury and Foster. They have never attempted to judge the America Church by any standard except that which she has her self laid down—never claimed that she should be per fect, but have contented themselves with demanding that she should be consistent. They have never judged her except out of her own mouth, and on facts asserte by her own presses and leaders. The sundering of the Methodist and Baptist denominations, and the universal agitation of the religious world, are the best proof of the sagacity with which their measures have been chosen, the cogent arguments they have used, and the indisputable facts on which their criticisms have been ounded.

In nothing have the abolitionists shown more sagac

ity or more thorough knowledge of their countrymen than in the course they have pursued in relation to the Church. None but a New Englander: can appreciate the power which Church organizations wield over all that share the blood of the Puritans. The influence of each sect over its own members is overwhelming, often shutting out, or controlling, all other influences. The tyranny of our Methodism need not fear comparison with the darkest picture of Catholicism that Protestant pencils ever painted. That each local church is independent of all others, we have been somewhat careful to assert, in theory and practice. But the individual's independence of all organizations that place themselves between him and his God, some few bold minds have asserted in theory, but most even of those have stopped

In such a land, the abolitionists early saw, that for a moral question like theirs, only two paths lay open : to work through the Church-that failing, to join battle with it. Some tried long, like Luther, to be Protestants, and yet not come out of Catholicism; but their eyes were soon opened. Since then, we have been convinced that to come out from the Church, to hold her up as the Bulwark of Slavery, and to make her shortcomings the main burden of our appeals to the reli gious sentiment of the community, was our first duty and best policy. This course alienated many friends and was a subject of frequent rebuke from such men as Dr. Channing. But nothing has ever more strengthened the cause, or won it more influence; and it has had the healthiest effect on the Church itself. British Christians have always sanctioned it, whenever the case has been fairly presented to them. Mr. J. Q. Adams, a man far better acquainted with his own time than Dr. Channing, recognized the soundness of our policy. I do not know that he ever uttered a word in public on the delinquency of the churches; but he is said to have assured his son, at the time the Methodis Church broke asunder, that other men might be mor startled by the colat of political success, but nothing, in his opinion, promised more good, or showed more clear ly the real strength of the anti-blavery movement, than

In 1838, the British Emancipation in the West Indie opened a rich field for observation, and a full harvest important facts. The abolitionists, not willing to wait for the official reports of the government, sent special agents through those islands, whose reports they scattered, at great expense and by great exertion, broadcast through the land. This was at a time when no newspaper in the country would either lend or sell them them the aid of its columns to enlighten the nation on an experiment so vitally important to us. And even now, hardly a press in the country cares or dares to bestow a line or communicate a fact toward the his tory of that remarkable revolution. The columns of the Anti-Slavery Standard, Pennsylvania Freeman and Ohio Bugle, have been for years full of all that a thorough and patient advocacy of our cause demands And the eloquent lips of many whom I see around me and whom I need not name here, have done their share toward pressing all these topics on public attention.

of the Free Soil party, with Daniel Webster in their company, met to draw up the Anti-Texas Address of the Massachusetts Convention, they sent to abolitionists for anti-slavery facts and history, for the remarkable testimonies of our Revolutionary great men which the wished to quote. (' Hear, hear.') When, many year ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts wished to send t Congress a resolution affirming the duty of immediate emancipation, the Committee sent to WM. LLOYD GAR RISON to draw it up, and it stands now on our Statute Book as he drafted it.

How vigilantly, how patiently did we watch the Texas plot from its commencement! The politic South felt that their first move had been too bold, and thenceforward worked underground. For many a year, mer laughed at us for entertaining any apprehensions. I was impossible to rouse the North to its peril. D. L. Child was thought crazy, because he would not believe there was no danger. I remember being one of a Com mittee which waited on Abbott Lawrence, a year or two only before annexation, to ask his countenance to some general movement, without distinction of party, against the Texas scheme. He smiled at our fears, begged up to have no apprehensions; stating that his correspond-ence with leading men at Washington enabled him to assure us that annexation was impossible, and that the South itself was determined to defeat the project. It was but a short while after that the Senators and Rep resentatives from Texas took their seats in Congress !

Many of these services to the slave were done before I joined his cause. In thus referring to them, do no suppose me merely seeking occasion of eulogy on my ssors and present co-laborers. I recal these things only to rebut the contemptuous criticism which some about us make the excuse for their past neglect of the movement, and in answer to Iox's representation of our course as reckless fanaticism, childish impatience, utter lack of good sense, and of our meetings as scene only of excitement, of reckless and indiscriminate de nunciation. I assert that every social, moral, economic cal, religious, political and historical aspect of the question has been ably and patiently examined. If the people are still in doubt, it is from the inherent difficul ty of the subject, or a hatred of light, not from want o it. And all this has been done with an industry and ability which have left little for the professional skill, scholarly culture, and historical learning of the new laborers to accomplish.

So far from the anti-slavery cause having lacked

manly and able discussion, I think it will be acknowled edged hereafter, that this discussion has been one of the noblest contributions to a literature really American. Heretofore, not only has our tone been but an echo o foreign culture, but the very topics we discussed, and the views we maintained, have been too often pale reflections of European politics and European philosophy No matter what dress we assumed, the voice was even the voice of Jacob.' At last we have stirred a que tion thoroughly American. The subject has been loc ed at from a point of view entirely American; and it is of such deep interest, that it has called out all the intellectual strength of the nation. For once, the nation speaks its own thoughts, in its own language, and the tone also is all its own. It will hardly do for the defeated party to claim that, in this discussion, all the

We are charged with lacking foresight, and said to exaggerate. This charge of exaggeration brings to my mind a fact I mentioned, last month, at Horticultura

Hall. The theatres, in many of our large cities, bring out, night after night, all the radical doctrines and all the startling scenes of 'Uncle Tom.' They preach imand felt that I could not. I could not believe it to be rience does not warrant. It may be that you and I have not studied the signs of the times quite as accurately as the speaker. Going up and down the land. coming in closer contact with the feelings and prejudices of the community, he is sometimes a better judge than you are of its present state. An abolitionist has more motives for watching and more means of finding out the true state of public opinion, than most of those careless critics who jeer at his assertions to-day, and are the first to cry ' Just what I said,' when his prophecy becomes fact to-morrow.

Mr. Ion thinks, also, that we have thrown away oportunities, and needlessly outraged the men and paries about us. Far from it. The anti-slavery movement was a patient and humble suppliant at every door whence any help could possibly be hoped. If we now cause we have faithfully tried them, and found them deaf to the claims of justice and humanity. Our great Leader, when he first meditated this crusade, did not

'At once. like a sunburst, his banner unfurl.' O, no ! he sounded his way warily forward. Brought up in the strictest reverence for church organizations, his first effort was to enlist the clergymen of Boston in the support of his views. On their aid he counted confidently in his effort to preach immediate repentance of all sin. He did not go, with malice prepense, as some seem to imagine, up to that 'attic' where Mayor Otis with difficulty found him. He did not court hostility or seek exile. He did not sedulously endeavor to cut himself off from the sympathy and countenance of the mmunity about him. O, no! A fervid disciple of the American Church, he conferred with some of the eading clergy of the city, and laid before them his convictions on the subject of slavery. (1) He painted their responsibility, and tried to induce them to take from his shoulders the burden of so mighty a movement. He laid himself at their feet. He recognized the colossal strength of the Church; he knew that against their opposition it would be almost desperate to attempt to relieve the slave. He entreated them, therefore, to take up the cause. But the Church turned away from him! They shut their doors upon him! They bade him compromise his convictions-smother one half of them, and support the Colonization movement making his own auxiliary to that, or they would have

were not persuaded that the case was so desperate. So they returned, each to his own local sect, and remained in them until some of us, myself among the numberlater converts to the anti-slavery movement-thought they were slow and faltering in their obedience to conence, and that they ought to have cut loose much coner than they did. But patience, that old sympathies would not allow to be exhausted, associations, planted so deeply in youth, and spreading over so large a part of their manhood, were too strong for any mere argument to dislodge them. So they still persisted in remaining in the church. Their zeal was so fervent and their labors so abundant, that in some towns large societies were formed, led by most of the clergymen, and having almost all the church members on their lists. In those same towns now, you will not find one single abolitionist, of any stamp whatever. They excuse their falling back by alleging that we have injured the cause by our extravagance and denunciation, and by the various other questions with which our names are associated. This might be a good reason why they should not work with us, but does it excuse their not working at all? These people have been once awakened, thoroughment, and have acknowledged the rightful claim of the slave on their sympathy and exertions. It is not possible that a few thousand persons, however extravagant, could prevent devoted men from finding some way to

help such a cause, or at least manifesting their interest

n it. But they have not only left us, they have utter-

their sects came across his cause. Is it uncharitable to

conjecture the reason?

At the early period, however, to which I have referred, the Church was much exercised by the persistency of the abolitionists in not going out from her. When I joined the anti-slavery ranks, sixteen years ago, the voice of the clergy was, 'Will these pests never leave us? Will they still remain to trouble us? If you do not like us, there is the door !' When our friends had exhausted all entreaty, and tested the Christianity of that body, they shook off the dust of their feet, and came out of her. Afterwards, Mr. Garrison called on the head of the Orthodox denomination-a man, compared with whose influence on the mind of New England, that of the statesman whose death you have just nourned was but as dust in the balance, in my opinion -a man who then held the Orthodoxy of Boston in his right hand, and who has since taken up the West by its four corners, and given it so largely to Puritanism-I mean the Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher. Mr. Garrison was city can boast of but few places of historic renown one of those who bowed to the spell of the matchless elequence that then fulmined over our Zion. He keep in memory, than the roof which FRANCIS JACK waited on his favorite divine, and urged him to give to sox offered to the anti-slavery women of Boston, whe the new movement the incalculable aid of his name and Mayor Lyman confessed he was unable to protect their countenance. He was patiently heard. He was allowed to unfold his plans and array his facts. The reply of the veteran was, Mr. Garrison, I have too many irons in the fire to put in another.' My friend said, Doctor, you had better take all the irons you have in the fire out, and put this one in, if you mean well either to the religion or the civil liberty of our country.'

The great Orthodox leader did not rest with merely efusing to put another iron into his fire; he attempted to limit the irons of other men. As President of Lane Theological Seminary, he endeavored to prevent the students from investigating the subject of slavery. The result, we all remember, was a strenuous resistance on the part of a large number of the students, led by that remarkable man, Theodore D. Weld. The Right triumphed, and Lane Seminary lost her character and noblest pupils at the same time. She has languished ever since, even with such a President. Why should I follow Dr. Beecher into those Ecclesiastical Conventions where the weight of his heavy hand has been felt agains the slave? He has done no worse, indeed, he has done

(1) 'The writer accompanied Mr. Garrison, in 1820, in calling upon a number of prominent ministers in Boston, to secure their cooperation in this cause. Our expectations of important assistance from them were, at that time, very sanguine.'—[Testimony of William Goodelle, in a recent work entitled 'Slavery and Anti-

SLAVENT.']
In an address on Slavery and Colonization, delivered by Mr. Ganaison, in the Park Street Church, Boston, July 4, 1829, (which was subsequently published in the National Philanthropist,) he said—'I call on the ambassadors of Christ, every where, to make known this proclamation, "Thus saith the Lord God of the Africans, Let this people go, that they may serve me." I sak them to "proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." I call on the churches of the living God to LEAD in this great salvengia."

much better, than most of his class. His opposition has been always open and manly.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is something in the blo

mediate emancipation, and slaves shoot their hunters to loud applause. Three years ago, sitting in this hall, I was myself somewhat startled by the assertion of my Good and evil qualities are hereditary, the physical properties of the startled by the description of my Good and evil qualities are hereditary, the physical properties of the startled by the description of my Good and evil qualities are hereditary, the physical properties of the startled by the description of my Good and evil qualities are hereditary. was myself somewhat startled by the assertion of my Good and evil qualities are hereditary, the physical friend, Mr. Pillsbury, that the theatres would receive the gospel of anti-slavery truth earlier than the churches. A hiss went up from the galleries, and many in the audience were shocked by the remark. I asked myself whether I could endorse such a statement, rouse the world by the vigor and pathos of its appeals (Enthusiastic cheers.) Even on that great triumph true. Only three years have passed, and what was would say a word. Marked and unequalled as has be then deemed rant and fanaticism, by seven out of ten who heard it, has proved true. The theatre, bowing to its audience, has preached immediate emancipation, and given us the whole of 'Uncle Tom'; while from the ment had not roused the sympathies of Mrs. Stowe, the pulpits, and in the columns of the theological papers, book had never been written; if that movement had not the work is subjected to criticism, to reproach, and its raised up hundreds of thousands of hearts to sympa-author to severe rebuke. Do not, therefore, friends, set thize with the slave, the book had never been read. down as extravagant every statement which your expe- (Cheers.) Not that the genius of the author has not made the triumph all her own; not that the unrivalled felicity of its execution has not trebled, quadrupled increased ten-fold, if you please, the number of readers; but there must be a spot even for Archimedes rest his lever upon, before he can move the world, (applause,) and this effort of genius, consecrated to the ne blest purpose, might have fallen dead and unnoticed i It is the anti-slavery movement which has changed 1835 to 1852. Those of us familiar with antislavery literature know well that Richard Hildreth's ARCHY MOORE,' now 'THE WHITE SLAVE,' WAS book of eminent ability: that it owed its want of succe to no lack of genius, but only to the fact, that it was a work born out of due time; that the anti-slavery cause had not then aroused sufficient numbers, on the wings o whose enthusiasm even the most delightful fiction could repudiate and denounce some of our institutions, it is have risen into world-wide influence and repute. To the cause which had changed 1835 to 1852 is due thing of the influence of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

