of five copies will be sent to one address for TER s, if payment be made in advance. ing to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to laing to the pecuniar) concerns of the paper

diertisements making less than one square inof three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, have to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial ee, but are not responsible for any of the debts de paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LESS, ECKEND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and I to set PRILLIPS.

T in the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of

stion are impartially allowed a hearing. WM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Manfind,

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholderel

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

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions 70

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—on 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

the name of persons In fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed!... To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'-John Quincy Adams.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 27, 1853.

WHOLE' NUMBER 1166.

VOL. XXIII, NO. 21.

SPEECHES Discord of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, May 11, 1853.

[REPORTED BY WILLIAM HENRY BURR.] Mr. Guarson, preliminary to the delivery of the reg-

for sill pardon the Chair for making a very few stroluctory remarks.

*By the help of God,' said an apostle of old, (as we

my feel prepared to say,) 'by the help of God, we mediage to this day.' The anti-slavery cause, in spite of all the opposition which has been arrayed against it, -a pite of ' principalities, and powers, and spiritual vitalness in high places, '-in spite of governmental sits and lawless molecracy, - still lives ! ' (aphaze |-and, by its own inherent vitality, by its on Gol-given immortality, it is destined to grow, parl, and conquer, until all opposition shall be and to powder, and the chain of every slave in is land shall be broken, and Heaven shall give us a glorious jubilee. (Applause.) The Amera Anti-Slavery Society again takes its rightful on in New York among the benevolent anniversa-For the last two years, we have been compelled, the lawlessness which has pervaded this corrupt sahere, that we might be heard in behalf of the milliest of our countrymen groaning in bondage. Re-load here, we were received joyfully and heartily by is poble people of Syracuse (applause); and the year therearis, cordially received by the people of Roches-But we did not go to Syracuse or to Rochester lantarily. It was the only alternative presented, Shatever danger was to be found in this city, we were prepared to look it in the face; but we could not obas a suitable place in which to hold our anniversary seting, and so were compelled to go elsewhere. This, l hughly submit to the candid judgment of the world. ve no discredit to the American Anti-Slavery Society; batis will ever redound to the shame and infamy of New York, that we could not be permitted to be heard percebly in a cause so God-like as that of human libery (Applause.) And we stand now just where we seed before-with the same cause, the same clients, sly multiplied since we were here to the formiable number of 200,000-with the same principles. sgns, and the same glorious end in view. But where are those who said that we should not speak? Where, a an occasion like this, is the 'Union Safety Committee'? (Laughter.) We find ourselves once more here-where they are, Heaven only knows! (Renewed harbter.) We are here not to browbeat or to irritate. lat with a serene and courageous front, knowing, as with us 'and that it is His cause which we have met here this day to advocate; therefore, we have no reason

Since we last came together in this city, many notable events have transpired in our country and in the will, bearing directly upon the great and all-absorbing question of American slavery. The three great champiens of the slave system have gone down to the dust; their bodies are in the tomb, and their spirits have gone to God, to give an account for the deeds done in the Where is John C. Calboun? Where is Henry Where is Daniel Webster? All blotted out. Where is the anti-slavery cause to-day ? In the ascendall, with the song of victory in its mouth. (Applause

to far what man can do unto us.

'Vain is the help of flesh and blood; Their peop departs, their wealth and power And thoughts all vanish in an hour; Nor can they make their promise good.'

Since we last met in this city, we have had the Balform platforms built and endorsed-rotten platforms very timber of which cries out with crime and bloodcolliness. The two great political parties have passed Ber ' finality ' resolutions and what then ?

The King of France, with thirty thousand men, Murchel up the hill, and then—marched down again.

We have also had the Fugitive Slave Law passed since came together-and what of that? Is the number these who are trying to escape, and who are escap-Why, as a specimen of what is transpiring around us, it was only resterday that I read in the Voice of the Fugitire, a paper publated in Canada, of the arrival of twenty-nine slaves a cas lot, fresh from old Kentucky. (Applause.) They trased the river, singing a song of thanksgiving to fiel, and are now free men, free women, and free chilen; for there were the aged, the middle-aged, and ones, of both sexes. The Fugitive Slave Law has stacked and horrified all Christendom; that has been the result of it. How has it been treated in the free States? You know what was done with it in Boston, in the case of Shadrach. The angel of the Lord interposel, and set him free, in spite of the edict. And hough it is true that Thomas Sims was carried off from or city, it is not true that the Government seized him a fugitive slave, or that the law was executed in the presence of the whole people, in broad daylight; for the unfortunate victim was arrested under Massachubus law, as a Massachusetts man, as guilty of having nitted a theft, and in that manner was brought into the court-house; and then the building was surbubled with chains, and he was put on trial as a fugito slave. And when taken away, it was not done in s presence of the people, in broad daylight, as the ment proclaimed beforehand that it should be; but he was smuggled out of the city just as the moon wint down, and just before the sun rose up. This was infinally the defeat of the Government, and the over-

throw of the Fugitive Slave Law, in the old Bay State, forever! (Applause.)
You know what they did at Syracuse, in the case of my. They said, 'The law shall not be enforced; it is a lawless edict, an unconstitutional law; it is inhuman, unchristian, and God-defying; and, come what may, God helping us, it shall not be enforced, but Jershall be set free.' The word was spoken, and the and was done. (Applause.)

You remember how it was treated by the fugitives to melves, in the Christiana case, where the slave-

been some victims seized—some in this city (of course; in this city!)—seized under the law, and carried off into slavery. But the number has been surprisingly few, and the law has worked mightily, under God, for the entire abolition of the slave system. Thus, as one can be any higher law than that which man can make. of the results of the passage of that law, it gave us Literally, being done into English, being rendered into 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' (Applause.) 'Uncle Tom's the vernacular, that is what they mean. Theodore Cabin' is making the tour of the world, and every Parker told us, last winter, in Boston, that he had body is peeping into it, and crying out against the in-justice of making man the property of man; and, as a Slave Law, only five or six of which, I believe, were first instalment of European moral and religious senti- against it. One hundred and forty out of one hundred ures attached to it of more than half a million of the of God or not. omen of England. (Applause.)

any part of the world. I will give you a paragraph approved by the President of the United States, decreeower of our country, in a pre-eminent sense : -

the section in which it exists, and to which it gives prosperity and peculiar characteristics, [very peculiar!] is being gradually removed from the pale of sympathy and intimacy with the rest of the world. Every where slavery is denounced, and the slaveholder regarded as an inhuman tyrant. What will be the effect of this upon the permanency of the institution, and how should it dispose slaveholders to their outside enemies? The eye of God, one is just as absurd as the other, only the one is more wicked and atroclous than the other—beong time on the wane. The last eventful struggle is of vesterday, and the results for ever condemned it to political inferiority. A wall has been built up around it, and its vitality must henceforward increase rather by he perfection and energy of its own internal organiza-ion, than by the expansion of its domain.'

Surely, this is cheering intelligence, and it is authenstances under which we are here assembled to-day. Illeluia! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!

Mr. GARRISON then introduced to the audience En-TUND QUINCY, Esq., of Massachusetts.

SPEECH OF MR. QUINCY.

MR. PRISIDENT: In your introductory remarks, you tated a truth which is on the lips of all the American people, for all the American people are eminently a eed, throughout the civilized world, by your nam also branded as an infidel movement, as a movement which has no faith in God, no trust in His power and in His truth. Well, sir, I should like to know by what ement of human nature, by which of the ordinary notives of human action, your conduct and our conluct can be explained, if we have not faith in God Do you delight to be a mark for the finger of scorn to be pointed at? Do you delight in being called, by the nemies or by the pretended friends of the slave throughout the world, an infidel? Do you seek to be held up to public reprobation and scorn because you like it? Do the American abolitionists delight to be in a minor ity? Is it the delight of the American people generally to be in a minority? Why, sir, if there is any one characteristic which distinguishes the American people from all the other nations of the earth-although it is merely an enlargement, a projection of a common trait of human nature—that characteristic is a delight to wim with the stream, to go with the multitude, whether to do evil or to do good-generally to do evil, but netimes to do good. Are we, sir, exceptions to that general rule of human character? I apprehend not. conceive that we have not stood up for twenty years in the face of the American people, and given them the ie-that we have not stood up and denied their love of liberty, their faith in their own institutions, and their belief-in the possibility of a genuine republic-that we American Church—that we have not unchurched the Church and excommunicated the State, merely because haracter of the abolitionists was contained in that inn God and in truth,' because we know and we believe that here is a higher law than any that Congress can nact (applause)-because we believe there is a Legis-

resident Pierce. (Applause.) Why, what an extraordinary nation we are, Mr. President! We are surely 'a great people,' as we are ond of calling ourselves. legrading them into the rank of beasts that ' lack disthem the knowledge essential to salvation-we are not nvisible dust of the vast creation, we pigmies and lillisowled these planets for His hand, who kindled the sun round which they revolve, and who powdered the firm-

nent, we lately received in Boston a memorial to the and fifty took the ground that the laws men choose to cople of this country against slavery, with the signa- make are obligatory, whether in conformity to the law

Suppose a representative in Congress should rise and omen of England. (Applause.)

Suppose a representative in Congress should rise and
Finally, even in the very stronghold of slavery, there propose to repeal the law of gravitation; suppose Condismay-a manly and open confession of weakness, gress should pass a law, and it should be signed by the and that there is no support to be found for slavery in Speaker of the House, the President of the Senate, and com the Charleston Mercury, the organ of the Slave ing that from and after the date of the passage of that act, heavy bodies should no longer fall towards the cen-The institution of African slavery is every day becoming more and more isolated, and, by consequence, lieve there is a politician, do you believe there is a politician, do you believe there is a priest in the land, who, relying on that law, would leap from t dispose slaveholders to their outside enemies? The influence of slavery in the national government ['the that one is more wicked and atrocious than the other—benath ears to hear, let him hear'] has certainly been for a cause it can and does operate on human action, and produce deplorable results.

'I think, sir, that you and I, and the rest of us, would

not, humble as we are, have stood up before this American people, and, in a moral sense, defied them, denied their creed, trampled their commandments under our feet, refused to acknowledge allegiance to those wicked io, because it comes from an oracular source, and, of laws which we believe to be contrary to the higher law ourse, is only coerced by the necessity of the times in of God, merely because we liked it; but we have done our favor. These are some of the cheering circum- it because we thought it was our duty. It was the acquisition of the right of applying private judgment to public law that filled the sails of the Mayflower, and sharpened the sword of the Revolution. Why did our fathers come to this land, if not to achieve such a state of things ? Surely, they were great fools, Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, Rev. Dr. Spencer, Dr. Tyng, and no end to the Reverend Doctors of all sects, being witnessesthey were surely great fools to leave their comfortable parsonages, and farm-houses, and trades, and commit themselves to the stormy ocean, and plant themselves on an inhospitable coast, when they might just as well on an inhospitable coast, when they might just as well to be axiomatic in the land—that our trust is in land. I apprehend that our presence here to-day, and the whole history of the anti-slavery movement, from They only had to conform to the laws of the land They only had to acknowledge the bishops and the suscore of years ago, are a proof of our trust in God. premacy of the king! There was no occasion for their encountering all the perils of the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission! Multitudes of people light of truth to the human mind; to change the ideas and shot as deliberately as though the game before him throughout the length and breadth of this land, and, inorders in council, submitted to the acts of Parliament requiring conformity. They lived very comfortably and pleasantly, just exactly as we are now told by priests and politicians that we might do, merely submitting patiently and quietly to the laws of the land, and carrying them out as they were intended. But that was not the spirit of the men of those days. They were protestants. Reformers in all ages have been protestants. They have protested agoinst the evil which they saw around them. The flight to Plymouth was a protest. It was a protest of men who had resisted as long as they could at home, who had applied all the tests of conscience to human law, and, having carried their resistance to the utmost extent that was practicable they then sought refuge in flight, in an honorable retreat, and planted their institutions here, little thinking what was to be the fruit of those institutions in the course of a little more than two centuries-little dreaming that there was to be a worse than the Star Chamber, a worse than the Court of High Commission, to be established in this land, to take cognizance of men's consciences-that there was to be a Procrustean bed established by law, according to which men's consciences were to be measured, to be stretched out or to be cut short, according as the occasion might require.

Sir, we take counsel of Plymouth ; we take counsel of the whole colonial history, which was one succeshave not stood up and denied the Christianity of the sion of resistance to arbitrary power, and attempt to secure the control of their own happiness and destiny in their own hands. The revolution began long before we liked to be pointed at, and to be hooted at, and to Lexington and Bunker Hill. It dates back previous e hunted from one city to another, and, least of all, to the emigration—to the days when the English reformers began to reform the reformation-when they because we delighted in the tender mercies of Capt. formers began to reform the reformation—when they Rynders. No, sir, I conceive that the whole key to the transferred the power of the Pope into the hands of the reductory sentence of your speech, that 'our trust is king. It was in these old times that the American revolution began. It sprung from the principle of the right of private judgment applied not only to Scripture, but to law-the right of every man to judge whether ator who sits on a throne higher than that occupied by law made by man was in conformity with the law of God, and to obey it or not-taking the consequences, either quietly, if he could not help himself, or resisting it if he could. That was the old principle from which We are not content with the revolution sprung; yes, sir, and that is the princitaking one sixth part of the inhabitants of the land, ple from which the complement of the revolution sprung-I mean the anti-elavery movement (applause) course of reason,' driving them to the field, taking that movement which, if it fail, the revolution was inway their young, denying them all knowledge of God deed a failure. The American revolution was indeed a and of Christ, and of those truths which the American failure, if this anti-slavery movement do not march on Church and the American people, as a great body, be- to a triumphant success, and deliver this country from leve essential to salvation-we are not content with de- that base, that despicable aristocracy, which now lordnying to one sixth part of the inhabitants of the land eth it over us,—an aristocracy whose heraldric emblems the right to their own bodies, as well as wives, chil- are not the sword, not the helmet, not those marks by dren and wages, and condemning them, the Church it- which the aristocracy of the old world carries back the self being witness, to everlasting tortures, by refusing imagination to medieval times and to the deeds of great ancestors, but whose heraldric emblems are the scourge entent with all this, but we undertake to repeal the the branding-iron, the manacle. This aristocracy verlasting laws of God. In this remote corner of the numbering not more than 120,000, including women miverse-on this planet which forms, as it were, the and children, and not probably more than 75,000, in cluding merely the actual voters, governs with absolut putians, the tallest of us scarce six feet high, meet together by our representatives, and repeal the laws of
Him who sits upon the throne of the universe, who first

Russia, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of France, and the other despots of the old world, and say, 'Stand by, we are holier than you !' (Applause.)

For my part, Mr. President, I do not know wheth ament with myriads of other suns like ours. We much together and repeal the laws of God! Will not He who I am a good republican or not. I believe in the together and repeal the laws of God! Will not He who I am a good republican or not. I believe in the people to govern themselves. I believe the people are as competent to govern themselves as any of

and thralls of this insignificant, contemptible, base, dirty aristocracy of whips and chains, (applause,) I cannot but regard the American revolution as a failure, and think that it would have been vastly better for us litical right of everybody, man or woman, not only to to have remained under the control of Great Britain to think, but to speak on this question. If a political this day. For if we must be governed by an aristocra-cy, I prefer an aristocracy of some eight hundred thou-body and everybody, disfranchised or not, speak in resand (a constituency) to one of seventy-five thousand; buke of what is done. and if we must have an hereditary aristocracy, I prefer Our Chairman remarked, that since our last anniverone of gentlemen to govern me. (Laughter and ap-plause.) I do not like the people that govern me; I do and not only put forth, but they have been adopted too. not like the aristocracy resting on ownership of human beings—a kind of oligarchy which our institutions have made. It is a species of vermin which I think ought attempt to describe it, for I have no language that is to be exterminated—not by the halter, not by the guil-lotine, not by the cane-knife sharpened to a point, not by insurrection, not by invasion, but by the bringing to slave, and when Franklin Pierce, in accepting the nomear upon it of such a force of public sentiment that it ination, said, 'I accept it, not because you expect it can exist no longer, (applause,) that will cause it to from me, but because it harmonizes with my convicabdicate, resign, throw up its prerogatives, raise its tions,' and when he had pointed to his career in Conslaves to a political equality with itself, and condescend gress, glorying in deeds that ought to have been his

stitutions are but projections of ideas existing in the yet, with their eyes wide open, they went and pledged minds of men. What is slavery? It is the shadow themselves to return the panting fugitive. which the selfishness of the American people casts. that they have a work to do. And as soon as we have created this public sentiment in this country, as soon ountry, as well as in other portions of the civilized f fire, which is already kindled, shall burn fiercer and he scorpion of slavery, finding it can no longer live, it sting into its own brains, and curse the world no more. (Great applause.)

he fact will read strangely, as long as any rememprance of the Society shall be cherished) was broken Pierce by an overwhelming majority. sunder, and a large secession was made from it, on this was placed on one of its Committees! It was deemed to ration. Now, this Society has always recognised the right of any of its members, of whatever sex on complexion, to open his or her lips for those in bonds.

