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AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

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WENDELL PHILLIPS.

In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



Our Country is the World, our Cointrymen are all Manfind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

Wo Union with Slaveholders! THE D. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH

F 'Yes! IT CARNOT BE DESIED—the slaveholding

ds of the South prescribed, as a condition of their cent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

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

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed!... To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREST TO MAKE THE PRISERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

DATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."-John Quincy Adams.

CUBS THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DO snaves. The first was the immunity, for two
of preserving the African slave trade; the s

VOL. XXIV. NO. 20.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1854.

WHOLE NUMBER 1035.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

PATRIOTISM AND PIETY OF BENNETT'S HERALD.

Ay Abolitionist Convention in a Christian Christian Christian in the Pulpit. The crew of traitors and fanatics led by Garrison, Phillips, and sundry women, commenced their orgies in this city yesterday; and during the forenoon, they desecra-ted a fashionable church, (the Rev. Mr. Chapin's, in Broadway.) by their unholy ravings. It is very well known that the main points that the Garrison party make are these:—First, that a dissolution of the Union should immediately take place; second, that (in the words of Henry C. Wright, one of their shining lights.) the God of the Christians in this country is the most accursed of demons, Christian Church, of all denominations, is the great target at which they level all their denunciaons; and it is certainly surprising that the trustees of this church should allow their pulpit to be thus foully descerated.

The tactics of the abolitionists in this matter

were excellent. They arranged their programme in direct imitation of those of the religious societies; no business was transacted, and the meeting commenced with prayer and the reading of the Scriptures by the 'Reverend' Samuel J. May. The Reverend William Lloyd Garrison occupid the highest soat in the synagogue. By these means a meeting, which would otherwise have passed off without notice, attracted a large audience, includ-ing many weak-minded and strong-minded women, who, no doubt, imagined, that, as the popular pas-tor of this church is what is called, in the cant of socialism, a 'progressionist,' he would make his appearance among the orators. That crowning me was, however, reserved, we suppose, for a future period.

Having seduced the people to the church, the fanatics were not slow in completing the work of descrating the temple. Soveral of the speakers propounded the usual infidel tenets, and the Bible and Tract Societies were made the butt for the and Tract Societies were made the butt for the
most violent abuse from the lips of a woman named
Foster. The good attendance in the forencon was
doubtless in consequence of the popularity of the
church, as only a very few persons attended the afternoon meeting, which was held in Hope Chapel.
We presume that the worshippers in this church
are not members of the American Anti-Slavery So-

ciety. We presume that they do not agree with the orators of that Society in their demonstrations of every thing that decent people hold to be good and holy. With this view of the subject, we call and holy. With this view of the subject, we call the attention of the Rev. Mr. Chapin's congrega-tion to the descration of their edifice by the abolitionists, yesterday. They will see what was said by perusing the Herald reports. If this sort of thing is to go on, the trustees of this church may as well rent it during the evenings, for the per-formance of the moral drama, 'Uncle Tom's Cabformance of the moral drama, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' alternated with concerts by negro minstrels.
It would be highly amusing and very profitable;
and the church is now so far desecrated in the
minds of all right-minded men and women, that,
in the course of the year, two or three fancy balls
might be given, to the edification of the congregation and the profit of the trustees .- N. Y. Herald.

It is to be regretted that the period of these reli gious and benevolent anniversaries should be seized upon by such traitorous, blasphemous, and aban-doned wretches as the leaders of the abolitionist, socialist, and other movements, as the occasion for their annual saturnalias. The leaders of the crew endeavor by these means to identify themselves with really benevolent, useful, and excellent soci-eties, and to draw into their meetings many ignorant but well-meaning strangers, who are some-times led to believe for a time in their sophistical speeches, or are frightened into silence by their biasphemous denunciations. Of late years, however, the people have been made aware of the corrupt motives of this crew, and their meetings have b but thinly attended. It seems to have been mentally agreed that they should be quietly allowed to die the bitter death of neglect and indifference.—*Ibid*.

