Lected, (rost paid,) to the General Agent. divertisements making less than one square i Abertsements making less than one square in-mediate times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, perivana and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are aumed to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial tet are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY FOWERD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and forms Pantites.

g is the columns of The Lebenator, both sides of

of section are impartially allowed a hearing. TH LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

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

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1853. WHOLE NUMBER 1167.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

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

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAYES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years; of preserving the African slave trade; the second was

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, selivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons . . . . In fact, the oppressor repre-senting the oppressed! . . . To call government thus con-

stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PREPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, - John Quincy Adams.

MOUTTONISM AND ABOLITIONISTS

it has done, where it is now, and whither it

whise and what are the men that make up the

West sorty to say, for the good reputation of

Farand, that they are, for the most part, an spanible, shiftless, belligerent and dangerous

men the fillibuster, who is a fair specimen of

as sample of the other. Do they as father in the community, outside of callobbyism! Garrison long ago became an

in his community. His words are listened the same ear, and are given as much or as

bed to, as the ravings of a confirmed maniac,

an they so much resemble. The whole burden

bes is notoriously to blacken northern men

starthern institutions-to insult and disgrace

seathe south. Pillsbury's special, and, what

hishemously terms 'godly mission,' is to

hat decent men regard as sacred and good.

ser gans of the party follow suit-drivel, in

er streams, the same sort of offensive and

ps saf Men like Phillips, Sewall, Jackson, her, and some others, clerical and lay, vary a is in the form of their speech and action; but

inial, at the real heart and head, they are one

the same with Garrison.

of New England—instine destructionists at

most at the Melodeon each year, as to-day, to mother schemes of moral villany, hatch up

a ways of sedition, and then strew them over

or England, and such other Northern States as

Schare the men. It is easy to judge what Ab-schare will be, by the tree that bears it. As to say the slave, improving his condition, lighten-

thing, bettering the nation any way, North

st, they have no notion, nor earnest desire.

mistaken, that the hope of the slave is sor, his freedom more doubtful, for the efforts is Abolitionists. It is Abolitionism to befoul,

dian, to agitate bad passions, to excite sec-

shostilities, to engender national hatred, to relabuse, outrage. This is but the showing

an record. Its speakers meet but to renew

upon onshught, and atter condennation

ore. The South is libeled for its slavery.

North is denounced for the existence of the in-

will not forsake religion, and take up the

timifelity, which is a preponderating ele-a Abolitionism. All men, all institutions, edf and everything is cast away and re-

saded, that does not come in and embrace the

appear fanaticism of these crazy men. Such, in

What has Abolitionism done but to make new

tales for the slave; and create new and extreme results for the master! What has it done but

warm blocks in the way of progress, to stay the same of a real humanity! Nothing. All the

by from the Garrisonian diatribes, twenty-five

that has not proved a caricature on the 'cause,'

as joke on the neck of the slave.

than they have given up phantoms while liv-

abers to-day are far less than five years ago

account, and as acipled, and selfish, and mercenary, as they beartless. Hence the party sbrunk into a selfish and form a feeting the party shrunk into a

a, and from a faction into a shadow, till it is

as and decent of every community. It is suggested now from the pestilence and pollu-

at encircles its slimy form, rather than any

t which it exerts, since the term power appli-

Tour FROM GARRISON. William Lloyd Garri-

a speech, yesterday, at the Melodeon, in boasted that he stood outside the Union;

rmore that he thanked God he was not

as a Christian! No one will doubt the

tof his remark, and the only regret we have,

son with American citizens generally, is, is not corporeally out of the country. As

ther part of the sentence, we may say that so danger of as black an infidel as there is nation, being taken for a Christian. Any

has heard this blasphemous reviler of the the bible, and religion, for the last fifteen

a smile at his Tom Paine sensitiveness,

regarded for what the decent part of the

SCLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. There

Present or prospective amelioration of the with which this society is so unhappily and which has rendered a class of men

a, really efficient as good citizens, and at

respect, to the unenviable position of

a and pity of sensible men. The 'New Anti-Slavery Society,' so far as influence

progress, is rapidly retrograding, and in a will number very few members outside same asylums.—Boston Daily Mail.

taxisox. This free-spoken gentleman of

ati-slavery organization occupies a plat-a rather broad and indefinite character, a literally might be raised in almost any be narrow streets of Boston, and afford room

members to stand upon .- Boston Courier.

lows that they 'go not with the multi-

By accept the compliment to the 'members' a-

e thoughtless, and excite th

resenting an organization commandi

spect and reverence .- Ibid.

ement has been made, or work publish-

the slave, and put back his emancipation

What has it accomplished but

ation, each fiercer than that which

slunatic men, in facts and figures which

of men. We refer to the leaders.

# CONVENTION.

usetts Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion, the following persons were chosen a Com-MAY, Jr., JOHN T. HILTON, and JOHN M. SPEAR. Prayer was offered by John M. Spear, of Boston.

While the Committee on the organization of the Conention were out, HENRY C. WRIGHT asked leave to of- to support?

1. Resolved, That to vote under the Constitution of or every principle and measure therein contained.

Whereas, the Constitution provides (1.) that human ings may be represented as property in the governsent-(2.) that they may be seized and reduced to slaery on each and every foot of territory over which the government holds jurisdiction-and, (3.) that the whole power of the government may be used to prevent slaves from gaining their liberty by flight or by arms; there-

2. Resolved, That all who vote under the Constitution of the United States, vote for these provisions in favor of slavery, and against liberty.

Whereas, slaveholders are component parts of this onfederacy, and have a right to an equal share in its flices, its honors and emoluments; and whereas, the government is based on the principle, that the majority shall rule ; therefore,

3. Resolved, That all who vote under the Constitution, vote for the slaveholders' right to obtain that majority, and thus to get the control of the government, and to wield it for the support and perpetuity of slavery, to the full extent of what they deem their consti-

4. Resolved, That all such voters, by entering into political union with slaveholders, virtually pledge hemselves to them, that if they do get the control of the government, in a constitutional way, they will not resist the execution of any law they, as the majority and Luther and his unenfranchised associates? Did not resist the execution of any law they, as the majority, all these men glory in the power which lay in the foolwill obey it, or peacefully submit to any penalty, until the majority can be constitutionally changed in favor of Wright, to the Business Committee,

5. That to assert that the Constitution is an anti-slavery document, and that it was not designed, and does the officers of the Convention :not tend, in any of its provisions, to secure slaveholders in their right of property in their slaves, is to give the lie to the Convention that formed that instrument ; to the uniform decisions of its authorized expounders, the Judges of the Supreme Court ; to the uniform testimony of the legislative and executive branches of the govern ment, and to the facts of history, so far as they bear or this question.

6. That those who thus construe the Constitution while they remain in the Union, as parts of its governing power, are guilty of treachery to their slaveholding confederates, inasmuch as these were given to under stand that instrument as favoring and securing their rights as slaveholders, and inasmuch as they would not have entered into the confederacy, had they known that the Constitution was to receive an anti-slavery

Whereas, in his recent discussion with WENDELL PHILLIPS, HORACE MANN declares that an oath to support the Constitution is to be received as God, being party to the oath, sees it to be understood by the per son making it ; therefore,

But not without gaspings, gnashings, and maner of deathly struggles. Its proselytes as easily give up the ghost in death, any 7. Resolved, That we enter our earnest protest against such a construction of oaths, as a sanction of the priniple of mental reservation.

mostrous. It will be so here. But it must 8. Resolved, That an eath to support the Constitution ectually means just what the party making it intends a sense who once swelled its ranks, hoping to see good to the slave, long ago found the that the party for whose benefit it is made shall reroposed by Abolitionism as entirely withrod effect. They found the men engaged in

9. Resolved, That to give our oath to the slaveholders that we will help them execute the Constitution in favor of slavery, provided they, having the majority, shall so interpret it, and then to violate our oath whe they actually do get the majority, and do thus construct he disgust, and disgrace, and execuation, of it, is to swear to do what we have no intention of doing and thus to commit perjury with intent to deceive.

Mr. WRIGHT spoke at some length in support of

JAMES N. BUFFUM inquired if Abolitionists and Free soilers did not stand on precisely the same footing. with regard to agreeing to execute and obey the laws, r suffering the penalty of disobedience.

Mr. WRIGHT replied, that the Free Soiler, by his vote, grees that the laws and the Constitution shall be exeders] get the majority. The Abelitionist agrees to no such thing, and refuses to become a partner to any such arrangement.

Mr. Davis, of Manchester, N. H., wished to append nother resolution to Mr. Wright's series, to the effect that we have no right to live in this country, as we life to the persons, in their private capacity, but that it annot do so without paying taxes, &c., and so helping upport the Constitution and the Government.

Mr. WRIGHT objected to this, as it related to an en tirely different point, and, however intended, its effect s to divert attention from the point of the resolutions already offered. Let Mr. D. present his resolution, if ne wishes, in an independent and separate form.

Mr. Davis reiterated his former position, and said if davery, Mr. Garrison and his children were equally so, by their use of the post-office, paying taxes, &c.

CHAS. 'C. BURLEIGH, in an able and logical speech. nswered the remarks of Mr. Davis. Mr. Burleigh ar- if he executes more than his instructions, the voter is gued the pro-slavery character of the U. S. Constitution not to be held responsible for what his agent does over

Rev. David A. Wasson, of Groveland, maintained hilates the very idea of constitutional government. Govthat, whatever pro-slavery be in the U. S. Constitution, erament was just this; the voters are the governing still, by voting under the Constitution, he did not sup- power. Not being able to meet to carry out their ideas port those evil things to which, by the very conditions of government in a body, they choose agents to do it for of his vote, he was known to be opposed. A free-soil them, and write down how far they are to go. Now vote, said he, is known everywhere as a vote against comes up the agent, and says to his constituents, 'Who slavery, and the person giving it cannot be understood is to interpret this Constitution for me?' and that was by any intelligent man as an accomplice with slavehol-ders. As an illustration of his meaning, Mr. Wasson Spooner or the friend who spoke in the morning (Rev. ders. As an illustration of his meaning, Mr. Wasson Spooner or the friend who spoke in the morning (Rev.

he must not only give the usual sum of money, but must also kiss the driver's toe. - He certainly should refuse THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY to do any such thing, at the end of his ride, and should hold himself under no obligation to do it.

The twentieth annual New England Anti-Slavery
Convention assembled in the Melodeon, Boston, on
Wednesday, May 25, and was called to order at 10

Stephen S. Foster, of Worcester, at the close of Mr.
Wasson's speech, said he would like to ask two questions
of the last speaker—to which Mr. Wasson readily asclock by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Massa-sented. Mr. Foster said, Let me ask the gentleman if, previous to entering the omnibus, he were required to take an oath to kiss the toe of the driver, would he take ittee, to nominate officers of this Convention : Samuel this oath, provided he did not mean to do the thing? Again-How is it to be known, by the other voters all over the country, what parts of the Constitution the gentleman means to support, and what he does not mean

To the last question, Mr. Wasson said that it must be known, all over the country, that every free-soil vote the United States is to vote for that Constitution, and is a vote against slavery, and against every pro-slavery principle and measure therein contained provision in the Constitution. To the first question, Mr. Wasson, it is believed, did not reply; if so, it was not

> C. BRAMHALL, of Boston, in reply to a remark of Mr. Wasson, that the slaveholders feared Horaco Mann much more than they did Mr. Garrison, asked what Free-Soiler had ever had fire thousand dollars offered for his head, as was done in the case of Mr. Garrison by the Legislature of the State of Georgia. Ms. Gannison said he saw new proof of the good-

ness of God's Providence, in that this very Constitution, contrived for the support and continuance of slavery, was, by the discussion it provoked, opening the eyes and hearts of thousands and tens of thousands of men to a more careful consideration of their duties to their fellow men. Mr. G. argued against the assumption, that the ballot is a gift from God, which a man cannot refuse to use. Mr. G. declared that every ballot had, in fact, a bullet in it, inasmuch as the government, to sustain which it is given, relies upon physical force, in the last resort, to execute its purposes. Mr. G. wondered to hear Mr. Wasson exalt so disproportionately the value and power of the ballot, and speaking so slightingly of talking,-of that weapon, the tongue, upon which apostles and reformers had relied to save the world. Did those men accomplish nothing in their day? Did Jesus, ishness of preaching ?

Voted, To refer the resolutions, presented by H. C.

The Committee on the organization of the Conven-

tion, through John M. Spear, reported the following as

For President, WENDELL PHILLIPS. For Vice-Presidents, EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham ; " CHARLES LENOX REMOND, Sale FRANCIS JACKSON, BOSTON; JOHN T. SARGENT, Boston : J. M. FLINT, Randolph, Vt. PETER LIBBY, Buxton, Me.; DANIEL MITCHELL, Pawtneket, R. I.; ELIZA J. KENNY, Salem : JOHN. T. HILTON, Brighton. Servetaries

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Boston ; ALONZO J. GROVER, Abington. Business Committee. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, ANDREW T. Foss,

PARKER PILLSBURY, STEPHEN S. FOSTER. HENRY C. WRIGHT. SALLIE HOLLEY, LUCY STONE, THOMAS HASKELL Finance Committee,

JAMES N. BUFFUM, JOSHUA T. EVERETT, NATHANIEL B. SPOONER, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, JOSEPH MERRILL

The foregoing were unanimously chosen as the offiers of the Convention. On motion of SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Voted, That the hours of meeting be 10 o'clock, A.

M., 23 P. M., and 74 in the evening.

Adjourned to the afternoon.

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON, a Vice-President, in the chair. Mr. HENRY C. WRIGHT, after reading the resolutions

said he would occupy a few moments, while the audience were assembling, in explaining the positions taker in the resolutions. It would be seen that the first resolution affirmed the doctrine, that to vote under the Constitution was to vote for the Constitution, on the principle that the Constitution is the bill of instructions from the voters to their representatives. The voters were the tuted as the slaveholders wish, if they [the slaveholat the polls is bound to uphold the governing power. The Constitution is his bill of instructions to his repre sentatives,-the President, the Supreme Court, and Congress. The Constitution tells them within what limits they are to keep, in their official capacity. .He was a bill of instructions for them to follow in their official capacity. If this construction was set at naught, the very idea of a constitutional government is absurd. It was stated there in the forenoon, that each man was to interpret that Constitution according to his own conscience, and then vote only for so much of the Constitution as his own conscience approved. Well, his Free Soilers were involved, by voting, in the guilt of friend gave one set of instructions to his agent, -his conscience allows one thing ; Mr. Mann allows another ; Mr. Sumner allows another. Each voter gives his own construction of the document, to his agent, and demands that he shall execute his instructions, and no more

and above his instructions ! This, they would see, anni-

Again, it was said that we had come out from the

OF OPPRESSION. |THE LIBERATOR, the posted up in it that, as payment for his ride in it, stitution? Was each individual to interpret it? Was character—made for convenience alone; they imply no of our fellow countrymen. There had been few votes the agent to interpret it for himself alone? Or would power whatsoever—give none, take none. The Church, cast in the ballot-box which deserved to be compared in the agent to interpret it for himself alone? Or would power whatsoever—give none, take none. The Church, hey provide the interpreter to decide what the Constiution means, and then hold their agent to abide by it? that we apply not for any powers which we exercise un-The latter was the plan this nation had adopted. The der it, but simply for the moral influence it can exert. Constitution, in one of its most elaborate and judicially If he found that that moral organization was false to its orded articles, defines the power of the Supreme trust, it was his duty to separate himself from it. If ourt, and expressly lays it down as a principle, that, he found that the Whig party or the Democratic party. all cases, the decision of that Court shall be final. did not carry out its principles, he should separate from business of their agent, the Executive, was to exe- it, and seek some other organization, with which he ute the decision of their authorized expounder, the could act. But the State was a very different thing. supreme Court ; and unless they adopted that rule of The State was an organization which provided a form action, they annihilated the government. He repeated, for the exercise of powers which we had a right to exerthe business of the Executive was to execute the deci- eise, and in separating ourselves from the State, we sion of the Supreme Court, and none other; because cripple ourselves; we cut off our own hands; we leave if they authorized him to give his own decision, they ourselves no faculty but that of speech. The question oust confer upon him discretionary power, and the with him was, Had he a right to lay down this power at the feet of men who he knew would abuse it? And Rev. DAVID A. Wasson, of Groveland, said that there when he saw that power which he might have held and had been some difference of opinion manifested in the exercised for the redemption of the slave, going to susorning, in reference to the position of Mr. Giddings. tain slavery, what plea should be make to himself-

> aration which he thought different from the interpreta- duty? tion put upon his (Mr. G's) views, by some of the other | Finally, it was said that the Constitution was a bill peakers. He then quoted Mr. Giddings, to the effect of instructions, and that there must be some harmony hat, in the last resort, he would appeal to the God of and concord in the interpretation that we shall give to battles rather than give up a fugitive; that he was a it. He was not a lawyer, and could not say what was man of peace, but no non-resistant, and would sooner right in respect to the interpretation of the Constitution; have the ashes of his hearth deluged with blood, than but he supposed that the interpretation of the Supreme that a fugitive slave should be torn from its protection, Court was binding on the Executive department of the and sent back to bendage.
>
> Government acting under it; he supposed it was not the HENRY C. WRIGHT remarked that perhaps he could law to the private citizen. Whether that was a valid dis-Government acting under it; he supposed it was not the state Mr. Giddings's position: That gentleman had re- tinction or not, he was willing to leave it an open quesotly published, in Ohio, several articles, in which he tion. But here was an instrument, of which there were

reference to the evil. It had been replied, that this they expected?