Shall we behold, unheeding, Life's holiest feelings crushed? When woman's heart is bleeding, Shall woman's voice be hushed?

If any woman desires to plead the cause of the en laved, we bid her God-speed, and desire to hear what the has to say. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you Miss Lucy Stone, of Massachusetts. (Great ap-

SPEECH OF MISS LUCY STONE.

To my mind it does not need the poet's utterance to form, while there are 'Casseys' scattered by thousands all over this broad land; for, so long as their wail hink we have a sufficient endorsement in the great cratic party, of what slaveholding was and is. promptings of our nature, which we cannot, if we A slave fugitive father and mother, with their two children, came to the Ohio river last suppose to

the last year, much to make the heart beat with highest little ones as they locked with mournful for

itself to a political equality with ourselves.

Shame, to prove that his sentiments were in harmony
That is what we are trying to bring about; that is with that platform, then the people rose up like a cloud e object of the anti-slavery movement. And how do over the length and breadth of the land, and gave their we propose to do it? By changing the opinions of the suffrage to that man and for that party, knowing well erican people and the world at large. Whence come what slavery is. The people who are not chattels, into institutions? Jesus Christ spoke a great truth when whose souls the iron of slavery has not pierced, know, he said, 'The kingdom of God is within you.' What as far as language can speak it, what slavery is; and are institutions but the projections of ideas? All in- those who acted with the political parties knew it. And

In that month of June, when the Convention met Change the substance, and the shadow will disappear. there were fleeing from the Republic, so named, and 'a Thy does slavery exist in this country? Because the model Republic,' too, a mother and her little child, a American people choose to have it so; because they babe sleeping in her bosom. As she passed across the like it ; because they think that, on the whole, it is for State of Indiana, having got half way through it, she their profit and advantage; because they do not think dreamed that, having passed so far from the line that there is any great harm in it; because the best of them divides the non-slaveholding from the slaveholding appose that, on the whole, the evils and inconvenience States, it might do for a woman, seeking her liberty and at would follow from immediate emancipation would the liberty of her little one, to walk at mid-day; and overbalance the advantages. Now, we know how so-phistical and absurd all these ideas are. What we wish she went on, hoping that she was safe. At mid-day, o do is, to change these ideas. And do you think that she was startled by the loud cry of the kidnapper be then the American people are determined to be rid of hind her, demanding that she should stop, and, if she lavery, they will retain it? Do you think it will exist did not, threatening that she should be shot on the inday after the American people have fully made up stant. That mother, instead of pausing at the bidding heir minds that it is not for their advantage, or that of those who were pursuing her in harmony with the some way or other they will be better off without Fugitive Slave Law, in harmony with the platform of it? I tell you, you don't know the American people as the Democratic party, in harmony with the convictions well as I do, if you think they will let it remain. The of Franklin Pierce, took her babe from her bosom, nstant the American mind is fully permeated with an-placed it on her shoulders, and as she grasped its little i-slavery truth, slavery will vanish like an exhalation hand with hers, she ran with all the speed that fear could of the morning. That is our aim; that is the end of lend to her feet. The kidnapper, who cared not wheththe American Anti-Slavery Society. It is to apply the er they brought her back dead or alive, drew his pistol, conformed, obeyed the laws of the land, submitted to anti-slavery men and women; to make those who care one. He fired; the ball went through the head of that nothing about it see that they have something to do infant, and through the ear of its mother, leaving the with it—that it is something which affects them, and scattered brains and blood upon the cheeks of that mother, who, when she perceived that the little one had found its freedom with God, let go her grasp of its as it is aroused (as it now seems to be arousing) in this hands, not to stop, as you, mothers, when your little ones die, to dress their bodies neatly for the grave, to world, (and barbarous portions, too,) when this circle lay them where you can plant flowers and go to weep over the treasure of the love they gave you-not to stop. prighter, and shall be drawn closer and closer around I say, but leaving it all unburied on the plains of Indiana, that mother fied for liberty dearer than her lifewill, by a glorious and illustrious suicide, drive its and found it, thank God, on the shores of Canada; (applause ;) no thanks to the Baltimore platform for it ;

(Applause.) Such facts were being written in letters of blood all THE PRESIDENT-Our friend, Mr. Quincy, has stated over the Union, and the Democratic party knew it. hat Theodore Parker had said, that he had collected They knew what was the root of the evil. They knew he hundred and fifty sermons in favor of the Fugitive what it was that caused the helpless mothers to flee out Slave Law, only some half dozen of which took ground of this Union. They knew it all ; and yet Franklin gainst it. I think the remark of Mr. Parker was not Pierce and his party said, 'The Fugitive Slave Law cetly in reference to the Fugitive Slave Law, but to shall be sustained, and we will resist all agitation on he death of Daniel Webster; and that out of that num- the subject.' They virtually declared, 'No man, or per of sermons that had been delivered, nearly all were woman, or child, shall open the lip against it: they n culcgy of Mr. Webster. The error on the part of shall be dumb; the heart shall cease to beat, and the ur friend was merely technical-Daniel Webster hav- infernal system shall be allowed to continue.' And ng been the Fugitive Slave Law incarnate, and a little when the people knew that such deeds were constant. nore, if possible.

In 1840, the American Anti-Slavery Society (and their leaders had done. The voters of New York city rushed to the polls, and cast their ballots for Franklin

Men, fathers, Democrats! how could you do it? You single issue, because a female member of the Society who are proud to take your own little boys and girls on your knees, and know that you are backed and protectbe so improper, so outrageous, and so unscriptural, as ed by law which is strong enough to guard you in any to warrant the formation of a new and hostile organi- emergency, when you knew that millions of fathers and nothers who have no protection are hunted like partridges on the mountain, how could you do it? How could you go and give your suffrages for candidates that pledged themselves that every such father's heart should bleed, and every such mother should have her soul wrung with intense anguish? How could you do it? You know why you did it; I know why you did it. Will not your children's children find their cheeks tingling with shame at the remembrance of the deeds their fathers have done? (Applause.)

The Whig party did just what the Democratic party did. They had a platform just like the Democrats. Nobody knew which belonged to which, they were so alike in spirit. The Whigs, what there were of them, and General Scott, freely gave their adherence to the ive woman a claim to speak on an anti-slavery plat- platform, and all went as far as they were able to accomplish the same infamous purpose that the Democratic party accomplished. Not coming into power, the Whig party escaped the necessity of being used as the mes to the ear of woman, how is it possible for her to Whig party escaped the necessity of being used as the ep silent? Whether we find in the pen of the poet, or tool of the Slave Power to do whatever it was bid. The my other source, an endorsement of our claim, we Whig party was not ignorant, any more than the Demo-

children, came to the Ohio river last summer. It was The Anti-Slavery Anniversary, as it recurs year by during the very time of the campaign. The father and ear, brings to those who are engaged or interested in mother had borne in their own persons all the cruelties t, a survey of what has come to give us cheer in the that slavery inflicts. They had endured, and perhap rear that is gone, and also what has come to show us would have continued to endure, its inflictions, has he strength and purpose of the Slave Power. Within there not woke up in their souls a new-born love of the one has come clustering in the way of the abolitionists. over the future of those children. They saw that there We have had new voices speaking, and fresh and friend- was not a single ray of sun-light to gladden that future ly hearts beating. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' strong and true, has gone the length and breadth of the world, winning hearts that did not before feel one throb of pity, fulness, of honor, or of profit, may be theirs. To that

THE LIBERATOR.

SPEECHES

Thus the person of the course of guidethem there. With their children they attempted to make their escape from your model Republic. They came trembling down the Ohio bank, on the Northern side. A man with tones of kindness told them if they were fugitives, they need not tremble so. They were on the soil of Ohio, and God's clear sunlight was looking down upon them, and yet they trembled, guilty of no crime, charged with none, unless it be a crime that there swells in the human soul that love of liberty which neither waters nor floods can quench. (Applause.) The nan said. 'You need not tremble so; if you want to hide, here is an old boat under which you can go.' The father and mother and little ones went and hid themselves under that boat till the sun should go down, and the North Star come out. Very soon after they were oncealed, a man who, in mockery of his Maker, claimed ownership in the body and soul of his brother man, ame. The villain that told them where to hide, had old the owner where they were hidden. He came, uplifted the boat, revealed the poor victims trembling beore his gaze, and demanded their surrender. That father came out of his hiding-place, and did as most of you rould have done. He put his wife behind him and one little one, and taking the other on his arm, with the other he fought with all the desperation that a man

could, knowing that on the issues of that hour were hung not merely life to him and to his, but liberty and life He drove back his assailants. The men went over the river, procured helpers, and, with bowie-knives and pistols in their hands, they came back and attacked him, still standing with his babe in his arms. The pistolshots riddled the body of that father and his child, till they were literally a clot of gore. The father fell, exnausted by the loss of blod, the man-hunters pounced pon him and his, and while we are here in the city of New York speaking for outraged humanity, the poor an is where no tongue can speak in his defence. While this very deed was being done, and thousands like it, the Whig and Democratic parties were going up and lown the length of the land, urging every body-except omen, (laughter)-to give their votes for men who were pledged that just such deeds as that should be one, and done perpetually, and that we should not nave Ohio, Indiana, nor one single State where a slave father or slave mother can stand and take their chiliren by the hand, and say, 'They are mine.' And when the leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties vere saying that, the men of the party were assenting and giving their sanction to platforms that they knew were ready to bind, hand and foot, and bury in eternal night, the last spark of liberty that should glow in the oul of any slave; and not only that, but to gag the mouths of any who dared to speak a word for down-trodden humanity, if they could hinder it. Thank lod, they could not. And while the political parties were doing this, the

Church was lending itself an ally to the parties all over the land. In my own State of Massachusetts, the Conregational ministers met in that very mouth of June. I how many deeds of infamy were committed in that nonth of June! The ministers of all the Congregational churches in Massachusetts met in Association at Lowell, and there came up to that body a man who had ust returned from the meeting of the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterian Church at Charleson, South Carolina. They had met where before them and all around them was to be heard the sound of the slave-whip, and where were to be seen the auctionblock and the slave-pen. They had sat there to talk about what? Those who help God's poor and oppressed? About imitating Him who came to preach deiverance to the captive'? No. They sat there to talk about 'church extension.' The slave-gang marched before their face, and they had no protest; and when they at last adjourned, they appointed as a delegate to go and attend the Association of Congregational ministers, the Rev. Mr. Fitch. The ministers of Massachasetts, from Barnstable to Berkshire, met in Lowell; all the Associations were represented; and when they came to have their communion, according to their cus-tom—when they spread their table and put on it the bread and wine to commemorate the death of Him who ame to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free,' and when they wanted some one to assist at the breaking of the bread and pouring of the wine, they ose this very delegate, who had come with his lips all gory from that communion with slaveholders. And there he stood among the ministers, and performed his part, and there was not a clergyman there at that ceting who made any protest. And when I read in the Congregationalist the account of their meeting, I hoped to find in some part of it a protest; but there was none. And then I listened to Massachusetts pulpits, to hear if there should not come from some one of hem, some earnest condemnation of his Christian charoter, or the Christian character of those who came from that union of slaveholders, but listened in vain. and as we stood back, looking at that sacrament with horror, and asked, 'Just God and holy, are these they sho minister at thine altar—is this thy church which ends strength to the spoiler? ' and as we beheld them nining hands with each other and with religionists all ver the country, and asked if this could be the church f God, they said, 'You are infidels.' But I can say them, as Sallie Holley said, 'Let them call us infi iels, if they please; but, O! don't let them call them. selves Christians. ' (Applause.)

There is not time to look over the religious phase of hat has come to us the past year. The support o slaveholding has been so open, that none of you can fail to see it. But while the Church and the Government take hold of hands with each other, and only here and there a pulpit remembers the slave, not the less shall hey please, we can afford to hear it. The works that we do bear witness of us, and, without abating one jot f our hope, we take hold on one side of the hand of Him from whom the Higher Law comes, and on the ther, the hand of the slave, and we shall not let go he one or the other. (Great applause.) It does not matter to us if we are driven from one city, and learts to which we can speak, and hearts that can feel. We will sit down by the mother in her little country home, and, while she holds her infant in her lap, we will wake up in her soul a sympathy for the mother

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whose baby is not hers. And when the father who lives back in the woods looks proudly upon his daughter, we will tell him of the father who cannot take care of or protect his daughter, and we will solder anew the link in that father's heart which binds him to ever other father, and his arm shall be moved to be a co worker with us in this cause, which needs the conse crated energies of every son of Adam.

Lamartine said of Wilberforce, that 'he went up to

the throne of God with millions of broken fetters in hi hands, as evidence of a life well spent.' (Applause. If we would give evidence of a life well spent, if w would be sure to do those things that will commend us to Him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, let it be our business to take in our hands the broken fetters, and stand in the great day alongside of the slave, before our common Father, and let him bear tes timony there, that to our faithful efforts was due the loosening of the fetters from his limbs, and from his spirit too. (Great applause.)

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I can say, with the utmost sincer'y that, so far as the simple Anti-Slavery question is con cerned, there can be no necessity that we should detain this audience at all. I can add nothing either to the testimony or pathos with which you have been addressed. I begin to think it almost a waste of time to spend either facts or arguments before an enlightened American audience on the subject of slavery, in this twentythird year of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. But at the same time, Mr. President, the motto of our organ in this city is, 'Without Concealment-without Compromise,' and you all know, as indeed the earliest speak ers this morning have shown, that there is, in the peculiar type of anti-slavery which this meeting represents, a motto and a principle, from which not only the great majority of the country, but the great majority of the anti-slavery men stand aloof.

I read with pleasure, with more than pleasure, with a thrill of delight which words cannot describe, some of the speeches with which our excellent, faithful and eloquent friend, Mr. Hale, was received at the public dinner in Boston, (applause ;) and at the same time, it seems to me fit that the tone with which that meeting address es the American people should be emphatically different from the tone with which we address it. They have, as they think, a brighter picture to paint. They are happier than we are, in this, that they can read the history of their country with pleasure, and can join in the usual adjectives and epithets of praise with which the great, heroic names of the country are received : we cannot They can call this a 'glorious Union.' May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth before the son of any American mother, worthy of an American child, calls the Union which this speaker [pointing to Miss Stone] has just described, where a mother drops her murdered infant behind her, to be safe, a 'glorious Union.' (Applause.)