By a singular coincidence, we are enabled to publish side by side with the closing debates on the Nebraska bill, the proceedings of its leading op-ponents assembled in exclusive conclave. At the very moment when Mr. Richardson was moving the termination of the debate on that measure, the American Anti-Slavery Society was in session, celebrating its twentieth anniversary. The intense height which the slavery agitation has reached, the tremendous efforts which have been made to defeat Mr. Douglas's measure, the age of the society, and the conspicuous position which many of its members have long occupied before the public, all com-bine to give to its latest proceedings a peculiar sig-nificance. Rightly regarded as the nucleus of the anti-slavery body in this country, the society over which William Lloyd Garrison presides may be fairly considered as the organ of its principles, the executive of its government, its type and its head. It took the lead in the opposition to the Nebraska bill: all the other movements which have been made to check its progress have been merely modelled on to check its progress have been merely modelled on its course, and subordinate to its policy. Had the Nebraska bill failed, the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society would have been fairly enti-tled to claim the event as a triumph for them: for the adventitious support they received during the campaign from parties of nondescript stragglers was only effective, inasmuch as it was confounded with their efforts, and contributed to swell their strength. The proceedings of this body, therestrength. The proceedings of this body, there-fore, at so critical a moment of their career as the present, are full of interest. We learn from them what the true character of the opposition to the Nebraska bill was, what their own views and designs are, and what this country may expect if the party they lead should ever command a majority n our national councils, or sway the government of the confederacy.

These are the leaders of the party which has

opposed the Nebraska Bill. This is a sample of the sort of legislation we should have, if an abolitionist majority were sent to Congress, or the spirit of anti-slavery were to overspread the land.
More diabolical sentiments have been expressed
before. The Hon. Horace Greeley, another of the
abolitionist leaders, has prayed that 'the Capitol
might blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall
and bury all its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins: 'which is probably more atrocious than any of the infamies we have quoted above. But the rampant infidelity and foul-mouthed treason of the Anti-Slavery Society can find no parallel out of the ranks of its allies. By their fruits and by their words ye shall judge them; and with the proceedings of this anniversary before them, we do not think the American people can go far wrong in judging the character of the Northern opponent of the Nebraska Bill.

SELECTIONS.

THE LATE JAMES W. WALKER.

The immediate cause of the recent death of this untiring advocate of the slave appears to have originated in his late excessive labors in Michigan. How he la-

On the 16th and 17th ult., a mass Convention was held here, attended by J. W. Walker, B. S. Jones, and Mr. and Mrs. Foster, as speakers; and notwithstanding the holy indignation that had been excited against them, the 'outside pressure' was so great, that one of our churches, who are intending to build a new house soon, saw fit to open their house, and again the champions of truth confronted the defenders of barbarism. Nothing worthy of note happened on the first day. The resolutions, a copy of which I send you, were sustained, in able and convincing speeches, by Messrs. Walker and Jones, and the opposition did not venture within sange of their batteries. On the 2d day, the Partiet minister the speeches of belief day, the Baptist minister, 'as much an abolition-ist as anybody,' thinking that the institution was beginning to totter under the well-directed blows of its assailants, attempted to prop it up with the Bible: and, at least to his own apparent satisfaction, proved that slavery was tolerated in the primitive church, and no intimation given that it was wrong. He assayed us however, that wrong. He assured us, however, that HE was opposed to it. He did not attempt to prove that our republican (if that is not a misnomer) institutions ought to be abolished, because the Bible recognized the right of kings to rule, and enjoined obedience on their subjects; or that the 'Maine Law' is 'infidel,' because Christ and his apostles used wine; probably for want of time, for he found occurred to the company of casion to beat a hasty retreat, crying a Infield, because he could not convince his opponents that robbing a man of all his wages, his wife and children, his intellect and soul, was a Christian deed. On the last evening, there was a large attendance of the elite of our village, merchants, ministers, and lawyers, backed by the opening buds of promise from our Methodist nursery, with the agent of the chool, himself a Methodist, soldier-priest or priestsoldier, who sits up nights to hate slavery, may believe him, and fights abolitionists day times. These were all on hand to do battle for the truth as it is in 'modern' Methodism, either with the hot shot of personal invective and denunciation, sans able eggs, and whatever other weapons might be available. Mr. Walker, in an able and eloquent effort, showed the character of true, practical