The abolitionists have never overlooked the wonder ful power that the wand of the novelist was yet to wield in their behalf over the hearts of the world. O, no! Frederika Bremer only expressed the common sentiment of many of us, when she declared that "the fate of the negro was the romance of our history Again and again, from my earliest knowledge of th cause, have I heard the opinion, that, in the debates ble land between freedom and slavery, in the thrilling incidents of the escape and sufferings of the fugitive and the perils of his friends, the future Walter Scott o America would find the 'border-land' of his romance, and the most touching incidents of his 'sixty years since; and that the literature of America would gather it freshest laurels from that field.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for our treatment of the thurch. We clung to it as long as we hoped to mak it useful. Disappointed in that, we have tried to expose its paltering and hypocrisy on this question broadly and with unflinching boldness, in hopes to pu rify and bring it to our aid. Our labors with the great religious societies, with the press, with the institution of learning, have been as untiring, and almost as un successful. We have tried to do our duty to every public question that has arisen, which could be made serviceable in rousing general attention. The Right of Petition, the Power of Congress, the Internal Slave Trade, Texas, the Compromise measures, the Fugitive none of him. Like Luther, he said- Here I stand; God Slave Law, the motions of leading men, the tactics of help me; I can no other ! But the men who joined him parties, have all been watched and used with sagacity and effect as means to produce a change in public opinion. Dr. Channing has thanked the abolition party, in the name of all the lovers of free thought and free speech, for having vindicated that right, when all other emed ready to surrender it; vindicated it at the co of reputation, ease, property, even life itself. The only blood that has been shed, on this side the ocean, in d fence of the freedom of the press, was the blood of Lovejoy, one of their number. In December 1836, Dr. Channing spoke of their position in these

· Whilst, in obedience to conscience, they have re frained from opposing force to force, they have still per severed, amidst menace and insult, in bearing their te timony against wrong, in giving utterance to their deconvictions. Of such men, I do not hesitate to say that they have rendered to freedom a more essential ser vice than any body of men among us. The defender of freedom are not those who claim and exercise right hich no one assails, or who win shouts of applay by well-turned compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph. They are those who stand up for rights which mobs, conspiracies, or single tyrants put in jeop-ardy; who contend for liberty in that particular form which is threatened at the moment by the many or the few. To the abolitionists this honor belongs. The first few. To the abolitionists this honor belongs. The first systematic effort to strip the citizen of freedom of speec they have met with invincible resolution. From me heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor. I amot sure that I should this moment write in safety, ha they shrunk from the conflict, had they shut their lip imposed silence on their presses, and hid themselves before their ferocious assailants. I know not where the outrages would have stopped, had they not met resi ance from their first destined victims. The newspap press, with a few exceptions, uttered no genuine indi-nant rebuke of the wrong-doers, but rather countenanly deserted the slave, in the hour when the interest of nant reduke of the wrong-doers, but rather countenance of by its gentle censures the reign of Force. The mass of the people looked supinely on this new tyranny, under which a portion of their fellow-citizens seemed to be sinking. A tone of denunciation was beginning to proscribe all discussion of slavery; and had the spirit oviolence, which selected associations as its first objects succeeded in this preparatory enterprise, it might have scribe all discussion of slavery; and had the spirit of violence, which selected associations as its first objects succeeded in this preparatory enterprise, it might have been easily turned against any and every individual who might presume to agitate the unwelcome subject It is hard to say, to what outrage the fettered press of the country might not have been reconciled. I thank the abolitionists that, in this evil day, they were true to the rights which the multitude were ready to betray. They purpose to suffer, to die, rather than surrender their purpose to suffer, to die, rather than surrender the dearest liberties, taught the lawless that they had a fo to contend with, whom it was not safe to press, whilst, like all manly appeals, it called forth reflection and sympathy in the better portion of the community. In the name of freedom and humanity, I thank them.

No one, Mr. Chairman, deserves more of that ho than he whose chair you now occupy. Our youthfu But I know no one which coming time is more likely t meeting, and when the only protection the laws could

afford Mr. Garrison was the shelter of the common jail Sir, when a nation sets itself to do evil, and al its leading forces, wealth, party and piety, join in the career, it is impossible but that those who offer constant opposition should be hated and maligned, n matter how wise, cautious and well-planned the course may be. We are peculiar sufferers in this way The community has come to hate its reproving Natha so bitterly, that even those to whom the relenting par of it is beginning to look as standard-bearers of th anti-slavery host, think it unwise to avow any conn tion or sympathy with him. I refer to some of the leaders of the political movement against slavery They feel it to be their mission to marshal and use a effectively as possible the present convictions of the people. They cannot afford to encumber themselves with the odium which twenty years of angry agitation have engendered in great sects sore from unsparing re-buke, parties galled by constant defeat, and leading men provoked by unexpected exposure. They are wil ling to confess, privately, that our movement produced theirs, and that its continued existence is the very breath of their life. But, at the same time, they would fain-walk on the road without being soiled by too clo contact with the rough pioneers who threw it up. They are wise and honorable, and their silence is very ex-

When I speak of their eminent position and acknow edged ability, another thought strikes me. Who con verted these men and their distinguished associate It is said we have shown neither candor in plans, no sagacity in discussion, nor ability in argument. Wh then or what converted Burlingame and Wilson, Sum ner and Adams, Palfrey and Mann, Chase and Hale d the open-I call on Phillips and Giddings? Who taught the Christian this great Register, the Daily Advertiser, and that class of prints, that there were such things as a slave and a slaveholder

in the land, and so gave them some more intelligent ba- touch the slave! (Great applause.) At least, so he was sis than their mere instincts to hate William Lloyd understood. In an elaborate discussion by the leader of GARRISON? (Shouts and laughter.) What magic wand the political anti-elavery party, of the whole topic of was it whose touch made the toadying servility of the land start up the real demon that it was, and at the same the surrender itself, one frank expression on the contime gathered into the slave's service the professional stitutional clause, or any indication of the speaker's ability, ripe culture, and personal integrity that grace final purpose, should any one be properly claimed unability, ripe culture, and personal integrity that grace the Free Soil ranks? We never argue! These men, then, were converted by simple denunciation! They were all converted by the 'hot,' 'reckless,' 'ranting,' 'bigoted,' 'fanatic' Garrison, who never troubled himself about facts, nor stopped to argue with an opponent, but straightway knocked him down! (Roars of laughter) for the defeat, but only that they were not beat according to the converted by the 'hot,' 'reckless,' 'ranting,' 'bigoted,' 'fanatic' Garrison, who never troubled himself about facts, nor stopped to argue with an opponent, for the defeat, but only that they were not beat according to the converted by the 'hot,' 'reckless,' 'ranting,' bigoted in the converted by the 'hot,' 'reckless,' 'ranting,' bigoted in the anti-slavery host was originally marging that the anti-sla and cheers.) My old and valued friend Mr. Sumner in one of his speeches, that 'he felt for the fugitive often boasts that he was a reader of THE LIBERATOR slave as for his own blood brother—that he ought to do before I was. Do not criticise too much the agency by as much for him as for his blood-brother; and nur for which such men were converted. That blade has a the Constitution of the United States, he would risk a double edge. Our reckless course—our empty rant— every thing rather than let him be surrendered.' What our fanaticism, has made abelitionists of some of the a 'Bur'!—from the lips, too, of a champion of the best and ablest men in the land. We are inclined to go higher law! Spite of all constitutions, neither my on and see if even with such poor tools we cannot reach mother's somenor any other mother's son shall, with some more. (Enthusiastic applause.) Anti-slavery my consent, go back to bondage. (Enthusiastic cheers.) seal and the roused conscience of the 'godless come- So speaks the heart-Mr. Mann's version is that of the outers' made the trembling South demand the Fugitive politician. one, however feeble, has ever peeped or muttered, in what is it? If not so, why introduce an irrelevant topic any quarter, that the vigilant eye of the Pioneer has into the debate?' F Mr. Mana avoided any reply

ny-if you do, I can prove it-that the movement of the his remarks were futile, and out of order. But if he were converted by it. The assault upon the right of pe- fy himself in swearing to support that instrument ?tition, upon the right to print and speak of slavery, a question our Free Soil friends are slow to meet. Mr the denial of the right of Congress over the District, Mann saw the dilemma, and avoided it by silence! the annexation of Texas, the Fugitive Slave Law, were The anti-slavery cause, then, converted these men; it slavery in the States; that they consent to let slavery gave them a constituency; it gave them an opportunity remain where it is.' If he means that her Horac ty to speak, and it gave them a public to listen. The Mann, a moral and accountable being, 'consents to l anti-slavery cause gave them their votes, gave them slavery remain where it is,' all the rest of his speech is audience. If you tell me they cherished all these prin- he, Horace Mann, as a politician and party man, conciples in their own breasts before Mr. Garrison appeared, sents to that, but, elsewhere and otherwise, will do his I can only say, if the anti-slavery movement did not best to abolish this 'all-comprehending wickedness o give them their ideas, it surely gave them the courage slavery, in which every wrong and every crime has its o utter them.

States Congress, linked with any epithet but that of capacity the deed is done. contempt! No one of those men who owe their ideas. nition of the power that called them into being. When philosophy of the cause he serves! He saysobliged, by the course of their argument, to treat the question historically, they can go across the water to sion in this Hall. It never had a constitutional exist taking to the lariners of western New York, and wished to contrast slave labor and free labor, did not dare to compare New York with Virginia—sister States under the power to sustain it—then, sir, will agitation cease in regard to it here; then we shall have nothing more to do with it, our time will be no more occupied with it and, like a band of freemen, a band of brothers, we could meet here, and legislate for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, for the elevation of our race. e wished to seek the contrast;-but, no; he compared t with Brazil-(cheers and laughter)-the contrast ble-hearted men whom I have named must surely have ble-hearted men whom I have named must surely have ment back to the precise position which it occupied 'found quite irksome the constant practice of what Dr. when it was launched. Gardner used to call that despicable virtue, prudence' !- (laughter) -one would have thought, when they heard that name spoken with contempt, their ready eloquence would have leaped from its scabbard to avenge even a word that threatened him with insult. But it never came-never! (Sensation.) I do not say I blame them. Perhaps they thought they should serve the cause lasts while it exists any where, and I doubt not Mr. better by drawing a broad black line between themselves and him. Perhaps they thought the devil could the whole war. I will even suppose, what neither of

cheers.) We are perfectly willing-I am for one-to be the dead lumber that shall make a path for these men into the light and love of the people. We hope for nothing better. Use us freely, in any way, for the slave. When the temple is finished, the tools will not complain that they are thrown aside, let who will lead up the nation to will cease to vex our national politics ? Can they put on the topstone with shoutings. But while so much put on the topstone with shoutings. But while so much remains to be done, while our little camp is beleaguered all about, do nothing to weaken his influence, whose sall about, do nothing to weaken his influence, whose sale and the sale of the sal gacity, more than any other single man's, has led us not manufacturing, banking and commercial capita povement which the North still heeds, and the South still fears the most. After all, Mr. Chairman, this is no hard task. We know very well, that, notwithstanding this loud clamor about our harsh judgments of men and things, our opinions differ very little from those of our Free Soii friends, or of intelligent men generally, when you really get at them. When men lay aside the judicial ermine, the senator's robe, or the party collar, and sit down in private life, you can hardly distinguish their tones from ours. Their eyes seem as anointed as our own. As in Pope's day-

The only difference is, we dare laugh out.

Caution is not always good policy in a cause like urs. It is said that when Napoleon saw the day going against him, he used to throw away all the rules of war, and trusted himself to the hot impetuesity of his soldiers. The masses are governed more by impulse than conviction; and even were it not so, the convictions of most men are on our side, and this will surely appear, if we can only pierce the crust of their prejudice r indifference. I observe that our Free Soil friends ever stir their audience so deeply as when some indiridual leaps beyond the platform, and strikes upon the which give those States wholly into their hands. rery heart of the people. Men listen to discussions of weaker prestige, fewer privileges, and less comparative aws and tactics with ominous patience. It is when Mr. wealth, have enabled the British aristocracy to rule Sumner, in Fancuil Hall, avows his determination to disobey the Fugitive Slave Law, and cries out, 'I was a strength was cut at Naseby. It takes ages for deeply man before I was a commissioner'-when Mr. Giddings says of slave insurrections, 'If that is the only path to reedom, let them come,'-that their associates on the platform are sure they are wrecking the party-while nany a heart beneath beats its first pulse of anti-

These are brave words. When I compare them with the general tone of Free Soil men in Congress, I distrust the atmosphere of Washington and of politics. These men move about Sauls and Goliaths among us, taller y many a cubit. There they lose port and stature. mner's speech in the Senate unsays no part of his Fancull Hall pledge. But, discussing the same time that they are tyrants at home, and not seek to topic, no one would gather from any word or argument use the common strength to protect their victims? Does that the speaker ever took such ground as he did in he not know that it is impossible for free States and slave Fancuil Hall. It is all through, the law, the manner States to unite under any form of Constitution, no matof the surrender, not the surrender itself, of the slave ter how clean the parchment may be, without the comthat he objects to. As my friend Mr. Pillsbury so forcibly says, so far as any thing in the speech shows, he
puts the slave behind the jury trial, behind the habear

York, and the youthful vigor of Ohio, that, even now, corpus act, and behind the new interpretation of the enable bankrupt Carolina to hold up the institution. Constitution, and says to the slave claimant—'You Every nation must maintain peace within her limits. must get through all these, before you reach him; but No government can exist which does not fulfil that f you can get through all these, you may have him!' function. When we say the Union will maintain peace t was no tone like this which made the old Hall rock! in Carolina, that being a slave State, what does 'peace you can get through all these, you may have him ! ' Not if he got through twelve jury trials, and forty mean? It means keeping the slave beneath the heel of habeas corpus acts, and Constitutions built high as his master. Now, even on the principle of two wrongs