Two adjectives distinguish us and that class of anti-slavery men who met in Boston, who stand in the Senate of the United States, and who serve the cause of the slave at the Tabernacle to-night. With them, the Union is glorious; with us, it is accursed. With them, the character of Washington is heroic. They love to speak of the beautiful symmetry of its proportions. With me, I dare not thank God who gave him to us, when I know that behind the sacredness of his example, thousands of 'Legrees' are hidden from the indignation of Christendom and this Republic. (Applause and hisses-loud applause.) Do you suppose that the class of brutal slaveholders, to whom Mrs Stowe has given a generic name, could ever have sustained slavery in this country to the year 1853?-do you suppose that profligate priests like Theodore Clapp, of New Orleans, could drag slavery behind the altar, if it had not been sheltered under the magnificent reputation of Washington? No! it would have died, a hissing and a by-word, sixty years ago. But now, alas! it finds a Gardner Spring to dread his own prayers, lest he bring down upon his country the horrible result of emancipation. (Applause.) It is the good men of the country, it is the great men of history, it is the men who have in some sort a Christian character to boast, that are the guilty men in this great national iniquity. What are we, that we should go down and grope in the brutal wickedness of the plantation to find the defenders of a system like this? Shall it be said of the American peo ple, that they could go to the lips of such men for arguments in behalf of such a system of human wickness as that of American slavery? Oh, no! It is because Americans dare not call things by their right of acceptable and agreeable self-deception-it is because we idolize the great names of the present and the past-it is because we spread a mist of beauty around the Union, praise it, and worship the idol we have made, that slavery is so strong as it is. Now, the mission of the anti-slavery cause, at least that portion of it with which we are identified, is, to tear off from this subject, in all its relations, the disguises of honeved words and agreeable self-adulation which the nation it self and its leaders have wrapped around it. It is an endeavor to awaken Americans to their own true posi tion. Our words must seem harsh-of course the must, because they grate upon ears that have been list ening only to priests that prophesy smooth things, and to politicians that would fain make their way with the

Our friends at a little distance, and in Boston, tel you that the Union must be preserved. It is organic autocthonic; it is a part of the soil; it is a part of the blood; it is not to be speken of; it is not to be debated : much less is it to be abjured. Now, what is it? What has it done for us? I do not deny that has some merits. He would be a blind man that did But Nero had his merits. On his tomb was found, within a few months after his death, a rosebush planted by some Roman to whom his life had not been unmitigated tyranny, and who could, perhaps, recall some hour when even Nero made the burden of life lighter to a fellow-creature. And so, for aught I know-yes, I do know—there are some benefits connected with the Union. But the highest privilege I know of is that of free speech. (Applause.) Is there a man here that knows a better ?-- to think what you please in obedience to conscience, and to be able to speak it? Tha is the best government in the world where a man can think noble thoughts, and act them, and not at the cos of martyrdom. Is that our country? The clergyman with only here and there an exception, (pointing to H W. Beecher-applause,) if he speaks freely, speaks himself out of his pulpit. Free speech in all profession is martyrdom here. The press, that lives on the public voice, and reflects it—what is it? Pro-slavery. Why? Because to be otherwise is to be poor; because to b otherwise is to sacrifice every thing that common me deem a blessing. Free speech for the priest, for the lawyer, for the statesman, for the merchant, and for the editor, is to be bought only in this nation of yours a the price of martyrdom. I have been laboring for some six or eight months up in the country districts o Massachusetts. I tell you, Mr. President, it is with pain that I have asked the tenants of those country pulpits to preach an anti-slavery sermon. I could not sit down at their tables, as I have done, with their children, without knowing, from the very tone of public sentiment in their villages, that if they obeyed me, they obeyed me only at the sacrifice of the bread of their children, and of the roof under which they slept. (Ap plause.) Slavery is planted in South Carolina. Yes. but it gags the otherwise very free lips of the Berkshire and Vermont pulpits, and that is your 'glorious Union' You have sent the representatives of your religion to London from the May anniversaries of this city. They go to the June anniversaries of London. They will be hissed there, and that is your religion. Why, we have to bear our very Christianity with a Bur. There is an American religion. It differs from the Christian. Charles Sumner says, 'Slavery is local, Freedom national.' Our Christianity is national-not for the world-for the white race, not for all climes. Our

Christ died for the whites. The Swiss walks up and I have not misinterpreted this country. It seems to down his valley, and dare not speak above a whisper, me I have not done so. Daniel Webster used to say, for fear he brings down the avalanche that hangs on that we owel our commerce to the Union. Do we? either side over his head; and in this 'glorious Union' Long before the Union existed, Edmund Burke could say of yours, clergymen in New York pulpits, and politi- of New England commerce, that it had 'tempted every cians at Baltimore, tell you to to walk softly, and read clime and vexed every sea. Men say we owe the mi the Sermon on the Mount in a whisper, lest it bring the ufacturing interest to the Union-the busy hum of New whole Union down upon your heads. (Applause.) A England and of New York industry. Do we? What do 'glorious Union'—autocthonic, part of the blood! We we owe to that weather-cock tariff, by which the South cannot reprint an English book without expurgating it. Such is your literature. Your American Bible Societinterest at her pleasure for thirty years? Do we owe ty dare not offer a Bible in this very country to a man who has a drop of black blood in his veins, brute foot has trod it out so often, a sacrifice to so Your Sunday School and Tract Society dare not publish a Tract with anti-slavery in it, for fear of its South- commercial, a manufacturing, an agricultural people, ern supporters. It is a 'glorious Union'! Thomas Jefferson, they used to say, was an infidel. He took the New Testament, and cut out those portions that dis- aid of the strong hands, good hearts and noble intellects pleased him, and called the rest his Testament. They told it in all the 'Federal' pulpits of New England, and men's blood grew cold at the blasphemy. But we blot out half the Bible to suit a hundred thousand men South of Mason and Dixon's line, and he is an 'infidel' who objects. (Hear, hear.) What a 'glorious Union'! Men walk about, and dare not tell their fellow-being a crust of bread or a drop of water (wit- stood, or it may. It is a testimony-nothing mor bankrupt. Verily; it is a 'glorious Union' !

Union, whose right hand holds an oath to support it, ored men,] where there is neither 'bond nor free,' You think I am talking wildly and insanely. What Perhaps the Fugitive Slave Law was necessary. Necesslave on the plantation. Nor has it taken up the state of the underground railroad. [Applause.] It has not crushed the glorious inconsistency of the Free Soil particular to support Clays, the Wickliffes, and the Breckenridges, find our crushed the glorious inconsistency of the Free Soil particular to support Clays, the Wickliffes, and the Breckenridges, find our crushed the glorious inconsistency of the Free Soil particular to the first transfer of the New Testaular to the Soil particular to the Free the Constitution, and with its left helds a pietol to shield the slave. It has not done either of these things, but this it has done : it has carried terror into five hundred houses in the city of Boston, where from twenty to twenty-five years has dwelt in safety, many a fugitive from the dark and wicked institution. It has sep-arated parent and child, husband and wife, perhaps never to meet again. Some number only those whom Commissioners have sent back. But how many have fled, from fear of arrest? A fortnight ago, one hopeless man escaped to Canada, but before the good news could come back, his wife died from terror and sushearts? God alone. The law has scattered over the tested by the number of those arrested under it. It and Edwards, and Hopkins, and Channing have be been wrecked by it without the knowledge of the courts. The Fugitive Slave Law in some sense has succeeded, for it has crushed in many pulpits the rising sense of anti-slavery responsibility, and brought it again in sub- to their graves stamped as 'infidels,' and although jection to a lower law. It has not been met, as it should citizen to wicked laws, and to a Union which binds any necessity, however great. hem up as an integral part of itself. The Fugitive All our discussion on the Fugitive Slave Law was Slave Law, is no occasional, no temporary expedient disgrace to our Christianity, to our Christian teachers It is the foundation stone of this Union. When we to the mere learning, if nothing more, of the country would picture the Greek, how do we paint him? With The Rev. Dr. Rogers, of my own State (Mass.) publish his outline of severe classic beauty, and girdled about ed a sermon in which he told us it was our duty to ober by the remnants of the classic ages. And the German the Fugitive Slave Law, right or wrong, and that in scomes to our minds poring with his large glasses, with doing we should follow in the steps of the first centurie: life-long patience, over the manuscripts of past lite- of Christianity. And when you open the book that re rature. And the Frenchman, struggling with a mad, cords that history, you find that the first Divine Master reckless enthusiasm, for rights he can never use nor undied on the cross, and eleven of his twelve disciple derstand. England, the glorious child and first-born died violent deaths-according to Mr. Rogers-from son of Freedom, every one of whose giant steps of pro- obedience to the laws! Rome is hollowed out, undergress marks an age-England comes to us in the name mined, by catecombs where rests the dust of Christians of Hamplen and Sydney. [Applause.] When a European, either with his pencil or his pen, would picture an American, how does he do it? He paints him Christians and put them up in his theatre, poured pitch with a slave kneeling on one side of him, and a slavewhip in his right hand. They sell a little image of us in the markets of Mexico.

rith a bowie-knife in one side of the girdle and a Colt's revolver in the other, a huge loaf of bread in the left for miles on either side of them, eighteen centuries ag hand, and a slave-whip in the right. That is America! All over the wide world there is no other coat of arms for emblem of this 'glorious nation' of yours, except a slave-whip. Does it do us any injustice? You respect your country. Which of the last eight Presidents do you respect, and to which of them can you point, among the world's statesmen, and thank God that, either by the means by which they gained office, or by the fruits I dislike the Union. The reason is this : Because slave they bore when in it, you are willing this country shall ry could not stand an hour without the Union; the slave pe proud? Open with me the records of Diplomacy; masters could not keep his slaves without the quaranty what are they? At the court of Spain, in France, at St. of the Union against insurrection and against domest James's, nothing but efforts, two-thirds of them, about slaves! What is your whole history since 1820! An at- by 5,000,000 of whites in peace for sixty years-nev tempt to bulwark the slave system. What is our reij- Point me to the page of history on which such a fac gious, our civil, our literary history? We have but one great State paper; it is the Declaration of Independence ; and in two-thirds of the country it is voted fus- Turner, in 1831. You cannot point me to any other tian. We have but one book-we never wrote one be- such scene in all history. What keeps them ? fore—it is 'Uncle Tom's Cabin;' [applause :] and in Union keeps them. The 20,000,000 of pledged and every conservative newspaper, in every 'respectable' sworn hunters that people these Northern States of your pulpit, it is voted a libel. That is your Union. [A] Union. hiss.] I do not misrepresent. There is many a man that weeps over 'Uncle Tom,' who votes the Whig or keeps the South from being bankrupt? Could South the Democratic ticket. There is many a man that weeps Carolina pay for her own government? Could Missisver 'Uncle Tom,' and swears by the New York Her- sippi ? Could the other slaveholding States ? Do you ald. [Laughter and applause.] Claim no merit,selfish devotees of a mean and wicked despotism,-that you have got a remnant of your mother's heart yet, and and which every four or five years has to bring a com can cry over 'Uncle Tom.' [Applause.] An old abolitionist used to say, ten years ago, that it did not re- with from three to five millions lost, in that gap of our quire a Christian to abolish slavery; a tiger could do Forum-Southern Debt-which nothing but Northern it, if he were a decent tiger. [Laughter.] So I would say of men who weep over quire an abolitionist to do it. A man in whom the slightest drop of his mother's milk is left can do that.

You know, and I know, that the energetic mind of this country is not in the pulpit. Our pulpits united, cannot pay her own expenses, and never has done it, this country is not in the pulpit. But for ordinary let it undertake to stand alone, and support an army and in a good cause, are omnipotent. But for ordinary let it undertake to stand alone, and support an army purposes, the governing mind of the country is not in and navy to keep down more than one half of her own the pulpit. Nor is it in the editor's chair. It is in the population (for more than half are slaves in that State) counting-house. The energy, the ability, of this young, growing, enterprising twenty-million nation, is in the ounting-house. We are a mercantile people, made so by the wealth and splendor of the prizes in this lottery commerce, the vasiness of its plans for the possessor of wealth, in a country where the sin of not being rich is only atoned for by the effort to become so. The counting-house is the great, the strongest, the most respectable representative of the real intellect of the American, When men say to me, we have not given to the world a literature, it is true in a certain sense; but we have subdued an empire ; if we know not how to play the flate, we can say with Pericles, we know how to make the wilderness into an empire. That is the peculiar merit of the American people. Now, these and there must be a commercial and a manufa merchant princes of ours, all over the country, are industry upon which to base those taxes. We co they anti-slavery? Do they report progress on 'Uncle raise thirty millions of dollars annually, if we had not Tom? Do they stand by the side of the anti-slavery question? Merchant princes—princes! pedlers, who sell their principles before they sell their goods—[applause;] and worse than that, who do not stop to sell their principles consume; and in order to consume, they ciples, but are willing to throw them in to make a bar-gain for their goods! [Great applause.]

our agriculture to the Union, when the slaveholder's favorite policy of his? No! we should have been without the Union. We owe to this Union none of great blessings. We could have had them all by the with which God has gifted us, without the Union. It hovers over us with nothing but curses on its wings. [Appause and hisses.] Let me tell you why I think so. I do not really.

speak the candid truth, look upon this day as one for argument. We come up here, in these anniversary hours, short and brief as they are, to speak a word, and names-dare to travel only at midnight; to give a like the old Pythagorean sentence, it may not be under ness Thomas Garrett,) it shall make you a poor man, a We go into the battle as the Norman went with hi leopard, the Bourbon with his Heur de lis, and the oth-Perhaps they are right in saying it is a glorious er great nations with their shields and coats of arms Union.' The man who stands under the shadow of the we crowd our way amid sanctimonious piety, in the May week, to write on your walls the old motto- In Union, whose right hand mous an analysis and parcel mediate and Unconditional Emancipation on the sou, who is taking office under it, who is part and parcel fo be gained only by the re-organization of the Church mediate and Unconditional Emancipation on the soil. But we wash our hands of it; we stand outside of it, and the disunion of the State, and then we go away, The only platform that we think it decent to stand upon is this; and this is our religion; Where there is 'nei-time will bring its fruits; I do not know, therefore, that ther male nor female,' [pointing to Lucy Stone,] where I feel bound to give you any argument. But let m there is neither African nor Saxon, [pointing to the col- reason a moment. You think I am a fanatic, to-day [great applause,] where, spite of all human laws, all slavery? We come here to discuss what slavery is, an essities, we will yield obedience to the laws of God. how it is supported. Some men think it exists because sity, the tyrant's plea, excused the devilish law.' Per- sense. Dr. Spring will pray readily enough for its ex tinction the moment if becomes a losing concern. [Ap haps it was necessary. My friend Garrison thinks it tinction the moment if becomes a losing concern. [Aphas not succeeded. It has. There is a sense in which plause and hisses.] Do you suppose one single Missis it has not succeeded, it is true. It has not kept the sippi sugar planter will keep his slaves on the plants slave on the plantation. Nor has it taken up the rails tion when he loses money by them, in order to gratify that, instead of making them feudal barons of th State, slavery is driving them from office and honors do you suppose they will keep it going in order to grat ify the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions? [Laughter.] Find me the balance on the wrong side of the ledger, and I will find you scores Doctors of Divinity to maintain that Onesimus was no a slave. [Laughter.] No ; the noblest sentence in ou literature, I had almost said, was that of Patrick Henry-'It is a duty which we owe to the purity of on religion to show that it does not sanction slavery." is a duty which we owe to Christianity to show that pense. Who shall count the number of such broken this American religion, whose professors cannot go from the platform of your anniversary and appear with hon wilds of Canada, by thousands, men that were living in or on the June platform of London, unless they have peace, and with successful industry, in our cities and change of heart in the interval-[laughter]-it is on villages. We sent off three hundred men, within six duty to show that this is not Christianity, and that the months, from the city of Boston. A law is not to be Christianity which the Puritans left us, which Winthrop is to be tested by the number of those whose lives have queathed to us, is a Christianity which does not veil it Christ before a hundred thousand aristocrats, or two thousand millions of dollars, but which can originate and sustain an anti-slavery cause, even though men g nation dies in the struggle-can originate and sustain have been, with a radical discussion of the duty of the a cause which thinks Right of more importance than

> over them, and set them on fire-because they were overscrupulous to obey all his laws ! - And you may ride out on the Appian and other ways that run out from Rome like the rays from a star, and history will tell you that stood numberless crosses, and on each cross hung Christian, who, according to Dr. Rogers, knew no higher law than that of Tiberius and Domitian ! And this Christian learning in the city of Boston in the 19th century, in the Republic of America! Your 'glorious Union' put that voice into the lips of Dr. Rogers.

> But I was going to take a single moment to say why violence. There never were 3,000,000 of slaves kept

Again, look at it as a mere money concern. suppose so? I do not. A system of industry so want ing in economy that it cannot make the year's end meet mercial crisis over the North, and bankrupt our cities industry can close up-talk of such a system support 'Uncle Tom,' it does not ing itself! It is nothing but bankruptey. South Car olina talks bravely of walking out of the Union. Let her throw away her crutches and stand once alone, be You know, and I know, that the energetic mind of fore she talks of walking (applause). A State that Let the whites not work-let three blacks be equal t one working white man, and remember she will need ar army and navy to keep down her rebellious population Let her undertake to stand thus in the nineter tury with its keen and hungry competition of labor, and see if, with all her economy, she can make the year's end meet. No; we cover the South with the shield o national protection. We pay for the army, for the navy; we render it possible for the prodigal son to have his own vile will, and yet not eat husks. And we call that a Union, and when the South threatens to quit us we think we shall be ruined (laughter)!