The Constitution had made no evil. If the Constitution had given it no recognition whatever, the wrong would have remained. We needed a government for purposes which had no connection with slavery. In the ment of slavery came in to disturb them. Very weakly shown that there was any active tolerance at all. On the contrary, there was a strong determination not to give it any active recognition.

vernment would be turned into a despotism.

Now, when he came to exercise his rights as a citizen under the Constitution, he found an embarrassment; he found that it might be understood as giving some sanction to slavery, while his very object in exercising his rights was to put that evil down. The question was, (said Mr. W.) Is it a sin, is it a wrong for me to use what powers I can under the Constitution, while I do so inder protest against whatsoever evils it tolerates? He

his position thoroughly understood. If there was room for this man or the other to suppose that, in voting unosition. But, having made himself thoroughly understood, he did not see that there was any 'mental reservation ' in the matter that could be stigmatized as Jesu-

He regarded it as a great loss, as a great wrong, to give up a power which rightfully belonged to us, and which we exercised against an evil which we abhorred. What right had any one to surrender such a power? Let it not be supposed that the Constitution created that right; it only recognized it, and provided a form under which that right should be exercised. The point that he urged was, that we were under obligation to use that right, so long as we could do so without being practically misunderstood, and that if we refused to exercise it, we committed a great wrong to ourselves and to our eighbor. To this it was made answer, that the publication of truth is the greatest agency in the world; that lesus and the Apostles had the tongue alone, that Luther had no ballot. All this was very true; but it rewas a progressive movement from the era of speaking to

The tongue alone would never emancipate the slaves at the South. The tongue might wag t was that he was to be denied the use of a power for

He had since looked over his speeches, and found a dec- how satisfy his own conscience that he had done his

gives his definition of the powers of the Constitution different interpretations. One class of men believe that sching the Fugitive Slave Law. He says, that when it decidedly sustains a great evil; another class believe the Marshal, or any other authorized agent, comes to that it only tolerates this evil, and that the shortest and Jefferson (the town in which he resides,) in pursuit of best method of freeing ourselves from that evil is to use runaway slave, and asks his assistance, he is under the powers we have under that instrument. We find a o obligations to aid him; when he comes and forbids man, who holds this latter opinion; we understand each him to entertain a fugitive slave, he is under no obliga- other perfectly, and we choose him to represent us. We tion to obey. But when the agent comes, and says, do not choose one about whose interpretation of the Con-Hands off! stand aloof! let me take my slave!' Mr. stitution we are in doubt; but we choose a man because Giddings says his hands are tied, he cannot lift a finger we know he holds to a certain interpretation of that inwithin the Constitution, to protect him.

Mr. Wasson said that seemed quite conclusive in reupon that ground; and he fully understands us. Where strument, and we never should elect him to office except

gard to the opinion of Mr. Giddings, and he was willing then, was the great guilt that had been talked about in to pass it by. In the morning, he had taken the posi- this Convention? Do we doubt at all, when CHARLES tion, that certain evils being allowed in the Constitu- Summer goes into the Senate of the United States, tion, as perfectly foreign to its spirit, he might right, whether he goes as a pro-slavery or an anti-slavery fully use the powers which that instrument recognized man? Did the friends there have any doubt upon the as invested in him, provided he did it under protest in subject? and had they not found his course just what was recognizing the old principle of 'doing evil that There was a certain limit in government which must good may come.' Mr. Garrison had said that he (Mr. be recognized, and he maintained that, by his action un-

W.) advocated sinning for the purpose of bringing about der any government, he did not pledge himself to vio-a good result. But the very point was, whether that is late his conscience. However heretical this distinction sinning. He did not say that he would do so much evil might seem to some, he was fully persuaded that it was that he might bring about such a good; but he asked if one which must be recognized. He would say to the sin; and it was not by bringing up that old principle, gress till I can oust you. Let there be no misunderstanding between us. I do not recognize your right to represent slaves there, but I will tolerate you in that position until I can cast you out!' Whenever there came a law that represented not the spirit of the Constitution, but what was worst in the letter of the Constituprocess of the formation of that Government, the ele- tlou, he would fall back upon his individual right, and say, 'I will never execute it.' That was his position, and wrongfully, as he thought, the framers of the Con- and he was ready to exercise the powers he had under stitution had consented to exercise towards that evil a this government, until such an exigency should arise as certain tolerance. He did not think that it could be forced him back upon his reserved right as a man, when he should act in the way he had indicated.

> If, then, there was such a distinction as he had see forth-if, by tolerating, under protest, a man in a certain position, he cleared himself from all guilt attaching to that position-then he was right, and no blame attached to him. If he tolerated him, under protest, for the express purpose of putting an end to the wrong he obeyed his own conscience, where was the wrong? That was his question, now and always. He would say, in conclusion, that in regard to the

question of the interpretation of the Constitution, he was ignorant enough not to be responsible, and he meant Some remarks had been made in reference to 'mental to have the full advantage of his ignorance. As he servations.' He agreed with the resolutions under understood the matter, it was his duty to use his right iscussion, that it was the duty of every man to make of suffrage for the purpose of putting away the cvil of slavery. The Constitution did not create the evil, but only agreed, for a certain time, to tolerate it; while it der the Constitution, he gave in his adhesion to the sys- put within our hands the very means for putting it em of slavery, then he was bound clearly to define his away. He meant to comply with the spirit of that Constitution. He was willing, under a protest which no man could misunderstand, to pass by the evils which belong to the Constitution, casting them off from himself; and he did it for the express reason that he saw his shortest way of putting an end to them by pursuing this course. Where was the wrong? Yet his friends, in obedience to what he deemed a peccadillo of conscience, refused to exercise the power in their hands. If the day should ever come when the vote of Northern freemen might set the slaves free, and his friends should still hold the position they now do, and say, 'No! no! I shall be understood to imply consent to slavery'might not every slave at the South rise up and say, Our blood be on your garments '?

C. C. BURLEGER said that, with the force of logic and the force of moral sentiment which his friend had manifested, he only needed to discover one flaw in his premises, in order to stand side by side with them on the ground of 'No Union with Slaveholders.' It seemed to mained true also, that in all practical reforms, there him, that the erroneous conclusion to which his friend came was to be attributed to his want of appreciation of the difference between government, an artificial thing, ago, the Liberty Party nominated a candidate for office, the era of doing. It was very well to resort to the the difference between government, an artificial thing, made by man, and society, a natural outgrowth of human our side, we wanted some means by which that opinion nature. It seemed to him that he (Mr. W.) confounded the distinction between the right to vote in the manner But the friends on the opposite side said, 'No! you prescribed by the Constitution, and the right to express nust put that agency away.' They throw us back upon his opinions and exert his influence, in a natural way. on every subject which concerns human welfare. In his mind, there was a broader and clearer distinction between these two things, than between some things which his friend had held up as distinct. He (Mr. B.) denied at the outset, that man had a natural right to cote, using that word in its technical sense; using it in ed anti-slavery man to go into the business of slaveits broader sense, he admitted that every man had a right to vote, and in that sense, no more effective vote is ever cast, in its bearing upon the politics and religion Whig party, the Democratic party, and the Church, of this nation, than that which was east upon that platand now it is time to come out from the State. It seem-ed to him that there was a wide difference here. The parties were purely voluntary, and temporary in their makes itself the engine of oppression to three millions of Representatives, by men who occupied that posi-

weight, in influence, with the vote which was cast every seek in the columns of THE LIBERATOR. If his friend sed the word 'vote' in this broad signification, he did ot touch the controversy between them; but if he used that every man had a natural right to vote, and was ssent to the Constitution-then he dissented altogether rom the proposition. Indeed, he did not see the perfeet consistency of the preceding speaker, for at one time he told him that his right to act at the ballot-box was not derived from the Constitution, that it belonged o him as a man, as a member of the social organization,-belonged to him as one capable of influencing and f being influenced; and then he told him that he (Mr. 3.) was guilty of a dereliction of duty, because he did ot go to the polls and vote under a Constitution, thich he might use for the removal of that evil. He believed that he (Mr. W.) stated the exact truth in regard to the source of the power which he conceived he had to use the ballot-box, or which he can have, while the Constitution is recognized as the bond of our politcal organization.

If this was a matter of opinion he (Mr. B) had upon is side the opinion of the vast majority of the people of this country, and the authority of all previous his-The government was based upon a far different ground from that upon which the former speaker would lace it. No man can be a party to any government, inless he consents to the conditions which the governnent prescribes. If he lives under an absolute monarchy, he cannot get any official station, or any political power at all, unless he will conform to the conditions rescribed by the will of the absolute monarch. If he lives in our many-headed despotism, which we call Deocracy, (leaving out the on,) he is bound to conform to the conditions which the majority of the people pre-scribe, in the form which they have chosen; and he gets no political power, rightfully, legally and constituionally, in any other way.

Now, the argument of his friend was based on his

wn opinion of the right theory of government, unsustained by any proof of its correctness. Thus he had set up his ideal government in the place of the actua government. They had to deal with the thing just as it was. The Constitution says, you shall not exercise any powers which belong to this government, unless you onform to its conditions. But the friend had said -not n these words, but, resolved into its elements, this was what he said. I have a right to govern you, whether on are willing or not. I have a right to do all I can be your President, although you utterly repudiate my entiments.' He could not admit any such principle. No one could rightfully do this without his consent There was no such thing as freedom among a people sent of the minority. When we came together, therefore, in this governmental organization, -which is the artificial thing that society is not,-we came upon certain plainly expressed conditions; and one of these was, that every party to that government shall swear to support, directly or indirectly, a Constitution which requires the giving up of runaway slaves to their masers,-a Constitution which requires the recognition of the right of the slave States to a representation based on slave-property,-and so on through the whole range of the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution.

He understood his friend's logic to prove this: if it e true, that the Constitution is an artificial thing, that the government organized under it is an artificial thing; if it be true that the powers which we have to act politically are derived from the Constitution and government, and do not belong to us by divine and origial right, then it is true that we are bound by the conlitions prescribed in the Constitution, and he maintained that if we could not belong to that government, we must repudiate its Constitution, and fall back upon our riginal rights, and exert our influence for righteousess and truth. It seemed to him, after all, that there was some little doubt as to whether they could, by remaining in the government, effect more good than by withdrawing from it and uttering their testimony against it. Until, therefore, his friend had established his theory of government, not merely as a beautiful ideal, which ought to be put in practice, but one that is reognized in this country, it seemed to him that his conlusion stood solely upon this basis in order to do a great right, do a little wrong; or, at least, promise to do it, without meaning to keep the promise.

His friend had said, in the course of his argument, that there was no danger of their being misunderstood on this matter. Their position was clear and well-defined enough. He (Mr. B.) would venture to say, that if he (Mr. W.) were to go through the ranks of the Free Soil party, and ask its members, man by man, to define the position of John P. Hale, or Salmon P. Chase, or Charles Sumner, on the character of the Constitution, he would be satisfied that the case was not quite so clear as he had supposed. He would venture to say, that he (Mr. W.) would not get less than half as many distinct answers as he would address individuals.

We wanted something specific on this point, but his friend had dealt only in generalities. John P. Hale is decidedly anti-slavery in his feelings; Charles Sumner altogether on the side of freedom and against slavery, He presumed nobody doubted it; but that did not touch a man who had made more sacrifice to the cause of freedom than Mr. Hale and Mr. Sumner together; and yet, that man told him, in conversation, that he would not only promise to give back a runaway slave to his master, if he could thereby get political power, but that he would keep the promise, for the sake of securing a place where he could exercise political power. Now, he did subject; but it might be possible that he agreed with Thomas Earle, that it is perfectly consistent for a pledgcatching, in a certain case, for the sake of securing and using political power against slavery. As he had not come to the conviction, that he could tolerate and pro-tect the siaveholder so far, even for the sake of

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lesertay the New England Abolitionists com-seed another of their annual Conventions. The gain suggests a thought or two, touching the who form the Abolition party, Abolitionism,

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tlemen was not so much with the act of returning the

fugitive, as with the mode of doing it.

Did not Mr. Sumner, in that great and eloque speech of his, know that his readers would understa him, when he did not deny the obligation of the State to give up the runaway slave, as admitting that such right does exist? All these men had admitted, that if the proof be made clear to the minds of a jury of twelve men, that a fugitive was legally held as slave, under the provisions of the Constitution, and es caped without his master's consent, then the slave must be given up. Let their friend keep this distinction clearly in his mind, between a general opposition to slavery, and a specific determination to do no single act whatsoever which is seen to have a bearing towards sla-

very.

His friend had said that he deems it exceedingly im portant to use this power, and not be withheld from its exercise by any very nice scruples of conscience, or any mere punctilios of duty, because in no other way can we embody the anti-slavery opinion of the country into will and act. Here he dissented. He believed that slavery would be abolished in this country long before the Constitution was anti-slavery; that whereas, the pro-slavery character of the Constitution was not the cause but the effect of slavery, so the triumph of antislavery will not be the effect but the cause of a revolution in the Constitution also. The power of the antislavery agitation was such as to make the downfall o slavery morally certain, unless some other prop could be put under it other than that which the Constitution gives it. John C. Calhoun, though he claimed fo slavery, under the Constitution, some things which th North does not concede, clearly foresaw the surrende and downfall of slavery, under the force of that more agitation which has shaken the four corners of the land by the power of speech.

Now, that was his (Mr. B's) faith. He fully agree with John C. Calhoun, that the Constitution, pro-sla very as it is, cannot save slavery from destruction that the power which is bearing against slavery mightier, not only than any thing in the Constitution but mightier than any thing John C. Calhoun could put

His friend had said that it was every man's duty vote, because thereby he could do something for the overthrow of slavery, and said, suppose we get the public sentiment on our side, there is still the law against us. But what was the law against the public opinion of the land? When the public sentiment had come to be decisively and earnestly on the side of freedom,-when they had men everywhere who stood up to the line, 'No compromise with slavery-No union with slaveholders'-then they would see that the Constitution, if they attempted to wreath it round the limbs of the slave, was weaker than a rope of sand, and the Fugitive Slave Law more powerless than the rust which crumbled to fine powder last year; (loud cheers;) then they would see that it is vain for judge or legislator to attempt to keep a slave in his chains against the fial of that public sentiment which says, 'Stand fast in the liberty which God designs to give you !' (Ap-

His friend had made a supposition, that the ranks of the disunion abolitionists should increase until they were in the majority, and then asked how they would answe for it if, the time having come when their votes would give liberty to the slave, they refrained from exercising their right, and left the slave in the hands of those who would make his burdens heavier than before. If the time ever came that fire was kindled among the icebergs of Greenland, and consumed them, without destroying every thing within its reach; if the time ever when the heaving gasses shall burst from the volcano's throat, and pour no red tide upon the towns and cities below-what then? Why, then the laws of nature would be reversed. (Laughter and applause.) And so, if the time ever came, that a vote cast into the ballot-box would be the turning weight between liberty and slavery, then the laws of mind would have been reversed, and the laws of moral action become altogether different

from what they now were. But suppose they had a majority of the people their side, and yet the pro-slavery Constitution and the pro-slavery laws remained-what then? This majority would be made up of precisely those elements which are the most effective-the young men, just entering upon the duties and responsibilities of manhood—the women from the girl at the district school, up to the matron training the future rulers of the laud. The politicians, as they well know, who were busy with the machinery of politics, with its chicanery and quibbles and quirks-would be the last persons to come into the antislavery ranks. Well, here was a man who refused to be a slave, and walked off into the free State lying nearest to him. How were they going to get him back It took rather more than the ordinary force of the city of Boston, he believed, to take poor Thomas Sims out the city as a slave; and yet, how very small a number of the citizens stood upon thorough anti-slavery ground Had there been one full-grown man out of twenty in the city of Boston, at that time, they could no mor have taken Thomas Sims back to Georgia than they could have moved Wachuset into the Dismal Swamp Nay, not so much ; for the latter is possible, though not probable; but the former is neither probable no possible. (Cheers.)