Christianity, attempting to prove that man was the object of Heaven's solicitude, not institutions, and was made to lay the resolutions on the table, to take up the matter of finance, as it was the last ing season, and many prayers went up for the hapnight of the Convention, and getting late. The vote piness of the young couple. of the Convention was clearly to do so. But the mob, officered by the presiding elder and one of the brethren, (who, under the garb of friendship, had even obtained office in the Convention,) with the most riotous demonstrations clamored for Brock way, (the agent aforesaid,) and demanded that he way, the con-be permitted to speak. To avoid a riot, the Con-vention consented; and speak he did till the next morn, and apparently would till day-light, had be morn, and apparently would in daying it. had not lost the floor, refusing to admit a motion of adjournment, though but a few evenings before, insisting that a motion to adjourn was always in order. Mr. Walker having, by a misstep of his, obtained the floor, the Convention adjourned to the next week Tuesday, when the battle was renewed, the excitement in the mean time reaching fever heat, in our community, and threatenings and slaughter being freely breathed out against the dis-turbers of our peace. Our Presiding Elder openly and shamelessly advocated the cause of the mob. The day came, and with it a senseless tirade dur-ing the whole day, from our Reverend agent, of personal abuse and invective; apparently intended to incite the mob to acts of violence. He, how-ever, regarding it as argument on the resolution, though, unfortunately, everybody else (who were not so much excited that they could not think)

thought otherwise.
In this evening, Mr. Walker obtained the floor and replied in an argument of three hours, which by its power and eloquence, enchained the vast au-dience, and soothed, to the quiet of a slumbering infant's breast, the angry waves of passion, which had been lashed to their utmost fary, and threatened to overwhelm him. With a stroke, he tore ened to overwhelm him. With a stroke, he of to atoms the thin web that with such painful exertion had been thrown over the villantes of that monstrous compound of hypocrisy and despotism, that hideous beast of head and horns innumerable, that pushes to the death God's poor children, (though baptized into its own faith, if their skins above like its own) the Methodist are not colored like its own)-the Methodist Church. Never was victory more complete, or de-feat more signal. Horse, foot and dragoons rout-ed, overthrown, annihilated.

at Farmer, in Denance co., I near three meetings in the school-house, 'the only place of worship' in the village, which by no means lacks the preached word. In every little assemblage of houses, I find from three to a half dozen different ship' in the village, which by no means lacks the preached word. In every little assemblage of houses, I find from three to a half dozen different kinds of gospel dispensed, though each sect may have less than the last number of adherents. If there is salvation in all the different means proposed, I am sure men ought to be saved. Each night increased the number who attended our lecture. there is salvation in all the different means pro-posed, I am sure men ought to be sared. Each night increased the number who attended our lec-tures, until the house was entirely filled. The people seemed deeply interested in the subject dis-cussed, and many said these things are so. There cussed, and many said these things are so. There lives in this place a Methodist preacher, who, in pricate, denied some of our statements in reference to his church and ministry; but in public he said nothing. I know of no class of men who live by falsehood to the extent of these Methodist ministers. They are continually telling their people that their Church is free from slavery—that the South have all been expelled, and that the Northern Church is radically anti-slavery. Very many of the best people in that Church believe this to be true. They will not always be able to deceive.

night was quite large and enthusisstic. At the close, I inquired aboat meetings for the next day:
was told that the 'United Brethren' had Sunday School at nine o'clock, and that their new preacher was to speak at eleven for the first time. I asked them to give up their school, and let me speak before, and set offered, and substitute of the service commenced. This they did not hike to grant; but no being told that I should speak if I had to do so out of doors, and Mr. Bowman, formerly of Richfield, offering his barn, they gare way. So, at ten, I spoke to more than could get inside the house. The impression appeared deep and thorough. At eleven, the 'United Brother' spoke. At the close of his discourse, he made is sue with the discourse of the morning, and with our positions generally. I do not think that he was aware that I was in the boase, and that the was a misrpersenting our views and teachings. He seemed surprised that I should thus speak during the time of his sermon, and hoped I would not interrupt the meeting. I should him I never thought it an interruption to be corrected when I was wrong; and as it was the custom for the close of his sermon, and hoped I would not interrupt the meeting. I should him I never thought it an interruption to be corrected when I was wrong; and as it was the custom of the close of the close of his sermon, and hoped I would not interrupt the meeting. I should him I never thought it an interruption to be corrected when I was wrong; and as it was the custom of the close bored may be inferred from the following extract of a like to grant: but on being told that I should speak bored may be inferred from the following extract of a life to grant: but on being told that I should speak better, published in the A. S. Bugle, dated Aldiox, Feb. 6th, 1854, and signed Samuel Foller, See'y:—