Besides, let the South go out, and let it find its under the necessity of raising taxes for its own support, industry upon which to base those taxes. We could no must work and pay for what they consume. The slaves, therefore, must be made mechanics, and set to word at some profitable employments-more profitable us able to bury any one of our great men but in tears. does not hammer on his anvil material iron alone, but But I was speaking, more especially, of the prese say that disunion is the slave's best hope, for it apologize for 'Uncle Tom'? I say, an American is

the governments must fail. nothing but political economy-nothing in the world was painted on his face. It was a great disappointmen but the coldest and lowest and most common principles to me, for I happened that very morning to have been of the counting-house. Could Eugland have kept Ireland where she is, but for the ignorance which Catholi- Willis, in which he said that every German looked into blot and curse of the British empire, if religion had not tion; and this Boston Linenaron was the orb of inspi kept her peasantry where they are? Neither could ration that I had to show my German friend. Yes, it slavery have existed in this country, had we permitted is easy to hiss in the city of New York, but it is never the keen, intelligence-giving competition of the nine- theless true, that, in the face of Austrian newspapers teenth century to come pouring its life-giving energy and Tory reviews, and Tory politics, all over Europe and warmth directly upon us. But it is because your an American has nothing to do but explain and apol Union has placed itself as a shield, in this nineteenth gize. O'Connell did not shake hands with an America century, over this old relic of barbarism, that it now till he told him from what State he came. It is the lives, contrary to the expectation of men. It is a mere type of all Europe at the present moment. Thank entrenched in self-interest, entrenched in dollars and when you turn your back upon us, American member cents, must be met with the same weapons of warfare of churches and parties, remember there are the gloriwith which she fights.

tive character of this organization. You may laugh at which to read the New Testament. us now; you may ridicule our ideas now; but when the South has girdled the Gulf with slave States; when and I wish to close on that point. I say, this is she has reinstated slavery on the plains of Mexico; country which makes it almost the business of our reand thinks she can stand alone, then the proposition tion, the savor of American piety stinks in the nos I do that it is idle to talk of peace with the Slave Pow- And this is your 'glorious Union'-none of mine er. You know, and every intelligent man knows, as I would not acknowledge as glorious a country which years. You know that there is neither public opinion sible for great men to live honorable lives. When they ida slaveholder, the other day, at Niagara Falls, who of the patriarch, walking backward, with kindly char told me that the plan was all cut and dried both for ity, to throw the mantle over them, and remember only the acquisition of Cuba and the whole Mosquito coast; his merits, his good deeds. But with us, so flagran and, being himself somewhat opposed to it, he asked are the evils of our great men's example, so great the oppose such schemes? He said he had heard of New the epitaphs of our great men must be warnings for had thought that happily, possibly, something might ry of speaking well of the dead; for if we do, we fai ner Spring afraid to pray, of Moses Stuart with his circumstances where they will not be tempted to do ser-Conscience and the Constitution,' and Dr. Dewey, vice to so foul a system as slavery. I would make the and hisses long continued.) For once, I have the private dishonor now to serve the State. I mean this whole audience with me; some of you are applauding I have known a Judge of the Supreme Court go into me, and some are hissing Dr. Dewey (great laughter Fancuil Hall, in the city of Boston, and support the

To the common apprehension, it appears probable, that after the acquisition of all these States, we shall said, he had furnished a favorite servant, a fugitive go on with a gradual movement of anti-slavery opin- slave, with means to escape from that very Fugitive -that Kentucky will abolish slavery, then Tennessee; that Delaware, and afterwards Maryland, will fall infamy to serve a government where that or any thing away from the slave system, and thus, State by State, like it is necessary; and yet, how shall men stand bewe shall get rid of the institution. Suppose we do; fore their wives and children, if they practise at home suppose this prosperous event (as some think it) were the very lessons which they give to us from the forum and State after State shall get rid of it. You will then if we could blot out that black color which makes us so have slavery dying by piece-meal for a century and a prejudiced against the slave, if we could call him by half; retreating southward and southward, so that, some other name, so that men could not point up to like the Dutchman's coat, what you cut off from the the picture of Washington and say that slaveholder, collar will be put on to the tail. And this is to be your |- if we could call slavery by some other name-call it emancipation, is it? On the other side, this is the piracy, call it adultery, call it robbery—then we should brightest picture that gentlemen hold out to us. It is begin to realize its enormity. But we have covered it the way old feudalism went down in France; it is the up with words to which we have become so much acway feudal institutions went down in Germany; and customed, from the times of our fathers, to see on the what did they leave behind? They left behind a pulpit page of our history, that we no longer feel it. If we bedeviled into servility to the State. They left behind could whiten all the slaves to-night, I could promise a puling and faltering statesmanship, that has never them liberty to-morrow. It is prejudice against the been equal to the crisis into which the nation has been fatal color that will not let our logic run straight. cast. They have left an intellect either dwarfed and I would, therefore, Mr. Chairman, break up all thes

who blotted out her feudal system under the foot of Ol- disunion of these States, to remove the tremer iver Cromwell; as one might almost say, by a single temptation from politics and the pulpit, my problem i act. (Applause.) And what have we for the result? this: We want men as disinterested as the Apostles to We have a national mind springing forward ever equal put down slavery. Every dollar that this nation makes to the task to which it is called. We have a church of is at this present moment directly or indirectly condissenters that have shrunk from no issue, that have taken up the slave question on one hand, and the abotition of the corn-laws on the other, and beaten the ing cities of marble and granite are built in connection aristocracy and the throne on both. We have a nation with the slave system. We cannot war against two whose literature is the fountain-head from which all thousand millions of dollars without a very radical batliterature is fed on the subject of slavery. If we shall the. You have a Wall Street Union Committee. You literature is fed on the subject of slavery. If we shall the You have a wan order of the pulpit, giving ever abolish slavery, we owe it to the Hampdens and have Dr. Gardiner Spring in the pulpit, giving the world, that the Sydneys, we owe it to the Cromwells and the men (hisses.) It is the strangest thing in the world, who planted the religion of the 'Mayflower.' (Ap- when we speak of a divine and quote his very words, plause.) Now, your method of emancipation, however there are people in the audience who hiss us for quoting immediate it may be for the individual, is to be graduthem. Now, where lies the fault? We are simply exal-State by State. You are to tear away piecemeal hibition attendants, who stand before an American piecemeal this great evil. Yes, and in the meantime, your count- ture and say, this is a Doctor of Divinity. He stands just as timid, your press will be just as prostitute. I mouth, 'If one prayer would free all the slaves, I want an act that shall make our newspapers fit to gov-should not dare to make it.' And when we mention it, ern this country, as they now actually do. We live in you hiss ! (Laughter.) It is no fault of ours. Then we a land where the newspapers make Presidents; we live turn round and say, This is an American statesman: in a land where the *Herald* is more than law. You he stands with his brow framed on a model of Godknow that it is a libel on liberty to say that we live in a like beauty, and out of his mouth come these words. land of law. We live in a land where the dominant of law. We live in a land where the dominant of law. We live in a land where the dominant of law. We live in a land where the dominant of law. We live in a land where the dominant of law. We live in a land where the dominant of law. We live in a land where the dominant of law. We live in a land where the dominant of law. move one gigantic temptation out of its path. Politics, is to render such sentiments impossible. It is not what is it? Nothing but bribery, with all the money wholly Daniel Webster's fault. God made him as good now on one side, and all the saleable votes on the other. as you are, as good as any of us; but you took And your Northern politicians, what are they? They live by whispering at home what they are afraid to have heard at Washington, and whispering at Washington what they are afraid to have heard at home; and it is death to them when they are equally well known at both places. (Applause.) Now, I would fain make it possible for a Daniel Webster to be an honest man. (Hisses and applause.) God gives us greet intellects. (Hisses and applause.) God gives us great intellects

than the rude toil of digging holes in the earth, and planting cotton there. And the moment you turn the men that we can stand up with an unfaltering brow, slaves into mechanics, the Huguenots of France are upon us, with their love of freedom, and with their patience and faith, to claim their rights. The blacksmith John Jar! the brightest, purest name in our history. he welds the links of an argument that proves his own day. When you name Jar, and the score of others who right to be free. (Applause.) -I would turn these would be exceptions to my remark, you go back to Revbankrupts out from the shelter of the paternal home, olutionary times, to the glowing lava of a fresh enthu and let them, in the keen competition of the nineteenth siasm, when the world was in the fervor of a new cor century, be made to work, and educate their masses. version, and trampled more easily under foot all earth Out of that education will there come rebellion and ly temptations. But we have got to the 'material aid liberty. (Applause.) But we render it possible, by the since then : the lava is chilled, the inspiration of th girdle of our national institutions, for the South to new idea has gone out, and now our great men are no keep three millions of wasteful and ignorant laborers, irreproachable as then. I say it not reproachfully; in the very sunshine of the nineteenth century, and am an American-O, no, thank God! I am a Massa we cover them with our army and navy, with the untarnished fame and unexhausted strength of New York rope is a walking apology, at the present moment, and Ohio. Disunion turns them out to pay their own (A laugh.) Do I misrepresent? Have not all the debts; and, therefore, as a mere economical question, as newspaper correspondents from Paris, Vienna, Rome mere competition between free and slave labor, I and London, told us that they had nothing to do but plants on the side of his liberty the cannon of interest. walking apology for his Christianity and Republican-It puts his master on his side, in the very strongest and ism. (Hisses and applause.) It is easy to hiss it in the ever enduring springs of character—those of making city of New York, but it is hard to meet it in the streets money; and the consequence would be, that the plan-tation could no longer be kept ignorant and half idle, in Germany, a copy of the Boston Liberator. A Gerbut must be instructed, must be kept at work, as the man friend took it up, and saw the vignette on its impeople of the Northern States are working ; otherwise, print-a slave auction. He did not lay it down ; he threw it down, with an intense expression of disgust, he governments must fail. threw it down, with an intense expression of disgust as a curse, we are talking fanaticism. We are talking can have slaves?' I never shall forget the disgust that ism entailed upon her? Could Ireland have been the the eyes of Americans as if they were orbs of inspira uestion of dollars and cents, after all, and slavery, God for it! When we have no jury to appeal to here ous fifty millions on the other side of the water : the But I have spoken enough. (Cries of 'Go on !') I make up the majority of Christendom, and we can ar have no wish except to pronounce, once a year, in the peal to them, well knowing that American divines of city of New York, the words which mark the distinct the other side of the water find new spectacles with

when she has bought or bullied Cuba into the Union; views to explain. One of the Directors of your Amerwhen she has converted Southern California into a slave | ican Bible Society-a Director, also, of the British and State, when she has grown so strong that she thinks she Foreign Bible Society-said to me, in the city of Loncan do without the North, and has no need of the cov-er of your strength; when by your aid she has extend-duce an American clergyman or an American Chrised her dominion until she grasps all sorts of territory, tian to a London audience; for,' said he, in explanamay come from the other side. You know as well as trils of British Christians.' (I use his very language.) well as I do, that this Administration will not go out of struck down free speech, a country which made it aloffice before the stars and stripes will float over the most impossible to be honest in the pulpit, a country capital of Mexico. You know that if money or any which made testimony for a man's highest convictions other power can do it, Cuba will be ours within seven equivalent to beggary, a country which made it imposnor religious principle in the Union strong enough to bury a great man in England, in France, in Germany, eccessfully oppose either. I met a Southerner, a Flor- though his faults exist, they are at liberty, like the sons me where the plety of the North was, that it did not work that lies before us in converting this nation, that gland patriotism and New England churches, and he those who come after. We cannot enjoy even the luxuemanate thence that would offer resistance to such plans of our duty alike to the living and to the slave. And of slaveholding aggrandizement. I told him of Gardi- that is your Union! I would fain place great men in anxious to get rid of his mother. (Laughter-applause service of our State comparatively honorable. It is a Fugitive Slave, denounce all the men that sit of platform almost by name, and a little while before, it is Slave Law he now publicly upheld! I call it private happen to us-that Kentucky shall lead the way, (Applause.) If we could change the image of slavery

stunted on all civil questions, or turned utterly aside to national arrangements, and make the conversion of the mere literature. This is the history of the religion and people. I do not believe it possible in the present case. the intellect of France and Germany.

I think, unfortunately, very badly of human nature. I on the other side of the channel we have England, will tell you what my problem is. Unless you give me house will be just as servile, your pulpit will be there with some such words as these coming out of his aman nature out of the world, but I would fain re- make the men nor the sentiments. What we want to do you hiss us, I once read a statute of South Carolina and blesses us with noble men—as human nature is 1740, against teaching a slave to read, to an audience ever noble—and we take them and cast them into the of Southerners, and they hissed me. (Laughter.) cauldron of these national temptations, and sacrifice them; and I hate this Union, because it does not leave their grandfathers. And now, every time that I have through hope, but by my faith in Christianity—20, 25

alluded to Dr. Spring, you have himed me. Bene ence of such a monster is not my fault-is midely of the anti-clavery enterprise. (Hisses and apply Your pulpits and your counting-houses have to him, and it is to change these pulpits and on houses that the anti-sistery cause exists. We for houses that the anti-statery cause came. We do to hope to make men any better in their original mea-tion. We do not hope to give them, in Chris to tion. We do not nope to give them, in them to her's phrase, 'any better back-benes' that ky as had; but we do hope to diminish the amount of had had; but we do nope to unannous the answer of the and that is the way in which we intend to carry to a and that is the say: Given—a Wall Street Committee as Gardiner Spring in the pulpit, and the pulpit, make out of such a school as that twenty allow make out or a make out or a men, equal in disinterestedness to the twire loss men, equal in the soon do you think it could be the (Laugner,)
These be thy gods, O Israel ': one is the laugh These be thy gons, or trace one is the Seals had Board of Commissioners, and one is the Seals had Union, repenting of having dared to print East h Cob,' which they had had in their depot for machine years, and it happened that a dozen copies of his years, and seems to the South The clergy of the South fast sent to the country out, and they burnt it in the public street, recognition out, and they sent back to Photos What did the Sunday School Union do? The same a little weak Anti-Slavery Society. No, they represent the evangelical piety of a dozen seets lits for treasury were poured the resource of hif a time large denominations. They had, to back film, at he large denominations. They nad, to take then, all is piety of the North. What did they do? Bid they are Gentlemen, that tract was written twenty your as it was not written with any view to the a question; but in the providence of God, the truth by reached the sinner, and we are bound to that Gd 6 it; and we hope you will lay it to heart, and my No; they said, Gentlemen, the tract was written twenty years ago, with no interof offending you; if you have any copies of it, so of onending jour, and we will burn them; we will be up the stereotype plates, and herer prist anothere That is your religion. (Hisses.) His it! consist.

(Laughter.) You know there was an old Greek, to was not by any means a Philias or Practile, the painted something, and had a Greek slave to shall be it and say, 'This is a horse,' Well, we take there as ings, and we say, Gentlemen, this thing that to would mistake for a fawning time-server is a betard Divinity or an American statesman.' That is all w say. Mark me; I claim it seriously for the anti-thes. ry cause. You will say we are abusive, faratical In say we use Billingsgate. We never describel a ma except in his own words. We have only let each me. each denomination, speak for itself, in its own weak Is that unjust? Is it Billingsgate? Is it desuress. But I was speaking in regard to the American Union ry? We have only let these men speak their own sutiments, and the moment we repeat them on our plasform, you see their application. The fact is, as less ican cannot talk politics without making himself rifeulous. John C. Calhoun once said on the foor of the Senate-he, the arch-magician of slave logic, mit There is not a more self-evident principle in the what range of axioms, than that what a man digs from the soil is his against the world; and he had sitty no at home to whom he did not allow it. And when the ill-fated passengers on board the 'Pearl' attempted a fice from Washington, what do you suppose indust them to make the attempt? It was a speech of it-Foote, of Mississippi, on the French Revolution of 184 who said, ' The age of TYRANTS and SLAVERY is raids drawing to a close, and the happy period to be sine

> believed him! (Applause.) I will not, however, longer exhaust the patience of the audience I would move as my resolution-sal move it at the end rather than the beginning of my speech-the following :-

ized by the universal emancipation of man from the

fetters of civil oppression, and the recognition, is all

countries, of the great principles of popular someg-

ty, equality and brotherhood, is, at this moment, visits

ommencing.' Unhappily for these poor men, the

Resolved, That we reaffirm our original princip immediate and unconditional emancipation on the sit and that we reaffirm our consistion, that there is a probability of achieving this, but by the dissolution the American Union and the remodelling of the American Church. (Applause and hisses.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's speech, there wer loud and repeated calls for Mr. Beecher.

Mr. GARRISON said that it would afford him and is felt moved to speak.