He had, however, been proceeding upon a propositio utterly impossible ever to be realized. Men were not con verted to the true faith at once. As the anti-slavery sentiment was held up to its highest point of elevation it would draw all men, unto it. Some would come the whole way, some half way, some a quarter of the way-Gerrit Smith, John P. Hale, Charles Sumner leading them on. Men in the Democratic and Whig partieshe did not know about the Whig party, but whatever stood in the place of the defunct Whig party-who were in favor of freedom, would act in its behalf. Every where, in all organizations, there would be men in favor of freedom, and the laws would be changed by the votes of those who did not see as they (the abolitionists) did. The laws would be changed long before they came to that point where an entire majority were ready to co into the Free Soil organization, in order to bring about that result; and this being his belief, he did not see even in the argument of expediency, any thing incon-

sistent with high-toned anti-slavery sentime ' In conclusion, Mr. BUBLEIGH said he wished to say a few words in reference to a point which had been com mented upon by some of the preceding speakers,-the men in Congress'who claimed to be truly and decidedly anti-slavery. One of two things, it seem ed to him, must be true : either the Constitution did tolerate slavery, did give the guaranties to the slave system which it was claimed that it did, or that Congress is no Congress at all. If it were true that the Constitution was thoroughly anti-slavery, if it were true that slaveholding was a violation of the law of the land-in plain English, was a crime-then every slaveler a just administration of that law, would be liable to be sent to the Penitentiary, rather than to Congress. He would not venture to say in which place he thought he would meet the more respectable

pany, at present (laughter and cheers;) but his politpany, at present (insigners and influence might differ somewhat with the difference of his circumstances. If this theory is the correct one, the so-called Congress was no more a Congress than any assembly of bar-room loafers, nod-ding over glasses of whiskey or brandy; and every ding over glasses of whiskey or brandy; and every man who went there became a party to a monstrous lie.

Whon GERRIT SEITH goes up to Congress, he goes to become a member of a body, which, on his own theory, has no existence; and recognizes as members of that body a clique of irresponsible men, who have no right to legislate for the country, and by whose acts the country is no many things as they were prone to do. He was not a little surprised at the indifference of the first apeaker (Mr. Wasson) in regard to the pro-slavery to the country, and by whose acts the country.

His friend had said that we might tolerate some Things which we did not recognise as right; that a representa-tive in Congress might tolerate the presence of those there who were the representatives of slaves, with the States, and contrive to recognize that as binding upon cupy legislative positions. It was a toleration fatal to the very principles of political freedom.

He came, then, to this conclusion: Government was fact, the conditions prescribed by this government were swear to do what he does not mean to do. a certain measure of adherence with, and aid to, the slave system. Therefore, as he, and those who believed Anti-Slavery Society would spend any time in discuss with him, could not accept those favors which government proposed to grant on these conditions, they adopted the motto, 'No Union with Slaveholders,' turned that the American and the Massachusetts A. S. Socie from the ballot-box, and gave their votes there, in the ears of the people, and abroad through the land, in the publications of the press. (Applause.)

STEPHEN'S. FOSTER said he wished that the speakers on the other side of the question would tell us just what they think of the U. S. Constitution,-whether they think it an anti-slavery or a pro-slavery instrument With those who truly believe it an anti-slavery docu ment, and act accordingly, and vote only for such mer as themselves hold the same view, and will also act in accordance therewith, -with such we have no contro-

Mr. Foster said there was no anti-slavery party i the country. The Free Soil party anti-slavery? He. would like to see the evidence of it. What had it done? Here were three millions of men and women that were recognized by the government of the country only as brute beasts. Did the Free Soil party propose to extend its protecting arm over the humblest slave in the South? Had any responsible member of the party ever said that it did? He had asked the question often, and had always to wait for an answer. He defied any man to put his finger on a single sentence, from the lips of any prominent Free Soil speaker, declaring their determination to make the government of the United States a government that should protect all the inhabitants dwelling beneath its flag. He wished it occupied that position; and if it did, he would be the last man to make any warfare upon it. He wished that a party would spring up in this country that should give slavery no sanction; but such a party did not exist, unless they considered Gerrir Smith's party such an one and he did not understand Genera Smith, even, to have taken this ground.

He regarded the Free Soil party as one of the worst obstacles to the progress of the cause of freedom. Why was it that the tens of thousands of abolitionists in this Commonwealth and throughout New England were not extensively engaged with them in the great work of ted, as Free Soil men, to justify their positions. I know no master and no slave? Simply because they had been beguiled and deluded. They had been induced to believe that, in voting for certain men to hold high stations in the country, they had voted for those who would sustain the great principle of liberty for allour soil. They were sadly mistaken. Neither John P. an interpretation as justice and reason any other representative of the Free Soil party, had of the General Government would meet their approbaever breathed such a sentiment. He challenged any man to produce the evidence that they had done so.

Mr. Foster said he did not know how it might be with others, but, God being his helper, he would never receive a privilege that he must purchase at his neighbor's expense; he would never receive protection from a government, and acknowledge his allegiance to it. that allowed one human being to be outraged under its flag. When they could be shown a government which that the Constitution had been expounded by the extended its protecting arm alike over all, there was Supreme Court, and that they were bound to adopt the a government they could respect and support. It was decision of the Supreme Court as the final interpretain vain to tell him that the government would protect tion of the Constitution. He found no such privilege over him, and therefore ask for it his support. It was in our consciences granted in the Constitution. He believed vain to point him to its enormous wealth and its prosperity, as evidence of the beneficial influence of the government. He pointed them to the three million the officers of the Government, but never for the con slaves, who had loaded it down for generations with groans and execrations. Charles Summer had told of the Supreme Court to reverse its previous decision them that the Union was twice blessed, and asked hon- as Chief Justice Manefield reversed the decisions of the est abolitionists to bless if, and thank God for it. A English courts, in favor of liberty on English soil. Even government that dooms every sixth woman to pollution if it were true that they could not carry out all its prounder its flag-a government that ought to be execrated visions in favor of liberty and against slavery, they by every human being-Charles Sumner tells us is a maintained that they had a right to use it, and, having had declared that, among all the governments of the ment, interpret it in accordance with that general spirit earth, this government was to be preferred. A govern- Now, what did the pacamble to the Constitution say? No ment which perpetrated every enormity in the name that the Government was organized to established slaveof Christianity and religion,-that sold babies on the ry, but to 'establish freedom, and secure the blessings auction-block, and doomed every sixth woman in the of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.' We were land to prostitution,-Horace Mann called upon them bound to suppose, in the absence of positive proof to the partially awakened consciences of the community, and to blunt their moral sensibilities, as this twaddle then let them read Charles Sumner in the Senate Chamber, declaring that the great effort of the country should same might be said of the Declaration of Independence

their votes. He was ready to give Mr. Mann his, the a form of Government, they refused to admit the idea various parts of the city, and tell them some salutary truths, which they would not be likely to hear, unless some radical should go in among them. But he could not do this, without professing what he did not believe, and promising what he did not mean to perform. So he staid away, simply because he could not go as an house the staid away, simply because he could not go as an house the staid away and the staid away are staid away as the staid away are staid away. nonest, straight-forward, outspoken man. For the efforts which, he must be excused for saying, were opposement reason, he could not go to the ballot-box. If he ed to the dictates of common, practical, every-days constant. were a knave, he could go there. There was not a He did not agree in the position taken by a preolitical party he could not enter, if he speaker, (Mr. Bunnaum,) that government was an arti-est knave. He had never seen any special ficial thing. It was as natural to man as society itself.

uity for going into them; but if he had, rather than violate his convictions of truth and duty, he would stand outside of them for ever. They could act as effectively outside of them as within; and he chose to tand outside of the camp, and to save it, rather than o enter in, and be a partaker in its iniquities.

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to legislate for the country, and by whose acts the country is no more bound than the State of Pennsylvania guarantees of the Constitution. He (Mr. F.) had asked would be bound by a vote that should be passed by that quired to conform to certain rules and regulations, one which was to kiss the toe of the driver. had not been answered. The point was just this. The is the Constitution. Will you swear to support it, with there who were the representatives of slaves, with the express understanding that, as soon as he could, he would thrust them out. Let him say that to the officer appointed to administer the could not be supported to administer the could not be supported to administer the could not be supported to administer the could not support it, with its guarantees respecting the foreign slave trade, the return of fugitive slaves, the support it, with its guarantees respecting the foreign slave trade, the return of fugitive slaves, the support it, with its guarantees respecting the foreign slave trade, the return of fugitive slaves, the support it, with its guarantees respecting the foreign slave trade, the return of fugitive slaves, the support it, with its guarantees respecting the foreign slave trade, the return of fugitive slaves, the support it, with its guarantees respecting the foreign slave trade, the return of fugitive slaves, the support it, with its guarantees respecting the foreign slave trade, the return of fugitive slaves, the support it, with the constitution. pointed to administer the oath, and see if he would have was the popular idea, that these were guarantees in faan opportunity to take the oath! He would have no vor of slavery. Did the gentleman agree with that right to administer it, under such circumstances. If idea of the Constitution? If he believed it an antihis friend could do this, and tolerate the legislation of a slavery Constitution, totally at variance with slavery. body of men claiming to be the Congress of the United let him say so, and all controversy, so far as the reso lutions before them were concerned, was at an end, and us, then he was carrying toleration to an extent where he could come and stand with them, and still sustain forbearance ceased to be a virtue,' if it did not become his idea. But if he believed, with minety-nine hunsomething of a very different character. No man had dredths of the people of this country, that the Constia right to tolerate a class of men as legislators, who had tution is a pro-slavery instrument, then did he mean not the least shadow of constitutional authority to oc- to say that he could swear to support it? And if he cannot swear to support it himself, could he aid in electing any other man to swear to support it? It seemed to him that the gentleman could not vote for artificial, and our right to take any part in it results any man until he was prepared to take office himselffrom a compact, and that compact based upon condi- until he was prepared to say that the Constitution is tions, if conditions were prescribed. As a matter of strictly anti-slavery, or, being pro-slavery, that he can

Mr. Foster said he did not know that the America ing the character of the Constitution with men wh really believed it to be anti-elavery. He knew only ties had declared that slavery was a sin, and ought to be immediately abolished; that they had declared they would support nothing which sanctioned slavery; and believing that the Constitution of the United States is pro-slavery, they had denounced it as ' a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.' They found the three great parties of the country standing as obstacles to the progress of the anti-slavery cause. They had controversy with these parties, and more especially with the Free Soil party, because, while assuming to be antislavery, it supported this slaveholding and slave-trading government, and therefore was more dangerous to the cause of liberty than the others.

In conclusion, Mr. Foster again expresed the hop that gentlemen who came upon that platform would let the audience understand clearly their position. No man who believed the Constitution to be anti-slavery was pro-slavery, and no pro-slavery man practically believed it to be anti-slavery. He was not very partic ular to know what they believed; he wanted to know what they did. That man was not a true anti-sla very man, whatever he professed, who voted for a man who believed in the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, any more than these Whigs who passed anti-sla very resolutions, and then went off and voted for Henr Clay. They wanted to know, then, what men Dr Let there be no evasion. If a man believed the Consti tution to be anti-slavery, and yet voted for a candidate who believed it to be pro-slavery, then he was support ing a pro-slavery Constitution, and was worse than an other class in the community, because, on his own showing, he supported a candidate who perverts the

Constitution to make it uphold slavery.

Mr. HENRY B. BLACKWELL, of Cincinnati, Ohio, w. next introduced to the audience. He said that he could not endorse the position taken by the previous speaker (S. S. FOSTER,) that they should first acknowledge th Constitution to be pro-slavery, before they were permit revolutionizing public sentiment, and establishing in maintained that the Constitution was an anti-slavery this nation agovernment, before the laws of which all document; and if Free Soilers could prove that, in so men should stand as equal-a government that should far as the General Government had jurisdiction, it was anti-slavery ; if they could prove that they surrendered nothing in principle or policy by subscribing to it, then he thought they might act under it without rendering themselves liable to the charge of inconsistency.

The Constitution had been abused, and it was the duty and privilege of Free Soilers to labor to secure for it such Hale, nor Charles Sumner, nor Joshua R. Giddings, nor when it was so interpreted, he believed that the action

In the first place, he would call their attention to the fact, that there were express powers delegated by the people of the States to the General Government, and an express reservation of all these powers which were not expressly granted therein to the States and the people. There was no one of these powers that refers, directly or indirectly, to slavery. Gentlemen had said there that the true position was, that the decision of the Supreme Court was to be the present rule of conduct for sciences of the individual voters. It was in the power vernment that is 'twice blessed'! Horace Mann' ascertained the general scope and spirit of the instru to respect as the best form of government in the world ! the contrary, that this was the meaning of what follows He knew of nothing so well calculated to lull to sleep in the instrument. The word 'slave' is no where to be found in the Constitution, and was stricken out from the original draft, because our fathers would not recog of the Free Soilers. Let them read Charles Sumner in nize the principle that man might hold property in man Faneuil Hall, denouncing the Fugitive Slave Law; and Some gentleman had said that the Constitution must

be pro-slavery, since Southern men voted for it. The be to bring back this government to where our fathers which was adopted unanimously by the slaveholding States; and yet, would any one pretend to say that there What did the Free Soil party propose to do? Was it was any thing in the Declaration of Independence which to elect another General Cushing to one of the highest offices in the gift of Massachusetts? He would like to ultra abolitionist find any thing in that glorious Declarahear from some prominent man of the Free Soil party, tion, directly or indirectly sanctioning slavery? No me man who understood its principles and character, The truth was, that the people of the United States were what it had done. It had challenged their support, then smarting under tyranny; had known what it was Mr. Mann had asked them to give the Free Soil party to be enslaved by a foreign monarch, and on adopting noment he proved himself worthy of it, provided he human slavery. The Constitution gave them great could do so consistently with principle; but he had an objection to promising to do what he did not intend to perform. He looked at the Constitution as a unit. If e could not do any thing which it required to be done lon which had been expressed on that platform, it was in good faith, then he, would reject it as a whole. He not the Constitution which upheld slavery, but the pub treated it as he did the Church. He would like very lie sentiment of the country. Would gentlemen deny well to be among those clerical brethren assembled in that, were a Constitution to be drawn up by the most well to be among those elerical brethren assembled in that, were a Constitution to be drawn up by the mos various parts of the city, and tell them some salutary rigid and consistent abolitionist, and subjected to the

eent, and we found, also, that the perfection of Governent increased as the nation incre They could not stand outside of the Government, and to act under it. As well might a captain of a ship refuse to act under it. As well might a captain of amid the howling of the tempest, refuse to take the helm, and keep the vessel from the breakers, because

there was a weak spot in her timbers. Mr. Blackwell said be wished now to call their atten tion to some of the good results which had flowed from press stipulation that it should not be abolished for shed. Had it not been for the adoption of that instru- United States were a people of political in this continent, instead of three and a half millions.

District of Columbia, and full control over the territoabolish slavery in the District, and say to the foul spirit, Thus far, but no farther-not another square mile of territory shall you blast with your odious presence.' He was not willing to give up these glorious privileges, and surrender the broad and fertile territories of the West march of this gigantic wrong.