Slave Law; and, the Fugitive Slave Law 'provoked' Mr. Mann's recent speech in August, '52, has the Mrs. Stowe to the good work of 'UNCLE TOM.' That is same non-committal tone to which I have alluded, as something! (Cheers.) Let me say, in passing, that Mr. Sumner's. While professing, in the most eloquent of none of these men, or their efforts, will you find an earlier or more generous appreciation, or more flowing asked—'Is there, in Mr. Mann's opinion, any conflict sulogy, than in the columns of THE LIBERATOR. No between that Higher Law and the Constitution? If so cognized him. He has stretched out the right and asked not to be interrupted ! # Is that the frank hand of a most cordial welcome the moment any man's ness which becomes an abolitionist? Can such conceal face was turned Zionward. (Loud cheers.) ment help any cause? The design of Mr. Sutherland is face was turned Zionward. (Loud cheers.) ment help any cause? The design of Mr. Sutherland i I do not mention these things to praise Mr. Garrison; evident. If Mr. Mann had allowed there was no con do not stand here for that purpose. You will not de- flict between the Higher Law and the Constitution, all bolitionists converted these men. Their constituents asserted that any such conflict existed, how did he justi-

The same speech contains the usual deprecatory neasures which the anti-slavery movement provoked. sertions that Free Soilers have no wish to interfere with their offices, furnished them their facts, gave them their sound and fury, signifying nothing. If he means that natural home'-then he should have plainly said so In such circumstances, is it not singular that the Otherwise, his disclaimer is but an unworthy trick, name of William Lloyd Garrison has never been pro- which could have deceived none. He must have known ounced, for fourteen years, on the floor of the United that all the South care for is the action, not in what

Mr. Giddings is more careful in his statement; but, their station, their audience, to him, have ever thought judged by his speech on the 'Platforms,' how little does t worth their while to utter one word in grateful recog- he seem to understand either his own duty, or the true

Clarkson and Wilberforce—yes, to a safe salt-water distance. (Laughter.) As Daniel Webster, when he was talking to the farmers of Western New York, and wished talking to the farmers of Western New York, and wished the contagion; leave it with the States, who alone have

Mr. Sumner speaks in the same strain. He sayswas so close! (Renewed cheers.) Catholic—Protestant; Spanish—Saxon; despotism—municipal institutions; readers of Lope de Vega and of Shakspeare; mutterers of the Mass—children of the Bible! But Virginia is too near home! So is Garrison! One would have thought there was something in the human breast that would sometimes break through policy. These noble-hearted men whom I have named must surely have 'The time will come when Courts or Congress wil

This seems to me a very mistaken strain. Whenever

slavery is banished from our National jurisdiction, it

will be a momentous gain, a vast stride. But let u not mistake the half-way house for the end of the jour ney. I will not say that it matters not to abolitionist under what special law slavery exists. Their battle

only that slavery shall not only be abolished in the District and in the Territories, but that the slave basis of representation shall be struck from the Constitution. and the slave-surfender clause construed away. But perpetually vex our politics? Why should not slave capital exert the same influence? Do they imagine that a hundred thousand men, possessed of two thousand millions of dollars, which they feel the spirit of the age is seeking to tear from their grasp, will not eagerly catch at all the support they can obtain by getting the control of the Government? In a land where the dollar is almighty, 'where the sin of not being rich is only atoned for by the effort to become so,' do they doubt that such an oligarchy will generally succeed Besides, banking and manufacturing capital are no urged by despair to seek a controlling influence in polities. They know they are about equally safe, which ever party rules-that no party wishes to legislate their rights away. Slave property knows that its being allowed to exist depends on its having the virtual control of the Government. Its constant presence in politics is dictated, therefore, by despair as well as by the wish to secure fresh privileges. Money, however, is not the only strength of the Slave Power. That indeed were enough in an age when capitalists are our feudal barons. But, though driven entirely from National shelter, the slaveholders would have the strength of old associations, and of peculiar laws in their own States England for two centuries, though the root of their rooted institutions to die. And driving slavery into th States will hardly be our Naseby. Whoever, therefore lays the flattering unction to his soul, that while slavery exists anywhere in the States, our legislators will se down 'like a band of brothers,'-unless they are al slaveholding brothers,-is doomed to find himself we fully mistaken. Mr. Adams, ten years ago, refused to nction this doctrine of his friend, Mr. Giddings, com

But is Mr. Giddings willing to sit down with slave holders, 'like a band of brothers,' knowing all the ronder monument, would be permit so much as the making a right, if we put this great weight of a common shadow of the little finger of the slave claimant to government into the scale of the slaveholder, we are

batting it ably and eloquently in his well-known reply

to Ingersoll.

bound to add something equal to the slave's side he bound to add sometaing equal to the stave's tile. In no; Mr. Giddings is content to give the staveballe to irresistible and organic half of a common government and bind himself to utter no word, and more not a to the content of the stave in the stave in the stave. ger, in his civil capacity, to help the slave; as the tionist would find himself not much at home, I fary And Mr. Sumner 'knows no better aim, thin is And Mr. Summer Anous no oction am, take to the Constitution, than to bring back the Government a where it was in 1789! Has the verage bers may

where it was in 1100: has the topage ber in by honest and prosperous a one, in his opinion, the la honest and prosperous a use, in an opener, the is only wish is to start again with the same skip, the same only wish is to same sailing orders? Grant all bridge as to the state of public opinion, the intention of latas to the state or puone opinion, the intention of lab-ing men, and the form of our institutions at that pra-with all these checks on wicked men, and help to put ones, here we are! according to his own thering rise ones, nere by slavery, tainted to the core with slavery, not but by stave J, and ing the infamous Pugitive Slave Law like an bomb frontlet on our brown The more accurate not track his glowing picture of the public virtue of 170, the his glowing present. If even all these true pairs stronger my argument. If even all these put put; ots, and all that enthusiasm for justice and flerty, de not avail to keep us safe, what will? In such depend of recumstances, can his statesmanship device to better aim than to try the same experiment over axis, whe precisely the same conditions? What her parameter does he propose to prevent the voyage from hing larged again into a piratical slave-trading cruise) New again into a printed anothing? In 1600 the Ear Have sixty years congues to make it is the bear lish thought, in recalling Charles II., that the nemer of that scaffold which had once darkned the vindow of Whitehall, would be guarantee enough for his good of Whitenan, would be specire, Chiles II. rebehavior. Dut, and James cutdid him. Water by peated chartes when the asies, is 1650, get methe chance, they trusted to no guarantee, but so wranged the very elements of their government, that William III. could not repeat Charles I. Let us profit by the lesses. These mistakes of leading men merit constant attentor The anti-slavery awakening has cost too many year asi too much labor to risk letting its energy be turned into a wrong channel, or balked by fruitless experients. Neither the slave nor the country must be chead second time.

Mr. Chairman, when I remember the grand pot of these men elsewhere, and witness this confusion of idea. and veiling of their proud crests to party accession. they seem to me to lose in Washington something of their old giant proportions. How often have we vinessed this change! It seems the inevitable real of political life under any government, but especially mder ours : and we are surprised at it in these men, sal because we fondly hoped they would be exceptions the general rule. It was Chamfort, I think, visfirst likened a Republican Senate House to Military Pandemonium ; - another proof of the rare ingit French writers have shown in criticalng lepals lican Institutions. The Capitel at Washington always brings to my mind that other Capitel, which in Milton's great Epic ' rose like an exhalation' from the burning marl '-that towered palace, 'with stary lamps and blazing cressets' hung-fired in stately height, with ' roof of fretted gold,' its hall 'like a corered field.' You remember, Sir, the host of archarge gathered round it, and how thick the sirv crowd Swarmed and were straitened; till, the signal gira, In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons, Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room Throng numberless, like that pygmean race Beyond the Indian mount; or fairy elves, hose midnight revels, by a forest side Or fountain, some belated peasant sees.

Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large, Though without number still, amid the hall Of that infernal court.'

Mr. Chairman, they got no farther than the hall (Cheers.) They were not a healthy party! The beiling party,-the men who made no compromise in order a come under that arch,-Milton describes further a,

And in their own dimensions, like themselves, The great scraphic lords and cherubim, In close recess and secret conclare, sat; A A thousand demi-gods on golden seats Frequent and full.

These were the healthy party! (Lord applace) These are the Casses and the Houstons, the Foots and the Soules, the Clays, the Websters and the Douglass, that bow no lofty forehead in the dust, but can fol asple room and verge enough under the Constitute. Our friends go down there, and must pigmies before they can find space within the l

It would be superfluous to say that we great the to tire sincerity and true-heartedness of these men. M in critical times, when a wrong step entails not & astrous consequences, to 'mean well' is not emple.
Sincerity is no shield for any man from the critical his fellow-laborers. I do not fear that such mass these will take offence at our discussion of their ries and conduct. Long years of hard labor, is with m have borne at least our share, have resulted in a pile opportunity. How to use it, friends differ. Shall w stand courteously silent, and let these men play on the play, when, to our thinking, their plan will shelp the zeal, balk the hopes, and waste the efforts of the size! friends? No! I put that confidence in Charles Sense) love for the slave, that I know he will welcome profi-icism whenever I deem his counsel wrong; that level hail every effort to serve our common client not & ciently. (Great cheering.) It is not his hear m: mine that is at issue; not his feeling nor mine that is is be consulted. The only question for either et a k What in these golden moments can be dene-where as the hardest blow be struck? (Loud applause.) these I am just to Mr. Sumner; I have known him les, mi honor him. I know his genius-I hener his virtus yet if from his high place he sends cut counsels with I think dangerous to the cause, I am bound to reserve voice against them. I do my duty in a private comme nication to him first, then in public to his friends and mine. The friendship that will not bear this critical is but the frost-work of a winter's merning, which its sun shines on, and it is gone. His friendship will see vive all that I say of him, and mine vill survive all de he shall say of me; and this is the only say in whith the anti-slavery cause can be served. Iruth, some victory, triumph over the obstacles that beet made is all either of us wants. (Cheers.)

If all I have said to you is untrue, if I have say

gerated, explain to me this fact. In 1831, Mr. barist commenced a paper advocating the doctrine of inner ate emancipation. He had against him the thirt he sand churches and all the clergy of the countries wealth, its commerce, its press. In 1801, what was state of things? There was the most entire ignored and apathy on the slave question. If men there is existence of slavery, it was only as a part of pictures.

Virginia life. No one preached, no one talked, no my wrote about it. No whisper of it stirred the suffer the professional states and the professional states. the political sea. The Church heard of it occasions, when some Colonization agent asked funds to said blacks to Africa. Old school books tainted with set anti-slavery selections had passed out of us, and so ones were compiled to suit the times. Son at any sent from the prevailing faith appeared, erery a himself to crush it. The pulpits preached at it is press denounced it: mabs tore down house, that presses into the fire and the stream, and shot tree tors : religious conventions tried to smother it: Pos arrayed themselves against it. Daniel Webster land in the Senate, that he had never introduced the sales of slavery to that body, and never would. Mr. Of in 1839, makes a speech for the Presidency, in which says, that to discuss the subject of slavery is not treason, and that no man has a right to introdu subject into Congress. Mr. Bealon, in 1844, halden his platform, and he not only denies the right, let a Serts he never has and never will discuss the salps.

Yet Mr. Clay, from '39 down to his death, hardy sal es his aid to both sides, opens his mouth in 1850.

and talking about it only when death closes his

bet sente as the country, and form the

as a visiter claim he has to the character of a

and person against agitation and free These men said, 'It shan't be talked about, it

These men about!' These are your statesmen!

a the understand the present, that is, and mould

start! The man who understands his own time

griss spains moulds the future to his views, he is

the not? These men devoted themselves

with to the tariff, to internal improvements, to

He sattered all these gigantic shadows—ta-

als-Mr. 'lox' says so; he does not understand the

ichise that is essential to victory '! This man did

galentiad his own time—he did not know what

where was to be-he was not able to shape it-he

in 'pulsace'-he had no 'foresight'! Daniel

therein, 'I have never introduced this subject

steer will '-and died broken-hearted because h

sinteen able to talk enough about it. Benton says,

tel sever speak of slavery '-and lives to break

a is party on this issue! Mr. Clay says it is 'mor-

Lessa, to introduce the subject into Congress, and

set Society, to suit the purpose of one ' too powerful

he see statesmen, mark you! They have gone

the gares covered with eulogy; and our, national and sequence is all insufficient to describe how pro-

and mil far-reaching was the sagacity of Daniel

issue: semember who it was that said, in 1831, issue expest—I will not equivocate—I will not experience a single inch—and I will be not! (Repeated cheers.) That speaker has lived

supers years, and the complaint of twenty-three

where ?' (Cheers.) I heard Dr. Kirk, of Bos-

g sy in his own pulpit, when he returned from Lon-

be-siere he had been as a representative to the

lupical Alhance'-' I went up to London, and

what I thought of the question of imme

securipation? They examined us all. Is ar

becausever to travel any where in the world, but

as all throw this troublesome question in his face?