Mr. BEECHER then rose, amid great applanse. SPEECH OF REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER

I did not mean to speak, either here or any view, during these Anniversary meetings. It is one thing however, to resolve to be silent when you are estable and another thing to keep your tongue when your inside. Although I don't wish to speak, yel I fed al it were, in some sense, wrong to be in a great assembly gathered for a common end, and not bear a testine Differing from my friend Mr. Phillips, as I certain do, as to the proper means by which to wage this en test, I do most heartily agree as to the great cal a k sought and wen. I should feel a sort of rest, when such an assembly demanded my testars, should withhold it; a testimony which I have given will give, so long as God spares my life-a total which, dying, and in the very presence of God'sthem, I could give with greater purity and energy than ber before, against slavery, as against the abounded Christianity, to its very core. (Applanst.) I and agree, in my present state of thought, not can I of honestly that continuous reflection inclines ne to aprewith my friend Phillips. I am always charmed to her him speak, and although, to be honest about it, list to own that, in regard to much that he says, it is made to dissent than to answer, yet I must say, there is feeling that will not let me come to his grand, etler's regard to the State or the Church. It may be prodice, or the result of reflection; but so R is. I at. perhaps, more hopeful than he. Surely, I don't per pose to myself the idea of a country for ever learning this dark plague spot. This, to me, would be what h a child a mother would be dearly beloved whose be som, on which his head had been pillowed, was easied a cancer. I propose to myself a country, no less the from the Lakes (and peradventure beyond then) b the Gulf of Mexico, and from one ocean to the other nothing smaller than this. But it is to be a land what freedom is not to be a power for the maintenant slavery. Our liberty must be the foundation of they to those who are too weak to achieve and to hold it le themselves. I am ashamed that, with our free principles ples and religion, we should have had slavery-bd troduced, for that, peradventure, was beyond our ne trol-but that it should have grown up like a fargula its rapidity, and with the strength and toughness of a oak, defying the breath of public opinion. I am beilt ily ashamed of that growth, but still, I do not beset that it is always to be so. I must say frankly, if or choice were given me to have our land for ever mind, undivided, and great, but slaveholding; or, sundered is two, that one half at least should be free; I should choose dismemberment and liberty, somer that that and slavery. But there is something letter than either It is an undismembered and uncracked Union without any slavery. If our Union is to be the power guardian of slavery for ever, let it perish. If it is to the refuge of freedom and the for of oppression, it is stand while the sun shines. Human liberty is the

which is greater than all laws and all governments and which gives to these their sacredness and digits.

Governments and Unions are of value only as the serve God's great design in the enfranchisement and moral elevation of the rank. moral elevation of the race. Because I believe that of government and the union of our States will, ere last be a power exclusively for liberty, I stand for its

maity-by my faith in Christ Jesus, the living

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or sill always stand as slaveholding. Christianity one will always a noble battle against other tyrannies the cerupl institutions, in other lands and days der cerrupt and the victories of the past, I am red with hope for the future. God, methinks, has to the elder age of Christianity a battle more desto the easer age : a battle against the power o the greatest power the world ever saw; and on, the greatest power the world ever saw; and time we may be timidity, because as satisfies way, and in a new application of Chrisrs, there will be found many persons who wear abols of Christianity, that know not the power is spanish at the power of a time there may be ster in the Church, I believe there is to be found ganity enough in the world, in the Church and of it, in the Bible and out of it—i. c., in the red and in the living heart—and, I had almost said, and through the very air, as a Divine Providence terrar the great organic laws of society, controlling army the great the Church, yea, beating in the veint pinial economy, subtly guiding the common gene serving a ladelphia were not is if men into a public sentiment, which, in God's on time, in spite of recreant elergymen, apostate en, venal politicians, and trafficking shopmen, represent-into their a dorra and fall upon this vast and unmitigated abomination, ad atterly ernsh it. But my earnest desire is that pery may be destroyed by the manifest power of a, all the they say, are ago; i-slavery truth has a God for herianity. If it were given me to choose whether it hald be destroyed in fifty years by selfish commercial deences, or, standing for seventy-five years, be then begin and trophy of Christ, I had rather let it line

> so himself the glory ! his s common saying with some, that Christianity is after of liberty. Christianity in favor of it ! Chrisfacty is liberty! There is no true liberty which is at of the very nature of religion. The man that take to New Testament, and reads to me that odious doctrist of devils, that Christianity is the handmaid of sarry, does not know one single throb of Christianity, or that is its first element. It is liberty. There ane other liberty under heaven than that which stands is lere, and justice based upon love ! God is love, and Continuity is love. Iknow we have had dark times, and I have felt

seraty-five years more, that God may be honored

ant Mammon, in the destruction of it. So do I hate

at I should rejoice at its extinction, even did the

all tred it out, as he first kindled it ; but how much

safer would I see God Almighty come down to shake

es earth with his tread, to grind all tyrannies and op-

whene small as the dust of the highway, and to take

chaps more keenly than these gentlemen, ashamed o s. who have, in other respects, great learning, great revered men, who, for the various good they hav se deserve well of the community-when I have sel them utter sentiments that are a reproach t Printingly. I have felt ashamed to see the principles of Christianity, for which I live, defamed by the intertations of venerable men; and then to see the younginistry, who are not so tainted, brought into a false tion. I grieve to see it ; but it is not always to be I have a courage not of man in this regard. I bethere is rising up, in the providence of God, a er exemplification of Christianity in the pulpit and the Church than any we have yet seen, and by and our children will stand upon such platforms as this, a such occasions as this, speaking of the past numer s wrongs done by slavery, and thank God for one are illustration of the power of God, through the es of Christ, which shall have done that which legoistion could not do, and which the commerce of the entry would not do. Nay, that the spirit and power Christ was mightier than the Church, and than hristian ministers ; and again shall be seen the Sathe of men, as once in Jerusalem, driving forth from he Temple of this noble and undissevered nation, all lese in the pulpit, in the Church, and in the State. who sell-men and women as if they were doves and oxen al densing it from shame, causing the light of its pary to be to all the earth as when the sun shines upor he mountains of darkness, and turns them to morning

Loud calls being made for Mr. Douglass, he came you the platform and spoke as follows :-SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

before an andience in the city of New York, at the aninerary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. - I rejoice that this Society has again taken its place in this ity among the anniversaries of the month. I regard it as an earnest of the future triumph of our cause. There has been much said as to the hopeful and the fearful side of this great controversy with slavery. For my own part, I feel a little of both. I feel hopeful, and I feel burful. It seems to me that the Slave Power of this country has determined upon a fixed and definite policy, with respect to the colored people of this centry. They have determined, in the first place, by all the powers they possess, to suppress the freedom of speech. They have determined, in the next place, upon the expatriation of every colored man and woman from the United States. They have determined also upon the erpetuation of slavery forever in the Southern States. bey have determined also upon making slavery respecied in every State of the Union. The history of the put few years is not altogether unfavorable to the acaplishment of some of these designs. It seems to sethat Mr. Phillips is right when he tells you that the egitive Stave Law has succeeded. He is right in so fir as he pictures the ruin that has followed in the track of that inhuman, hell-black law; for there is ruin is its track. Hundreds and thousands of free men and ween, comfortably situated in these Free States, have actually had their property confiscated and been themselves driven forth as wanderers in the earth, in consupremee of the passage of that law.

But as to having slavery respected in this country, ir the Northern States, that thing cannot be done by law. The relation of master and slave is so inhuman, so men trees and so shocking, that man cannot, uninfluenced 7 direct interest in that relation, look upon the stare as he looks upon other species of property. He cannot forget that the slave is a man. No laws, no ampacts, no covenants, no enactments, of any descripin, can ever blot out from the moral sense of these Sorthern States a consciousness of the manhood of the kare, and no man can feel, when he sees a slave esape, as he would do if he saw a stray horse. The Sare Power, however, desire and intend to try to put the slaves on a footing with the beasts of the field. They intend to bring you and me and all of us to look spea the slave as a horse or an ex; but it cannot be

Then in regard to the freedom of speech-that cannot appressed, because it involves a proposition to padbut the lips of the whites, in order that the fetters or the limbs of the slave may be secure. It is done to fire peace to slavery. That cannot be done. Peace to slaveholder! He can have to peace. 'No peace to the wicked, saith my God.' The Slave Power might sance the voice of Wendell Phillips, or the pen of Wm. Lioyd-Garrison. They might blot out our Anti-Slavery ranization, in order to give peace to the slaveholder. They might cut out my tongue, and all our tongues They might gather together all the anti-slavery litera-ture, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' included, touch a match to and its flames towards the sky, and scatter its ashes to the four winds of heaven, and yet the slaveholder would be ill at ease, (applause); for deep down in his own conscience would come an accusing voice—'Thou art verily guilty concerning thy brother.' (Applause.) Savery cannot stand. Its character is like that of Lord Granby: It can only pass without censure as it panes without observation.' I am fearful; I am hope-fal. I am distressel, and yet I have faith. I believe

slavery will come down, and I take this great occasion as a proof of the incoming of that day when there shall be no slave, no chain to clank in our ears. (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON-A single word, in parting, to the audience. Our respected friend, Henry Ward Beecher, has given you his idea of Christ as the Redeemer, and not the enslaver of men. It is the Christ whom I love, He has told you that Christianity not only maintains liberty, but is liberty. That is my faith also. Tet, for entertaining that opinion, I am an 'infidel' in the finding or criticising spirit, but solely to obtain a more

for very wicked sentiments, and applause for very glothe fact can now go forth to the world. (Applause.)

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

For the first time in several years, the interesting little clique of the adorers of Mr. Garrison, have favored New York with a meeting. On Wednesday, morning an Anniversary was held at the Chinese Buildings, in presence of a large audience, attracted by the hope of something strange and comical, wherein they were certainly not disappointed. Mr. Garrison presided, of course, and the proceedings were so like the meetings formerly held as to produce a pleasing antiquarian illusion—and affording a striking illustration of the conservative character of the principal speakers. There were Mr. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, Abby Kelley, Edmund Quincy, Ellis Gray Loring—the Boston aristocracy of philanthropy—with countenances unchanged, and speech sharp-set, with plans as impracticable, ideas as narrow, and hostilities as virulent as ever. Time, that mellows all things else, has had no effect upon these The addresses, too, were the same; the rotund and magnificent sentences of Mr. Phillips could be almost anticipated—so identical in drift and form and spirit with those that year after year have constituted the stock-in-trade of these Anniversaries. The only novelty of the meeting that would indicate gain of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Mr. Doug-

progress, was the loss of Frederick Bouglass, and the gain of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Mr. Douglass a great speech was given to the American and Foreign Society; and Mr. Beecher gave a freshness to the proceedings by one of his stirring genial and popular addresses.

We have great respect for the sincerity of this worthy little band. Their constancy is heroic; for years they have uncomplainingly put their hands in their pockets to sustain Mr. Garrison; the Liberator, the Standard, and to keep up the various pic-nics and meetings by which the historic existence of this body has been periodically made known. Men of wealth as they are, they could give no better evidence of their sinceriry—unless it he, to read the periodicals they support, of which we cannot be sure. But we need not, if we could, report their speeches. They are already before the world—and have been for years. It will be enough to say that four addresses were made—by him and given him all the distinction between his own sense of duty and the policy of the Free Sollers as a party. Yet, trepeat it, his tone of address was liberal and generous.'

And the following is the testimony of the Boston correspondent of the Cincinnati Christian Press, with an invidious fling at the end of it:—

'Wm. L. Garrison was called for by some voices in the crowd, and he responded in a felicitous manner, with the exception of some anti-union notions peculiar to his school, with which he wound up. I was giad to notice that, after he took this tack, he did not get one note or breath of approval from any person in the assembly. As far as Mr. Hale, or Mr. Giddings, or Mr. Mann, or Mr. Sumner, or any other public man, has gone in an anti-union.' enough to say that four addresses were made—by Mr. Garrison, Mr. Quincy, Miss Stone and Mr. Phillips, besides Mr. Douglass and Mr. Beecher's thing of the disgrace of having once interrupted them by violence.—N: Y. Exangelist.

The Anti-Slavery party was ably represented, and uttered the usual amount of indignant eloquence, with the usual alloy of reckless vituperation. We are surprised to find so brave and honor-ME. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I ship are surprised to find so brave and honorable a man as Mr. Wendell Phillips repeating a land if we censure them for upholding such a Constitution; any remarks at this stage of these proceedings. I expressed to the satisfaction of all candid minds. with the indicious far more than they gain with the fanatical by such unjust denun-

> What the Inquirer calls ' reckless vituperation,! s simply the fearless utterance and application of the truth, without regard to persons. As for Dr. Dewey, his willingness to send, now his mother and anon his brother, into slavery, if need be to save the Union, can sive, never malignant. He holds himself amenable be proved by too many witnesses, who heard his declaration, to be successfully denied at this late hour.

remarks in opposition to the Anti-Church views of Mr. Phillips, which—on one point, at least—provoke grave reflection. We have waited, before of self-righteousness on the one hand, or of bitter de demur to is as follows:

Now, as so far as this passage indicates a preference that the Abolition of Slavery should be impelled by Principle rather than Interest, Philanthropy rather than Selfishness, Christianity rather than Mammon, we beartily agree with it; but if we were required to decide whether Slavery should cease in 1860 through secular and selfish influences, or in 1885 through the influence of Christianity, we should hesitate, ponder, and wish to 'take the sense' of those in bondage, before agreeing to the twenty-five years' postponement for the glory of known for their interest in the cause of suffering human (Christianity II). Christianity. If they were willing to endure the lash, the coffle and the auction-block for another generation-to have mere infants sold from the mothers' breasts and daughters marketed for shame to the follest imputations and the most trying persecutill 1885, in order that Christianity might reap tions. It will be seen that the Call is expressed in un the glory of its overthrow, why then we would think about it. Nay, we would still wish to interrogate Ohristianity herself, and learn whether she would prefer to have the abominations and are would prefer to have the abominations and cruelties inseparable from the ownership of man by man continue a quarter of a century, in order that its overthrow might redound to her own glory. If she would, our estimate of her character would be somewhat lower than it has been. Most certainly, the Parable of the Good Samaritan would not have been improved by a supplementary respect that have been improved by a supplementary regret that the man who tell among thieves had not lain mangled and bleeding half a day longer until some Priest or Levite had come along who would have had compassion on him.—N. Y. Tribune.

RHODE ISLAND CONVENTION. - The Temperance women in this State, are soon to hold a Convention for the purpose of choosing delegates to the World's Convention, to be held in New York, on the sixth day of September next, and to act upon other busi-ness connected with the Temperance cause. Mea are not excluded either from the Convention or from the platform. Doubtless these Temperance women are of opinion that men have as valid a right to speak and to act in behalf of this cause, as they themselves; and it is not therefore supposable that they will abandon the reform, even if half the men in the State should come forward and claim the

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MAY 27, 1853.

THE HALE PESTIVAL

A respected correspondent inquires of us, in no fault judgment of the American Church and the American thorough knowledge of truth and duty—' How is it that clergy. And my friend stands an infidel in the same category, for the same reason; because our definition John P. Hale, and as a token of regard and gratitude of Christianity and our estimate of Christ are rejected by this nation of professing Christians. Our friend while he performed those labors under oath that he spoke hopefully in regard to the future, and believed would, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and that under God we should be one people. But remem- defend the Constitution of the United States-which ber that the Union which he contemplates is not the Constitution you proclaim to the world is a covenan Union which now exists. He lives in an ideal world, with death, and an agreement with hell? —&c. &c and my friend Phillips has been speaking of the actual We answer-for the reason that we gave in the remarks state of things; for we have no Union in reality; i.on- we made on that occasion, that it is both scriptural and estly speeding, we have the overflowing, omnipresent, right to give credit to whom credit, and honor to whom omniscient omnipotent Slave Power over us and around honor is due. As far as any man,—whether connected us, and nothing else; and this meeting in one half of with the Church or the State,—whether agreeing with our minon is an unlawful meeting, and would subject us to Lynch law. There is no freedom of speech; there a readiness to jeopard his reputation, pecuniary interest, is no common country, no common Constitution; there-fore no Union; but it is submission to the Slave Power, dom, and will not retreat an inch to avoid the sacrifice the iron sway of the Slave Power over the whole land. we shall never allow any difference of opinion as t And now, my friends, I will just say, that I rejoice at the great assembly that we have had convened today. It has been an intelligent, it has been an attentive, it has been a very discriminating assembly-hisses occupancy of a seat in the U. S. Senate, gave the Slave Power much annoyance, boldly unmasked its design rious ones. (Applause.) We have proved it to be pos- and manfully resisted its encroachments, is well known sible once more to have an anti-slavery meeting in the on both sides of the Atlantic ; and for this he right city of New York, and it is the glory of New York that deserved the tribute that was paid him in this city, a short time since. Up to this point we could conscien tiously and consistently go; and, moreover, were happy to have an opportunity to express our appreciation of his services, to the full extent that justice demanded As Jesus said of the idolatrous Romish centurion Verily, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith no, not in Israel,' without endorsing his idelatry; s we could unite in commending Mr. Hale for his anti slavery efforts, without justifying his support of the U. S. Constitution. No one at the festival misunder stood us on that point ; nor do we see how any one out side of it, on reading what we said on that occasion could intelligently consider our appearance there as a compromise of principle. We then and there defined our views of the Constitution and the Union ; yet not in the spirit of controversy, (for the nature of the festival forbade it,) but with equal delicacy and fidelity, so as to give no room for misapprehension, complaint or cavilling. Hear what a correspondent of the Essex County Freeman says-about it :-

'I hear many especial allusions to Mr. Garrison 'I hear many especial allusions to Mr. Garrison's speech—allusions made because of that gentleman's peculiar position. His tone was liberal and conciliatory. He did not, however, ask any favors. He did not compromise his position—not in the least. He put forth his disunion idea—and he put it forth distinctly. He recognized the distinction between his own sense of duty and the policy of the Eree Soilers as a party. Yet, I repeat it, his tone of address was liberal and generous.'

an anti-slavery direction, we have joyfully gone with him, and given him all due credit; and where we have criticised or complained of either of them, it has been brief remarks. The meeting passed off in an en-tirely quiet manner, and New York removed some-foundation. This is to be faithful, and at the same time magnanimous.