Some questions had been asked there in respect to the

But where was the Free Soil man who was not in favor of the immediate extension of the Wilmot Proviso, to exclude slavery from all the territories? Where was the Free Soil man who was not in favor of the immediate abolition of slawry in the District of Columbia? Where was the Free Soil man who was not in favor of the immediate and unconditional repeal of the accursed Puritive Slave Law? Where was the member of the Free Soil party who did not recognize and support the higher law of God against the lower law of man? (Applause.) Where was the Free Soil man who would not pledge himself to rescue a fugitive from the clutches of his pursuer, even in the face of fines and imprison ment? He knew many a good Free Soiler in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, who would tell them that he believed the Constitution to be an anti-slavery document-tha every word in it was imbued with the spirit of freedon and right; and who would tear his heart out of his bo som, before he would act under it, if he believed it t be the accursed thing it had been there described. Now, as to the question of representation, upon which

so much stress had been laid, it was true that our fathers, for the sake of securing a government, did consent that, in apportioning the representation, five slaves should be counted as three freemen. But did they thus give their sanction to the slave system? He thought not. If he were to take a carriage and ride out with a slaveholder to view the beautiful environs of Boston, would he thereby sanction his slaveholding? If the powers conferred upon the general government are not pro-slavery, the mere fact of slaves being counted as a basis of representation, however impolitic, involved no guarantee of slavery itself. But where was the proof, in the Constitution, that

this three-fifths representation was a representation of slaves? There was no evidence of this to be derived from the words of the instrument; the only evidence lay in an indirect implication. It was just so in regard to what was called the Fugitive Slave Clause. Notwithstanding that he might be willing to admit that slaves were intended to be implied in the phrase, other persons,' still, if the objects of the confederacy were strictly defined, and no sanction was given to slavery, then they would certainly grant that it was no sacrific of principle to accept it. Such was the fact.

The Fugitive Slave Clause was not a power conferre upon the General Government. As all the leading Free Soilers had expressly contended, it was a compact between the people of the States who entered into the altogether white? Did not Washington, and Jefferson. Union. If there was any obligation to give up fugitives, and Patrick Henry, and John Marshall, and their con it rested solely with the States themselves. The courts had made their decisions upon it, but we were not bound to execute any decision which conflicted with the higher law of God. If there were any clauses in the Constitution which conflicted with the straight-forward principles of right, we were bound to set them aside, and regard them as the idle wind. In the vigorous language of a noble New England poet, (J. R. Lowell,) ervation. But this was clearly an exceptional case, and the broad prairies and along the mighty rivers of the Mr. Adams thought of the Constitution itself, in its re-

duties first,
The traitor to Humanity is the traitor most accursed Man is more than Constitutions; better rot beneath the

Than be true to Church and State, while we are doubly

In saying this, he believed he spoke the sentiment Free Soilers generally. When they had succeeded in repealing the Fugitive Slave Law, and secured the right interpretation, he did not believe that it would be possible to prove, to the satisfaction of twelve Northern nen, that any slave claimant had a right to his socalled property. It was because the South knew this, that they were so unwilling to yield the usurped power

they had conferred upon the Federal Government. In relation to the bugbear of the power of the Unio being pledged to put down slave insurrections, he had only to quote the opinion of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, that the carrying out of the clause in reference to this subject would result in the emancipation of the slaves, since the local law would in such case be superseded by martial law, and the master could give no evidence to prove his claim to hold property in his fellow-being. Now, he would ask them candidly to consider the results of giving up their jurisdiction in this matter. They tied themselves hand and foot, and gave themselves over to the enemy. It had been justly said, that Mr. Gannison was not so much feared at the South as some Free Soil men. If he could sit down with a dozen Georgia slaveholders, or any other Southern men, and explain to them that these abolitionists would not raise up their hands to strike out the law which provides for returning fugitive slaves, they would not give five dimes for Mr. GARRISON's head. For his part, he felt like exercising all his rights against the atrocious system. He had been to the South ; he had friends there; and the more he saw of the workings of the inferna system, the more fully was he convinced that it was worse than the worst representations that had ever been made upon the anti-slavery platform.

Then there were other provisions in the Constitution They had personal guarantees of the most express and liberal kind. Gentlemen had claimed, and he granted that the word 'persons' was sometimes intended to cover slaves. But the same interpretation of words must go all through any instrument which is subject to criticism; and so, if the word 'persons' was intended to mean slaves, in the representation clause, then all the guaranties of personal liberty given to persons ' belong to slaves also. The people were guarantied the right to bear arms, and, of course, by implication, to use them; they were guarantied the right to assemble peaceably; the right of free discuright to hold property. There was no law in the Southern States which legalized slavery, and the right interretation of the Constitution would break the fetters om every black man's limbs in the Southern States.

Every word in the Constitution was right-was i favor of liberty. He had studied it carefully. For four years after he became of age, he had declined to vote, because he supposed, from the representation of itution was pro-slavery. Finally, he concluded to examine it for himself, and the cales fell from his eyes. He called upon them to examine the Constitution for themselves. He called upon

Among the rudest men, we found some form of Govern- was determined to say, so far as his vote went, 'You shall not use it to uphold this accurred system !' (Loud ne to that Convention as a listener and

He had cot

carner. The West looked to New England for instruction and example. He had been surprised to find, in the city of Beston, merchants of high standing, whose sole protection was in the acknowledged sanctity property, advocate the propriety of taking a man from himself. There was work yet to be done in Boston, and the adoption of the Constitution. The African slave trade had been abolished. So important was this trade considered by the South, that they made an experse stipulation that it should not be abolished for wenty years; but at the end of that time, it was abol- he thought they could not show it. The people of the ment, we should now have had thirty million slaves on were the children of men who had fought for the righ of suffrage on many a hard-won field of glorious strife In the next place, they had unlimited power over the He had recently visited the battle-field of Concord, and District of Columbia, and full control over the territo- he did not feel that the men who fought there were proles, and as soon as they should so choose, they could slavery men; that the result of that contest was a proslavery triumph. He did not despair of the Government of their common country. The noble people of the West would come here to look upon the glorious battle-fields of New England, and inhale the inspiration of freedo with the pure air, and that would nerve their hearts to become a den of licentiousness—a den of thieves. and strengthen their hands, and they would work with By the grace of God, the Free Soilers meant to stay the their tongues and pens, in their caucuses and political and strengthen their hands, and they would work with meetings, and in every other way. They would give Some questions had been asked there in respect to the those pro-slavery men no jot or tittle the advantage. position of some of the Free Soil members of Congress. They should not take their votes from them, but they would make them tremble before the zeal and enthusiasm of their labors. They had organized to make them return fugitive slaves; the friends of freedom would organize, not only to keep their fugitives, when they had got them, but to create such a moral sentiment as should crush the foul system of slavery beneath its weight. They would not cut off any arm of their power; they would surrender no right which could be used in the slave's behalf; but they would struggle for freedom in every way, and struggle for freedom for ever. (Loud applause.) Mr. Gannison said, 'The legs of the lame are not

equal.' To undertake to rescue the Constitution from

the charge of pro-slavery, and make it coherently and

logically anti-elavery, in the face of all the facts attend-

ing its adoption and administration, was as difficult as

to blot the sun from the heavens at mid-day. His clo-

we could desire it to be-was just what Liberty requir-

ed. And yet he had admitted that, by that very Con-

stitution, the slaveholders were permitted to represen

three-fifths of their slaves on the floor of Congress

How could that be? He asked him where the evidence of such a provision was to be found-and he still renewed the inquiry. On his (Mr. B's) own mode o easoning, the Constitution was an anti-slavery instrument, with no word in favor of slavery in it; yet he had admitted that three-fifths of the slave property the South were, under the Constitution, represented by the slaveholders, and, of course, for the slaveholder benefit. He had admitted again, that fugitive slave are included in the clause relating to persons escaping from service or labor. And yet, the Constitution is no pro-slavery !-- goes for liberty !-- is all that can be de sired! It seemed to him that to state these contradic tions was sufficient to refute them. Whether the Con stitution is anti-slavery or not; whether it goes for slave-catching or not; whether it grants the right of slave representation or not; all these things are done under it, and have been sanctioned, without a note of remonstrance, as a matter of course, ever since the formation of the government. Now he would appeal to the civilized world, if there was ever a more glaring a surdity than to attempt, in the face of our national his tory, in view of the injustice of this country toward the colored race for two hundred years, to persuade the people that they have totally misunderstood the mat ter, and that what they had supposed to be black, was temporaries, understand the Constitution? Yet they held but one opinion about it. Reference had been made to the opinion expressed by John Quincy Adams, to the effect that, in case a great national exigency should oc cur,-a formidable invasion from abroad, for example, -Congress would be justified in abolishing slavery, under the war power, as a measure of national self-pres whose words were familiar to thousands who live on did not affect the question under consideration. What lation to slavery and the slave trade, he has told the powerless.

> ASSENT TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugsitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly the case of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly the God, thirdly th of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . . 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 TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRET OF THE RATIONAL GOVERNMENT. SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. Did John Quincy Adams understand his country' Constitution? Were his allegations entirely destitute of truth ? Why, there was not a Court in the country, which did not recognize the pro-slavery character

" It cannot be denied—THE SLAVEHOLDING LORDS O

THE SOUTH Prescribed, AS A CONDITION OF THEIR ASSENT TO THE CONSTITUTION, three special pro-

that instrument; there was not a legislative body which did not recognize it; Congress had uniformly done so and also the National Executive and the Supreme Court. The people had always regarded it in the same light, and the people could not be mistaken, because it was the embodiment of their will. He (Mr. G.) deemed i inexcusable to attempt to whitewash the character of the framers of the Constitution, by representing that they intended to give no sanction to slavery, and declaring that they were the friends of impartial liberty. Such a statement was against all the facts of their lives. Why not seek to whitewash the character of the men who passed the Fugitive Slave Law? The Fugitive Slare Law! Had not the passage of that Law convulsed the whole country? Was not all Europe filled with horror in view of it? But, according to the logic of his friend from Ohio, no such Law has ever been enacted by Congress, or attempted to be enforced by the government! All this prodigious excitement - this world-wide feeling of moral indignation-was the result of gross misapprehension! He called upon his friend from Ohio to show that the Law, so universally execrated, contained one single sentence or word which authorized slave-hunting or slave-catching, or required the surrender of fugitive slaves! It referred solely to persons held to service or labor -using the exact anguage of the American Constitution. Now if the words, 'persons held to service or labor,' in the Constitution, cannot, do not, and were never intended to apply to fugitive slaves, (and this is the ground assumed by those who maintain the anti-slavery character o that instrument,) then it is just as certain that they can have no such meaning or application in what is called the Fugitive Slave Law. But as it would be to outrage the intelligence of the country to deny that the express design of that Law was the seizure of fugitive slaves, and the punishment of such persons as sought to secrete them, so it is equally preposterous to assert that the Constitution contains no compromises on the subject of slavery.

When did the white people of this country ever ex hibit any feelings of compassion, any friendliness of spirit, for the colored population? For two centuries. that they could not escape from it; that their property would be taken from them, in the shape of taxes, and used to uphold slavery, whether they would or no. For his part, if his money was to be taken from him, he a Constitution, embracing on equal terms with themm in every way, and trodder

selves, those whom they had thus cruelly despised and

systematically proscribed? Never!

This conflict with the Slave Power was not simply matter of verbal criticism, but it had reference to as overshadowing and an all-controlling system of opposovershaudwing and and vanquished by southing more potent than an ingenious play upon work T have been challenged to prove that the word stave is in the Constitution—that it contains any thing adverse to human liberty. It is true that no such word is fand in the instrument; neither did it ever contain the said a foreign slave trade '-yet, for twenty years after in adoption, that trade was prosecuted under the Anes-can flag, as a legitimate branch of the commerce of the country—as a constitutional right. It is equally cotain, that in their treatment of the colored people, as fathers were guilty of great injustice, before God. They did not take the black man into their embrace; they sig not recognize his manhood; and to this hour he is truted more like a leper than an American cities.

So, then, it was not true that our fathers made at anti-slavery Constitution. In their state of mind, it was morally impossible for them to do so. It was no their intention to do any such thing. Doubles, it vis a very easy thing, on that platform, for his friend free Ohio to make the Constitution all anti-slargy; but what would the South make of it? And with his inter pretation of it, where was the Union? Did they my pose that the South meant to submit to such a criticis as that—meant to yield to an anti-slavery interpretation of the very instrument they had fashioned themselve and which was shaped exactly to their own liking! I was the acme of infatuation ! As for the remark of his friend, that the South per-

ferred the action of the old organization to that of Free Soilers, was it so? It was a novel piece of intelligence. If the South did not understand his position, and that of the American A. S. Society, in regard to the Union and to voting, it was not because they had not tried to make it plain. The truth was, the old organization was the only one which Southern slaveholders respected, because they clearly understood the issue presented to them, inflexibly and uncompromisingly. But, as for this attempt to get round the bargain, this quibbling about words, the South held it to be equally despicable and dishonest; and they would regard such an interpretation as a virtual declaration of war, if is enforcement were attempted. They would feel thenselves justified in rising up as one man, and shelfing quent friend had said, that the Constitution was all that the last drop of blood in their veins, to prevent the carrying out of this interpretation. Our fathers did agree to sustain slavery ; the people agreed to it; and the instrument remains as it was originally, in regard to its pro-slavery compromises. He, and these via acted with him, acknowledged the sin, and would not attempt to cloak it ; therefore, they could not consent to be members of a government that upheld it, and required acquiescence and participation in it. Therefore it was that they washed their hands of it, and sted outside with God and innocency, crying in the ear of the world, ' No Union with Slaveholders, religious or politically!' (Great cheering.) Mr. John T. Hilton defended the course and position

of the old-organized Anti-Slavery Society, and said the colored race (to which he belonged) had always magnized Mr. Garrison and his associates as their true un clear-sighted friends. He thanked God for preserving this Society, for preserving and prolonging the life of Mr. Garrison, and enabling him to speak in fitting terms of the corruptions and iniquities of the slaveholders Adjourned.

The Convention was addressed by Lucy Sross WENDELL PHILLIPS. G.W. F. MELLEN read a paper to the Convention,

which no action was taken. Adjourned to Thursday morning, 10 o'clock.

EVENING. EDMUND QUINCY in the chair.

THURSDAY. The Convention re-assembled at the Melodess, as was called to order, at 10 o'clock, by Francis Jan

Rev. ANDREW T. Foss, of Manchester, N. H., dressed the Convention in an earnest speech, introd and speaking to the following resolution :-

Resolved, That the cry of infidelity which the chart and clergy of this land are raising against theevi expose their sin, is an old trick, which was planed the Jews against Jesus, and by the Catholics against Luther ;-that it is insincere, and is fast become

E. G. LEACH, of Boston, denied some of Mr. Fast statements, but was obliged to admit that Dr. (who has emancipated his slaves) was admitted to of one Baptist church in Boston, while Dr. Fuller, is alayeholder and apologist for slavery, was admitted Dr. Sharp's pulpit, to Dr. Neale's, and to the dis places of Baptist honor.

HENRY C. WRIGHT indignantly opposed the idea that any book, or any being, man or God, could make the

GEORGE W. PUTNAM, of Lynn, formerly a lect agent of the Massachusetts Society, by leave of the Convention, made a statement in regard to shat hear sidered the harsh and unjust course pursued toward hi by the General Agent and the Agency Committee of the

Society.

Mr. May, the General Agent, replied to him. gave a very different version of the story, appeals credible witnesses. Mr. PHILLIPS, of the Agesty Con mittee, also sustained the course which that Countil and the General Agent had taken in Mr. Putsin case, showing that it was the course which their desp in a wise and economical use of the money in the and slavery treasury, required them to adopt-and the that Committee had, on the maturest cons

rected the General Agent to pursue. Mr. PRILLIPS made an earnest appeal to the Com tion for funds, to aid in carrying the cause forural New England during the ensuing year.

On motion of W. L. Garrison, adjourned to the site

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair. DANIEL FOSTER spoke of the necessity of user ballot in order to abelish slavery, and referred to course taken in England on the abolition of West In Slavery. He admitted, however, the superior worth the moral agitation of the question, such as that which the American Anti-Slavery Society and in an illiaries are engaged, without which every other and must fail and die. He thought the Free Soilers aler themselves to be unjustly prejudiced against Mr. fast son and his associates; and he urgel his Fred friends to come to the meetings and the platform die fashioned Anti-Slavery, that a more thorough using tween them and the moral agitators might be ferred W. L. GARRISON, from the Business Committee ported the following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That inasmuch as the c bership in the American Anti-Slavery Society is, and the recognition of the self-evident truth, that ma can hold property in man, that immediate em is the right of the slave and the duty of the master that Society neither disciplines nor excomm member on any charge of acting inconsistently anti-slavery profession; as its platform is as eyes opponents as to its friends, and free to all; and st reat instrumentality for the peaceful abolition of ry is the utterance and application of the truth nsciences and hearts of the people; it follows, so long as the Society is true to its fundamental ple, it furnishes common ground for all these who to be anxious for the everthrow of the slave spe secession from it is an indication of a factious spin of conscious unwillingness or inability to met its onsibilities of the cause and the duties of the he

2. Resolved, That no man, who consents t the anti-slavery platform, or standing where he manders no man who professes to be the friend and aid the slave, especially if he occupy a high, res

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party criticism, or to construe it into a personal affront, as a piesd his unquestionable and unquestioned antiin acts as entitling him to go unrebuked in cases part sets as contains min to go unreb

there he is regarded. That it is not only the right but the by die professed friends of the slave to be watchful of the process lest there be any compromise of his rights. where whenever or wherever there of to be a dereliction from the strict line of antimes to be a second whoever takes offence at this, or himself from our platform in conseque party himself to be consciously in the wrong, of snable to vindicate his position.