Is when we come to talk of statesmanship, of sa

on in choosing time and measures, of endeavor

seper means, to right the public mind, of keen in-

into the present and potent sway over the future

sens to me that the abolitionists, who have taken-

wher for good or for ill, whether to their discredit

s their praise-this country by the four corners, and

sain it until you can hear nothing but slavery, wheth-

restravel in railroad or steamboat, whether you

nie the hall of legislation or read the columns of a

empaper-it seems to me that such men may point to

is present aspect of the nation, to their originally

purpose, to the pledges and efforts of all your

put men against them, and allow you to settle to

nich side the credit of sagacity and statesmanship be

an Napoleon employed himself, at St. Helena, in

hwing how Wellington ought not to have conquered

Waterloo. The world has never got time to listen to

rel Paris. In like manner, it seems hardly the pro-

seasures by which they have been conquered !

or of a defeated Church and State to deny the skill

my sound strange to some, this claim for Mr. Gar

on of a profound statesmanship. Men have heard

in syled a mere fanatic so long, that they are incom-

post to judge him fairly. 'The phrases men are ac

coming convictions, and ossify the organs of intelli-

gue. I cannot accept you, therefore, as my jury. I

appai from Felix to Cresar; from the prejudice of our

area to the common sense of the world, and to your

lary thoughtful and unprejudiced mind must see

ht such an evil as slavery will yield only to the most

afeal treatment. If you consider the work we have

to you will not think us needlessly nggressive, or

tat we dig down unnecessarily deep in laying the

buintom of our enterprise. A money power of two

beand millions of dollars, as the prices of slaves nov

age, teld by a small body of able and desperate men

but bely raised into a political aristocracy by special

the teming the basis of our whole foreign commerce

of the commercial class thus subsidized; the pres

heat up, the pulpit reduced to vassalage, the heart o

talket race; our leading men bribed, by ambition

he to silence or open hostil ty-in such a land, or

the dell an abolitionist rely ? On a few cold prayers

m lipservice, and never from the heart? On :

Own Resolution, hidden often in its records, and

my as a decent cover for servility in daily prac-

a a best, and seeking, ordinarily, only to use exist

Impedices to the best advantage? Slavery has

er routhere than any aristocratic institution has

lange, and Politics is but the common pulse-beat

(shee Revolution is the feyer spasm. Yet we have

in Empean aristocracy survive storms which seemed

anch down to the primal strata of European life

he shall the stream rise above its fountain? Where

all or thursh organizations or parties get strength shelt their great parent and moulder, the Slave

2: Shall the thing formed say to him that form-

the told to lift himself in his own basket is but a

the sty has thou made me thus? The old jest of

polars of the man who imagines that, by working

through existing sects and parties, he can destroy

Machanics say nothing but an earthquake

cough to move all Egypt, can bring down the

Incince has confirmed these views. The aboli-

that salelievers. They have but to point to their

as who have acted on them have a 'short method'

ame, in contrast with every other man's failure.

architation of this one duty, is half the work. So

this generation. To startle the South to mad-

top nove toward rain, is much. This we have

in distorated for the nation the only plan of re

in, pointed out the only Exedus from this 'sea

both of INNEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPAa mr Soil. The closer any statesmanlike mind

to the question, the more favor our plan finds at. The Christian asks fairly of the Infidel, 'If

goe be not from God, how do you explain its triand the history of the first three centuries?

tention is similar. If our agitation has not been

planned and conducted, explain for us the histotwenty years? Experience is a safe light sak by, and he is not a rash man who expects suc-

h fature from the same means which have secured

s, is much. This we claim to have done in

Without Texas and the Fugitive Slave Law.

a h the every step she takes, in her blindness, is

main the nation to its real state, and chain it to

is have done. Slavery has been made the ques

in to political parties, with their superficial influ

many people chilled by a bifter prejudice agains

Stational provisions; cotton, the product of slave

planation. Sufficient for them that the Allies en-

bississic cheers.)

of whater of a and precessions: The Whig and Democratic

Mr. Beston's six or eight speeches in the United Senate have all been on the subject of slavery in

grant the en-e men. But ils most dis-

table speech of any kind, except on slavery. Mr. THE LIBERATOR while special indulged now and then in a little casy on a at Niblo's and elsewhere, generously con

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 18, 1853.

SPIECH OF MR. PHILLIPS. It is needless to call the special attention of the readers of Tex Liberator, on both sides of the Atlantic, to the luminous and eloquent defence of American abolitionists—their method and philosophy of action—their labors, researches and discoveries—against the assaults and aspersions of either ignorant, superficial or malignant critics, contained in the elaborate speech of WEN-DELL PHILLIPS, which occupies more than one half of our present number, and which cannot fail to make a deep impression upon the public mind. The calumnia. ted friends of the slave are shut up to the same necessity in which Paul found himself with his brethren, when declared, 'We are compelled to be fools in glorying' and yet without folly or egotism, but in justice to the cause of righteousness and freedom.

inis, to the tarm, to internal improvements, to internal and financial questions. They said to back! no entrance here! We pledge ourwhipped them into the traces, and In our next number, our readers will have the pleas ure of perusing the excellent speech of THEODORE PAR-KER, also made at the annual meeting of the Massachu-Me sattered all these gigantic shadows—tad hal constitutional questions, financial questions
and Savery, like the colossal head in Walpole's rosme up and filled the whole political horizon!
the satternan; he is a 'fanatic.' He has no disterestic appliance.) setts A. S. Society. Extra copies will be for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office.

AN ATROCIOUS OUTRAGE

We copied into our last number, two most scurrilous and brutal articles from the Syracuse Star, (one of the vilest prints in the country, and Webster-Whig in its politics,) in which it was exultingly announced, that, in consequence of an attempt of Mr. William G. Allen, (whom the Star designated as 'Sambo,') one of the Professors at McGrawville College, and a most accomplished colored gentleman and scholar, to consummate marriage with a respectable white young lady, he was fiendishly assailed by a mob, and narrowly escaped with his life. Below we give Prof. A's account of the affair. TO THE PUBLIC.

So much has been said and written upon the subject of the late affair at Fulton, that the Public by this time must have had nearly 'quantum sufficit,' yet I deem it not improper on my own behalf to add a remark or two. I shall not undertake to describe in detail, the murderous outrage intended to have been inflicted upon a quiet and unoffending

man—that is not of much consequence now.

I wish now simply to show the public, that thos who made the onslaught upon me on Sabbath even-ing, a week ago, acted no less like a pack of fools than a pack of devils. And this can be shown almost in a single word, by stating that the whole story of my intention of being married on the even ing in question, or that I went to Fulton intending to consummate an affair of the kind, at any period of my late visit there, is a fabrication from the beginning to the end. The wretch who 'fixed up' just such a story as he thought would inflame the rabble to take my life, will yet, I trust, meet with who, whatever may be their prejudice against my color, have, nevertheless, a high sense of what be-longs to their own honor and dignity, and to the character and reputation of their village.

I make this statement with regard to this matter

of marriage, not because I regard myself as amenable to the public to state to them whom or when I shall marry, but that, since so much has been said upon the subject, I am quite willing they should know the truth as it is. They are tyrants, and very little-hearted and exceedingly muddy-headed ones at that, who will presume to take a matter of this kind out of the hands of the parties to whom

this kind out of the hands of the parties to whom it specifically belongs, and who are acting law-abidingly and honorably in the premises.

Here then is the story. Read it. A band of several hundred armed men—armed, as I have been told, with an empty barrel spiked with shingle nails, tar, feathers and a pole, came down upon a certain house in Phillicaille. certain house in Phillipsville, opposite Fulton, on Sabbath evening, a week ago, to kill or drive out a single individual, conducting himself in a quiet, peaceable manner, and that individual too, in physical stature, one of the smallest of men, and in physical strength proportionately inferior! If this is not cowardice as well as villany-and both of them double-refined-then I ask what is cowardice, or what is villainy! The malignity of the whole matter also is set in a clearer light when it is remembered that this same individual has never injured one of his assailants, nor has it been charged upon him that in his life-time he has ever inflicted the slightest wrong upon mortal man; who has striven to maintain an upright character through life, and to fight his way for long years through scorn and contempt, to an honorable posi-tion among men. Truly, this is a precious coun-try! However, it is some consolation to know that try! However, it is some consolation to know the God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep

A gentleman of Fulton writes an article upor this subject to the Oswego Daily Times, of Feb. 3d.

The spirit of this gentleman's article dishonors his
heart. So filled is he with a prejudice which an eminent Christian of this country has rightly char acterized as a 'blasphemy against God,' and a 'quarrel with Jehovah,' that he will not even deign to call me by name—to say nothing of the title which has been legitimately accorded me—but designates me as a 'colored man, &c.' The object of this writer, in thus refusing to accord to me so cheap and common a courtesy, is apparent, and as contemptible as apparent. Let him have the glory of it—I pity him. Had I been a white man, he would not have so 'violated' what he is such a

tickler for—' the laws and usages of society.'
In another place in his article, he describes m as the 'negro.' This is preposterous and ridiculous.
Were Ia negro, I should regard it as no dishonor,
since men are not responsible for their physical
peculiarities, and since they are neither better nor vorse on account of them. It happens in this case, however, that so far from being a negro-three-fourths of the blood which flows in my veinis as good Anglo-Saxon as that which flows in the veins of this writer in the 'Times'-better I will

Something also is said in this article from Ful-ton, about the 'course we (the young lady and myself) were pursuing.' Now as the several hundred armed men strong, who came down upon me on Sunday night, and some newspaper editors, and this gentleman in particular, and the public very nearly in general, have taken the matter of judging what this 'course we were pursuing' was out of our hands, I propose to leave it still further with them. They can guess at it, and fight it out

to their heart's content.

Something also is said by this gentleman about wholesome advice being given me —but I didn't hear it, that's all. Besides, I never take advice from those who cannot tell the difference between a man and his skin. O, I despise them 'too bad.'

One gentleman—a true man—came to me and expressed his deep sympathy for me, and his sorrow that I had been so wrongfully treated and shamefully outraged, and entreated me to regard with pity, and not with anger, the murderous devils outside. This is the speech that I remember, and remember it to thank the friend for his manifestation of kind and generous emotions.

This Fulton 'committee man' says also, that the colored man asked if he was to be left to be torn to pieces.' Beyond a doubt I asked that ques tion. It was certainly, under the circumstances the most natural question in the world; for I had really begun to think that the fellows outside had the genuine teeth and tail.

I close this article. To the committee who

I close this article. To the committee who so kindly lent me their protection, on that memorable night, I offer my thanks and lasting gratitude.

To the poor wretches who sought to take my life, I extend my pity and forgiveness.

As to myself—having in my veins, though but in a slight degree, the blood of a despised, crushed, and persecuted people, I ask no favors of the people of this country, and get none save from these whose Christianity is not hypocrisy, and who are willing to 'do unto others as they would that others should do unto them'—and who regard all human beings who are equal in character as equal to one another.

Respectfully.

WM. G. ALLEN

The admirable speech of Mr. PHILLIPS was ph ographically reported for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. YERRINTON, but has been revised and somewhat extendCASE OF ENOCH REED.

PREDERICE DOUGLASS, who was present at Albany, at the recent trial and conviction of ENOUR REED, a colored man, for having participated in the rescue of the fu gitive slave JERRY, writes to his paper an account of the trial, in which he says-

We have spoken of the vindication of the Fugitiv Slave Law, as it is called. But, in truth, the victo Slave Law, as it is called. But, in truth, the victory, after all, is not a victory of the Fugitive Slave Law. Enoch Reed has not been committed under that Law. He has not been tried under it. So far as his trial is concerned, that inhuman enactment is still under the mud of Syracuse, where it was trampled down by the feet of three thousand freemen on the first of October, 1851. The Government refused, in Enoch's case, so much as to touch it with one of its fingers. It lies there, soiled, torn, and insulted, despised and spit upon, with 'none so poor as to do it reverence.' We know little about the forms of law, and willingly confess that our ignorance may expose us to ridiconfess that our ignorance may expose us to ridi-cule, and even to contempt; but it does seem to us that there was something discreditable, mean and cowardly in the government, in thus trying the case of Enoch Reed. His crime (if crime it was) was that of obstructing a process under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. He was indicted under that act. The penalty attached to a violation of that act is plainly set forth in the act isself. The act is more stringent than that of 1790. The penalty in the former is much heavier than in the latter.

Now the question is, (and will be asked by the

Now the question is, (and will be asked by the slaveholders, as well as by the people of the North,) 'Why did the government refuse to make an issue on the law of 1850, the law, and the only law intended to be defied and trampled upon by those who rescued Jerry from the officers who had him in charge on the lat October, 1851!' Why him in charge on the lat October, 1851? Why did they make an issue with the defendant on the law of '90, instead of the law of '50? They make an issue on a law of which the defendant had, probably, never heard until he was brought into court for trial. Why did they try him under a law no way odious, when the law, alleged to have been violated, provided the measure and manner of the punishment for its own infraction? Does the vindication of a general and popular law, vindicate and establish a peculiar, unpopular, and hateful one? Is not the fact that the law of ninetv-three, instead of the law of fifty, was selectof ninety-three, instead of the law of fifty, was selected, a virtual confession of the doubtful constitutionality of the latter, by the Court! So it looks to us. So it will look at the South. If the Court had regarded the Fugitive Slave Law as adapted to to accomplish the desired end, namely, the conviction and punishment of offenders against it, why did it not allow the case to be tried under that law, that it (not the law of '90) might be vindicated! Again, we ask ed! Again, we ask, why was Enoch tried under the law of '90! Was it to lessen his punishment. if convicted or was it to make his conviction diffi-cult, and give him a better chance to escape the punishment which must be meted under the Fu-gitive Slave Law! It would be pleasant to assign this last reason for the action of the government. this last reason for the action of the government, if any one sane man in ten thousand would give it the slightest credence. Most plainly, the government took this course to make the conviction of Enoch easy and certain. The law of '50 lay bleeding at their feet—its wounds all open, and calling for help; but instead of coming to its relief, they hunt up a law nearly as old as the federal government itself, and harangue the jury about its 'sacredness' and majesty, when no one questioned either its majesty or sacredness. The whole thing, upon the face of it, hears the marks of being a most cowardly manneuvre. Had Reed been ing a most cowardly manœuvre. Had Reed beer tried under the law of 1850, the whole question o the constitutionality of that law would have been open. The counsel for the defence would have laid bare its gross unconstitutionality. They were ready and ripe for that question. General Nye, Messrs. Sedgwick, Hills, and Gerrit Smith, would have shaken the horrid structure to the ground. But not a word would his Honor, Judge Hall, hear on the subject. Mr. Smith, the body

and soul of whose speech was to have been mar-shalled against the Fugitive Slave Law, to show its gross inhumanity, and its entire unconstitutionali-ty, was completely cut off by the Court. To the marked astonishment of not a few bystanders Judge Hall declared that the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law had already been decided. To prove this, he cited several cases, where it had been decided, in which cases, in reality, that ques-tion was not before the Court. He would not hear a word of argument on that point. This, of course compelled Mr. Smith to desist, and, to some ex-tent, it crippled the defence. It gave the govern-ment marked advantage in summing up on their side. The advantage was not rejected by the gov-ernment; it was used most skillfully.