It is very difficult to satisfy every body. If we con

mend Mr. HALE or Mr. GIDDINGS, for certain positive anti-slavery deeds they have performed or speeches de livered, then we are gravely asked how we can do so, seeing that they support a pro-slavery Constitution slavery services-and we are told that we ought to let ciations. If there is any cause that can stand them alone, to labor in their own way, and according upon its own merits, and be advocated by the sim-ple, unvarnished truth, it surely is the cause of a want of clear discrimination, or a morbid state of human freedom against chattel slavery .- New York mind. 'Credit to whom credit,' censure to whom censure is due. Mr. Hale possesses one manly trait of character, in

particular, which we very highly prize: it is, unfailing good temper, whenever, or however, or by whomsoever priticised or rebuked. He is never irascible, never abucensure, and is too ingenuous and noble to ascribe per sonal ill-will to himself as the motive for any impeach ment of his course or position, on the part of Disunion Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, being called out abolitionists. He understands the spirit by which we on the conclusion of Wendell Phillips's speech be-fore the American Anti-Slavery Society, made some men as PHILLIPS, and QUINCY, and PILLSBURY, and FOSTER, too well to fly into a passion, or to accuse them commenting thereon, for a copy of the remarks traction on the other, whenever we or they express any which had passed under Mr. Beecher's deliberate disapprobation of his course. Such, also, is the nobilirevision since its utterance; and such we find in twof soul of Joshua R. Gindings. When we cease to this week's Anti-Slavery Standard. The passage we admire or to reciprocate it, we hope to have the decency 'My earnest desire is that Slavery may be destroyed by the manifest power of Christianity. If it were given me to choose whether it should be destroyed in fifty years by selfish commercial influences, or, standing for seventy-five years, be then the spirit and trophy of Christ, I had rather let it linger twenty-five years more, that God may be honored and not mammon, in the destruction of it.' to retire from the field of moral conflict. It is a pit nous personalities, simply because some of their acts are

THE BIBLE CONVENTION.

To the Call for this Convention, (which is to be held in Hartford next week, commencing on Thursday, they apprehend to be the truth, though it subject then conflicting views of the authenticity, divinity and au thority of the Bible are honestly entertained in th community, and cordially invites to a free conference persons of every shade of opinion on the subject. Wha can be more commendable than this? What more cath olic? Yet it has already been denounced by the relig lous and secular press, and will doubtless be basely misrepresented as to its proceedings. The senseless but malignant cry of 'infidelity' has been raised against i in advance, and will be continued, to intimidate perso from attending the Convention-with what success, th sequel will show. For one, it will stimulate us all the more to be present, as we certainly intend to be. Non but the consciously corrupt, or the dastardly in spirit or the besetted in mind, will be afraid to come togethe on an occasion so interesting and so important. If the

Rome. To manifest signs of terror or displeasure at a liberty, and that is, the UNION of WILLIAM LLOYD GARgeneral invitation to discuss its merits, is to evince childish folly or conscious insecurity. Our belief is, that the more intelligently the Bible is understood, the better it will be appreciated, and the more effective it will be appreciated, and the more effective it will be in promoting the elevation of mankind. As for the veneration which is every where expressed for it, we have it to be bolder or discussions at the North and Cassius M. Clay at the South; the former the promulgator of the doctrine of immediate emancipation, the latter its practical endorser, in the unconditional liberation of his own slaves, and its able and unflinehing advocate, in its application to all who are pining in bondage at the South. know it to be bollow and worthless; for what can be Lewis HAYDEN favored the meeting with some very more preposterous, or more condemnatory, than this—
for a people to make it a penal offence to circulate among three millions of benighted souls on their own soil, a book which they declare to be the inspired word of God and all the souls of God, and able to make those who peruse its pages 'wise unto salvation'? True, the American clergy, as a body, are ready to swear by it; true, they have faith in the volume, but only as it subserves their own selfish so long and so nobly battled in their cause. in the volume, but only as it subserves their own selfish interests; and they accept it mainly because public opinion sets strongly in that direction. No class of en understand it less intelligently. Until it be res- three hearty cheers. Many a hand was extended to sued out of their hands, and treated precisely like any ther book, accepted for what it is worth, according to its own intrinsic value,—no matter when it was com-piled or by whom it was written,—it will be used by them as a most potent weapon to perpetuate the reign of superstition and to retard the progress of our race. Let them come forward at the Convention, if they are really sincere and honest men, and show by their speech and conduct that they are both able and willing to give a reason for the faith to which they cling; or else forever after hold their peace !

WELCOME TO CASSIUS M. CLAY. At an early hour on Monday evening, May 9th, the

Belknap Street Church was crowded to its utmost caneity by those who, having heard the name of Cassius M. CLAY associated with great and noble deeds, had assembled to greet him face to face.

The following gentlemen were duly appointed officers of the meeting :-

LEWIS HAYDEN, President.

Rev. T. D. Ward, John T. Hilton, Charles Lenox Remond. Joshua B. Smith, Rev. J. T. Thompson, N. L. Perkins, Rev. Leonard Grimes, Robert Morris, J. Locklev Marshall, Vice Presidents.

Wm. C. Nell and Wm. J. Watkins, Secretaries.

The exercises commenced with an eloquent and very appropriate prayer by Rev. T. D. WARD, after which WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON was introduced to the audience, and welcomed with three hearty cheers. The following is an epitome of his remarks, which elicited much applause throughout :-This is to me-to us all-a most unexpected pleasure

We have all heard of Cassius M. CLAY, of Kentucky, but now our eyes behold him. It is natural, and highly commendable, that you, whose cause, in common with rising generation with that love for rural life and home all in bonds, he has so fearlessly espoused, should desire pleasures, for which thousands are indebted to him? Our mother country, although prolific in great and able to him that he so promptly accepted your invita- good men and women, of whom she may well be proud,

very surprising that, for a time, he should have held LIAM and MARY HOWITT. In them, too, the poor and property in slaves. But it redounds all the more to his oppressed in their own land, and the down-trodden credit, that, in spite of his educational training and a slave of ours, have ever found firm and constant friends murderous pro-slavery public sentiment, he gave un- and advocates. The wish of my heart would be to see conditional freedom to all his slaves, and from that hour Mr. Howitt, with his wife and their children, happily proclaimed eternal hostility to the slave system. You situated in the home of his childhood, amid the scenes know what he has sacrificed and what he has perilled. so charmingly described in the 'Boy's Country Book.' What a broad contrast does his manly conduct exhibit That he may safely return from this new scene of his to the trimming sycophancy of a defunct Webster or a much-varied life, to enjoy the peace and happiness living Fillmore! It is the fulfilment of the scriptural to which he is se well entitled, is undoubtedly the declaration, 'The first shall be last, and the last first.' heartfelt wish of thousands on both sides of the water. Verily, they have had their reward, and he shall have

Mr. Clay claims to be loyal and true to Kentucky. He is so; in seeking to bring slavery to an end, he is her greatest benefactor. They who resist him, on her soil, are her worst enemies. So time will prove-so posterity will decide. May he live to see the desire of his heart accomplished! We also claim to be no less interested in the welfar

of the South, and desirous of her peace. Intense abhorrence of slavery is not only compatible with love to the slaveholder, but the best evidence of it. It is his repentance, not his destruction, we are seeking. No vindictive feelings are cherished by yourselves or by the abolitionists. To this remarkable fact, I am ready to testify-that though I have seen and conversed with hundreds of fugitive slaves, some of them with their backs scarred all over with the lash, I have never yet seen one whose talk was of revenge, or who wished for an opportunity to shed the blood of his oppressor. But ginson, and others, will address the committee. they all desire to be free, and ask for nothing more, and mean to take nothing less, cost what it may. O,

for the jubilee ! Speed, speed the hour, O Lord! Speak, and at thy dread word, Fetters shall fall Fetters shall hall
From every limb—the strong
No more the weak shall wrong,
But Liberty's sweet song
Be sung by all!

The President, in a few well chosen words, introduc ed the guest of the evening, who, on rising, was greeted with the most enthusiastic demonstrations-the waying of handkerchiefs and cheer upon cheer for Cassius M. CLAY, the pioneer of Kentucky emancipation.

After acknowledging the gratification he felt in thus meeting the friends in Boston, and the evidences furnished him of their progress in the scale of humanity, and their appreciation of efforts for the redemption of their brethren, and the elevation of bond and free to the rights and responsibilities of good citizens, he proceeded to impart many useful suggestions on the means of improving their mental, moral and civil condition ; dwelling at some length upon the duty devolving upon them to acquire money, as an instrument of salvation from the disabilities that surrounded them, and citing encouraging examples of its potency in advancing the welfare of those who otherwise would always have held a subordinate place in society.

In speaking of the institution of slavery, and his hopes of its abolition, he acknowledged the allegiance he owed to his native State, Kentucky, and the General will come of it ! Government, and affirmed that his regard for their prosperity and permanence had prompted his every effort in the cause of emancipation.

that he had addressed them as fellow-citizens, and character. A full report hereafter. should bear away with him a grateful recollection of the evening's interview. WILLIAM C. NELL presented the following resolu-

Whereas, we deem this a most auspicious occasion golden hour, fraught with grateful recollections of the past and inspiring hopes for the future-we cannot forego the pleasing duty of giving utterance to the emotions now stirring within us ; therefore,

Resolved, That we, the nominally free colored Amer icans, and those who have been redeemed from slavery, here, in one fraternal union, pour forth our libation of gratitude to the honored and distinguished guest of this evening, Cassius M. CLAY, Esq., of Kentucky, who for daring to do right when the multitude would do wrong-or, in his own expressive diction, because he would give a man his own wife, the father and mother the control of their own children, the child the protect tion of its parents, and man the fruits of his own labor who, for impartially applying the Golden Rule, became the victim of complicated and prolonged persecution in his native Kentucky. For his firmness of purpose and faithfulness in this his chosen mission of giving freedor to the slave, we tender him the unfeigned homage o grateful hearts, bidding him welcome, thrice welcome to this gathering of Freedom's votaries, appreciation his presence among us as ominous of that 'good time coming' when the soil of Republican America will no be trodden by a tyrant or a slave.

Resolved, That whatever difference of opini exist between anti-slavery friends as to the rightfulness of sustaining the present political Union of these States and claim the are neither to be examined nor questioned, is to exhibit we proudly recognise a Uxion, the duty of adherence the effrontery and to practise the tyranny of Papal to which will never be questioned by any true lover of

The Resolutions were adopted by acclamation, and Mr. CLAY, on retiring, was greeted with three times him, and shaken with a fervent good will, and many a eye beamed the heart's own thankfulness, while the lip gave utterance to sincere aspirations for his continue prosperity and happiness.

The meeting adjourned amid music by the choir, as tokens of abundant satisfaction from the audience. LEWIS HAYDEN, Chairman.

WM. C. NELL, WM. J. WATKINS, Secretaries. Boston, May, 1853.

WILLIAM HOWITT-AUSTRALIA. Why is WILLIAM HOWITT in Australia? This is

uestion which every lover of his rich and valuable lite rary productions feels a deep interest in, among whom am happy to be classed. Although unable to give positive reply to this query, still I fear the answer is too apparent to need much cogitation. The great losses he met with in his unfortunate connection with the publication of the ' People's Journal' are generally known to the friends of Mr. and Mrs. Howitt, and from this direful event no doubt may be traced the primary cause of this gentleman's expatriation. When I first learned that Mr. Howitt was in Australia, my whole heart was aroused in sympathy, that one so noble-hearted, so at-tached to all that is true and beautiful in his own country, and at a time of life, too, when a man would gladly settle down amid the peaceful haunts of nature,that such an one-and such is Mr. Howitt-should be obliged to leave his home and all that is dear to him in this life, to seek the means of support for his family, is a sacrifice too hard, although borne by him with a noble spirit. Where was the protecting genius of England at the time of his departure ?- he who has done so much for the cause of humanity, so much to cultivate a taste for the poetry of life, and to inspire the tion, to be here this evening.

has none more deserving of her appreciation, or who
Born and educated in the midst of slavery, it is not have done more for her sons and daughters, than Wil-

AN INQUIRY.

Please ask Henry C. Wright what has become of the nformation relative to the death of his brother, of which he received intelligence through the 'spirits,' some time since, and promised to inform us whether it proved to be correct. Several of your readers have anxiously looked for the statement of the result, and begin to think it is like John's beer, 'long a coming.'

D. R.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN. We understand that there will be a hearing before the Suffrage Committee of the Convention, on the petition of Mrs. Alcot and others, that women may have the right to vote or the amended Constitution, in the Senate Chamber, this morning, Friday, May 27th, at 8 o'clock, and it is expected that Lucy Stone, Wendell Phillips, T. W. Hig-

HER WISHES,' by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Minister of the Worcester Free Church, has just been published by Robert F. Wallcut, 21 Cornhill. It is dedicated to the Members of the Constitutional Convention.

A Letter has been received from Hon, Honace Mann, giving his views of the ballot-box and the ballot; but the pre-occupancy of our columns by the speeches delivered at the anniversary of the American A. S. Society at New York, (to a careful perusal of which it is unnecessary to urge our readers,) we are obliged to defer it till next week.

On Tuesday last, the Massachusetts House Representatives rejected, by a vote of 115 to 111, a resolve on its passage to be engrossed, appropriating ter thousand dollars for the erection of a statue to the mem ory of Daniel Webster. If it had been adopted by the Legislature, an earthquake outbreak of moral indigna tion would have been felt throughout the Commo wealth. Judas Iscariot and Benedict Arnold are jus as deserving of a statue as Daniel Webster. A motio to reconsider the vote was rejected in the House, on Wednesday, by an increased majority.

Do not fail to read the proceedings of the Ter perance Convention, held during the anniversary wee in New York, in the course of which the richest devel opments of priestcraft and sectarism were made, in reference to the temperance equality of women. See what

The meetings of the New England Anti-Slaver Convention, on Wednesday, were very fully attended On taking leave of his audience, Mr. CLAY remarked and the discussions of a highly interesting and vital

Society, will speak at WEST NEWTON, on Thursday evening June 2d.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings Acron Centres, Sunday, May 20th. Subject: Progress of individual and social man, and the obstacles in the way of true Progress, especially war and slavery.

PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Mar sachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in SPRING-FIELD, on Sunday next, May 29, and at FLORENCE, on Monday evening, May 80.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREE DISCUSSION The undersigned, the Corresponding Committee, selected by a large number of individuals solicitous for the advancement of the cause of Truth and Humanity, hereby invite all who are friendly to free discussion, to attend a Convention to be held at Hanffoun, Coxx., on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 24, 34, 4th and 5th of June next, for the purpose of freely and fully canvassing the ORIGIN, AUTHORITY AND INFLUENCE OF THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES.

SCRIPTURES.

Doubtless a free interchange of thought is the best mode of exciting inquiry and of arriving at the Truth. We invite, therefore, all who feel an interest in this question, without distinction of sex, color, sect or party, to come together, that we may sit down like brethern in a communion before the altar of intellectual and

ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, WILLIAM GREEN, JE., WILLIAM P. DONALDSON.