Mr. Gazason sustained the resolutions at considera is legth [Speech in a future number.] PLEASE PILLSBURY, in a speech of much ability, ar-

and the weakness of the position occupied by New below Free Soilers generally. Mr GARRISON hoped that the meeting would not dis

statement respecting a statement respecting a sired man,—a father and husband,—now in this pring Mr. Mitchell, perhaps, would like himself to

lice Milchell, a colored man, about 45 or 50 seri of see, and of prepossessing appearance, came there and at his master's death, became the property the master's daughter. After some years, she died a sensumption, and then, said he, my liberty was grathed to me, but I was kept in slavery eleven am longer than I should have been. When I got my below, I married a wife, with whom I lived twentyor years, as man and wife should live, in peace and and will. I worked hard, and tried to buy my wife out fairery. I paid \$1300 towards it. Now they are grant of sell my family from me, notwithstanding what are paid. There a wife and seven children, and I law not where they are,—whether they are in jail, or a the way to a distant slave State. But I have come n the conclusion, that I will spend my life in getting the norchusion, that I will spend and to marry your hen lack. Friends, I do not want to marry your lawhighters, or to sit in your parlors, or to be your inghers, or to sit in your pariors, or to be your lawthe Herry which belongs to a man, such as all desir be themselves. Now, if you please to aid me in my get to obtain my family again, it would rejoice my

Mr. Gizzisox added a few remarks on the attempted espe of Mr. Mitchell's family, about last Christmas and their severe sufferings from the excessive cold sether which they then had to encounter. One of the highters had her feet so badly frozen, that she lost tire of her toes. At Bedford, they made themselves hown to a colored man-a colored Methodist minister -and he betrayed them to their pursuers! Their erser, in revenge for their attempted escape, now demade \$2500 for them, and has offered to sell them, to le rarried farther South.

Mr. G. said he would add, that he had never seen th san who more perfectly realized his ideal of 'Uncle fim' than did Jacob Mitchell. CRIELES L. REMOND said he felt it his duty to take

greption to some of Mr. Mitchell's remarks. He refered to what Mr. M. had said to the audience, that he of not wish to marry their daughters, sit in their parles, be their lawyer, doctor, minister, &c. He would at censure Mr. M. for this language, who, brought up is slavery, might naturally speak as he had done, withset considering that, in so speaking, he was compromising the claim of the colored man to hold a social posiis is all respects on an equality with the white man, and to be lawyer, doctor, minister, or whatever he chose. let, when he saw that remark applauded by that porion of the audience who, just before, had been uttering their poisy and disgraceful exclamations in behalf of basiel Webster and other pro-slavery men, he could not retrain his indignation. He told those men that he her the vileness and meanness of their hearts-that the spirit of negro-hate was rife in them, that spirit of which Boston and the North was yet so full, and which hal been so plainly manifested in the galleries that afternoon-and that they would themselves turn slavetraders, if they had the money and the courage for it Mr. Remond continued, for some time, in a strain of in-

[Mr. Mitchell went through the meeting, and obtain

WILLIAM J. WATKINS added a few remarks. At a late hour, adjourned.

EVENING. EDMUND QUINCY in the chair.

Mrs. OLIVE BEARSE came forward, and, in a few weeks, dictated by deep feeling, bore her testimony against the oppression of the land-both physical and

W. L. Garrison, from the Business Committee, in troduced the following resolutions :-

Resolved, That, as members of the American Anti-Savery Society, and friends of that open and uncompromising hostility to slavery which allows no party and 20 sect to hold a place in our regards paramount to this cause of justice and humanity, we desire, anew and emphatically, to express our thanks to those men and women in Great Britain and Ireland, who, for many years past, have annually sent their liberal and able gifts to the treasury of our cause ; and who have abored, with a most instructive and self-denying detotedness, in the dark hour as well as in the bright day, in siekness and weariness as well as in health and strength, to awaken the people of their own land to the terrible wrongs done to the slave in this, -and to etain from every Christian church and every Christian man and woman in the mother land, their steadfast protest against those wrongs, their prayers to Heaven for the speedy triumph of Freedom and of Right, and their stern resolve to have no union with slaveholders or with their apologists, such as shall imply, in the least degree

a social or a religious consent to their crimes.

Resolved, That, in this connection, we cannot forbeat to refer, with pleasure, to the marked change in the dati-Slavery Reporter, the organ of the British and Fereign Anti-Slavery Society, since the resignation of its former editor, and the accession of its new one; its attitude towards the American Anti-Slavery cause being how impartial and friendly, its spirit towards the move ment which this Convention represents frank and courbens, and its rebuke of the pro-slavery churches and ministers of this country earnest and keen, and sure to be effective on both sides of the Atlantic; and we trust that no feeling of sect, or spirit of selfishness, will be allowed to poison the anti-slavery sentiment which is now growing and gaining strength in every just and bumane heart of the civilized world.

Mr. John C. Cluen said he wished to say a few word a reference to a remark which had been made at a revious session, respecting a Scotch lady who had em kind enough, and some people said meddling neegh, to ask the American ladies—very politely and bry delicately, indeed—to use their influence to remove the only real plague-spot of this country. The remark is which he aliuded was to the effect, that the speaker (Mr. PUTNAM) had very little confidence in the antilatery of any person, when British tyrants complimented them. It so happened that the lady, (the Duchers of Sutherland,) had been among the foremost in all the re-forms that touched the elevation of the working classes in that country. (Loud cheers). He recollected, whe he was a mere lad, taking great interest in the agitation

com-has a right to claim exemption from antidemocratic America

He would just refer to that very beautiful lady, the wife of an ex-President, of whom they had all heard. Where had that woman been brought up? (Great laughter.) Did she ever go to a public school? had her reading been confined to? The fact was, that the whole thing of which that communication complain-ed,—(which must have been written by the husband of the ex-President's wife, or somebody else as imbecile,)
had been done away with, through the labors of the people, in bringing the case before the English Parliaof the past in that country. He recollected laboring six months, some years ago, among the miners in two of the mining counties, and at the shd of that time had the pleasure not only of seeing great numbers of them wife to set a similar example, in imitation of what they have done across the water. (Applause.)

There were tyrants in England-plenty of ther there were scoundrels connected with the British ernment, undoubtedly; but where did they find sympathy? Among the slaveholders and the apologists for slavery in this country. (Great applause.) What papers were they in England, that apologized for slavery in this country? The same papers that denounced every struggle for freedom among the working classes at home. There was not a liberal journal in all Scotland, from John-o'Great's to Land's End, whose every pulse did not beat in favor of liberty and against slavery, the world over. There was not a dirty, mean, contemptible tory journal in Britain, that went for the union of Church and State, and for hereditary descent, that did not lend its influence to prop up the system of slavery in this country. (Cheers.)

When men talk about these things, it would well for them to learn something of the facts in the case. Show him a skulking, contemptible emigrant from the the slaveholder, and he would show them a rascal, who Miss STONE was admirable in matter and manne had left. (Great applause). He hated and despised such with his whole heart. He knew there were many in Great Britain who struggled hard for their daily Scotland-his own dear native land-or in England, or forgotten. Mr. PHILLIPS also made one of his nobl slavery; in America as well as in their own land, and many a time had the poor operatives of that country gathered their ha'pence together to raise as much as would pay for a gallery ticket to the theatre, to witness Uncle Tom's Cabin.' In the mud cabins of Ireland, in the weaving-shops of England, in the huts of Scotland, the woes of the slave were touching the hearts of the people, and they forgot their own sufferings in those of their fellow-creatures on this side the water; and they would never be induced, by the twaddle of American sympathy for themselves, to withhold their denunciations of the foul and villanous system of slavery. They spurned the proffered sympathy of those who bought and sold human beings as good as themselves.

Mr. Clure said, in conclusion, that he liked every movement in favor of liberty, whether it was for the black or the white. He was not an anti-slavery man ing. No time could possibly have been more appropribecause the subjects of slavery were black, but because ate for such a meeting than the present. Uncle Tom's they were men and women, and it was manhood that he Cabin has come down upon the dark abodes of slavery recognised. (Loud cheers.) He cared nothing about like a morning's sunlight, unfolding to view its enercreeds, country or color, but he thought there was that in manhood which should at least have fair play. He 'peculiar institution,' and awakening sympathy in liked the spirit of the gentleman (Mr. REMOND) who spoke on that platform in the afternoon, who asked for no privileges, but demanded the rights of manhood, and would take nothing less.

Mr. PUTNAM insisted on the opinions he had expressed in the morning.

REV. THEODORE PARKER then, smidst much applause, took the floor, and delivered an eloquent and able

speech, of which a full report will be given hereafter. in its consideration, he took a wide range, alluding especially to the views held by the ultraists of the South, which he illustrated by numerous quotations from a work recently issued by Mr. De Bow, (a gentleman connected with the Census Department at Washington,) the Committee and speakers, amid the most deafening the Richmond Examiner, and other sources. He confalse commercial idea that slave labor is profitable, the qualities than that of a mere nobleman, made the false political idea, that slavery is a source of political power, the influence of the servile class, who had a godless clergy, who sought to pull humanity down to

But there were mighty forces on the side of freedom. There was a vast political power enlisted on its side; there were a noble clergy, the moral sense of the civilized world, and the influence of woman, also on its side. He thought the abolitionists had much to encourage them, and that they could use the language of St. Paul, 'Now is our salvation nearer than when we first

adoption of the resolutions before the Convention. The vote was taken, and the resolutions were adopted

by a general vote.

Notwithstanding the almost incessant rain during the sessions of the Convention, the meetings were looked upon as the lion of the speakers; but his speech erowded throughout, day and evening, and a very deep disappointed all, except those of us who knew enough of interest in the discussions was manifested. The Finance Committee collected the sum of about \$470 in the subject of slavery. For my own part, I was no money, and received pledges, to be paid in the course disappointed, for I have long since despaired of anything of the year, to the amount of \$910.

being done by clergymen; and the Professor's speech of the year, to the amount of \$910.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, President. SAMUEL MAY, Jr. ALONZO J. GROVER, Secretaries.

Among the letters received, in reference to the N. E. Convention, was the following :-

MARSHPIELD, May 23, 1853. FRIEND MAY-For various reasons, among which a somewhat uncertain state of health is prominent, I think shall not personally attend the annual gathering of she will find it no easy thing.

the Pioneer Abelitionists of New England, at Boston,

The best speech of the evening was made by our the Pioneer Abolitionists of New England, at Boston, this week ; but I have concluded to send a Representa fire, in the shape of a five dollar bill, which you will self great credit, and exposed the hypocrisy of the find enclosed in this letter.

longs to a numerous and very powerful family, which I have but little faith in the American clergy—either exercises a controlling influence in the affairs of this colored or white; but I believe Ward to be not only one world. I trust you will recognize his credentials, and of the most honest, but an uncompromising and faithful give him a place in your deliberations. I hope also, that, advocate of his countrymen. He is certainly the best in addition to the many noble men and women who will meet with you, to receive and impart light and heat upon the great question of human freedom, there will be at least a 'few more of the same sort.'

Yours in the Advance, N. H. WHITING.

The Prestiterian Assembly Assembly—New School. The slavery question has been under discussion in the Presbyterian active part in that agitation, the names of the Duches of Sutherland and Lord Ashley were associated with that great movement. Now, because Lord Ashley and the Duchess of Sutherland were rich, was that any reason why he should not accept their help to work out his tunncipation from slavery in the cotton factory? He thought there was much consistency manifested by those parties who had addressed the people of this country on the subject of slavery, inasmuch as they did not do it until they had obtained for the British operative as modified, was finally adopted—yeas 76, nays 33. The Southern synods will probably secede. THE PRESENTERIAN ASSEMBLY-NEW SCHOOL. The

## THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders. BOSTON, JUNE 3, 1853.

THE NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION

This Convention occupied two entire days (Wednesday and Thursday) last week, holding in all six publi ex-President's wife, or somebody else as imbecile,)
een done away with, through the labors of the
in bringing the case before the English ParliaThe abuse of the miners was one of the things ing in the land. There was not so great a variety a plause. The absorbing question under consideration was the pro-clavery character of the American Const the pleasure not only of seeing great numbers of them become temperate men and women, but also of seeing twelve of them go up to London, and appear before the House of Commons, and demand and obtain their rights from that Parliament. And Lord Ashley and the Duchess of Sutherland were active participators in the Duchess of Sutherland were active participators in the Variance of Commons, and the duty of voting by Rev. David Wasson of Groveland. These were effectively replied to the common of the process of Sutherland were active participators in the Variance of Commons, and the duty of voting by Rev. David Wasson of Groveland. These were effectively replied to the common of the process of Commons, and the consequent duty of refusing to swear allegiance to it. The position of the Free Soil party was ably and eloquently defended by Henry B. Blackwell, Esq., of Cincinnati, and the duty of voting by Rev. David Wasson of Groveland. These were effectively replied to the common of the process of Sutherland were active participators in the Common of Cincinnati, and the consequent duty of refusing to swear allegiance to it. The position of the Free Soil party was ably and eloquently defended by Henry B. Blackwell, Esq., of Cincinnati, and the duty of voting by Rev. David Wasson of Groveland. would not be a very good thing for the ex-President's to by Henry C. Wright, Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pills bury, Wendell Phillips, and others. We have given a full a sketch of the debates (thanks to Messrs. Yerrinton and May for their copious and excellent reports) as our limits will permit. We have yet to publish the speeche of Rev. Mr. Foss, Lucy Stone, Parker Pillsbury, Wen dell Phillips, Theodore Parker, &c. The whole wil richly repay the most careful perusal.

The weather-was throughout very stormy, the rain falling heavily; but it did not prevent a thronged attendance, day and evening; thus indicating afresh in what manner and to what extent abolitionism is 'go ing down '! Laus Deo!

### FOURT, POLITICAL, RIGHTS.

On Friday morning last, the Senate Chamber of Mass chusetts was filled to overflowing with a highly respectable and intellectual audience, gathered to hear Miss LUCY STONE and WENDELL PHILLIPS argue, before the Committee of the Constitutional Convention to whom were referred petitions on the subject, the propriety and duty of admitting the women of the Commonwealth to other side of the water, who would flatter and fawn to equal political rights and privileges. The speech of was the enemy of the working-classes of the country he that could have been desired; and when she portrayed the injustice and barbarity arising from the denial to woman of her political rights, by referring to variou authentic cases in illustration, the whole assembly was bread, but he would say that they could not find a fac- deeply moved, and men and women alike freely shed tory child in the cities, and towns, and villages of old tears. It was a sublime and thrilling scene, never to be in poor down-trodden Ireland, who would not spit in efforts, and produced a powerful effect by his arguments the face of the richest tyrant on earth who should talk and appeals. Never before, since the world was made, to them about selling themselves, and exchanging situ- in any country, has woman publicly made her demand ations with the slave. They would sing the wrongs of in the hall of legislation, to be represented in her own person, and to have an equal part in framing the laws and determining the action of government.

This morning, (Friday,) the Committee are to be addressed, on the same subject, in the Representatives' Hall, by Rev. THEODORE PARKER and others.

What will be the action either of the Committee or the Convention, on this subject, we cannot tell, but we know what it ought to be.