This is the first conviction under the Fugitive Slave Law. The sacred majesty of Law is now vindicated, and the visionary, wild and reckle schemes of fanatical men are dashed to pieces.

Thus rants the Syracuse Star, a Fillmore organ of the baser sort, over the conviction of Enoch Reed, one of the alleged rescuers of Jerry. As false in fact as they are hypocritical in cant, the reckless assertions of that print can not deceive even the most credulous. So far from having been convicted under the Fugitive Slave Law, Enoch adjudged guilty of having violated the law of 1790 and, it is not ungenerous to suppose, would have been acquitted at all events, had a different style of defence been adopted in his case. The 'Rescue' trials, at Boston, in Pennsylvania, and in this trials, at Boston, in Pennsylvania, and in this State, so far from having attested the efficacy of the Fugitive Law, have proved the utter worthlessness of that bill of abominations. In view of these results, freemen may take fresh courage. The law of 1850 has passed from being an object of loathing, to be fit only for contempt. It may safely be jeered at, spit upon, and kicked out of doors. It is an exploded humbug,—a sheared woolly horse—a codfish mermaid; and the Union-saving showmen who have traveled with it, may be unceremomen who have traveled with it, may be unceremo niously tumbled into the nearest creek, with perfec impunity. .

October, 1851,—a day to be commemorated with bonfires, and cannon, and festivity, with the 17th of June and the 4th of July. 'The visionary, wild, and reckless schemes of demagogues, who had thought to dethrone the Higher Law veer them. had thought to dethrone the Higher Law, were then in good carnest, 'dashed to pieces.' No wonder, then, that 'the heathen rage.'-Madison County

IMPARTIAL JUSTICE.

In the proceedings of the Massachusetts House Representatives, on Thursday of last week, we find the following reported. It is a timely revival of a very interesting historical occurrence.

Order submitted .- By Mr. PRINCE of Essex-That Order submitted.—By Mr. PRINCE of Essex—That the special committee appointed to consider the expediency of indemnifying the Ursuline community, inquire if it be not equally just and expedient to indemnify William Lloyd Garrison, editor and proprietor of The Lineraton, for the loss of property sustained by him, as well as serious inconvenience, and even jeopardy of his life, occasioned by a lawless mob, said to have been composed of "well-dressed gentlemen of property and standing," which occurred in the city of Boston in the year 1885—the next year after the destruction of the Ursuline Convent.

In explanation of his order, Mr. Parace said he ha dropped this matter into the House as a sort of plumme to sound the depth of the sympathy professedly evinor here towards those who have suffered the loss of prope here towards those who have suffered the loss of proper-ty at the hands of a mob. He introduced it also in jus-tice to his constituents, who are a very industrious, hard-working people, and do not wish to be taxed un-necessarily. He said that in the little ship-building town which he had the honor to represent, there was probably as much annually wrought out by hard-handed toil as in any other part of the State, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Now, if a bill shall ul-timately be passed by the present Legislature to in-demnify the Catholics for the loss of their Convent, we may I independ from the present condition of the State demnify the Catholics for the loss of their Convent, we may (judging from the present condition of the State Treasury, as made known to us from a high official source,) be obliged to resort to a direct State tax. And if his constituents were to be taxed to help indemnify Roman Catholics, they would be equally willing to pay a tax to indemnify Abolitionists against whom as great a prejudice has existed as against the Catholics,—though they might not wish to be taxed to indemnify either class. They desire no class legislation—no special act for Catholics or Protestants, but impartial justice towards all. If this order was likely to occasion much discussion, and so consume the valuable time of the House, he should probably withdraw it. But he hops it would be allowed quietly to pass, as it was only ar order of inquiry. order of inquiry.

Mr. Wiggin, of Boston, said he would save the gen

tleman from Essex any apprehension about the effect of his order in consuming time or attention, by a very sim-ple metion which he would make,—and that was, to lay it on the table.

The House sustained the motion, and the order was laid on the table.

MR. PILLSRURYS LECTURE

FRIEND GARRISON: On Wednesday evening, 9th inst., our indomitable and indefatigable friend PARKER PILLS-nury delivered a lecture before the Lyceum in Essex, on the subject of the French Revolution of 1789. It prous, compact, fresh, inspiring—free from the cob-web mustiness of stale conformity and cant. Besides these excellencies, it had another and higher merit, and that was its philosophic justice. It presented the Revolution of 1789 in a different aspect from that in which oneided, ecclesiastically and politically bigoted and paring humanity! You remember, doubtless, the reply sociated with that great struggle for freedom have been greatly exaggerated, and that they were never sanc-tioned nor accepted by the Revolutionists generally, who honestly strove for liberty, and were not responsible for the extravagances of a few, whom for a time they partially trusted as leaders.

Attleboard is not divine redemption as this reply indicated, is a jewel of priceless value; yea, it is 'the pearl of great price,' which few indeed are so happy as to own. tially trusted as leaders.

the huge, chadowy Ogre of the awful, impious 'French from youth, was dissolved into thin air. At times, the Revolution,' which had haunted their imaginations livered the same lecture before a Lyceum in Beverly, to an audience of more than seven hundred, upon whose had full and interesting meetings, and tool minds it left a decided 'impression.' J. PRINCE.

it will draw a large and highly interested audience. We chusetts Society. find in the Essex County Freeman the following trib-

And notwithstanding the lecture occupied more than an hour and a half in the delivery, it was lismany, doubtless, if not to most present, entirely new; and the style and language were of that bold and forcible character for which the author is so distinguished. It was, on the whole, one of those Lyceum addresses, which, while it pleases, is also highly instructive; and whoover is fortunate enough to secure it as one of a winter's course, will not regret it himself, nor fail to receive the gratitude of all who hear it. My object in writing this note is to call the attention of my fellow-citizens of Danvers to this lecture, in the hope that as we have no regular Lyceum lectures at present, the delivery of this, if the talented author can be inthe delivery of this, if the talented author can be in-duced to comply with such a proposal. And as we have no paper in this place through which to communicate, I wish, with your leave, to bring the subject before them, through yours, which has so wide a circulation in this place.

A DANYERS MAN.

Danvers, South Parish, Jan. 27, 1853.

OUR CAUSE IN THE GRANTTE STATE. NEW MARKET, (N. H.) Feb. 15, 1858. DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :

Stephen S. Foster and myself are again in our old field of operations, the State of New Hampshire. It is in more senses than one the GRANITE State. Sometimes it seems as though the whole region should have been left to the wolves and other wild beasts. The people partske very much of the nature of their soil, scenery and climate. There is a sternness and ruggedness about them, which makes them almost impervious to the words and appeals of truth, unless accompanied by threats of hell-fire, or promises of treasures on earth and in heaven. Indeed, the former is altogether most effectual; for while the religious denominations holding and preaching this doctrine increase in many places, and almost every where hold their own, the more liberal sects are scarcely able to obtain foothold at all. Universalism makes out to live in a few places; but Unita-

rianism may as well quit the field, and done with it. We are indebted to the Universalists oftener than to any other sect, for places in which to hold our antislavery meetings. Two Sundays out of the three we have spent in this State, we had their meeting-houses In both instances, we had them without charge, and in one, without even any expense for warming or lighting. The Free Will Baptists, at North Weare, were equally generous for two evening lectures. I love to

ecord such deeds of generosity and magnanimity. We should have had great meetings in this place, bu for the sudden and severe snow-storm. Thursday and Friday evenings we had large gatherings, especially Friday, when the house was crowded; but on Sunday the storm was very severe, and our meetings suffered in

We are now in the Congressional District of Meser-Tuck and Hale, and the election is within three weeks but yet there is no more activity among the Free Soil party, than among as many stumps in one of our clearings. They do not generally seem inclined to help us, or to help themselves. They will, doubtless, be defeated; and in such a result they will reap but what they are sowing. And the candidate of the Democratic party who will defeat them, we are told, is so objectionable that many of his own men are ashamed of him, and row they won't give him their votes. Some of them speak with a much stronger oath. Although we are far enough from being Free Soilers

ourselves, still, our labors would inevitably bring much grist to their mill, if they would but cooperate with us, so far as to get the people out to our meetings. But they not only will not do that, but many of them especially their ministers, caution the people to beware of us. So did a sorry little Congregational poplnjay, (a medical doctor, mildewed into a minister,) in his pulpit, last Sunday. Such men are a millstone on the neck of whatever enterprise they dishonor by their touch. They are doing more to swamp the Free Soi movement, -which certainly might be worth something, holding so many good abolitionists,-than all other influences put together.

Yours for their conversion or confusion, PARKER PILLSBURY.

THE CAUSE IN ATTLEBORO'.

PRIEND GARRISON :

I went from Taunion to North Attleboro', on Satur day last, where I had an appointment to speak on Sat-urday and Sunday. Attlebore' is famous throughout Yankee land for its jewelry. In one large shop, I was told a hundred and fifty hands are constantly employed. Finger rings, ear rings, breast pins, watch chains, seals, &c. &c., by the wagon loads, are manufactured in this town every year. This is the great business of the place. Fortunes have been made, and are now making, by the manufacture. Some jewelry of the 'simon pure' order is made. But most of its is counerfeit, i. e., only an imitation of pure gold and silver ety. The Republicanism and Piety of this nation is

not wholly a sham, as we can demonstrate by pointing to such men as Gerrit Smith and Joshua R. Giddings Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Parker. But it is copy into the next number of THE LIBERATOR.]

onal and State Legislatures, the higher and lower millions of the American people are held in abject and degrading bondage, while the great majority of the people freely pledge themselves to eternize this infernal system, as the foundation of our governmental and

In asking an intelligent friend his estimate of the sum for which this jewelry is annually sold, he said he presumed more than half a million of dollars were on the subject of the French Revolution of 1768. It was a lecture worth walking many miles to hear. It was elaborately written, embodying much historical information not readily accessible to the average portion of the community, and was in its style and diction vigarities, than to give it to Lemmon, when he loses his articles, than to give it to Lemmon, when he loses his hold of eight human beings, to whom he had no mor valid claim than he has to Jesus Christ. But still, better disposition of money can be made than in the purchase of gaudy and useless splendars. How much better to bestow a few dollars upon the cause of suffertially informed writers and speakers have been accus-tomed to represent it. He showed conclusively, by ap-plate he had in his house. Two silver spoons, and peal to impartial and unimpeachable authorities, that the enormities and sacrilegious dectrines frequently asfor needy man, leading to such a consecration to the work of divine redemption as this reply indicated, is

But I did not design writing a report, but only a no-tice of the lecture of Mr. Pillsbury. It was listened to by a large audience, who gave, for nearly an hour and a half, the most candid and undivided attention; and I doubt not that many of them, at the close, found that evening. I was cheered by the sterling devotion to the cause of the slave manifested by this family, and by speaker was thrillingly eloquent. Not long ago, he de- on Sunday night. On Sunday, during the day, I spoke in the Methodist Hall, at the Falls, at present unocc had full and interesting meetings, and took up a contri bution in the afternoon of over three dollars. There is We would strongly solicit our friend, Mr. PILLS- a good deal of reliable anti-slavery feeling in that BURY, to deliver his lecture in Boston, not doubting that place, and the field is worth cultivation by the Massa-In the evening, our meeting was in the spacious and

convenient hall owned by Mr. Richards. It was opened MR. EDITOR,—I had the pleasure, last Monday evening, of listening to a lecture before one of the Beverly Lyceums, on the French Revolution of 1793, by Parker Pillsbury, Esq., of New Hampshire. The spacious Hall was crowded in every shire. The spacious Hall was crowded in every of the most intelligent and respects. without charge. The evening was dark and stormy part, by one of the most intelligent and respecta-ble audiences ever convened in that ancient town. Garrison had recently spent a Sunday in North Attleboro', lecturing Saturday and Sunday. That visit did tened to with almost breathless attention, to the much to dissipate the insane prejudice which is so genvery last word. The view of the subject was to erally cherished against one who only needs to be known to be respected, trusted and loved by every candid and earnest seeker after truth and righteousness. Wherever go, there is an earnest desire expressed to hear Mr. Garrison, and I am sure that no more efficient anti-slavery labor can be performed than to have the Word of the Gospel spoken as widely as possible by the Editor of THE LIBERATOR, to those who 'sit in darkness and the shadow of death.' I am also requested to ask the Massachusetts Society to send Miss Holley or Miss Stone to North Attleboro', as soon as possible, giving due notice thereof beforehand, to remain a number days, and get up an efficient sewing circle. Friends think they can accomplish something important for the Society, if this plan can be carried out.

Monday, it stormed so severely that I sent a letter Sharon withdrawing my appointment there, and came on to my 'happy Eden,' where I am now resting for a brief space, ere I resume my arduous but beloved toil for the oppressed.

LUCY STONE AT BRATTLEBORO.

Yours fraternally.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 8th, 1858.

BRATTLEBORO', (Vt.) Feb. 9, 1853. DEAR SIR: 'It is not often that a single speech reerses the public sentiment of a whole town.' This was the expression used by a lady of this place yesterday, in describing to me the effect produced by the re-cent address of our friend Lucy Stone, on Woman's Rights.