MARRIED—At the Irving House, New York, Ma 20, by his Honor Mayor Westervelt, Mr. EDMUND F WILLIS to Miss SARAH L. HALLOWELL, both of Lon Island.

NEW BOOKS.

OP RARE INTEREST AND VALUE. JUST PUBLISHED BY

JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY.

OWING to the unparalleled draft upon our resources, during the past year, on account of the unexampled sale of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a large number of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to lie untouched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear in print. We have availed ourselves of the earliest moment, and now offer them to the readers of good books. Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be published speedily.

BOSTON.

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For the Liberator. ELIZA AND THE SENATOR'S WIFE. A Sketch from ' Uncle Tom's Cabin.'

A Sketch from 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'

It will be remembered by all the readers of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' (and who is not one of them?) that Eliza, on her way to Canada, stopped at the house of Senator Bird; and how that worthy man, who had been so zealous an advocate for the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, found it exceedingly difficult to practise the dectrines he advocated in theory; and that after deciding to act as his conscience told him was right, he said to his wife, as he left the room to order his carriage, 'Marry, I don't know how you'd feel about it, but there's that drawer full of things—of—of poor little Henry's'; then the touching description of the wife and mother, as handling over the sacred repository which contained the clothes belonging to her lost darling, she selected therefrom a bundle for Eliza's child:—

'Mrs. Bird slowly opened the drawer. There were little coats of many a form and pattern, piles of aprens, and rows of small stockings; and even a pair of little shees, worn and rubbed at the toes, were peeping from the folds of a paper. There was a toy horse and wagon, a top, a ball,—memorials gathered with many a tear, and many a heartbreak.'

The following thoughts were suggested by reading the touching scene from which the above is an extract:— Yes, take those treasured relics which once my darling wore ;

In the home where now he's dwelling, he'll never need them more:

With selfish love no more I'll hoard these tokens of the

For my weak heart is stronger now, and I have looked my last. With all a mother's love and pride, those infant robes

wrought; To deck my darling's cherished form with anxious ca

I sought; How swiftly flew the moments then, with Henry at my side.

Or his soft arms around my neck at quiet eventide ! This cap-its silken folds lay soft upon his sunny hair, And lightly prest the soft brown curls, shading his

forehead fair ; This shoe his tiny foot has prest with footstep light and As bounding o'er the nursery floor he laughed in child

ish glee. This little frock of cashmere soft, with silken 'broider

decked. With the warm cloak that oft he wore, I sacredly have kept;

They seemed of Henry still to speak, and in that treas ured nook His baby playthings all are laid-the rattle, ball, and

This little sled, and tiny cart, with blocks and marble

Will please thy boy, and he will smile as once my dar ling smiled;

Take them, Eliza, they are thine; and when, in infan Thy Harry's joyous voice is heard, and thou art safe

and free-Then tell him of the Angel-child, whose playthings one

they were, And how he sweetly lived and died, ere sin he knew, o care:

Teach him, Eliza, to be true-tell of that ' better land, Where none shall tremble 'neath the lash, nor feel th' oppressor's hand.

Oh! 'tis a joy to know that there, men are not bough and sold ; That none the bondman's soul may buy, for silver

for gold ; No law can bind in fetters there, or veil of truth the

Which in the blessed Eden-land dawns on the slave' dark night.

Oh! when beside my Henry's grave last night I knelt to pray, And bitter tears fell on the turf that covered his cole

I felt e'en then my lot were blessed while standing by that grave, Compared with hers whose child still lives, and, living,

is a slave! But, Heaven be praised! thy bright-eyed boy I trus thou yet wilt save :

And may the North Star guide thee safe where Free dom's banners wave!

Its ample folds will shelter thee,-nor question of the Oh, shame ! that yet our stars and stripes such queri

should disgrace. Columbia ! shall thine Eagle proud its pinions fold i scorn.

While to his eyrie 'mid the clouds, Oppression's cry borne?

Oh ! cross no more th' Atlantic wave, wronged Europe While all our South-land loudly tells of thy high trus betrayed !

And now, Eliza, fare thee well ! God speed thee on the

Bright Hope shall nerve thy weary foot, and cheer th with its ray; And may thy brave, bright boy long live to cheer

doting heart-One kiss for little Henry's sake-then, Harry, we mupart!

BARRE, Mass. From the Boston Christian Register.

VIA CRUCIS, VIA LUCIS. Through night to light !—And though to mortal eyes Creation's face a veil of horror wear,

Good cheer ! good cheer ! the gloom of midnight flies Soon shall a sunshine follow, mild and fair. Through storm to calm !-- And though his thunder car

The rumbling tempest drive through earth and sky, Good cheer ! good cheer ! the elemental war Tells that a blessed, healing hour is nigh.

Through frost to spring !- And though the biting blast Of Euros stiffen nature's juicy veins,

Good cheer ! good cheer ! when winter's wrath is past Soft murmuring spring breathes softly o'er the plains Through strife to peace ! And though with bristling from

A thousand frightful deaths encompass thee, Good cheer ! good cheer ! bear thou the battle's brunt For the peace march and song of victory. Through sweat to sleep !- And though the sultry no

With heavy, drooping wing, oppress thee now, Good cheer! good cheer! the cool of evening soon Shall lull to sweet repose thy weary brow. Through cross to crown !-- And though thy spirit's life

Trials untold assail with giant strength,
Good cheer! good cheer! soon ends the bitter strife. And thou shalt reign in peace with Christ at length Through wee to joy !-- And though at noon thou weer And though the midnight find thee weeping still,

Good cheer | good cheer ! the Shepherd loves his sheep Resign thee to the watchful Father's will. Through death to life !- And through this vale of tears And through this thistle field of life, ascend

To the great supper, in the world whose years Of bliss unfading, cloudless, know no end.

EVENING

A paler shadow strews Its mantle o'er the mountains; parting day Dies like the dolphin, whom each pang imbues With a new color as it gasps away, The last still loveliest, 'till-'tis gone-and all BEROK.

SELECTIONS.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman. HORACE MANN'S LETTER.

The letter from Mr. Mann, which we publish, probably closes his discussion with Mr. Phillips, the latter having very properly declined further controversy with an opponent who has persisted in evading the real question of debate, and has constantly disregarded the plainest obligation of courtesy in his language and bearing. We have published this controversy entire—as none of the Free Soil papers have done—to the exclusion of our usual variety of matter, that we might do impartial justice to both parties. We also wished to give Mr. Mann the opportunity of stating to our readers his views of the Constitution, and other points of difference between himself and the nonvoting abolitionists. In this desire we have been disappointed, as he has preferred to spend his columns in angry criminations and virulent person—mittee to make arrangements for holding the Con-

disappointed, as he has preferred to spend his columns in angry criminations and virulent personalities, instead of frankly meeting the question to which Mr. Phillips vainly labored to bring him.

But this is not our only or worst disappointment in this discussion. We confess with painful regret that our admiration for Mr. Mann has received a severe shock from his own hand. We believe that he has injured himself in the eyes of candid men, as Mr. Phillips could never have injured him. He now needs a defense against his own letters, not excepting this last, more than he did against those criticisms of Mr. Phillips, under which he first forgot his dignity and lost his temper. No testimony but his own act could have convinced us that Horace Mann could pen a series of letters so unworthy

of letters has seemed to us as wanting in frankness and fair-dealing as they are in the courtesy either of the Christian or the gentleman. They are full of evasions and logical quibbles, of appeals to prejudice, of special pleading and the shifts of an advocate determined on victory at any cost; while from their tone his readers might almost suspect that he had borrowed his style from his Southern opponents in Congress, during the past four years. If Mr. Mann does not live to repent of this unfortunate controversy, his friends will do it for him.

For one result of it in his behalf, and in behalf

of the people of color, we are glad; that he has publicly avowed his hostility to the cruel system of colored, or caste schools, in some of the large towns colored, or caste schools, in some of the large towns of Massachusetts. Mr. Mann may now be assured that no abolitionist will mistake or misstate his views on that subject. Had he been equally frank ten years ago, he might have saved himself the censures which he has felt so sorely and so long, and have won most cordial praise in their stead. We wish he had spoken as plainly of his relations to the pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution. We have carefully read the fifteen columns of his four letters, to ascertain his views upon that matter. letters, to ascertain his views upon that matterthe real point at issue between him and Mr. Phil-lips—but we are no wiser than we were at the beginning. He has played about the subject on every side with wonderful adroitness and dexterity; he has shown no lack of smartness or wit; he has showered words and metaphors and ancedotes and ingenious retorts upon the subject, but only to mystify it and conceal his own position. After all this, he tells us he has not evaded the question, but has only been disposing of 'preliminaries,' and asks Mr. Garrison to give him the space to state his views on the subject at issue. After those fifteen columns of 'preliminaries,' without one line in answer to Mr. Phillips's repeated questions on this point, and in view of his offensive personal rude-ness toward Mr. Phillips, and his sensitiveness at a word of comment from Mr. Garrison, this request strikes us as somewhat extraordinary, and it will need an extraordinary generosity to grant it. We should like to know of the Free Soil paper which

would extend such a privilege to any non-voting abolitionist, under similar circumstances.

Of the founds of Mr. Mann's original complaint, we have a word to say. He constantly and ungenerously insinuates that Mr. Phillips has been We can assure Mr. M. that Mr. P. was by no means alone in his views of his (Mr. M's) position. The criticisms of his January speech, which led to this controversy, were but an eloquent expression of the convictions of all or nearly all his name stricken out from the list of delegates ntelligent non-voting abolitionists, and were ac-Knowledged just by very many anti-slavery voters.
To these convictions they had been reluctantly forced by Mr. Mann's public action and speeches. If they were mistaken—as we are by no means con-vinced—it was not through the blindness of per-sonal hostility toward him. They were his friends,

his admirers.

They honored him for his courage and eloquence in defence of the oppressed, against the insolent and arrogant Slave Power; while they regretted his mistakes of principle and policy, the more that his influence would give them a kind of sanction and authority with many anti-slavery people. Hence the more pressing necessity that those errors be exposed, and the less excuse for the suspicion that personal hostility prompted the exposure. Fidelity to the slave, and the principles on which alone we must rely for the slave's deliverance, required that exposure.

Had we room and were it necessary to dissipate

the dust-cloud that Mr. Mann raises around him-self and his subject, we would point the reader to some specimens of the unfairness of assertion, the shifting of issues, the quibbles and flimsy sophisms in argument, which characterize this last letter, as discreditable to him as a logician, as its ungenerous spirit and rude personalities are to him as a gentleman. His paragraphs touching the Blind Institu-tion, the Normal School conversation, the *Codification of the School laws,' his action as Secretary, and Father Mathew and Kossuth, with others that and Father Mathew and Kossuth, with others that we need not designate, are dexterous dodges and quibbles. His flourish of trumpets about his 'cruel should be expunged, as they had excluded the wonnishment' to Mr. Phillips is ladience and the proceedings of the Convention with much indignation. He requested that his name should be expunged, as they had excluded the wonnishment' to Mr. Phillips is ladience and the proceedings of the Convention with punishment' to Mr. Phillips is ludicrous. After all that he has said of the matter of 'Jesuitism,' we think his language on the construction of an oath fully justifies Mr. Phillips's comment upon it. In its connection, we cannot see how any intelligent reader could avoid the same conclusion. His argu-ments on 'tax-paying' and 'women's voting' con-found the simplest distinctions of common sense, distinctions recognized by men of every class, and which no ingenuity can conceal. Indeed, we have read the whole letter with wonder that the author of those masterly arguments against Slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Replies to Daniel Webster, could have penned it, and more that he could have published it over his own name. The only reply it needs is that the reader, after closing it, shall turn and re-peruse Mr. Phillips's letter, which it professes to

Through the progress of this discussion, we have forborne comment, save a passing word, but we could not permit it to close without thus honestly stating some of the impressions we had received

been telling truth about each other in Garrison's Lie-be-rater. The latter has at length backed out, Lie-be-rater. The latter has at length backed out, intimating through an editorial of Mr. Garrison, that he intends making 'no further replication to any thing Mr. Mann may say.' Now this, it seems to us, is not in keeping with the character of a true Abolitionist. The crisis demands courage, perseverance and plainness of speech; in other words, 'calling things by their right names.' We really hope that Mr. Phillips will reconsider his purpose, and give Mr. Mann a few more shots under the 5th rib. Mann deserves it; and will give Phillips no more than he deserves in return. We are decidedly of the opinion, that the public good will be promoted by a full and free discussion between the parties.—Journal of Commerce.

The wit of the Journal of Commerce is exert ciating. Our paper, forsooth, is the 'Lie-be-rater Very good and very true, and therefore very creditable.
To 'berste' a 'lie' is to anathematize and scout it. hence our frequent scourging of the J. of C. for its un-scrupulous mendacity.—Ed. Lib.

WORLD'S TEMPERANCE CONVEN-TION.

A meeting of delegates in the cause of Temperance took place on the 12th inst., at 9 o'clock, A. M., at the brick chapel, Nassau street, pursuant to advertisement, with a view to adopt the necessary preliminaries to hold a grand World's Convention of the city of New York, some time during the

ace Mann could pen a series of letters so unworthy tain parts of the country, women had received a good deal of celebrity and notoriety. He did not mean to disparage them; but it was quite sufficient for his purpose merely to state, that he was not mark the contrast between their letters in spirit and tone. Mr. P. has borne himself throughout with very great hearitain parts of the country, women had received a good deal of celebrity and notoriety. He did not mean to disparage them; but it was quite sufficient for his purpose merely to state, that he was not prepared to give to women that prominent place in arranging the affairs of mankind which hitherto was the province, and was given to others. It was with very great hearitain parts of the country, women had received a good deal of celebrity and notoriety. He did not mean to disparage them; but it was quite sufficient for his purpose merely to state, that he was not prepared to give to women that prominent place in arranging the affairs of mankind which hitherto mark the contrast between their letters in spirit and tone. Mr. P. has borne himself throughout with his accustomed dignity and courtesy of manner, clearness and force of argument, and honest frankness of statement. Gladly would we be able to say the same of Mr. Mann. We have endeavored to read his letters without prejudice, and to give him the full benefit of every statement and argument bearing in his own favor, but his whole series of letters has seemed to us as wanting in frankness. settled laws of society-' revolution was one thing, and reformation was another.'

Rev. Mr. Fowler, of Utica, hoped the motion o the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Higginson) would not be pressed. If so, and it prevailed, those ladies as well as others should be appointed.

Mr. Higginson was proceeding to reply, when he was interrupted by cries of 'Out of order,' 'Lay the motion on the table,' and loud demonstrations of disapprobation, when the following were handed in by Miss Lydis B. F. Fowler, of New York, who was dressed, with other ladies who were present, in the Bloomer costume. The names of the other in the Bloomer costume. The names of the other ladies who accompanied her were, Miss Mary E. Rich, Miss Emily Clark, of Le Roy, N. Y.; Miss Anthony, of Rochester; Mary Vaughan, Oswego; Lucy Stone, Mass.; and Abby K. Foster, do. They were accompanied by several of the opposite sex, and their unexpected presence created quite a sensation. The following is a copy of the credentials of Mrs. Fowler: of Mrs. Fowler :-

To MRS, LYDIA A. FOWLER: At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the 'Wo-man's New York Temperance Society,' held at Senece Falls, on the 23d inst., you were appointed a delegate to attend a meeting called by Neal Dow, to be held in your city on the 12th May, to make arrangements for holding a World's Temperance Convention in New York, some time during the World's Fair.

AMELIA BLOOMER, Cor. Sec. The other document read as follows:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the ' Wo nan's New York Temperance Society,' held on the instant, the following persons were appointed as dele-gates to attend a meeting to be held in New York city, gates to attend a meeting to be held in New York city, on 12th May, for the purpose of making arrangements for a World's Temperance Convention, some time during the World's Fair, viz:—Mrs. E. T. Ellet, Mrs. Horace Greeley, Mrs. L. N. Fowler, Miss Mary Rich; Miss Emily Clark, (Le Roy, N. Y.,) and Susan B. Anthony.

S. B. ANTHONY, Sec'y Woman's State Temperance Society The question on Mr. Higginson's motion to receive the name of Miss Anthony was then pu from the Chair, and negatived.

Mr. Thompson, of Mass., rose, and said this was a 'World's Temperance Convention,' and the ungenerously insinuates that Mr. Phillips has been moved by personal hatred in his course toward him. We can assure Mr. M. that Mr. P. was by no Convention at all. (Roars of laughter.) He would,

> appointed to act as a Committee. He would give reasons, if permitted to do so.