#### LETTER PROM WILLIAM W. BROWN. DEAR MR. GARRISON: I forward to you, by this day's mail, the papers con

taining accounts of the great meeting held in Exeter Hall last night. No meeting during this anniversary has caused so much talk and excitement as this gatherhearts that never before felt for the slave. Had Exeter Hall been capable of holding fifty thousand instead of five thousand, it would no doubt have been filled to its utmost capacity. For more than a week before the meeting came off, the tickets were all disposed of, and it was understood that hundreds were applying every day. With those who may be classed as Mrs. Stowe's converts that lady was the centre of attraction for them; while the elder abolitionista came for the sake of the cause I entered the great Hall an hour before the time, and the officials, to keep places for those who had tickets to that part of the house. At half-past six, the Earl o Shaftesbury appeared upon the platform, followed by applause. The Noble Earl, who has many more nobler opening speech, and, as you will see, a good one. While his lordship was speaking, Her Grace, the Duchess of something to gain by truckling to the Slave Power, and Sutherland, came in, and took her seat in the balcony greater lady (the authoress of Uncle Tom) made her appearance, and took her seat by the side of the Duchess At this stage of the meeting, there was a degree o excitement in the room that can better be imagined than described. The waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the clapping of hands, the stamping of feet, and the scream ing and fainting of ladies, went on as if it had been the programme, while the thieves were at work helping

anti-slavery movement. He is now lisping his A, B, C, and if his wife succeeds in making him a good scholar, countryman, Samuel R. Ward. Mr. Ward did him-American pro-slavery churches in a way that caused He is rather small, it must be confessed; but he be- Professor Stowe to turn more than once upon his seat. colored minister that has yet visited this country.

nselves out of the abundance of the pockets of tho

who were most crowded. A few arrests by the police

soon taught the latter that there was no room there for

pickpockets. Order was once more restored, and the

speaking went on. Many good things were said by the

different speakers, who were mostly residents of the

metropolis. Professor Stowe, as you might expect, was

American divines not to anticipate much from them on

at Glasgow, and subsequent addresses, had prepared me to look for but little from him. He evidently wishes for

no agitation on the subject, and said it would do no

good as long as England purchased America's cotton

I look upon this cotton question as nothing more than to divert the public from the main subject itself. Mr.

Stowe is not very young, yet he is only a child in the

I recognized in the audience several of our America friends. Among them was Mrs. Follen, Miss Cabot, J. Miller M'Kim, Miss Pugh, Professor Wm. G. Allen and lady, and Wm. and Ellen Craft. Upon the whole the anti-slavery cause is in a more healthy state than it ever was before, and from all appearance much good will be done by the present excitement. The fact that no American clergyman has dared to appear at any of the anniversary meetings without professing anti-slavery principles, and that one at least (Rev. Mr. Prime) was denied a seat as a delegate at one of these meetings. shows the feeling already created in Great Britain; and I hope it will soon be understood in America, that ne man will be welcomed here, unless he is an out-and-out abolitionist; and then the days of the slave's deliverance will be close at hand.

Yours, very sincerely, WM. WELLS BROWN. 22 Cecil Street, Strand, London, May 17th, 1858. GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT. ADRIAN, Mich., May 1, 1858.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,-Never before in my life did I see so many disappointed people as were gathered around the door of the Odd Fellows' Hall in this city to-day. Hundreds came in from all parts of the country. Some came one hundred miles to hear the man whom the Church has denounced as an infidel and fanatio—eager to hear the gospel preached from your lips. And yet, the clergy of this city tell us that you are losing your ace in the country, and they have made it a subject of congratulation in their Sunday discourses to-day, that you were prevented from coming here by sick-

ness. They say there was a Providence in it!

We received your letter yesterday, informing us of your illness in Cincinnati. We are not going to give you up yet. Never was there a greater field for anti-slavery labor than at the present time in Michigan. know you will not refuse to come where you can be of so much service to the cause which you so dearly cher-

Wishing you a speedy restoration to health and your family, I remain Yours truly, P. REASONER.

This letter confirms the statement made in the etter of Dr. Owen, of Adrian, published recently. We are greatly surprised to learn that so wide an interest was felt in our contemplated visit to Michigan. It is our purpose to make this visit early in October, and we shall aim to execute it without fail,—Ed. Lib.

### WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

We understand that the potitioners to the Convention, for the right of women to vote on the amende Constitution, are to have a second hearing, before the Committee on the qualifications of voters, in the Representatives' Chamber, this (FRIDAY) morning, June 3d at 8 o'clock. And we also learn that Rev. THEODORE PARKER and others will address the Committee.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BALLOT-BOX. Almo the whole of our last page is occupied with a Letter the whole of our last page is occupied with a Letter from Hon. Horace Mann, giving his views of the elective franchise under the U. S. Constitution. It is his object to show that, conceding all that is alleged against the Constitution as to its blaveholding guaranties, every man may vote under it with a clear conscience; and that, to repudiate the ballot, on any moral consideration, is to be needlessly squeamish and to act in a very absurd manner. Besides, whoever lives on the soil, nows taxes, avails himself of the post-office and other that, to repudiate the ballot, on any moral considera-tion, is to be needlessly squeamish and to act in a very absurd manner. Besides, whoever lives on the soil, pays taxes, avails himself of the post-office and other privileges, &c. &c., is in fact as much responsible for the acts of the government, as though he actually voted at the polls, or held office under the same. This Letter we regard as extremely sophistical and wholly inconclusive. 'We wait for light, but behold obscurity. Educationally, Mr. Mann is clear and powerful; ethically, he seems to us to be lost in a fog, and unable to make moral distinctions. In another Letter, he proposes to give his long-desired views of the Constitution itself. We hope he will be explicit.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. The Standard. last week, commenced its Fourteenth Volume, under editorial co-operation of our faithful fellow-laborer, OLIVER JOHNSON, who will hereafter be associated with Mr. GAY, in the management of that journal. It presents a very favorable opportunity for persons to subscribe, and we carnestly hope that, by the new arrange ment, the subscription list will be greatly extended The Standard is the official organ of the American A S. Society, and therefore occupies a high and responsible position in the cause. In its permanence and wide circulation, the friends of the slave generally should feel a deep interest.

To Sunschibers. On account of the illness of Mr. WALLCUT, the mailing of last week's paper was not superintended, as usual, by him. Mistakes and omissions may have occurred, which we trust our subscribers will excuse. All such errors will be rectified, on information being given. For the same reason, there will b delay in sending out receipts for monies re-

The acknowledgment of money received and pledged, at the late Anti-Slavery Convention, we are compelled to postpone to next week.

A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. NANCY PRINCE, written by herself, second edition, has just been published, and is for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Price 83 cents

THE BIBLE CONVENTION. This Convention commen ed yesterday at Hartford, and will continue in session through Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Its proceedings cannot fail to prove highly interesting.

We have on file many communications, but as vet can find no room for them. Correspondents must cultivate patiener.

MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. We have receive ed the Thirty-third Annual Report of its condition and prepare affairs. The document contains a detailed statement of the various departments of the Association. 2175 volumes were added to the library last year at an expense of \$1.984 59. The number of volumes now in the library is 13,626. The transfer of books to members the past year has been seventy-eight thousand seven hundred, or about six times the number of books owned by the Society. The report allades at length to the Mass., until further notice. wants of the association in regard to a new hall.

Adjournment of the Legislature.—The Legislature of Massachusetts, after a session of one hundred and forty-one days, was prorogued by the Governor at half-past ten o'clock on Wednesday night, last week. The Governor signed the four hundred and twenty-two bills and the ninety-nine resolves submitted to him. Before the adjournment, and while the proposition to creet a statue in honor of Daniel Webster was under consideration, Mr. Stearns, of Mansheld, presented the memorial of Henry A. Remington and eighty other colored citizens of New Bedford, remonstrating most solemnly against appropriating \$10,000 or any other sum for a statue of Daniel Webster, to be placed in the State House. The remonstrants pledge themselves that if the work is carried out, they will 'petition the next Legislature to have the statue removed from the Capitol, and placed in front of the Court House, surrounded with chains, in commemoration of the rendition of Sims, or some other appropriate place.' The memorial was laid on the table.

The Journal of Commerce calls the Liberator the 'Lie-be-rater,' and the Boston Courier quotes this 'good thing.' This seems like a confession from our pro-slavery friends, that their position which the Liberator is accustomed to berate so vigorously is, in their own view, a lie.'—Commonwealth.

and Practice of Medicine.

The National Era.—Dr. Bailey, the editor of the widely circulated anti-slavery journal at Washington, informs his readers that he is to leave New York in the steam-ship Baltic for Liverpool, to remain there three months, and meanwhile, the paper will be under the editorial charge of Dr. Elder, A. M. Granger, and J. G. Whittier.

To be Hung for Kidnapping.—Joseph K. Groves has been tried at Clinton, N. C., on a charge of kidnapping, found guilty, and sentenced to be hung on the first Friday of July.

Quenco, May St. The steam tog E. St. Pierre expending to the Medicine.

Ann Practice of Medicine.

Ann D., Professor of Surgery.

Ann Presence of Medicine.

Hilbren Darling of Medicine.

HILBREN DARLINGTON, M. D., Professor of Surgery.

Ann Presence of Medicine.

HILBREN DARLINGTON, M. D., Professor of Surgery.

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Ann Presence of Medicine.

HILBREN DARLINGTON, M. D., Professor of Physiology.

Edwin Fresell, M. D., Professor of Anatomy.

General Therapeutics.

MARTHA H. Mowry, M. D., Professor of Anatomy.

Ann Presence of Medicine.

HILBREN DARLINGTON, M. D., Professor of Surgery.

Ann Presence of Medicine.

HILBREN DARLINGTON, M. D., Professor of Physiology.

MARK G. KERN, M. D., Professor of Anatomy.

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MARK G. KERN, M. D., Professor of Mate

QUEENC, May SI. The steam tog E. St. Pierre ex-ploded last night at Gilmore's wharf, killing six men, one woman, and a child.

RIGHTS OF COLORED PERSONS. Some of the papers having published very inaccurate statements in regard to the terms on which Miss Remond settled with Mr. Palmer, who had ejected her from the Howard Athenaum, on account of her color, we think it proper to give our readers an account which may be relied upon. After Palmer and Philbrick had been fined by the Police Court, she brought a civil suit against them to recover damages. A friend of Palmer's them applied to her counsel to have the case settled. She agreed to accept a small sum, on the express condition that she and the friends who accompanied her should have tickets to the opera, to as good places as they originally purchased on the night they were ejected. These terms were complied with, and she, with her friends, attended the opera on Wednesday evening. The small sum paid, which did not defray the actual expenses incurred by Miss Remond and her sister, was received, because their object was not to make money by the suit, but to vindicate a right. The object being completely gained by their admission to the opera, they very cheerfully discharged their claims against Palmer.—Commonwealth.

Mrs. Srowe at Starrond House. The grand reception of Mrs. Store and party, at Stafford House, in London, took place on the 7th, when the famous Address of the Women of England was presented to Mrs. S. by Earl Shaftesbury, and was responded to by the Rev. Mr.

Beecher.

Among the distinguished persons who waited upon the pames of Lord Palmerston, Lord Among the distinguished persons who waited upon Mrs. Stowe, we see the names of Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Bladstine, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Dublin, the Prussian Minister, Chevalier Bansen, Hon. Thomas B. Macaulay.

Chevalier Bansen, Hon. Thomas B. Macaulay.

The annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was beld at Exeter Hall, London, on the 16th. The Earl of Shaftesbury presiding. The Times says:—'When Mrs. Stowe entered, the excitement of the assembled audience rose to a tremendous pitch, and it was several minutes before the cheers with which the hall rang had sufficiently relieved them. When she withdrew, the same honors were paid to her; every one standing up, and cheering with heart and soul. The Earl of Shaftesbury, Prof. Stowe and Rev. S. R. Ward, a colored preacher from Canada, addressed the meeting.

ing.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were read from
the Portuguese Ambassador, and from the Earl of Carlisle. The latter stated his intention to call, on the 30th
inst., the attention of the House of Lords to the condition of slaves in Cuba. Professor Stowe, Rev. Charles
Beecher, and Rev. S. R. Ward were formally admitted
corresponding members of the Association.

Miss Nancy Sherman of Plympton, said to be a vic-tim of 'spiritualism,' starved herself to death. She was a 'medium,' so called. It is said she has before attempted her life by hanging.

During the performances at the Lowell Museum, las week, a young man named Wheeler, acting as a super-numerary, was accidentally stabled with a bayonet over the eye, which entered his brain, killing him in-

The next annual meeting of the American Baptist Free Mission Society will be held in this city, com-mencing on Wednesday, June 18th, 1853. The circular states that delegates from Baptist Churches and auxil-iary bodies, and Baptists of acknowledged Christian lary bodies, and Baptists of acknowledged Christian character, who appear in their own name, compose this meeting; none of whom are slaveholders, but all o whom 'believe that slavery under all circumstances is sin, and treat it accordingly.'—Utica paper.

Safety of the William and Mary's Passer gers?—By telegraph from Savannah, we have the un-expected yet welcome intelligence of the rescue of the passengers of the William and Mary, who, to the num-ber of 200 and more, were reported to have perished when this xessel foundered off the Great Isaacs, Bahama. They were taken off by a wrecking schooner, after the vessel had been deserted by the captain and crew, and it now appears that only two persons were lost.

THE WATER-CURE JOURNAL-A New Volume.-N is the time to subscribe. Published monthly, in a beau tiful quarto. Illustrated with Engravings, exhibiti the Structure, Anatomy and Physiology of the Human Body, with familiar instructions to learners. It is emphatically a Journal of Health, designed to be a complete Family Guide in all diseases.

TERMS—Only One Dollar a Year, in advance, Ad-iress Fowlers and Wells, Clinton Hall, No. 131 Nassau street, New York.

The Water-Cure Journal holds a high rank in the the water-cure Journal holds a high rank in the science of health; always ready, straight-forward and plain-spoken, it unfolds the laws of our physical nature without any pretensions to the technicalities of science, but in a form as attractive and refreshing as the sparkling element of which it treats.'—N. Y. Tribune.

NAL. Devoted to Phrenology, Physiology, Mechanism, Education, Agriculture, the Natural Sciences, and General Intelligence, profusely illustrated with Engravings Every family, and especially all young men and women should have a copy. Published monthly, at One Dollar a year. All letters should be post-paid, and direct FOWLERS AND WELLS, Clinton Hall, No. 131 Nassau street, New York.

Young men about launching forth upon the activitie of life, and anxious to start right and understand their course, will find this JOURNAL a friend and monitor, to encourage them to virtue, shield them from vice, and to prepare them for usefulness and success in life. The various occupations will be discussed in the light of Phrenology and Physiology, so that every one may know in what pursuit he would be most likely to suc-

ceed.—Punlishers.

whether on business of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, or otherwise, should be sent to him at LEICESTER

SAMUEL MAY, JR.

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.-A meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held a ter, on Sunday, June 12, in the Town Hall. CHARLES L. REMOND and others will address th

In behalf of the Society,

SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows :-Manchester, N. II......Sunday...June 

MARRIED-In Cambridgeport, May 22, by Rev. Mr. Paige, Alverd G. Howard, of Boston, to Martia Lenox. of Cambridge. DIED-In Cleveland, N. Y., May 24th, JULINA LO

appropriate place.' The memorial was laid on the table.

The Constitutional Convention.—In the Convention, a few days since—
Mr. Greene, of Brookfield, presented the petition of Mrs. Abby B. Alcott and 73 other women of Massachusetts, that they be permitted to vote on the articles of amendments and alterations of the Constitution that are to be submitted to the people. The petition was referred to the Committee on the Qualification of Voters, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Keyes, of Abington, presented the petition of Wendell Phillips and 900 others, that the word 'male' be stricken from the Constitution. The petition was at first laid upon the table, but subsequently taken up and referred to the Committee on the Right of Suffrage.

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THE next course of Lectures in this Institution will commence on Saturday, Oct. 1st, 1853, and continue fire months, (21 weeks,) closing on the 25th of

L commence on Saturday, Oct. 1st, 1853, and continue fire months, (21 weeks,) closing on the 25th of February, 1854. FACULTY.

DAVID J. JOHNSON, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and

Toxicology.

ELLWOOD HARVEY, M. D., Professor of the Principle and Practice of Medicine.

NEW BOOKS.

OP RARE INTEREST AND VALUE JUST PUBLISHED BY

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BOSTON. 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 most broke. ment, and now offer them to the readers of good books.

Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be published speedily.

OR, LAFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE, BY A PASTOR'S WIFE.

This volume is designed, in a measure, as a contrast to that charming little book, Sunny Side, and we doubt not that it will meet with quite as favorable a reception as that work. It is written in an admirable style, and he who commences its perusal will hardly be able to stop until he has gone through. Price 75 cts.