On the 16th and 17th ult., a mass Convention was held here, attended by J. W. Walker, B. S. Jones, and Mr. and Mrs. Foster, as speakers: and seems of the morning and with the discourse of the morning and with ed on a brother to pray, to which, of course, I had no objection. The brother prayed fervently for help, but his God was asleep, gone on a journey, or in some other manner employed, for no help came, and the meeting closed. I arose and told the congregation that it was under the influence of the most kindly feelings that I had spoken, and only for the purpose of giving the minister an opportu

nity to prove his statements or retract them before the people to whom they had been made. I would fain believe these men honest, but with such con-stant manifestations, it is hard work. How the world can be saved by such a ministry is to me the greatest mystery of godliness were equally The afternoon and evening meetings were equally crowded, and the utmost excitement prevailed. The object of both discourses was to show that this nation's religion fostered and nourished the worst forms of crime—creating a public sentiment that legalized and justified deeds that even savages themselves would blush to perpetrate. Never before had the corruptions and critical to them. Many rejoiced at the word spoken, and evinced their interest by many acts of kindness. I obtained about a dozen subscribers for the Bugle, and was kindly entertained by H. Bowman and Dr. Ensign, good

that beneficence to him, as the representative of his Master, was the highest form of Christianity—the highest evidence of a state of grace. At the close of his remarks, it being 9 o'clock, an effort was made to lay the resolutions on the table, to take up the matter of finance. as it was the last

From the Pennsylvania Fre J. W. WALKER.

Though we have already noticed the death of this devoted and successful laborer in the cause of humanity and reform, the facts of his life, men-tioned in the letter below, from the hands of a personal friend of the deceased, will interest many of our readers :

DEAR FRIEND-To many of the readers of the Freeman, the name and regutation of James W. Walker, of Ohio, are familiar, as identified with the cause of anti-slavery in the West. When quite a youth, he became a preacher among the Methodists in England, his native land, and though tender in years, won for himself the character of a faithful gospel minister—dwelling not upon the pe-culiar creed of his sect, but urging the duty of practical righteousness. Soon after emigrating to this country, he became connected with the Wes-leyan Methodists; for, abhorring with his entire ul the institution of slavery, he was unwilling soul the institution of slavery, he was unwilling to unite with the M. E. Church, which received slaveholders to membership. As a Wesleyan Meth-odist preacher, he labored to great acceptance in Cincinnati and Cleveland, and for years presided over a western Conference of that denomination; ret then, as in England, his ministrations were a character that appealed to the great brotherhood principle in the human soul, and led his hearers to desire far more the universal prevalence of peace on earth and good will among men, than the estab-

on earth and good will among men, than the estab-lishment of sect.

About eight years ago, he became convinced that he could no longer retain Christian fellowship with those who supported a slaveholding government, resigned his presidency in the Conference, and withdrew from the denomination. Since then, he has been laboring as an agent of the Western A. S. Society: and a faithful laborer he was, thinking not of himself, and caring not for himself when the cause of the slave demanded his services. With talents that might have brought him a far greater In his 'Notes from the Lecturing Field,' published in the Bugle, Mr. Walker gave the following sketch of his labors in a portion of Michigan:

At 'Farmer,' in Defiance Co., I held three meetings in the school-house, 'the only place of worin that State. The work was too severe for his extowns, the hamlets and the caoin settlements.

Ohio and Michigan, are ripening into the harvest, and their fruits will be pointed to as an evidence of the faithfulness of the laborer, and the goodness of the Lord of the harvest who giveth the increase.

B. S. J. increase.

> THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

BY RICHARD HILDRETH, ESQ.

that their Church is free from slavery—that the South have all been expelled, and that the Northern Church is radically anti-slavery. Very many of the best people in that Church believe this to be true. They will not always be able to deceive. A good Democratic brother dissented from us at first, but finally concluded on the whole that it was best to say but little.

From Farmer I went to 'Centre,' in Williams Co., where I spoke on Saturday evening, and three times on Sunday. Application had been made for the Methodist church, but it was refused; so the meeting was held in the school-house.

There is in the place an Academy, belonging to the Old School Presbyterians, who have two ministens in the village. The meeting on Saturday

BY RICHARD HILDREH, ESQ.

It is in vain that Southern oppressors console themselves with ideas of the insignificance of those who make the first assault. They may ridicule them as fools, fanatics, women. What of that I Does the result of an attack depend upon the pradence or the wisdom of those who have volunteered for the forlorn hope! What matter who or what they are, those who rush blindly and devotedly upon the open-mouthed cannon, the leveled bayonets of the enemy! They are but food for powder, and they know it. In every great cause, it is necessary that some should perish. But if the cause be great, for one that falls, ten will be found ambitious so to suffer!