During a stay of a few days in this place, I have dethe same effect. Among a large circle of relatives and acquaintances, I have not found a single exception to the general delight and admiration. Yet, among the are persons whom I know to have felt the stronges prejudices against this whole 'Woman's Rights' movement, and even against the public oratory of women; and who went to hear Miss Stone only by my urgent

I believe Miss STONE was invited to come here in con equence of a lecture by Rev. A. L. Stone of Boston which the whole movement she represents was severely attacked. And so general was the spirit of ridicule created by that lecture, that serious fears were entertained lest it would be actually unsafe for a woma to lecture in Brattleboro'-a place in many respect very conservative. But her lecture (which was fully attended) so charmed all who heard it, that there was not only the most respectful attention throughout, but the result appears to have been a change in public sympathy such as I have described.

I mention this thus publicly, not merely as an act of ustice to one of the most delightful public speakers shom I have ever heard, and a simple, noble, and most womanly woman, but for another purpose. I do not wish Miss Stone to wear herself out in the cause but I do wish that its friends should endeavor to secur her services in all the large towns of Massachusetts. previous to the Constitutional Convention in May. The ubject will most probably be brought before the Convention, and it is desirable, for the sake of reason and good taste, if not for humanity, that there should be nen in that body, who, if they must still oppose the just claims of woman, can at least oppose them by some other weapon than insult and buffoonery. This, at least, may be hoped. But I am bound to add, that the entire argument for the equal political rights of the whole human race appears so simple and palpable, that it is a mystery to me how any man with a clear head (to say nothing of a heart) can for a moment resist it. nothing of a heary,
Yours, respectfully,
T. W. HIGGINSON

In the Windham County Democrat, published at Brattleboro', and ably edited by Mrs. C. L. H. Nichis, we find the following notice of Miss STONE's lectures nfirmatory of Mr. Higginson's fine panegyric :--

Miss Lucy Stonk's Lecture. We have not words to express the breadth and depth of our satisfaction at the universal expression of admiration and gratification which has followed Miss Stone's presentation of woman's legal and civil rights, in their bearing upon and connection with her social and industrial position. Not that we invited her here with any expectation of a different result, for we knew the merits of the subject, and its power in her soul-drawn eloquence and logic; and we sincerely believed that Brattleboro' intelligence and Brattleboro' heart would respond as it has responded. It is asserted, and without a dissenting voice, we believe, that her lectures have not been aurpassed, in interest or merit, by any of the regular course thus far. Some of our best men do say that her lectures are worth all the rest; and to know what high praise this is, our readers are assured that the same persons were delighted listeners to a Pierpont, a Beecher, and a Magoon.

We are happity indebted to a gentleman, show character for intelligence and integrity makes him acceptable authority in such matters, for the following notice—as just as it is delicate—of the manner and subject matter of Miss Stone's lectures.

[The notice of the lectures here alluded to we sha't

Dreadful Explosion .- The steamer J. Wil-Dreadful Explosion.—The steamer J. Wilon, while landing at Columbia, Ark., on the 5th Feb.,
burst two of her boilers, killing, it is supposed, about
orty persons, including two of the engineers. One of
the boilers was blown ashore, a distance of more than
firy yards. In its passage it struck the upper story of
the Phonix Coffee House, which it entirely demolished.
The wreck drifted down the river about 12 miles, and ink in six fathoms of water. She was a new boat, as about \$18,000, and was insured for \$9,000. As usual, none of the officers were to blame—though it is said the Captain had been drunk all the morning previous to the occurrence. A Mr. Whitewall, of Chicot county, was among the killed.—Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette.

Confession of a Double Murder .- Thomas Casey, who is in jall on a charge of murdering Ouvra Taylor and his wife, at Natick, in September last, has made a full confession of his guilt. He says he quarreled with Taylor about half a dollar, and killed him, and that Mrs. Taylor being awakened by the struggle, came to the door, when he also killed her with an axe. Casey is 20 years of are

The Jerry Rescue Trials. We learn from Albany, that the jury, in the case of Cobb, one of the Jerry rescuers, were unable to agree, and have been discharged.

of the vote upon the Vermont liquir law, in the several counties heard from, are as follows:—For the Law, 15,624; Against it, 13,648; Majority for the Law, 1,986.

Dotices of Meetings, &c.

DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-

rton disease and and	THUS YOUR	Eco. 10
rton	to Sunday,	" 20.
uth Acton	Monday.	** 21.
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TREV. ANDREW T. FOSS, Agent of Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at SOUTHBORO', on Sunday next, Feb. 20. And at MILLBURY, on Sunday, Feb. 27. During the intervening week, he will lecture in GRAFTON, and other places in that vicinity.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER and PARKER PILLS-BURY, on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in DOVER, N. H., on Sunday next, Feb. 20. Also, in LEE, N. H., and vicinity, on the 22d; and at PORTSMOUTH, on Wednesday, 22d,

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. A. S. Blackstone, Sunday, February 20.
Milford, Thursday, 24. Upton, Sunday, "
Webster, Wednesday, March

Anti-Slavery Society will be delivered by FREDERICK DOUGLASS, THIS (Friday) Evening, Feb. 18, at 7 1-2 o'clock, P. M. T. W. HIGGINSON, President.

O. K. EARLE, Sec'y. N. E. FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.-The

1855 N. E. FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE.—The Ninth Term will commence on Wednesday, March 2, 1853, and continue four months. Professors—Wm. M. Cornell, M. D., Physiology, Hygiene and Medical Jurispradence; Enoch C. Rolfe, M. D., Surgery and Materia Medica; Elwood Harvey, M. D., Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; Abraham Livezey, M. D., Principles and Practice of Medicine; Seth Pancoast, M. D., Anatomy; Samuel Gregory, A. M., Chemistry; Almira L. Fowler, M. D. Demonstrator of Anatomy.

Fees—To each Professor, \$10; to the Demonstrator,

LEMUEL SHATTUCK, President,

SAMUEL GREGORY, Secretary, 15 Cornhill, Boston.

CORRECTION.

FRIEND MARIUS: In the obituary notice of RUTH GALBRAITH, there is a typographical error, which, in justice to her memory, should be corrected. It reads, 'She was fond of reading nozels and biographies.' It should read, 'She was fond of reading travels and biographies.' She was not particularly fond of novels, though she read select ones at times. She had no taste though she read select ones at times. She had no taste for any amusement which was not connected with utility. She ever insisted that our amusements should consist in doing that which is useful. She deemed the culture of flowers a useful amusement; and was often seen among her flowers when she was hourly expecting to be called to another state. Her passion for sweet and beautiful flowers remained while life lasted. Scarce any maxim was more prominently taught in her con-versation and life, than that of combining amusement with physical, intellectual and social health and im-provement.—Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle.

The same error was made in THE LIBERATOR. in publishing the biographical notice of this excellent woman from the Bugge

MARRIED-In Stoneham, Dec. 26, by Rev. Wm. C. Vhitcomb, William Messen to Susan A. Rowg, both

TO BOOKSELLERS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

MRS. H. B. STOWE'S NEW WORK.

A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin. Presenting the Original Facts and Documents on which the Story is founded; together with Corroborative Statements, verifying the truth of the work.

WE shall publish, during the month of February, W E shall publish, during the month of February, the above valuable work, which is destined to have a run second only to that of Uncle Tom itself. We have orders already on hand for nearly 20,000 coples, in advance of publication; and but a small proportion of the trade have yet ordered. The Key will contain as much matter as Uncle Tom's Cabin, but we shall

tain as much matter as Unele Tom's Cabin, but we shall make the original issue in the same form as the cheap edition of Uncle Tom, viz., in one royal 8vo pamphlet, double columns. The retail and wholesale prices will be the same as the cheap edition of Uncle Tom.

Orders from the trade are most respectfully solicited at an early day, to govern us in the size of the first edition to be printed, in order, if possible, to avoid the trouble and perplexity of not having half books enough to answer first orders.

GERMAN UNCLE TOM. We take pleasure in announting that the German translation of this great work is now printing, and will be ready for delivery before the 15th of February, complete in one royal 8vo volume, double columns, printed from new and beautiful type, on thick and fine paper. To retail at 50 cents. Same discount as upon the other editions. Early orders solicited.

Also, in Press, and nearly ready, the Second Edition, making 5000 copies of the SUPERB ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, with 163 Engravings.

A SPLENDID BOOK IN PRESS. BY HON CHARLES SUMNER, M. C. White Slavery in the Barbary States With 40 splendid Illustrations by BILLINGS, en-

This will make one beautiful 16mo volume of about 140 pages, bound in cloth, thin boards, printed in the most elegant style, on the best paper. Price at retail, 50 or 624 cents. Ready about the 20th of February.

WE HAVE ALSO IN PRESS, TO BE ISSUED IN MARCH, The Speeches of Hon. J. R. Giddings. WITH A PORTRAIT. In one volume 12mo, of about 500 pages, cloth. Price, \$1. A valuable volume of strong and truthful utterances from the Ohio veteran who is still in the harness.

The Writings of Hon. William Jay. On the Slavery Question and on War

On the Slavery Question and on War.

This volume will be a most invaluable contribution to the standard literature of our country. No man stands higher in the estimation of the truly great and good, than the venerable Judge Jay. And no one has contributed a greater number of articles of sterling value to the cause of freedom and peace than be. To be published in one 12mo volume of about 500 pages, with a fine Portrait of the Author. Price, \$1.

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.,

17 and 19 Cornhill, Boston.

POETRY.

GRAVES OF PENN, PENNINGTON, AND

n the ancient burial-ground of the Society of Friends, called 'Jordan,' in Buckinghamshire, are the graves of William Penn, Isaac Peimington, Thomas Ell-wood, and other distinguished men of the early days of the Society. A visit to this interesting spot occasioned the following lines:—

Graves of the righteous, of the noble dead, Whose annals have adorned the rolls of time. And as memorials, o'er their tombs have spread An unction peaceful, sacred, and sublime.

Graves of the righteous, which their names have mad More honored than the sepulchres of kings; More consecrated than the vain parade Of superstition and its garnish'd things.

For them no organ's proud and lordly peal A requiem sounded through the lofty aisles; For them, no mitred priest, with raptur'd zeal, Proclaimed a victor's laurels, blood and spoils.

They were the champions of a high vocation And more than conquerors thro' their Leader's love Sustained by Him, they passed through tribulation, Prepared for their immortal crown above.

The gospel theme of grace, and truth, and light, Was in their hearts enshrined, and sanctified; They preached it in a dark and sullen night. Midst persecution, bigotry, and pride.

Undaunted, they for sacred Freedom stood. Unwearied, strove in Mercy's holy cause; True patriots, who placed their country's good In Christian virtues, and in Christian laws.

And when their patient fight of faith was ended, And their blest work of righteousness was done, The tears of man around their biers were blended, The peace of Heaven upon their spirits shone.

Then prayer and praise those sainted spirits lighted, Safe through the shadowy valley of the tomb, Till with the 'glorious multitude' united, In their congenial and resplendent home.

LIPE

Life is a battle, and the world The field whereon we fight; There are our banners all unfurled, There flash our falchions bright.

Either we shall be found with Truth,-The warriors on her side, Stout Faith, wise Age, and generous Youth, And Duty, sternly tried;

Or with that dark, yet crowded host, The myriads none can name, Who rear the banner of the lost, And glory in their shame. Then rouse, O sleeper ! grasp the sword,

The trump sounds in thine cars, Bear forth the spirit and the word, Scatter thy doubts and fears; And move into the thick affray, To battle for the Right,

And thou shalt win the bloody day, The prize of Life and Light : For thus alone our peace is won,-Through many pangs and woes

The victor's golden race is run,-

Toil only yields repose. Then be a warrior, stout and brave,-And Death-why grimly greet him? Let him not seek thee as a slave.

But boldly march to meet him. So fight the good fight of thy life, And then thine end shall be

As his, who, from a glorious strife, Comes crowned with victory.

MOVE ON!

The march of life should never stay-All things should onward tend Man should not clog progression's way, But strive to move and mend. The waters move in depths of ocean The streams along the dales, And rivulets, with onward motion, Through sweet and verdant vales Move on !

The clouds move gently through the sky, The earth rolls ever on: Time swiftly in its course runs by And years pass, one by one. Men, too, should strive to follow them, In this their onward way, Permitting nought the tide to stem, But ever, day by day,

Men may be wiser, if they strive-More virtuous, if they will; And who, within this world, would thrive, Must aim at higher still ! Let bigots stand by doctrines old, The wise will pass them by; Weak minds may cling, with subtle hold, But strong ones valiantly

Like waters rolling to the ocean, Down mountains piled on high-Like clouds forever in commoti That move across the sky-We will forever onward press, Thus fetterless and free; And deeming virtue happiness, Our watchword ever be.

From the National Era. THE MORAL HERO.

Suggested by the late Speech in Congress of Mr. Gid dings, and more especially by its closing passage. The thirst of Fame inspires the soul-lit page, And bids the canvass glow, the marble breathe; O, Immertality! thy burning wreath Hath lured the human soul through every age ! Nor vain the hope, even in this earthly stage; Nor aught, even here, save virtue, gives the crown 'Twas twined for Phocion, Cato, 'neath the frown Of fortune, and the fickle people's rage, And brighter blooms while sculpture falls to dust :

Even thus, O. Grapings ! shall it deck thy brow, While all earth's marble piles betray their trust : Yon 'Modern Capitol' to time must bow-But bravely, sternly, 'obstinately just,'

A victor of the immortal heights art thou !