#### Count Struenzee the Skeptic, and THE CHRISTIAN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MRS. WILSON. This most interesting work contains the history of the last days of this distinguished man, and the account of his numerous interviews and conversations with his pastor, Muntor, through whose instrumentality he was led to abandon his skepticism, and embrace the religion of Jesus. Price 62 1-2 cts.

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### POETRY.

TO MAS. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, Authoress of ' Uncle Tom's Cabin.' SUGGESTED BY HER RECENT VISIT TO SCOTLAND.] Lady! thou whose touching story

Makes us weep and smile by turns Welcome to the land of Scotia-Land of Wallace, Bruce, and Burns ! Here, in town and crowded city, Mooriand bleak and lonely glen,

All have felt the powerful pleading Of thy truthful, goodlike pen. Hoary fathers, in whose bosoms
Patriot ardor long has flowed,
Catch from thee a stronger passio
In the cause of man and God.

Mothers, ever true and tender. Holier feelings get from thee, When thou tell'st of poor Eliza-Forced o'er piles of ice to flee.

When she tempts the dangerous current, With her infant at her breast, Of they breathe the exclamation. . Save her. Heaven; and make her

· Hark, that shrick! oh, God! she sinketh! Guide her! guide her to the shore! Blood-drops from her feet are cozing ! Would that Slavery's reign were o'er ! ' Such, fair Lady, are the feelings-

Such the horror, such the pain, Waked by thee at deeds inhuman— Deeds that cast on man a stain Not the learned alone thou charmest With thy words and thoughts refined ;-Like sweet Nature's glorious sunshine

Thou delightest every mind ! Even our little children bless thee, As they read the Negro's tale ;-O! how eagerly they trace him, Through oppression's gloomy vale!

Then, in fancy, see him dungeoned, Bleeding in accursed chains, Or through tangled forests hunted, Marked with scars, or wrecked with pains.

And, while shuddering o'er the picture, O'er the Negro's woes and fears, How they learn to loathe the slaver ! He who lives on blood and tears. Lady ! thus the fires of freedom

Have been roused afresh by thee. And shall blaze till tyrants perish, And the Negro tribes are free! Welcome, then, to dear auld Scotia, Hallowed by the good and brave ; Countless thousands long to hail thee, Noblest pleader for the slave.

SABBATH DAY IN NEW YORK. BY PARK BENJAMIN. From views by night, with all their glittering glare, Turn we awhile to those in sunshine bare, Observe the pageant, as it sweeps along, Where Broadway pours its never-ceasing throng-Not on a week-day, with its noise and crash, Where row and rumpus follow dirt and dash, But Sunday morning, when, all o'er the town, Silence, like snow-fall, settles softly down. Look on this edifice of marble made-How fair its walls, too beautiful to fade ! See what fine people in its portals crowd, Smiling and greeting, talking, laughing loud ! What is it? Surely not a gay Exchange, Where wit and Beauty social joys arrange Not a grand shop, where late Parisian styles Attract rich buyers from a thousand miles ;-But step within ; no need of further search, Behold ! admire a fashionable church ! Look, how its orient window glints and gleams, What finted light magnificently streams On the proud pulpit carved with strange device. Where velvet cushions, exquisitely nice, Pressed by the polished preacher's dainty hands, Hold a huge volume clasped by golden bands, No fingers' soil its satin leave 'Tis never used on any other day ; It never suffers 'apostolic knocks,' The sexton keeps it in a rosewood box. Its perfect texts are read with mineing tongue, Lisped, drawled and mumbled, spoken half, half sung. While all around, the congregation close Their penteel eves in elegant repose. A moral essay, common-place and calm, Succeeds the thunder of a full-choired psalm— For what the sermon lacks, the singing lends, Great noise for dulness ever makes amends. But then the music's splendid! Grant 'tis so-The Doctor's practised, and he ought to know. When last to France he voyaged-for his health-He heard the Opera now and then by stealth; His choir are artistes, and they ought to be-They sing at theatres two nights out of three. The prima donna no one could persuade In any other church to give her aid : Her vocal beauty, her bewitching air,

Fill the pews here, and cram the boxes there.

When from her lips the thrilling solo flows,

Dandies and damsels cease awhile to doze ;

And when she quavers to her usual pause,

A something hums like ill-suppressed applause,

While the plump parson placidly surveys His people's backs all turned to greet his gaze.

He ne'er rebukes-not he-the careless crowd,

And hardly would, were they to chat aloud-

But reads the service quickly as he can-

Mild, easy, pleasant, soft, considerate man

Full fifteen minutes by the clock he doles

His drowsy doctrines to somniferous souls,

As if God's Sabbath were a gala day !

Who, well contented when the blessing's o'er.

Stroll to slow music through the gorgeous door,

And in the streets their smiles and dress display,

DARE AND DO. Dare to think, though bigots frown, Dare in words your thoughts express,

Dare to rise when you fall down, Dare the wronged and scorned to bless Dare from custom to depart, Dare the priceless pearl possess. Dare to wear it next your heart, Dare, when sinners curse, to bless Dare forsake what you deem wrong, Dare to walk in wisdom's way, Dare to give where gifts belong,

Dare God's precepts to obey. Do what conscience says is right, Do what reason says is best,

Do with willing mind and heart, Do your duty, and be blest.

THE CORRUPT PRIEST. · But the unfaithful priest, what tongue Enough shall execrate? Most guilty, villanous, dishonest man ! Wolf in the clothing of the gentle lamb! Dark traitor in Messiah's holy camp ! Leper in saintly garb ! assassin masked In virtue's robe ! vile hypocrite accursed I strive in vain to set his evil forth. The words that should sufficiently portray The guilt of such a reprobate had need Come glowing from the lips of eldest hell.'

# THE LIBERATOR.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BALLOT-BOX.

WEST NEWTON, May 20th, 1853.

WM. L. GARRISON, Esq :-DEAR SIE,-Having been repeatedly challenged, through your paper, to defend the grounds on which, as a moral and Christian man, I can vote or hold office under our governments, state and national; and having often signified my readiness to meet that challenge, at the very first presenta-

tion of a fit opportunity, I now avail myself of your permission to execute the implied engagement.

I have not the vanity to suppose that I can bring forward many views or arguments that will be new to the intelligent readers of your paper. If I can vindicate the consistency of my own theory and conduct, or remove doubts and scruples from the mind of any conscientious inquirer, perhaps it will

be he most I am entitled to expect.

Permit me to add further, that in fulfilling the engagement, (if I may call it so,) into which I have been drawn by circumstances, and not by original choice, I am at the farthest possible rethunder against breathing as much as you will move from coming forward as a disputant or con-It is uncongenial to my nature. My faculties will not work in it. When God, or nature, or good men, are my theme, what thoughts I have flow more readily; but the fraud or falsehood of mankind chills me, puts my soul, as it were, in irons, and it requires a constant struggle to keep myself in the posture of antagonism against men. The only motive for vigorous effort which I ever felt, in any controversy, was the merciful one of putting my assailant out of misery as soon as possible. What I now propose is, to explain myself, (having been called upon to do so;) rather than arraign any on else. I have not a syllable of suspicion to utter in regard to any man's motives, nor of detraction from any man's character. I think, Mr. Editor, you will concede me this one fact, that though I have long dissented from some views of yourself and the friends who are known by your name, yet, neither in writing nor in speech, have I ever uttered one disparaging sentence against them. Indeed, I have several times borne what, otherwise, I ought not to have borne; and would not have borne, but for my repugnance to have a difficulty with an anti-slavery

One introductory word more : Should the follow ing remarks move any one to a reply, I trust it will be made in such manner and spirit as to demand no replication from me. My engagements, pending and impending, debar me, at present, from embarking even in an amicable discussion. And as I write under my own name; and date from my own home, am I not authorized to expect that any one who sees fit to contest my doctrines will do the same! If you, Mr. Editor, think this to be but a fair rule, you will, of course, so far as your paper is concerned, enforce it.

Two questions are presented for consideration 1. Whether our governments, state and national are so wicked, (on account of slavery, war, or for any other cause,) that a moral and religious man eannot vote, or hold office under them; and 2. whether such a man can vote and hold office under them, even though he acknowledges them, (on the subject of slavery, for instance,) to be wicked.

I propose to take up the question last stated first ; because I believe I ought not to renounce my political franchises under government, even though I should admit that the pro-slavery clauses in the Constitution are as comprehensive and as wicked as any court, judge, or commissioner ever held them to be. I shall, therefore, first meet the worst view of the Constitution, and not its best. Afterwards, I shall make the Constitution as little imperfect as I constitutionally can.

Let me premise, here, that when I speak of voting, I mean voting, office-holding, oath-taking and all; and when I speak of government, I mean both governments, state and national. This, for brev- for a moment, the struggles and agonies, and the

It has been frequently and truly said, that government is a necessary evil, by which we ward off intolerable evils. Man is social and gregarious by nature. He cannot be born alone; he cannot subsist alone, after having been born; and he cannot be laid in draws to solitary cave or wilderness, a few years terminates his existence; and, so far as he is concerned, the race is at end. Instead of the nine hundred millions of men, more or less, now dwelmade nine hundred millions of little earths, or asteroids, not larger than Nantucket, and given them a single inhabitant apiece. But it is easy to see that such an experiment would have proved a miserable failure, both on account of its ephemeral character and its uselessness. Hence, society is a fatality, a necessity of our being; and we may as well quarrel with our fate, because we are breathing beings, as because we are social beings. Even a millenium on earth would not supersede government and law; for, though men should be infinitely pure in their hearts, they will not be omniscient in their intellects; and, therefore, though they may need no government for their motives, they will for their actions. Hence even the chiliast himself cannot rationally be a no-government man.

Men, (and not without potent reasons, too,) have been so disgusted and horror-stricken at the patent in long processions from all the lands and from al and latent wickednesses of their kind, that they the ages, have contributed each his mite, to the have fled from the face of society,-Simon Stylites to live sixty years on the top of his column, the form of civil polity known upon the earth, I an anchorite to his den, or Charles V. to his dotard invoked to cast away the very height and crown cloister. The earliest monasteries and nume the beauty and glory, of all their achievements; ries doubtless grew out of this feeling; though, that is, my right as a citizen to help elect my own afterwards, they flourished on very different mo- rulers, and my right as a legislator, judge, or execution tives. The self-exile of the Pilgrim Fathers was tive officer, to help make or administer my own lanes fested; for how much manlier to remain in society, and fight out the good fight, ourselves, than to and remand a fugitive to bondage, to save my life good that government bestows. For the loftiest ernment could be formed in all respects coinciden natures, the renunciation of political honors is no with the Higher Law, would as certainly do. cross. Not to be conspicuous themselves, but to he a blessing to others, is what they coret. And, for the subject, under foreign despotisms, to snatel on the other hand, I can readily conceive of a class and enjoy whatever privileges the ruler allows, of minds, which, having been disappointed in the rights of trade, of the mail, of the public coinage notoriety of possessing office, seek reprisals in the the courts, &c., &c.; but when the subject elevate more easily obtainable notoriety of affecting to be himself into a citizen, and possesses himself of above it. However, so far as abstaining from office those higher rights, which secure all he now has

If government, then, be a necessity,—the necessif, unlike the Pilgrims, we have now no outlying continent to fly to; if our neighboring planets, Venus and Mars, are inaccessible, and we do not like the reputation of the moon,—what is our duty! I answer, to incorporate as much good as we can into our government, and to purge away as much of its evil as we can, and then, to thank God, be cause of the magnitude of the good and the smallness of the evil that remain.

Under compulsions of the same nature, we submit to the same conditions, all the way through life. Suppose I should say, I know the Laws of Health and Life. I know the qualities of the atmosphere I breathe. I know that oxygen is a life sustainer. I also know that carbonic acid gas is deadly poison : and, as this poison is mingled in the atmosphere nearly in the proportion of one to a hundred,—(about as much as the proportion of Slavery to Freedom in the Constitution of the United States,)-it must be a ' sin' to breathe it and therefore I will form an anti-breathing society and we will distend our lungs like Boreas, and shake the whole zerial ocean itself, with our vociferations against those who do breathe. No, say the omnipotent law of necessity to me. You may but you must yourself breathe while you thun der. Then the good divinity plucks my ear and mildly says: Would you not do better disinfect the miasmatic and pestilent district about you, and purge them from their deadl effluvia, rather than to seek for a perfection as ye unattainable! Analogies, like this, might be easil run out, in regard to food, raiment, shelter, and al the unalterable conditions of our earthly existence.

But all these are natural evils, says my collocutor. True, I reply, and so is government, in the sense in which I am now considering it, a natural evil. Be assured, I shall not forget the moral aspect of the subject, when its turn comes.

What then, I repeat, is our duty under such ove whelming necessities? The reply is, expel as much evil as you can out of your government, and as much carbonic acid gas as you can out of your house; and then out of your neighbors' government and houses too; and tender your aid, or, if not your aid, at least lyour sympathy, to every man who is laboring for the same or for similar pur poses .- Kossuth, Father Mathew, Miss Dix, or the numblest man, who, as far as his abilities will per mit, feels a divine afflatus to emulate them all.

I now come to a topic, on which a tract ought t e written rather than a paragraph. I can only sketch with a few rude strokes the outline of the argument, and leave your intelligent readers to fill

With exceptions scarcely worthy of notice on vast a theme, all the governments of the earth have been despotic,-terrible despotisms. Milton says of superior beings, that they ' quaff immortal ity and joy.' So might the world have done. But tyrants, to keep alive the drunkenness of their ambition, have quaffed the wine that was distilled from rivers of human blood; they have crushed hearts as between mill-stones for the incense they would exhale, and cities have been but torches to light their march to power. And how is it, tha mankind have escaped, so far as they have yet escaped, from the clutch of these human demons By almost imperceptibly slow degrees, and through periods of duration and depths of agony, such a torture the imagination to conceive; -by braving dungeons, the scaffold and the rack for the possibi ity of a chance of gaining the smallest franchise. or of abolishing the lightest grievance. They have struck their fetters with their hearts, until a water wears away rock, granule by granule, se have those hearts worn away the fetters, atom by atom, until, at last, we venture to call a small por tion of the human race by the glorious name of

Let any man who has read one such book a Guizot's History of Civilization revive in his mind. ate efforts, to wrench from the tyrant, and to stow upon the people, the very lowest order of the rights which we now enjoy. And what has been the result! From the feeblest beginnings,-like the first trickling of a scanty spring from the crev the bosom of his mother earth alone. If, when old ice of some Alpine rock, before the confluence enough to provide subsistence for himself, he with- of ten thousand streams swells it to a mighty river which flows proudly to the sea; from some per sonal immunity; from a few privileges granted t guilds and corporations for great pecuniary re turns, up to larger and larger municipal fran ling together upon the earth, God might have chises; from an occasional summoning of 'Third Estates,' or 'Wittenagemotes,' to grant taxes; or by the wresting of haughty barons from imbecil thrones, up to representative Chambers, or a well established House of Commons, were human rights,

by slow degrees, conquered, or granted, and secur ed. At last, on a new continent, with incredible sacrifices of patriot and Christian men, and after war that left the nation prostrate and faint, a form of government was evoked, which, for the grand purposes of securing the rights and liberties of men, is as much superior to other governments, as the sun is superior in brightness to the stars that herald its rising. It was a political sun new riser upon the world, having its melancholy spots, it is true, but, oh! how many broad digits of its resplen dent disk are undarkened by its spots!

And now, after these sages and martyrs, comin materials from which to construct this highes the noblest exemplification of this sentiment ever This, the only security for retaining the blessings exhibited; for they first used, to the uttermost, all that have already been won, the only promise and the means of legal redress which they could com- prophecy of greater blessings yet to be obtained. I mand, at home, and then demonstrated the sincer- am invoked to renounce; and, in a paroxysm of ity of their motives and the grandeur of their ideas, madness, to fling the world back again into the by sacrificing all worldly enjoyments to the sanctity hell of its ancient cruelty and darkness. For, of moral principles. Cowper's ejaculation- Oh for without the right of the people at large to vote a lodge, '&c .- was a prompting of the same senti- for their officers, and to be elegible to office themment, though nervously and dyspeptically mani- selves, all would be inevitably lost. I would not sit as a magistrate under our Fugitive Slave Law, cast the accumulated burdens and difficulties of the and yet I believe that would be for me an infinitely warfare upon our posterity! The modern device of less offence before God and man, than to remand non-voting is the mildest form in which the malady the world back into the old Gothlands, and Egypts. has ever exhibited itself; for it leaves to its pa- and Chaldeas, as the universal renunciation of the tients all the luxury of complaining, even while franchise and of elegibility to office would do : or they retain and enjoy, personally, every substantial as even a conditional renunciation, until a gov-

I understand it to be conceded, that it is righ proceeds from a conscientious principle, I accord and are the pledge of more,—these latter he cannot to the motive my cheerful homage.

of the government is fashioned to his moral acceptance. This then is the condition of humanity. Enjoy all rights which your government bestows; no matter though that government farms out hells as it does mines or fisheries, still enjoy; this is right; so must immediately retire. Now this seems to but when you have so far subdued and restrained that government, that you yourself can have an effective, perhaps a controlling voice on the ques-tion of farming out the hells, then abandon, retire, disappear; or, if you appear at all, let it be only to denounce those who are working as for life to

quench the last fires of the tophets that remain.