It is in vain that Southern oppressors console themselves with ideas of the insignificance of those who make the first assault. They may ridicule them as fools, fanatics, women. What of that?

Does the result of an attack depend upon the pradence or the wisdom of those who have volunteered for the forlorn hope! What matter who or what they are, those who rush blindly and devotedly upon the open-mouthed cannon, the leveled bayonets of the enemy! They are but food for powder, and they know it. In every great cause, it is necessary that some should perish. But if the cause be great, for one that falls, ten will be found for t

warmest support; but how can we know it to be so, without knowing what it is!

Yet are we stopped short in the very threshold

of this inquiry, by the threats and execrations of a matter wherein they are free to act. But before the South. Dare to inquire; dare look behind the

hreats.
The Union of the States has been made the occa-

of the Union! Briefly these: that the Union serves to protect us against aggressions from abroad and civil war at home; that it is the best guaran-

tee of our independence and our freedom.

But suppose this same Union to be made the pre-text for a violent interference with our dearest rights! Suppose that, under pretence of saving the Union, we are deprired of the liberty of the press, the liberty of discussion, the liberty of thought,— nay more, the liberty of feeling, the right of sym-pathy with those who suffer? Suppose this Union requires to be cemented with blood, and that we are called upon to surrender up the noblest of our sons and daughters to be tortured to death by Southern whips, for the grievous sin of having de-nounced despotism with the generous emphasis of

Are we ready to bow thus submissively before the grim and bloody shrine of this political Moloch? Are we prepared to make these sacrifices? When has changed its nature, what though it still retain its former name! Though it be called Union, what is it but a base subjection, a miser-

able servitude!

Some eighty years ago, we had a Union with Great Britain, a Union that had lasted for near two centuries, a cherished Union, the recollection two centuries, a cherished Union, the recollection of which kindled a glow in every American bosom; not a fraternal Union merely, but closer yet, maternal, filial. That connection had many things to recommend it. It sustained our weakness; it brightened our obscurity; it made us partakers in the renown of Britain, and part and parcel of a great nation. What curses, eighty years ago, would have blighted the particide, who should have gone about to sever that connection, so dear, so beneficial!

The mother country, not satisfied with the affections of the participant of the second of the se

tion of her daughter, sought to abuse her power, and to extort a tribute. But were all the advan-tages of our Union with Britain to be given up, tages of our Union with Britain to be given up, merely to avoid the payment of a paltry tax on tea! Were all the calamities of civil war to be hazarded, all the miseries of a hostile invasion, intrigues with foreign powers, and their dangerous interference, public debts, standing armies, the risk of anarchy, and of military usurpation!

Yes, all, said our fathers, all is to be risked, rather than surrender our pecuniary independence.

rather than surrender our pecuniary independence; rather than become tributary to a British parliament; rather than be taxed at the pleasure of the ment: rather than be taxed at the pleasure of the mother country. A Union upon such terms is a mockery; it is not the Union we have loved and cherished. We scorn it, and we spurn it.

So our fathers said. And when it is undertaken

So our fathers said. And when it is undertaken to deprive us, not of our money,—which, for the sake of peace, we might be willing to part with,—but of that whose value money cannot estimate; when it is attempted to shut out from us the atmosphere, the essential life-breath of liberty; when it is sought to gag our free mouths, to forbid the beating of our free hearts; to subdue us by penal statutes into a servile torpidity, and an obsequious silence, shall we hesitate one moment to repel this impudent effort of despotism, because, if we refuse to submit, it will endanger the Union! Perish the Union, let it ten times perish, from the moment it becomes inconsistent with humanity and with freedom!

of those laws of human nature upon which the working of social and political institutions must depend.

This inquiry is necessary for our own satisfaction. Without making it, how can we act either reasonably or safely! Here is a question with two sides to it, and one side or the other we must take.

Inna, compared with those of the remaining States, were but as dust in the balance; yet rather than provoke violent resistance, by an exercise of doubtful authority, Congress yielded: the tariff was modified, and the principle of pure and unlimited protection was totally abandoned.

If South Carolina calculated the value of the remaining States, were but as dust in the balance; yet rather than dustoring the provoke violent resistance, by an exercise of doubtful authority, Congress yielded: the tariff was modified, and the principle of pure and unlimited protection was totally abandoned.