> Rev. Mr. Marsh-Let the matter be referred to the Committee just selected, and they can then report.
> Mr. Higginson—I am not here, Mr. Chairman

as a gentleman or as a lady, but as a friend of temperance, and that Committee is not a fair repre sentation of the friends of Temperance, when you exclude women, who have attended here in compli-

Rev. Mr. Fowler, of Utica—I hope the gentlenan will be excused from serving, as he desires it. Chairman—I should be sorry if he did. He is very active member, and did a great deal to bring

about this Convention.

Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster here rose amid considerable confusion, and cries of 'Order!' She said: Mr. Chairman, (cries of 'Order!' 'Sit down! I claim the privilege, ('Order!' 'Order!') I hope, sir, that this is to be no sectarian test. from different parts of the room, and cries of 'We don't want to hear your remarks.') I hope that gentlemen will allow me to express my opinions, as I only take the liberty to express my

Rev. Dr. Hewitt here rose to order, and the Chairman requested Mrs. Foster to take her place. The excitement was considerably increased by this personal rencounter in the meeting; upon which Joseph A. Dugdale, a Quaker, rose, and de-

should be expunged, as they had excluded the women from the Convention.

Mr. Thompson (Mass.) hereupon made a separate motion; he moved that the name of Miss Lucy Stone be added to the Committee.

Miss Emily Clark, of Le Roy, N. Y., here rose to
second the motion, amid much confusion and alternate cries of 'Order!' 'Hear her!' 'Hear

er!' 'Hear her!' 'Order!' Order!'-Miss C. still holding on the floor.

Chairman—If that motion is put, I shall certain

resign. I honor woman as much as most men, but I am opposed to her taking part in such proceedings as these. Mr. Wood-I move that we adjourn, if we are

be subjected to such interruptions as these.

Mr. Wheeler, of New York—I move that we prove the prove that we prove that we prove that we prove that we prov ceed without any further interruptions, and that the speakers be restricted to ten minutes on the floor while speaking. I also move that no speaker be allowed to address the meeting more than once, without the consent of the Convention.

Mr. Armstrong, of Saratoga, wished to know this Convention was to be considered a deliber tive body, or a delegated body! The Chairman referred to the minutes, and the requisition calling the meeting was at the same time read, showing that the friends of temperance were invited, upon which other names were handed

Mrs. Foster again took the floor, and made an effort to be heard, but was repeatedly interrupted and obliged to resume her seat amid much confu-

Rev. Mr. Buckbart here rose, and stated that I was opposed to the entire proceedings before the Convention, since its opening to-day. He was opposed to women interfering with matters out of their own sphere.

Mrs. Foster was about to reply, and was oppose when Mr. Higginson again rose to press his m tion, and moved that it be adopted. Chairman-If so, I will not preside over this amine the credentials of delegates, hereupon re-turned from their deliberations, and presented their report. The Chairman reported that the commit-tee were unanimous in favor of not receiving the Bloomer Delegation.' This gave rise top second debate, more exciting by far than the first, and brought Mr. Higginson again to the floor. He said the committee had excluded the names of sev-

eral ladies, and he wished to know the particular ground. He supposed the design was—
Mr. Peck, (the Chairman of the Committee)—
The grounds we took were, to exclude all women.
Mr. Higginson—I know something about this call, as it originated by a resolution from myself, which I offered at the Massachusetts State Convention. He continued: He never would have dreamed of setting his hand to pen such a resolution, or propose it, if he considered that women were to be excluded from their meetings. It was not the matter of 'woman's rights' they were considering, or had to consider, at all. It was the sidering, or had to consider, at all. It was the question as to whether this was to be considered a meeting of the friends of temperance! Were these women not advocates of temperance! Then why exclude them! Let us but exclude them, and then

the gentleman to order.

Mr. Bradford Wood—I move that the gentleman

Mr. Bradford Wood—I move that the gentleman be heard for five minutes longer.

Mr. Higginson here resumed the floor, and continued: I did not speak at first to this question at all. I have no desire to throw a firebrand into this meeting. I have only made one speech on the 'woman question.' After some further remarks on a point of order, Mr. H. moved to amend the reserved of the Convention, (Mr. Barstow,) of Rhode Island, followed in some remarks of equal severity. He referred to 'women in breches' as a disgrace to their sex, &c. He did not know what on a point of order, Mr. H. moved to amend the reserved warm applause from the expelled ladies, and received warm applause from the major-tive. ort of the Committee on Credentials.

Chairman—The question before the Committee is,

fication of members be accepted. A Member-The question on the amendm should be first taken.

The question was then taken, when there appeared ayes 22, nays 36. Mr. Fowler again rose, and moved the previous

Mr. Thompson, of Massachusetts. I appeal from the decision of the Chair. This will entitle ne to a hearing at once, and the gentlemen know it. I don't want to discuss this woman question at all. I want to have that part of the report so amended as to allow the intentions of the 5000 people who met at the Massachusetts Convention, and who were the originators of this Convention, to be carried out. That Committee wanted but the truth, and they should not send forth a lie before the country. (Confusion, and cries of Order! ') I only want to have the report amended

'Order!') I only want to have the report amended in consistency with the truth.

Mr. Crampton, (the Secretary)—I should be glad to know, is it to these 5000 persons that we are to attribute the calling of this meeting!

Mr. Wood rose to order. The entire proceedings were out of order. Gentlemen had to bow to the will of the majority.

Mr. Thompson had no objection to have the majority decide.

jority decide. Wood-The report of the Committee de-

cided that it was not contemplated that women were to be included. Mr. Williams here rose to order, amid general cries of 'Adjourn!' 'Order!' and much confu-

sion, when Mr. Wood moved the 'previous question.'
Mr. Snow here called for the reading of the call
of the meeting. Objected to. The question on the
original motion, that the report be adopted, was

journ, to meet again at half-past 3 o'clock, P. M.
He considered that the meeting in behalf of the 'World's Convention' had disfranchised half the Worcester, Mass., which arrangement was accepted world by excluding the women. Mr. H. subse-quently withdrew his motion. Dr. Snodgrass

Mr. Higginson rose to explain.
Mr. Jackson begged pardon, as he misunderstood
the gentleman. (Confusion, and loud cries of 'Adjourn!') I move, (continued Mr. J.,) that as the
gentleman (Mr. Higginson) has had the floor all gentleman (Mr. Higginson) has had the floor all the morning, that we adjourn forthwith to Metro-politan Hall, and as there is to be such a scene, we

(Laughter and applause.) Chairman—Does the gentleman (Mr. Higg press his motion to adjourn ! Mr. Higginson, (amid renewed excitement,)-Yes.

may as well at once have a regular 'set to.'

The question was then put, and lost.

Dr. Marsh then moved to proceed to take up the The motion prevailed.

Mr. Dow hereupon moved that the report be adopted, and offered a resolution that the Convention meet in this city on the 6th of September next, and that it continue for four days. mittee of arrangements was then proposed by Mr. D., to consist of one from each State; pending Mr. Williams, of Massachusetts, moved to strike

out the name of Mr. Higginson.

out the name of Mr. Higginson.

The Rev. Mr. Duffield, one of the Secretaries, was here called upon to offer some remarks. He said he felt particularly unpleasant from the proceedings of the day, and was of opinion that Philadelphia, in the great State of Pennsylvania, would be a far better place to held the Convention, than in New York.

Mr. Snow opposed-New York was designated The Chairman sustained Mr. Snow.

Mr. Higginson moved that the excluded men bers of the Temperance Convention withdraw, and left the Convention this morning, the general idea meet at Dr. Townsend's, Broadway, which was among the delegates seemed to be that they had got carried amid loud applause.

After some informal suggestions as to

After some informal suggestions as to the out alloy. When he left, there was every appear efficiency of the Convention's action, Dr. S. P. ance of a fight taking place, as some persons had Townsend, of N. Y., moved that the Convention called a Rev. gentleman a liar. Whether it had pay the expenses of the ladies who had been excluded. Cries of 'Order' followed, and a questional crim been settled or not, he could not say, as he with-cluded. Cries of 'Order' followed, and a questional crim been settlement of the affair. pay the expenses of the ladies who had been ex-cluded. Cries of 'Order' followed, and a ques-tion was raised as to whether the motion had been seconded. It having been decided that the motion was in due form, the Doctor stated, as his reason

Col. E. L. Snow, of New York, followed with some remarks, pointedly condemning the action of the Convention in excluding the women.

Another gentleman, whose name we did not get, complained of their treatment, especially in denying even a respectful hearing to some of the females, and pointed to the self-sacrificing devotion and untiring energy of this class of co-laborers in New York. [Question by some one: 'What has it all amounted to!']

Mr. J. W. Oliver, of New York, begged his friend, Dr. Townsend, to withdraw his motion as not desired by the ladies themselves. Dr. Townsend finally assented, and withdrew his motion, remarking that he had accomplished his purpose, of entering his earnest protest against the outrage which he considered the Convention had committed upon some of the most noble souled co-workers in this cause in the land. Much feeling accompanied the make the necessary arrangements in this City for the this cause in the land. Much feeling accompanie this discussion. Dr. Snodgrass, of Maryland, said he saw no room

Dr. Snodgrass, of Maryland, said he saw no room for the fears of some gentlemen as to 'extraneous matters' being introduced by the course he suggested. By granting the sex this 'right,' (if it be proper to speak of granting so clear a right,' all pretexts for 'extraneous topics,' a fear of the introduction of which troubled some of the members, duction of which troubled some of the members, would be taken away: He proceeded to pay a high enlogy to the efficiency of the Temperance women of Maryland, as justifying his opinion that their cooperation should be sought rather than rejected in this respect. A number of speeches followed from Me

Hewitt, of Conn., Jackson, Duffield and Chambers, of Penn., Oliver and Wood, of New York, and others whose names we do not now remember, and whose remarks we have no room to report. These gentlemen all defended the action of the Conven-

Dr. Hewitt quoted from Paul and other Scriptural authorities, which he claimed to be against women speaking in the Church, and in favor of her asking her husband at home, &c. He would have

asking her husband at home, &c. He would have nothing todo with the women.

Rev. Mr. Chambers was particularly severe upon one of the excluded ladies, (Abby Kelley Foster.) whose name he declined to give, charging her with outraging the proprieties of her sex, trampling the very Son of God under her biasphemous feet. For his part, he was glad these women were gone—they had thus gotten rid of the scum of the Convention.

Much feeling prevailed at this stage of the proceeding, followed by confusion.

E. W. Jackson, of Penn., said he had known some of these women for twenty years. They were

some of these women for twenty years. They were in the habit of disturbing the Anti-Slavery meetquestion as to whether this was to be considered a meeting of the friends of temperance! Were these women not advocates of temperance? Then why exclude them! Let us but exclude them, and then they have a right — way, (Dr. Townsend,) that they had not come to Mr. Condict, of New Jersey, here rose and called New York to attend this Convention, but other Conventions with which them. ventions with which their names would be found associated. He was very severe upon the expelled ladies, and received warm applause from the major-

such women were good for. He believed they were never productive in anything but mischief. (Laugh-ter and cheers.)

Chairman—The question before the Committee is, first, shall the report be accepted!

Mr. Fowler, of Utica, then moved the previous question.

Mr. Snow considered it out of order thus to cut off debate. He claimed to be heard for a short time. He would only occupy the floor—

Mr. Fowler pressed his motion.

Chairman—The motion before the Chair is, that the report of the Committee to decide on the qualification of members be accepted.

ter and cheers.)

The discussion was here closed by the final withdrawal of Dr. Townsend's motion to pay the expense of the rejected female delegates.

We have to report a scene not in the programme of this Convention, which occurred after its adjournment, in the open street, at the entrance of the Hall. When we descended the stairs, we found one of the Doctors of Divinity from a distance, and ilstener to the discussions within energyed in an electron. listener to the discussions within, engaged in an outright quarrel about one of the ladies, who seem-ed to be the special mark for the shafts of denunciations above reported. The dialogue dia cannot pretend to reporte. But we heard the D. D. told by the M. D. that 'that noble woman would be in Heaven when he was reasting in Hell, as he deserved, Preacher of the Gospel though he pretended to be.' Shouts of laughter followed, and attracted a considerable collection of news boys, and others, to the scene. Some charge was made, by another of the party, against the D. D., which we did not hear, but we heard the repense. 'It is we did not hear, but we heard the reponse, 'It is a lie, Sir,' given with an emphasis which indicated that resentment with force would have been me with no such Christian meekness as turning the other check. People anticipated a regular trial at fisticuffs between D. D. and M. D.; but, fortunately, the difficulty here ended, and the belligerents

THE SECEDING TEMPERANCE DELEGATES

A large number of delegates, who withdrev yesterday morning from the Convention held in the Brick Chapel, corner of Nassau and Spruce-sts., met yesterday afternoon at the Water Cure establishment of Dr. Trall, No. 15 Laight-st., at 2 o'clock. There was a large number of persons present—representatives of eleven different States : among whom were Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Dr. Snodgrass, Lucy Stone, Lydia F Fowler, Abby Kelley Foster, Susan B. Anthony Lydia A. Mott, Dr. Henrietta W. Johnson, Rev T. W. Higginson, Joseph A. Dugdale, Rev. W. B Williams, Rev. George Hall, and other notables. The business of the meeting was commenced by the appointment of Dr. Snodgrass, of Baltimore, as Chairman, and Miss Susan B. Anthony, of

then put and carried—ayes 34, noes 21.

Mr. Higginson moved that the Convention do adMr. Higginson moved the Convention do adMr. Higginson moved the Convention do

quently withdrew his motion.

Mr. Jackson—The gentleman stood up to make tion, that he should continue to support the other a speech, and surely he does not mean to skulk Convention, as well as this, and therefore he should away, and not listen to a reply. (Sensation, and cries of 'Order!')

Dr. Humphrey—Mr. Chairman, I consider this day's proceedings altogether both disorderly and disgraceful—I have never witnessed any thing like it before.

Mr. Historian was to evolving the course her temporary Chairman then stated that the first business would be to receive the names of those who intended to act in this matter. The whole of those present, about fifty in number, ladies and gentle-

men, then signed their names.

Messrs. Wendell Phillips and Wm. Lloyd Garrison gave in their names, and having business of importance to transact, expressing their regret, withdrew.

Joseph A. Dugdale, Pennsylvania Minister of the Society of Progressive Friends, desired to ex-Convention, which was, that he thought women were quite as much interested in the Temperand

movement as the other sex possibly could be. The other Convention took but half the world, this one would embrace the whole.

Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster here wished to explain

Stephen P. Andrews here desired to define his position. He would become a member of this Convention, because it was designed to embrace both sexes in it. He desired to be understood as a great friend to Temperance reform, but he did not coin-cide with the Maine Law, as he thought that no person or number of persons had a right to say what he should eat or drink. He would join this Con-vention, if it was not intended to discuss the Woman's Rights question therein. If he understood this, he was prepared to give \$25 toward

defraying the expenses of this organization.

Abby Kelley Foster now explained that so far as she was concerned, she would have no Woman's Rights question brought into the Convention, although this question was discussed to such an extent

this morning.

Dr. Snodgrass here stated that, after the ladies rid of the seum, and the true metal was left without alloy. When he left, there was every appear

seconded. It having been decided that the motion was in due form, the Doctor stated, as his reason for making the motion, that these good women had come, some of them, from the Western part of the State, and other distant places, to attend this meeting—that they had been outraged as well as deceived by this whole transaction, and that he thought the least thing the Convention could do would be the payment of their expenses.

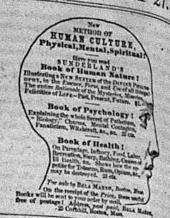
Col. E. L. Snow, of New York, followed with some remarks, pointedly condemning the action of The discussion was then continued, by various

make the necessary arrangements in this City for the World's Convention. Resolved, That a Committee of Correspo Resorrer, that a committee of Correspondence of able sisting of five, be appointed to secure the presence of able speakers and writers, who shall be prepared with addresses and essays for the occasion.

Committee on Local Arrangements Dr. R. T. Trall Oliver Johnson, Dr. Or H. Wellington, Lydia F. Fowler Andrew Lester. Committee on Correspondence—T. W. Higginson Wendell Phillips, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Mary C. Vaught

Committee on Call-Charles C. Burleigh, Lucy Stone

After the appointment of the above Committees, the President announced that on Saturday evening next, a meeting would be held at the Tabernacle, for the purpose of defining Woman's position in the Temperance Reform movement. Miss Lucy Stone, Dr. Snodgrass, and others, are expected to address the meeting. After which announcement, the meeting adjourned.



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