When King John summoned his first parliament, could a man vote then? When, less than a thousand years ago, slaves were bought and sold in England, as they are now in Virginia, could a man vote then, in order to arrest the traffic! When the Stuarts revived the old doctrine of Divine Right, and came near enforcing it upon people and parliament, could a man vote or hold offi lish the throne of William of Orange? Or, to look at the other aspect of the case, could Clarkson give a vote, or Wilberforce be a member of the House of Commons, for the very purpose of mitigating the horrors of the slave trade, and finally, of abolishing that traffic itself,-could they do this, I say, without damnable sin? And if they, then and there, why not we, here and now! Did any oppressed people, or can any oppressed people, eve get out of the gulf of despotism per saltum, by single leap! and if not, how are they ever to escape, but by ascending the ladder of emancipation, round by round, all the way defending what the have won, and fighting for more! How did the people of ancient Rome ever attain to their limited degree of natural liberty, and hence their immense superiority over all contemporaneous nations, but by rescuing from tyranny what rights they could, and holding fast to what they had rescued ! How are the subjects of Nicholas or Francis Joseph ever to possess their natural rights, if they will take no part in any department of government, until all trace of a violation of the Higher Law shall have been swept from their codes? What a treasure-house does all history consist of. to illustrate and corroborate these views

But let me drive this argument home by one blo more. Suppose by a series of amazing efforts, aided by an extraordinary conjunction of circumstances, the slaves of Virginia should obtain a right to vote, but should still remain subject to their pres ent disabilities, as to the right to sue, the right to be witnesses, the right of marriage, &c. Would it be wrong in one of these slaves to make use of this right to vote, which he now by the supposition has in order to gain the rights of marriage, of testi mony, of suit, &c., which he has not; and if he will not use his right to vote, until he has previously obtained all his other rights, and all the other slaves in the Union have obtained all their rights also, in what period of the future eternity can he

expect the fruition of those rights for all ! Nor is the principle now under discussion con fined to voting. If it be morally wrong to exercise the political franchise, because the government, in some of its functions or attributes, invades the Higher Law; how could the serfs of the Feudal System ever urge and seize, and urge and seize. step by step, and claim after claim, until at last they became owners in fee simple of lands and tenements! The same remark might be made as to the right of trial by jury, which right, to-day in the port the Constitution of the United States. But different nations of Europe, is in all the gradations. of development. Because a judge of the United States Court arbitrarily uses his power to administer an oath, in order to coerce the conscience of jurors, shall I abandon the jury altogether; or, shall I so much the more appear before him, and demand my rights ! And so of all other franchises and immunities which distinguish the freest nation that ever existed from the most enslaved. But I

Going from the past to the future, when, on this philosophy of non-voting, are we, in this country, the voting, by which the officers of the government of the United States from the slavery now in them ! Anti-Slavery man of any name, as soon as he has passed through all the states of conviction, conversion, sanctification and redemption, and arrived at that state of anti-slavery holiness, which qualifies all political contests, and leaves the whole government in the hands of the reprobates, or 'world's people.' Just as fast as they become saints, they bandon the State to the sinners. So, in the middle ages, when men became too religious, too pious to consort with their fellow-men, they retired from the world. But was it they who wrested religious freedom from Pontiff and priest, or was it the Luthers, the Pyms, and the Hampdens!

On the doctrine of the non-voters, then, on the instant, when a man becomes the best friend of the slave, he throws down all his political weapons, and retires from the contest. Let us suppose that the thousand years, they have induced a hundred thouhave a million ;—the voters still have possession of imagination can descry, in the vista of the future, the advent of the day when it can be otherwise If one State after another abolishes slavery, until it should a law be passed in the last surviving slave State, for the emancipation of all its after-born children; still the non-voter cannot vote, until the last remaining victim of this terrible power shall have lived out his hundred years, and brought the

for peace; instead of sending peace-men to Con-him. The truth is, the election, qualification and gress; they surrender the whole question to the functions of an officer are part of the same whole trary, establish slavery anew. And when the performance of the duties, and the oath-taking eace-men (whose motives I honor with all my that qualified him to perform them. heart) have completed their cycle of self-imposed impotency, then come the anti-land-monopoly men, I surrender. As I cannot quarrel with a power and the anti-oath men, and the anti-capital-punish- which I have myself called into being; so I cannot ment men, &c .- But I will not go further, having use a power whose creation I condemn. But I am laid out work enough to last, on this non-voting a sunrect, and must take the government that is system, -- for a dozen more geological epochs, or un- provided for me; and may, therefore, take the good til the planet Neptune shall have performed a thou- with the ill.

and are the pledge of more,—these latter he cannot refuse to enjoy this highest of all privileges,—the or indirectly, make and administer their own laws.

| exercise but must abjure, unless the whole detail right of being a part of the very government itself. Now, to affirm that a citizen is a subject, not be-

whatever in a wicked government, he has no reme more like one of those puzzles with which children amuse themselves, than like a conclusion of full-grown or even half-grown common sense Founding myself on the infinite divisibility of space I can demonstrate that a cannon ball, moving to-wards me at the rate of eight miles a minute, wil never overtake me while I am moving from it at the rate of eight rods a minute, though I have but four rods the start. But, nevertheless, I positively decline trying the experiment. So when the non-voter sets his syllogisms in array before me and proves, by major, minor and conclusion, that I ought not to vote against slavery in New Mexico,-the 'law of physical geography and the formation of the earth' to the contrary notwithstand ing,-it still is 'borne in' upon my mind, like an inspiration, that I ought to vote against it; and that I ought to vote for any body who will vote against it, and against any body who will vote for it. The physician does not go into the mids of contagion to catch the disease, but to cure it So the righteous voter does not vote to upbuild the high places of iniquity, but to demolish them. As the pestilence may overtake the physician who fearfully flies from it; so, were all anti-slavery citizens to abandon the polls, Hunkerdom and the Castle Garden Committee would soon reduce them and their children to bondage. On this theory of non-voting alone, the tyrant can build a thron of everlasting power. The doctrine of 'divine right' he could not maintain, but the doctrine that the best and truest men are religiously bound to place themselves in the category of minors, paupers lunatics and idiots, would make his dynasty per

But it is said : Let us all refuse to vote and hold office, and the government comes to an end, and then we will have a better one. I should like to see this assumption, in respect to a better government. demonstrated. It never has been. I do not believe it can be. At any rate, it may be safely affirmed that, long before we can dissuade all men, or even a majority of men, from voting and holding office we can persuade them, by means of voting and holding office, to rid the free States from all taint of slavery, as perfectly as a distinct government could do.

But there are other views which protest against. what appears to me,-this strange delusion. While the non-voter refuses to vote, under our govern ment, he still employs it, sustains it, ratifies its doings, and enjoys them, to all appearance, as much as any other citizen. I omit now the case of tax-paying, with its compensations, because he says he is compelled to do this. But there are thousand ways in which he adopts and ratifies the acts of the government, where there is no pretence for compulsion; where no one asks him to do what he does, and many would be glad if he did not. Does government ask the heir to take his inheri tance; or the grantee of land to record his deeds or the merchant to fill his pockets with bank bills or the capitalist to invest in railroads, or to buy United States stocks ! All these things, and score of others, are as voluntary as voting; and every one of them involves an oath, by somebody, to supam but one, says the non-voter; it is others who support these institutions; I only use them. So you are but one voter, say I; and your share in voting is no larger, in proportion, than your share in any other franchise or immunity. If nobody would go to the Probate Office to get his patrimony secured, there would be so many less Probate Judges, and, of course, so many less blasphemou

oaths to support the Constitution of the United

But let us see where this moral partnership is

are elected; the oath-taking, by which they are qualified for the duties of their office; and then the performance of those duties for the benefit of the people. How can these successive acts be philosophically or morally separated from each other? If nobody would buy public lands, or accept a him to be be a non-voter, withdraws at once from Pension Bureau would be swept away at once. Those officers are appointed and their oaths admin istered for no other purpose but to issue landwarrants and pay pensions. Can I take either warrant or pension from an officer who would not have been in existence but for my sake, and such as me? can I require of him to show me his com mission, in order to see that it is countersigned by the devil, and so all right, (for without ocular in spection of the devil's sign-manual, I would not employ him, but leave him at once,) and then, having consummated the transaction, turn round and say, I had nothing to do with voting for the appointnon-voting party prospers, so that at the end of a only with the money and land! In Botany, sand men to join their ranks;—or let us indulge in plumule! In Ornithology, which the more nec which is the more necessary, the radicle or the essary, the egg or the bird! and how can I the whole field; they still choose all the officers, egg or bird, while affecting a Hindoo horror at enact, construe, and execute all the laws, and no the other? and do it for my own benefit, and for no as market-man or consumer, sell or eat, either other purpose. And in government, which mos necessary, the election or appointment of the is abolished in all the States but one; and even for, and acceptance of, the duties performed, as officer to perform the duties, or such a demand created the moral or political necessity for the office ! Can I describe my power of attorney a being vitiated by the worst of all taints,-those of immorality and impiety,-and yet, found my title or my authority upon that very power? Can I go melancholy procession of uncounted centuries to a to the theatre every night, and yet denounce the getters up of the play? Can I read a book over But this is not all; this is only the beginning of and over again, and yet condemn author, printer the mischiefs which the doctrine of non-voting and bookseller! If the thief be guilty, the combrings in its train. Let us leap the chasm of ten mon proverb disposes of the partaker. If it be thousand years, and suppose slavery to be abolish- wicked to kidnap slaves in Africa, it is wicked to ed by the non-voters' remedy. Who confront us buy them in America. And I cannot see why, if it now! A most worthy class of men, who say they is wicked to elect a man to office, it is not as wickcannot rote while the Constitution authorizes ed to stand waiting impatiently till he is qualified war. And so, instead of voting against war and by taking a heaven-defying oath, and then employ captains of fifties and the captains of hundreds, Politically speaking, I cannot separate the duties and suffer the government to make war, and plun- of an officer, -postmaster, custom-house officer, or der and rob, and, for aught they do to the con- any other,-from the voting that authorized the

Well, suppose the non-voter here to say: so far

Let us look at definitions. Are there two word Now it may be owing to my blindness and ob. in the language whose meanings are more opposite tuseness, but I was never able to see but one infini- to each other than the words subject and citizen tesimal of an argument, why a man, who thinks he They are antitheses, antipodes, antis of ever can innocently enjoy all the privileges which thewick-kind. Mere subjects are those who submit to laws edest of governments may concede to him, should made for them by others; while citizens, directly

cause he cannot vote, but because he will not vote is like affirming that a seeing man is a blind san because he shuts up his eyes and will not so. is an abuse of definitions. It is not merely a denial of logic, but of the alphabet of logic. A cit. mad of logic, out of the United States, made identical with a sen of the United Guaces, made mentical with a slave of Nero, or a serf of Nicholas! And this is not a conclusion, laboriously argued out; but a not a concussion, incorrousity argued out; but an assumption, or postulatum, to begin the argument with! Look at the facts. The day of election is fixed by law, the meeting is warned, the poli is opened, here is an opportunity to thrust down as men, to uphold righteous ones, to elect these via men, to upnote rigurous ones, to erect those vis-will pass wise laws, and abrogote iniquitous hu; and, lo! there stands a group of men, who will no drop an inch-long piece of paper into a deal-bar, because they are subjects! But I cannot mingle with such wicked men! Mingle with them all the more, I say, because they are wicked. Was not that the very reason why Christ came into its world; and shall it send you, as his disciples, or

But, says the non-voter, we abstain because are the subjects of a Higher Lane. Then, Mr. No. voter, you have changed the whole nature and sope of your definition. You claimed to enjoy what gove of your dunition. power, -of Caligula or of President Fillmore; (did Caligula ever do any thing worse, for his age, than signing the Fugitive Slave Bill was for our ! and is this Higher Law less beneficent in allowing you to enjoy whatever rights and franchises it places within your reach, than was the lower ha of the tyranny you have escaped from! No matter how wicked the despotism was, Pope Gregory's or Louis the XIV's, -you could enjoy all the privileges it conferred, -public roads, libraries or galleries,—but when the despotism is miracled, (Shaksspero was right in using this rerb,) when, I say, the despotism is miracled into a republic, and the rights rise to some of the noblest prerogatives that a being created in the image of God can posses, then you are smitten with a moral paralysis, and these rights lie unenjoyed around you, like the beauties and glories of nature around an idiot :no, not paralysis, but what the Doctors call lens plegia, -- paralysis on one side only, -- being still able to enjoy the rights that pertained to the despotism, but not the higher ones proper to the republic

But I cannot join a band of criminals. Was Howard a criminal, because he went among criminals! Is the city marshal a robber or a gambler, because he goes into a den of robbers or gamblers to arrest them ! Just as much, as it seems to me, as I am, in heart, or thought, or deed, a confederate with pro-slavery men, because I go to the polls, or to Congress, to affix limits to slavery and the Slave Power. Ilive in the same town and state, with proslavery men; I go to the same post-office and custom-house with them ; I avail myself of the same public schools and public libraries, and travel in the same cars; why, when all other men fock to the polls to obtain bond and security for all ther have, and promise for all they hope, should I then withdraw myself from the men, with whom I have all along-kept company, and leave my fortunes and the guardianship of my most sacred and endeared principles in the hands of my enemies! . No principle is more familiar than that it is the

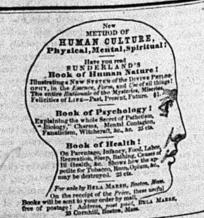
object and purpose of the act, which determine its moral quality. If one wishes to be a Member of Congress, or Judge, or Marshal, for the sake of pandering to the Slave Power, either for ambition or for avarice, then let him be anothema maran-alla; but if he accepts these offices, that he may stand be tween the oppressor and the oppressed, as the Roman Tribunes stood between the patricians and the people, will not God approve the purpose and the deed! The pro-slavery man and the anti-slavery man, though they may seem to be performing the same external acts, at the polls, on the beach, or in legislative halls, can no more be likened to each other, than the miserable victim of superstition who flings himself before the car of Juggernaut to be crushed beneath its wheels, can be likened to a band of self-martyring reformers, who, chained cast themselves, in bulk, across the track of the idol-divinity, to block up its progress forever; or than the slaver that sails to the coast of Africa, to bring back its freight of blood for the human shambles, can be compared with the ship that visits the same shores to arrest and subject to configu

punishment, the stealers of men. As a corollary from all this, it will be readily seen, that, as a voter under our government, I could vote for no one who would commit any violation of the Higher Law; and so, as one eligible to office, I could be a candidate for no post, necessarily isvolving a breach of that law. And here is the clear-drawn, tangible line of demarcation: Mingle with the government, which you cannot escape from, not to uphold or countenance slavery, or any other wrong; but to circumscribe, molest and abd-

Mr. Editor, I never before brought an argument to a close with so deep a conviction that I had failed to do it justice. I want to devote a week to the subject, and I have had but a day. I want to use the materials which all history proffers me, and I make but here and there a random reference. want to accept and employ the sacred services of Humanity and Religion, that come to me as allies in this cause, but I have only time to say that, as Christ, while on earth, recognized the existing government ernment of Cresar so far as to direct the payment of tribute; I believe he would, if now upon earth, recognize the government of Washington, and the institutions and social improvements which it has created, so far as to sanction the use of state. printing, the telegraph, the underground railred and the ballot, to bring all civil and religious oppression to an end, and to fulfil his ancient prayer, 'Thy kingdom come.'

Mr. Editor, I will avail myself of your permis sion, and employ my earliest leisure, to prepare out article more. In the mean time, I remain,

Yours very truly, HORACE MANN.



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