If South Carolina calculated the value of the

reasonably or safely! Here is a question with two sides to it, and one side or the other we must take. How can we choose without knowledge! Despotism may be an excellent thing, well entitled to our warmest support; but how can we know it to be so, without knowing what it is!

Yet are we stopped short in the very threshold

the South. Dare to inquire; dare look behind the veil that hides our private doings; dare question us, or any of our acts, and we dissolve the Union! Such an impertinence is lawful cause of war, and we will wage it!

Indeed!—It is necessary, then, to weigh these course with their Northern neighbors, is an inquiry which will find its proper place hereafter. But there The Union of the States has been made the occaded and the states of the states are seems to prevail, that excellent a thing as the Union is, the people, ignorant and short-sighted, may sometime take it into their heads to think otherwise; and therefore it is necessary to create a prejudice in favor of the Union,—a sort of feeling for it like that feeling of loyalty which has often upheld a throne, in spite of the vices and tyranny of him who sat upon it.

Under a democratic government, prejudices of this sort are not only useless, they are highly mischievous; they are but manacles and fetters put into the hands of the artful and designing, by means of which the people are bound, and shorn, against their interest, and against their judgment.

The men who formed the Union were neither better nor wiser than ourselves. For certain arguments and reasons in its favor, they formed it: for certain arguments and reasons in its favor, we have a state of the state for certain arguments and reasons in its favor, we should sustain it; not for itself; for in itself, it is neither good nor bad. It may be either, as circumstances are.

What are these reasons and arguments in favor of the Union! Briefly these: that the Union despotisms of the South!

From the Portland Inquirer. ANOTHER STUPENDOUS PLOT.

ANOTHER STUPENDOUS PLOT.

Those who expect any farther peace with the Slave Power of this country, till it is forced to yield its usurpations and lay down its arms, are deluded. They dream. They are bats at noon. When that power was feebler, it was cautious and insidious. But enthroned, its nature and designs come out, its audacity, and malignancy appear, and its purpose of absolute supremacy, like Russian despotism in Europe, is no longer in doubt.

There the question is—Resistance, or the subjugation of Europe. Here it is—Resistance, or the subjugation of the States. France and England may as well fold their arms, and see the civilization of the continent again buried by a deluge of Northern barbarism, as the free States longer be silent at the strides of tyranny at the South. The western powers there have negotiated, dallied, made compacts and protested, till the difficulty of successful resistance is increased ten fold. So it has been here. Tyranny is one in nature and in aim. here. Tyranny is one in nature and in aim. The last hour in both bemispheres has come. The only alternative for liberty in either is to fight, in some form, or be crushed. Our danger is, that interested toryism will blind the people till resistance is useless.

We are led to these remarks by farther develop-

ments respecting a stupendous scheme of the Slave Power, to whose incipient steps we called attention Power, to whose incipient steps we called attention some three years ago. We received a pamphlet by some unknown hand, gorgeously written, but without imprint—not even the name of the printer or place of printing was stated. But the object of the writer was to show the immense natural resources of the great valley of the Amazon and its tributaries, and the importance of creating commercial relations between that country and this, and of opening it to intelligence and enterprise.

But the last part of it was an energetic appeal to the State States to lead off with this wast scheme in order to secure an outlet for their surplus slave population, now staring them in the face like doom.

population, now staring them in the face like doom. If they could but get a foothold in that rich tropical valley, establish slavery there by arrangement with Brazil, create a commerce between it and the Southern States direct, and institute lines of steam-

Southern States direct, and institute lines of steamships, slaves could be transported with convenience, climate and productions were congenial. a great slaveholding empire would arise, fortifying the system at home, and removing for centuries the only real danger which threatened it.

The notice and extracts made of this pamphlet at the time first called attention to the scheme at the North, so far as we know. Not very long after, another copy of the publication fell under our notice, but the last part, in reference to alavery, was not there. It was an edition for the North: the other, for the South. It is said to have been written by Lieut. Maury, of Washington.

From the Cleveland Leader. SOUTHERN SECESSION PROM THE UNION.

with freedom!