BY J. G. WHITTIER. The same old baffling questions ! O, my friend,

I cannot answer them. In vain I send My soul into the dark, where never burn The lamps of science, nor the natural light Of Reason's sun and stars. I cannot learn Their great and solemn meanings, nor discern The awful secrets of the eyes that turn

Evermore on us through the day and night, With silent challenge and a dumb demand, Proffering the riddles of the dread unknown, Like the calm Sphinxes, with their eyes of sto

tioning the centuries from their veils of mand I have no answer for myself or thee, Save that I learned beside my mother's knee: All is of God that is, or is to be; And God is good." Let this suffice us still, Resting in childlike frust upon His will, Who moves to His great ends, unthwarted by the ill!

SELECTIONS.

THE CLERGY AND TOBACCO. AN APPEAL OF REV. MR. TRASK TO CLERGYMEN OF

FATHERS AND BRETHREN :- Permit me, a fellow laborer in the vineyard, to address you in the fewest words I can command, on a theme to which I have devoted considerable attention; I refer to Tobacco, as used in fashionable forms all over our land.

I helieve this subject has special claims on your consideration, as ministers of Christ, who professedly minister for the salvation of men, whom I have not a doubt this narcotic is destroying upon a broad and fearful scale. I believe the evidence is mournfully conclusive, that it is weaving Death's winding sheet around the souls of multitudes, of multitudes of young men, in a special sense. I shall present a mere outline of thought, which I should be glad to fill up and enlarge upon, if necessary, and if brevity were not so desirable.

Respecting the Cultivation, Commerce, and Cost of Totacco, I rely on statistics of Macgregor, and on the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the year 1851.

We export Tobacco to 22 patients

We export Tobacco to 22 nations or provinces of the earth; we import it from 21. The value of exports is \$9,219,251. The value of imports (cigars only) \$2,520,812. We cultivate Tobacco in 28 of the States and Territories of the Union; the cultivation is on rapid increase. In 1851, we raised 199,522,494 lbs. National consumption 100,000,000 lbs. Cost to the consumers, \$20,000,-000. New York city pays \$10,000 a day for ci-gars; \$8,500 for bread.

On the authority of Dr. Coles I would add, the

American Church annually expends \$5,000,000 on this vile narcotic, and less than \$1,000,000 on benevolent objects, or for the conversion of the

In 1840 we employed 1,500,000 men in the cultivation and manufacture of Tobacco, and many more at the present time.

Respecting the nature and effects of Tobacco,

rely chiefly upon the testimony of chemists and physicians of Europe, and in our own land. I repose some confidence, moreover, in what I have seen, heard, and know.

The use of Tobacco clearly constitutes a violation of the laws of life. Physiologically and philosophically considered, the use of it is a violation of physical, intellectual, and moral life.

With respect to its action on the body, it evi-

dently injures the teeth, the voice, and breath. It squanders the liquids of life, and thereby brings on biliousness, a sunken cheek, a cadaverous eye, discolored skin, debility, trembling joints, and has powerenough to load the system from crown to foot with disease. In the estimation of such authorities as Rush, Waterhouse, Twitchell and others, it often leads to apoplexy, epilepsy, palsy, heart complaints, cancers, and sudden deaths. Respectable physicians have said, that not less than some 20,000 annually die among us, by the use of this narcotic.

It injures the mind. This it does, if we under

stand the matter; 1, by its intense activity and insidious power as a poison; 2, by its direct bearing nervous arrangement. In other words, mi is connected with nerves-nerves are brought into intimate connection with this narcotic, and are excited and exasperated by its power; and hence mind is so disturbed, pressed and urged onward beyond what is natural or endurable, that it often breaks down, as an over-driven animal, or an overdriven engine breaks down upon the road. The evils inflicted are variously developed. Sometimes they appear in the forms of a treacherous memory clouded perceptions, weak judgment, cowardice, irritability, idiocy and delirium; and sometimes in the mournful overthrow and eclipse of reason, and outright insanity. Asylums for the insane, far and near, eloquently sound out notes of alarm respecting its disastrous action on intellect.

Tobacco injures the soul. This it does both

directly and indirectly. 1. It is an intoxicating, mortal, deadly drug; and, as such, it may stupify the moral sensibilities, and shroud the soul in the slumbers of spiritual apathy, very much as this is done by alcohol and opium. The Patagonians, it is said, habitually get drunk on Tobacco. Churches in the Sandwich Islands discipline members for getting drunk on Tobacco; and there is not a doubt, but that by drugging the soul, it neutralizes the influence of the Gospel upon vast multitudes,

the influence of the Gospel upon vast multitudes, especially the young.

It injures indirectly. It demoralizes in manifold ways. It is notoriously an ally of alcohol. It wastes time, poperty, health and strength, and becomes an idol to ten thousand thousand votaries, and often assumes that place in the soul which belongs to God only.

In view of this evil, presented in so brief a man-

ner, permit me to ask, what can be done! This ner, permit me to ask, what can be done! This inquiry, I apprehend, is as fitly propounded to mond Enquirer through which his performance is men on the globe.

Your attainments, your profession and standing, give weight to all you say and do; your post is at the very fountains of influence, you shape public morals and manners, and to you are committed, in an eminent sense, the destinies of millions of rising youth! If there is power anywhere, it is with you. If there is responsibility anywhere, it is with you,—and, therefore, if there is duty anywhere, it is with you. Hence, I repeat the inquiry, what can be done? It has been said, 'when we know not what to do, we should not do we know

Happily, we do, or may know, what to do touching the evil before us.

That we may meet the point clearly and at once,

I remark, that we wish for no Legislation touching this abomination. There are many reasons for this, though we will name but one, viz: there is little or no conscience or moral sensibility respecting it, in State or Church, that would sustain Legislation, if ob-

or Church, that would sustain Legislation, if obtained; and to legislate in such a case, is like building upon sand, or upon airy nothing.

We need no acrimonious zeal, nor furious blasts, or counterblasts, from thrones or pulpits; and we utterly misjudge, if sueers, sport, and ribaldry are becoming the ministers of Christ, when dealing with a sin which may be seriously affecting the present and future welfare of millions of fathers and sons, far and near, many of whom are besotted, it may be, whilst under the very voice of our ministry.

And this same rude, heartless, consciously guilty 'Mind your own business!' is reiterated at every turn, with the concurrent assurance that we never meddle with any other folks' concerns; and all the time, the writer is telling the British ladies how their own poor in London need all their sym-

Ministerial intellect, science, and moral energy, should be brought to bear upon this momentous subject, and be assured, such investigation would bring up to the surface of this ocean of iniquity, strange things,—impure and horrible things. Such a process upon the face of society would reveal one prolific cause of abounding miseries in relation to bodies and minds, and present a spectacle of corruption as impressive, as though you were to enter some grave yard, and lift up three or four feet of earth from the surface. Clear away the smoke, the smoke of the battle which Tobacco is waging upon man, and we shall see the dying and the dead all around us.

Let clergymen take this subject seriously in hand, and it would create individual and public con-Ministerial intellect, science, and moral energy,

Each, it is fair to presume, can govern his ow household; hence, he should banish the nuisan-from his own premises.

Each in his own way can bring the truth to be

rach in his own way can only us against other against this immorality, as well as against other immoralities; and that brother, I imagine, is not very rich in gifts, who can bring nothing from the great storehouse of the Bible against a lust so

in the House or Worship; and if that does not answer the purpose, he might hard the whole of that venerable economy, an economy of physical purity, upon them as an avalanche
Individual influence, individual action, is peculiarly effective. It begins with our own persons, then moves as a friendly wave over the family, over the parish, over schools, towns, counties, and

then moves as a friendly wave over the family, over the parish, over schools, towns, counties, and states: it is precisely that which is requisite to meet this enormous evil, and such as all can exercise. It is not utopian, but practical, direct, pungent, and does the work. There may be social action; the use of this poison is in many aspects a social vice, and measures to eradicate the use of it may assume social forms.

We are not indeed prepared to specify any particular form of organized effort; still, such effort is evidently feasible, and indispensable in successfully coping with an evil of such magnitude; an evil so completely entrenched in the vitals of the State and Church.

It is not to be expected that a reform pointedly

State and Church.

It is not to be expected that a reform pointedly in conflict with the most tenacious habit known in the history of our race, a habit which holds the yast majority in fascinating and bewitching bondage, can become popular in a day, or move onward unaided with a momentum of its own.

Neither should it be expected that individuals, men in humble circumstances, unpaid, uncheered by others, can breast this herculean evil, with any fastering hope of success.

lattering hope of success.

There is much public work that should be done

Schools, colleges, clerical and medical association should be addressed, and their co-operation solici Schools, conleges, clerical and medical associations should be addressed, and their co-operation solicited in this movement. Lectures may be delivered; tracts written; public journals fed with pertinent articles, statistics collected,—statistics respecting the terrific increase in its cultivation, manufacture, and traffic. In a word, a world of work is to be done, which, in current language, calls for 'material aid,' together with the social and hearty co-operation of every patriot, and every Christian.

The evil is great, in a peculiar and obvious form,—it is becoming alarmingly so. Our young men and lads are becoming thoroughly poisoned, and either reform or a marked depreciation of the race must inevitably ensue.

But we despond not, for there is hope. Individual and social effort, well directed, of one half the amount, which has been expended upon Alcohol, I think, with the blessing of God, would thrash this mountain of evil till it shall become a plain, and that at no very distant time.

that at no very distant time.

Be this as it may, I am confident that Piety an

Patriotism, Church and State, urge us, to do with what we can in repelling the ravages of this insidious destroyer.

Yours with sentiments of much esteem FITCHBURG, Feb. 5, 1853.

Editors favorably disposed are desired to give the

From the Tribune. THE PATRIOT JULIA.

Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler, who has the felicity of being consort of His Excellency John Tyler, ex. President of these United States, has been induced sign her name to a letter of reply to the Address of the Duchess of Sutherland and other English ladies to the women of America on the subject of Slavery. We are heartily sorry for her. Literature was not Julia's best point, for hitherto sh has achieved less distinction with her head than her heels; but we are quite sure she never concocted this silly, heartless, pettifogging production. It reads a good deal more like her husband, though we should suppose even his reservoir of ignorance could hardly have supplied all the misstatements crowded into its three close columns—like the fol-

. You have subscribed an Address, not prepared by yourselves, as the emanation of your own susceptible hearts, but the admitted production of the newspaper

'The African, under her [England's] policy, and by her laws, becomes property' in her American colo-(This untruth is repeated in substance half

dozen times—the fact being that slaves were imported into Virginia, sold and worked there, before England had any policy or laws on the sub-ject. And even now, it would be hard to find any law whereby slaves were ever held in British Colonies, except those made by the slaveholding Colo

The separation of husband and wife, parents and children, under our system of negro slavery, is a thing of rare occurrence among us, and then attended by

Now, the writer of this letter knew perfectly we that there has not been a time for years when fam ilies were not offered for sale, together or separate thousands of cases of such separation occur every year in Virginia alone. We have intimated that the spirit of this letter

is deeply discreditable to the writer, and reflects injuriously on the body whose name is appended to it. For instance:

'The crocodile, good sisters of England, is said to cry most piteously; but we to the unhappy traveller who is beguiled by its tears!'

who is beguiled by its tears!'
The newspaper press of England affects a mawkish sensibility on a subject with which it has nothing properly to do, and all for ends which every reflecting per-

eriy to do, and all for ends which every reflecting person cannot fail to understand.'

'The African, under her policy, and by her laws, became property. That property has descended from father to son, and constitutes a large part of Southern
wealth. We desire no intrusion of advice as to our individual property rights, at home or abroad. We meddle not with your laws of primogeniture and entail, although they are obnoxious to all our notions of justice,
and are in violation of the laws of nature.

'We are content to leave England in the enjoyment

our ministry.

We need the naked truth respecting this grave matter; this will be heard, and this our Divine Master will bless; and in view of truth, we may soon learn, that the time to simply laugh has passing said in a spirit of taunt and recrimination, and with no intention of procuring amendment of the with no intention of procuring amendment of the wrongs thus reproved. Now we do not care a pin whether Julia had seen fit not to twit the Brit

Let clergymen take this subject seriously in hand, and it would create individual and public conscience, wake up the nation and the church, and bring on a crisis like the Temperance crisis, and exorcise, from the body politic, this huge ally of Alcohol, this progeny of the pit.

The mode of action, I conceive, requires no special originality. The quo mode is obvious. We need not look far. We have model reforms as precedents.

Action should be both individual and social.

What, then, have we individually, personally, to do in this matter! It is plain, I think, that each minister who uses this narcotic as a luxury, can and should drop it; and his example will be his first and most influential step in measures of reform.

The conceive, requires no and can read, so that she cannot be so downright and can read, so

You gravely inform Stafford House that

'The women of the Southern States are, for the most part, well educated; indeed, they yield not in this re-spect to any females on earth, and they have peculiar opportunities of acquiring knowledge in regard to the public concerns of the world.'

immoralities; and that brother, I imagine, is not very rich in gifts, who can bring nothing from the great storehouse of the Bible against a lust so manifestly at war with the soul.

It is true, the whole Bible he might use in assailing a habit so impure, expensive and useless; but in his straits, he might read certain passages in Leviticus to certain gentlemen who chew the cud

And besides, Julia, you ought to know the differthe law, and those which are inflicted on them by circus of the laws. There is much Pauperism, Vice, Degradation and Misery in Great Britain; but the laws of that realm deprive no human being of his right to sue or testily in a court of justice, and compel no woman to surrender herself or her child to revolting lechery or vindictive wrath. Should the Duchess of Sutherland Inflict a blow on the poorest, humblest child on her vast estates, she could be arraigned for the outrage before Judge and Jury, where the testimony of the poorest would be entitled to equal weight with that of the loftiest Peer in the land. Let any Duke treat the daughter of one of his peasantry as a slaveholder may treat his slave with perfect impunity from legal redress, and be would soon find himself in serious trouble. Great as may be the wrongs, unmerited the degradation, of the British poor, they know and are thankful that they are not slaves. They have a future before them which are inflict British poor, they know and are thankful that they are not slaves. They have a future before them—they bave law for their protection, not merely for their oppression—and so long as they obey the laws, their persons at least are inviolate. They are at any rate regarded as human beings, and never spoken of by their superiors in fortune as you, Mrs. Julia! speak of 'our negroes.' The world sees the difference, Madam, and lays it to heart!