Should South Carolina declare that war, for which, as she asserts, she has such lawful cause, and march an army Northward to enforce silence at the point of the bayonet, the sons of those who fought at Lexington and Banker Hill will perhaps know how to repel the invaders; and those States which furnished soldiers, generals, arms and money, to re-conquer Carolina from Cornwellis

low. In the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and the western half of Virginia, the slaves are less than one seventh of the free pop-ulation, and fast decreasing. Should those States go with the South, half their slaves would run off the first year, because, once across Mason and Dixon's line, they would be free. The owners would sell or emancipate the other half to prevent them from also escaping. Besides, the commercial and social intercourse of these States are chiefly with the North, and by the double tie of intercourse of the commercial and social intercourse of these States are they would cast their lot with the free States. The few slaveholders might object, but the masses

would overrule them.

Add these to the North, and there would be twenty-three States on the side of freedom, with a present population of twenty-one millions, against eleven slave States with but eight millions—nearly half of whom are held as the property of the other half, ready to rise and declare their freedom at

any moment.

As a matter of course, the Nebraska territory and New Mexico belong to the North. The slave States would extend no further west than Arkansas. It is very probable, too, that Western Texas, which is chiefly settled by Germans and persons from the free States, would unite with the North. The territory of the free States would embrace an area of two and a half millions of square miles. That of the slave States less than three-fourths of a million, or one-third of the North in area and

In the next place, the annexation of the Canadas to the North would speedily follow, adding five free States to the New Confederacy, and a population approximating to three millions of industrious, intelligent, thrifty freemen. The arrable territory thus obtained covers a million square miles. The free navigation of the St. Lawrence would be orever secured, whose value is not second even to

the Mississippi.

Thus, with a territory extending from ocean to ocean, and from the 35 30 degree of latitude as far North as the habitations of man; with thirty States North as the habitations of man; with thirty States before the next census; and a population of twen-ty-five millions; with not a bondman in the length and breadth of the new Republic, we might man-age to survive the loss of the political society of the slaveholding nabobs. They would require our mechanical and agricultural products in exchange for their cotton, sugar and rice, exactly as at pres ent; and as they have always been great advantaged in the present; and as they have always been great advantaged in the exchange of commodities. They would find themselves considerably more dependent upon us than we on them; and ere long would be knocking at the door, like the prodigal son, for admission into the Union, with

prodigal son, for admission into the Union, with the condition annexed of emancipation.

The people of the North have been imposed upon enough with the humbug of dinnion. In the first place, we don't believe the slave States could be driven out, and, in the next place, in a very short time they would be negotiating to get in again. Let no man be alarmed by the idle cry of disunion, secession. It is perfectly harmless. Let us deal justly by the South, asking nothing but what is right, and submitting to nothing that is wrong.

PRO-SLAVERY PRESBYTERIANISM

The slavery question, the dreaded troubler of our The slavery question, the dreaded troubler of our sectarian Israels, has been intruding itself again among the drowsy conservatives of the Third Presbytery of New York. Just as they had fairly settled themselves to sleep in ease and peace from former agitations, in the conviction that they had finally disposed of this troublesome subject, it breaks in again upon their quiet, and puts to flight their

opes of repose.

In this instance, the question was introduced by the noisy opposers of agitation at the South. A pircular was received from the Presbytery of Win-chester, Virginia, stating that the agitation of the Slavery question had created a great deal of alienation between the Presbyterian brethren of the church at the North and South, and asking the Presbytery to send a resolution to the General As-sembly, that it was inexpedient at the presentatime

o agitate that question.

This circular was read by Dr. Hatfield, who arged upon the Presbytery the do-nothing policy adopted by the Synod of New York and New Jeradopted by the Synod of New York and New Jer-sey at its last session. He then offered the follow-ing resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Mills:

*Rosolved, That without expressing any opinion in respect to the statements of the Presbytery of Winchester in their circular of Sept. 25, they be referred to the action of the Synod of New York and New Jersey on this subject at their meeting in October last, as precluding the necessity of any further action on the part of this Presbytery.

The Rev. Mr. Smith opposed the motion. He did not like dodging the subject, and thought that the Presbytery should frankly meet it, and give their opinion, if they had one. He did not think they were bound to concur in the action of the

Dr. Hatfield, himself, in view of the recent Ne-Dr. Hatfield, himself, in view of the recent Ne-braska conspiracy, seemed to doubt whether they were not treating the subject too timidly, and yet he said he would be satisfied to let this matter pass for the present, as whatever special action would be now taken on the subject might create bad feel-ing, and might be soon brought up for reconsider-ation, and thus, in the present feverish state of the question, he would prefer to have no special action taken, until the excitement at present subsisting had somewhat subsided.