This lady, the wife of John Tyler, has mistaken her vocation, and misjudged the times. She is to be pitied. Those who care nothing about the subject of slavery will lampoon her for a want of medesty and tact, while those who do care about the subject will judge her harshly for want of feeling and of truth.

The English women The English women, in addressing their sisters

The English women, in addressing their sisters, on this great topic, in America, were mild—almost timid. They spoke kindly and with high-bred courtesy. But Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler, as if forgetful of her sex, and the genial charity which belongs to it, is rude of speech, insolent in tone, and curt in manner, in her reply. It smacks of the spirit of a rude snob. It is, in itself, decidedly vulgar.

The Tribune handles Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler's defence of American slavery, and her reply to the

defence of American slavery, and her reply to the English women, without gloves. It makes her appear sadly. Yet whose the fault? Her voice is lifted up for slavery, as if she were its champion. She is a volunteer. She braves the columns of a newspaper, and courts scratiny. She has got it. Mercilessly it comes: but mercilessly only because the occasion called for it, and Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler needed it.

(Det.) Journal.

Scene in a Court Room.—On Tuesday morning, the case of Charles Wesley, an alleged fagitive from labor from the State of Delaware, came up for a hearing before U. S. Commissioner Ingraham, of Philadelphia. Satisfactory evidence was adduced to constrain the Commissioner to order the fugitive back to his master. The Evening Bulletin says:— The reply—it is some three columns long-trashy. There is nothing in it worth a momen

thought. Any school girl, of ordinary capacity, could have written a better one. The only excuse to be offered is, that she did not write it, but was induced through a silly vanity to sign her name to it. The Duchess of Sutherland had the credit of preparing the English address; who so fitted to

well as uncharitable. We wonder at it, so glaring-ly mistaken and so coarsely harsh is it. We can-not conceive it to be the work of a woman of delicacy of taste or delicacy of feeling. No right hearted or right minded American woman would or could pen it. Nor is it the product of a Southern lady. It is signed by one who is Northern born and Northern educated, and who must herself bear the blame, and suffer the penalty of being untruthful and ill-bred.

A FACT FOR MRS. STOWE. The New Orleans True Delta, of the 11th ult.

'THE GREAT RAFFLE OF A TROTTING HORSE AND A Necro Servant.—The enterprising and go-a-head Col. Jennings has got a raffle under way now, which eclipses all his previous undertakings in that line. The prizes are the celebrated tro ting Horse 'Star,' buggy and harness, and a valua-ble negro servant—the latter valued at \$900.— See his advertisement in another column.

Here is the advertisement, which we publish

RAPPLE. MR. JOSEPH JENNINGS

Respectfully informs his friends and the public. that at the request of many of his acquaintances, he has been induced to purchase from Mr. Osborn, of Missouri, the celebrated dark bay horse 'Star,' age five years, square trotter, and warranted sound, with a new light trotting Buggy and Harness; also the stout mulatto girl 'Sarah,' aged about twenty and stomach, and of course might just as well, or years, general house servant, valued at \$900, and better, be taken in their original state, in some guaranteed; will be raffled for at 4 o'clock, P. M. other medium, and without the alcohol,—that the February 1st, at any hotel selected by the sub-foundation of much, very much of the intempe-

Fifteen hundred chances at \$1 each.

The whole is valued at its just worth, \$1,500. The raffle will be conducted by gentlemen selected by the interested subscribers present. Five nights allowed to complete the raffle. Both of the above can be seen at my store, No. 78 Common street, second door from Camp, at from 9 o'clock A. M., till half-past 2 P. M. Highest throw takes the first choice; the lowest

throw the remaining prize, and the fortunate winners to pay Twenty Dollars each, for the refreshments furnished for the eccasion. N. B .- No chances recognized unless paid for

orevious to the commencement.

Jan. 9. 2w J. JENNINGS.

It will be rare sport for the gentlemen interested in the fifteen hundred chances, to spend five eve-nings in a raffle in which a fine mulatto girl, twenty years of age, is one of the prizes.

AFFECTING NARRATION. Solomon Northrop, whose case has attracted

considerable attention, was a freeman, born in Essex county, N. Y., about the year 1808; became early a resident of Washington county, and married there in 1829. He resided at Saratoga Springs in the winter of 1841, and while there, was employed by two gentlemen to drive a team South, at \$1 a day. He took out free papers to show that he was a citizen, and went on to Washington city, where he arrived the 2d of April, and put up at Gadsby's Hotel. Soon after, he felt unwell and went to bed. Hotel. Soon after, he felt unwell and went to bed. While suffering, some persons came in, and gave him some medicine. This was the last thing he knew until he found himself chained to the floor of Williams' slave pen in this city, and hand-cuffed. In the course of a few hours, James H. Burch, a slave-dealer, came in, and the colored man asked him to take off his irons, and wanted to have the there were not on. He was tald it was know why they were put on. He was told it was none of his business. He replied that he was free, and told where he was born. Burch called in a man by the name of Ebenezer Rodbury, and they two stripped the man and laid him across a bench, where he was held and given a hundred lashes. He was told that he would be killed if he ever stated that he was a free man.

He was taken to New Orleans, and at last be

came the property of Edwin Eppes, in Bayou Beouf, about 130 miles up the Red River, where he was kept on a Cotton plantation, since the year

These statements are taken from Solomon him

'A touching little episode was enacted between the calling of the case and its conclusion. A young colored man, of modest demeanor, and considerable intelligence, but evidently an enthusiast, arose and asked permission to say a few words.— Permission was granted by the Commissioner. He began as follows:—I feel impelled, by the preparing the English address; who so fitted to answer it as Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler, wife of claim to represent Him, but the spirit which Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler's reply is untruthful, as well as uncharitable. We wonder at it, so glaringtle power over men's actions, because I am one of e oppressed. I can only pray that a scratch of the pen will not be given to paper against the op-pressed. If it shall be done, we will come to every one concerned in it—for the army of the op-pressed is now led on by the Lord in person.— That same mighty power which led your armies under Washington when your restrictions. That same mighty power which led your armies under Washington, when you were oppressed, now heads ours. Therefore I say again, Wee! Wee!! if you add to our oppressions.

These words were uttered in a plaintive tone of voice, and with much emotion. They had a very

visible effect upon every one present, and the strictest decorum was manifested by every one throughout the whole hearing of the case.'

From the Massachusetts Cataract.

MEDICAL USE OF ALCOHOL.

Dr. Gilman of Boston, in his recent course of three lectures at Worcester, on the medical use of Alcohol, demonstrated conclusively,-that neither the medical, nor the surgical use of alcohol is in any case absolutely necessary,—that alcohol is often injurious when thus used,—that there is no lack of substitutes for it as a stimulant,—as a solvent, and as a preservant,—that the doctors and the apothecaries have therefore no excuse but custom, con-venience, large profits, and the appetites of their patrons, for the multitude of medicines that are prepared and palmed off in alcohol, under the name of tinctures,—that the oils and gums thus dissolved when blended with water or the fluids of The above is as represented, and those persons who may wish to engage in the usual practice of raffling will, I assure them, be perfectly satisfied or as a beverage, has the same natural and inwith their destiny in this affair. rance of the land is laid in the nursery by the little goes in, the same irritant poison, entirely unchanged by the process of digestion,—that the person who is taking monthly, weekly, daily, or hourly, a portion of alcohol as, or with a medicine, is just as inevitably forming an artificial appetite for intoxicating drinks, as if he were taking it thus often as a social beverage in the drawing-room, the hotel, or the grog-shop,—that multitudes of 'reformed inebriates' have been thrown back into the pit of wretchedness and ruin, from which total abstinence had raised them to usefulness and honor, abstinence had raised them to usefulness and honor, by the often heedless, and many times culpable and cruel alcoholic prescriptions of physicians and druggists,—and that until this bane of the human race is banished from the nursery, the sick room, and the 'medicine chest,' the tide of intemperance can never be entirely rolled back.

Dr. Gilman is a learned, scientific and skilful

physician of some twenty years of extensive practice, but has for the last five years, in that practice, entirely banished the use of alcohol, and that, too, with the most signal benefit to his patients, himself and the self, and the cause of temperance. He proposes to demonstrate nothing that he does not accomplish. He personally invited each of the alcoholic physi-Worcester to hear his lectures, and there cians of Worcester to hear his lectures, and there publicly question him, and refute his arguments, if they could, but not a solitary one of them all, dared thus to 'face the music' in defence, or justification of their rum-dosing practice. He proved by experiment, in the presence of the audience, that none of the alcoholic tinctures will blend with water, while the same oils and gums, prepared in his way, without alcohol, would do so instantly and beautifully, without destroying in the least the beautifully, without destroying in the least beautifully, without destroying in the least the crystal translucency of the water. Camphor, for instance, was and can be easily dissolved in acctic acid, that is, pure distilled vinegar, which is as white and clear as water, and thus prepared, is much more elegant, convenient, economical, and harmand clear as water, and thus prepared, is much more elegant, convenient, economical, and harmless. Dr. Gilman is backed up in the positions he has taken by the highest medical authority in the Union, such as Dr. John C. Warren of Boston,—Dr. R. Mussey of Cincinnati,—Dr. Sewall of Washington, D. C.,—and many other eminent physicians in different parts of the country, and he has done, and will do, much good by these lectures, wherever he has been, or may be called to deliver them.

He was taken to New Orleans, and at last became the property of Edwin Eppes, in Bayon Beouf, about 130 miles up the Red River, where he was kept on a Cotton plantation, since the year 1843.

In September last, his friends received a letter from him, stating where he was: whereupon Mr. Henry B. Northrop obtained the necessary papers, and went in search of him. He succeeded, and after eleven years of illegal slavery, Northrop is a free man.

The condition of this colored man, says the N. Y. Times, from which we condense this account, during the nine years that he was in the hands of Eppes, was of a character nearly approaching that described by Mrs. Stowe, as the condition of Uncle Tom while in that region. During that whole period, his hut contained neither a floor, nor a chair, nor a bed, nor a mattrass, nor anything for him to lie upon except a board about twelve inches wide, with a block of wood for his pillow, and with a single blanket to cover him, while the walls of his hut did not by any means protect him from the inclemency of the weather. He was sometimes compelled to perform acts revolting to humanity, and outrageous in the highest degree. On one occasion, a colored girl belonging to Eppes, about sevence of the master, to visit another colored girl of her ac-

MAGAZINE OF

ON January the 1st, 1853, will be publi On January the lat, 1853, will be published an above title. The Editor, Mr. JOHN CASELL very successfully superintended and published has work in England during the past war, who title of the illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine, the circulation of which has averaged 600, on the first of the illustrated by the success which has at the circulation of which has averaged 600 and the size of still higher pretensions; cas, indeed, will prove the pictorial wonder of the age. Each ber will consist of

ber will consist of large size, printed to be just

The Illustrations will be entrusted to the first kind and Engravers in the world. In order to reals the truly Magnificent Work, and to make it reals that he imports, a Magazine of Att. and the truly Magnificent Work, and to make it realy units name imports, a Magnine of Art, and the ness are esting pictorial work that has ever appeared a Na lisher intends, in addition to a profusion of the expa ings throughout the work, to give at less

POUR SUPERB ENGRAVINGS In each monthly part, to be printed separately, a po

perfine plate paper.

The work will be so conducted as to entree greatest variety of matter in its various department upon each of which the highest literary talest till be employed.

The following is a brief outline of the plan of the

1. THE HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT TO 1. THE HISTORICAL DEPARMENT will abound with picturesque representations of the most remarkable events which have occurred in the most other countries; accompanied with interesting saveless and details, from the pens of the nost emissest wither of the day. This department will commis several spissibility of the day. This department will commis several spissibility of the day. This department will density of the first artists of the world, engraved in the highest styled modern set.

2. THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE AGE.

This department will conest of beautifully excepted. 2. THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE ME.
This department will consist of heartfully stread
portraits of the leading characters of the age operatly
of those who figure on the stage of humanity as the world's benefactors. Each portrait will be acr by an interesting biographical sletch.

3. THE WONDERS OF NATURAL HISTORY 3. THE WONDERS OF AATURAL HISTORY,
BOTANY, and other science, will be developed a
choice engravings of Beasts, Eirks, Fabes, Inces,
Forest Trees, Flowers, Geological and Fossil Sections,
&c., with accompanying descriptions.

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ART will be displayed in exquisitely anished regenerations of Cathedrals, Churches, Palaces, and sales models of ancient and modern Architectural Ar. 5. THE WORKS OF THE GREAT MASTER, selected from the principal Galleries of Art in the world. In general, the portrait of the Master will be

given, accompanied with a highly faished upand copy of his chef d'auere. 6. THE SCIENTIFIC PORTIONS will be nodered highly interesting by the familiar explanates and the numerous diagrams which will accompany

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10. THE LITERARY DEPARTMENT, independent ently of the various articles accompaning the flustrations, will comprise original and interesting narration contributed by the most popular writers of the day, with numerous illustrations.

In every respect, the 'ILLYSTATIO Magains of Aur' will be decidedly

SUPERIOR TO ANY PICTORIAL MAGA-ZINE OF THE DAY!

The paper, the typegraphy, the engraving, the iss rary articles, will far surpass its successful redecess, published in England, upon which such high edicious have been pronounced by the whole public press fit of the monthly portions, when completed, will fen a volume, which, for interest, originality, value and leaty, will defy competition. It will not only be an infecting family book, but a rich ornament for the day. ing-room table, and a pleasant companion in the state

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