The Rev. Dr. Pennington, Pastor of the First Colored Presbyterian Church, at the corner of Prince and Marion streets, said that 'he could con-cur in the resolution proposed by Dr. Hatfield, as it

cur in the resolution proposed by Dr. Haifield, as it bound no individual to any particular course, nor interfered with the action of the Churches. The resolution was then passed.

That Dr. Pennington, himself a fugitive slave, and a professed abolitionist, should thus join hands with popular, ease-loving and pro-slavery clergymen, to hold back the Church from its duty towards slavery and the slave, will greatly appropries clergymen, to hold back the Church from its duty towards slavery and the slave, will greatly surprise and mortify his friends in this country and in England. Identified as he was with the slave, pledged as he was to the anti-slavery cause, and intelligent as he must be of the criminal responsibility of the Northern church, and especially of the Presbyterian church, for the continuance of slavery, and for its corruption of the Northern conscience and heart, we had a right to expect that he would not follow the Priest and the Levite on the other side of his perishing fellow bondmen. To show the position assumed by this Presbytery, and conscientiously concurred in by Dr. Pennington, we here give the resolution adopted by the Synod at its last session in October:

'Resolved, That without any reference to the action of previous General Assemblies, we believe that, in the present aspects of Divine Providence, the agitation in our General Assemblies, by any portion of our Church, of our relations to Slavery in this country, is undesira-

ble and inexpedient. Committing this whole subject, therefore, to the Governor of Eternal Providence, we commend to our churches to offer unceasing prayer for our country in all its sections, and for our own church

This is the insulting reply made by these solemn and cauting pretenders, to the cry of perishing millions for help; to the demand of the Christians, republicans and philanthropists of other lands, that we purge our church and nation from their most hideous blot and sin; to the requirement of Eternal Justice, that we 'break every yoke,' open our mouths for the dumb,' 'cry aloud and spare not 'against oppression and fraud, and 'proclaim deliverance to the captive.' How does the narrow selfishness of sectism eat out of men's hearts all fraternal feeling, humane sympathy, manly courage, and devotion to truth!—Penn. Freeman.

THEODORE PARKER.

Theodore Parker last night gave his Anti-Slavery Theodore Parker last night gave his Anti-Slavery friends a good deal more than they bargained for, in the matter of his speech. The Tabernacle was densely crowded with a miscellaneous mass of people, of all parties, creeds, and colors, assembled to hear Messrs. Parker, Garrison, and Phillips, who were announced to speak. Mr. Parker opened, and spoke over two hours and a half, and even then stopped only because he was compelled to do so by the impatience of his hearers, leaving at least one-third of the ground he had marked out untouched. His speech was very able.—denunciatory of everything. the ground he had marked out untouched. His speech was very able,—denunciatory of everything, prophetic of evil to be perpetuated, and hopeless of any reform in any department of public affairs. Mr. Parker reasons by statements,—never making a formal argument, but so collating facts as to suggest the inference he wishes drawn. His speech was a prodigious compilation of facts bearing on Slavery and its relations to the various interests of the country,—all of them striking, some lacking authority, and very many of them skillfully made to countenance conclusions they would not warrant. But they were instructive and well worth hearing;—and we were not surprised to find among his hearers quite a number of clergymen and others who have no sympathy whatever with his special views. Mr. Parker predicted the success of the Nebraska bill at the next session of Congress, if Nebraska bill at the next session of Congress, if not immediately; and said he could see no end to the triumphs and conquests of the Slave Power. He predicted that the General Government would force the country into a war with Spain for the possession restore the African Slave-trade. These measures might possibly, in his opinion, so touch the interests of the Free States as to arouse them to resistance: and in that case, Slavery would be swept from exist-ence. But short of that he saw no ground of hope. Mr. Parker stated as facts not generally known

Mr. Parker stated as lacts not generally known, but of which many persons were cognizant, that the English Government had entered into an agreement with that of Spain, whereby Slavery in Cuba was to be abolished within twenty years,—and that the Captain-General of Cuba had in his possession a document from the Spanish Government, giving him full authority to liberate the slaves in Cubs, and to arm them for the defence of the Island whenever he should deem it expedient. He did not believe the Eastern War would amount to much, and though that Spain of herself, with her Navy embracing 17 vesels; her letters of marque, which would cove the seas with the most desperate pirates from a the nations of the earth, waging war on our com-merce; the armed slaves defending the fastnesses of Cuba, and the climate, yellow fever and other diseases of the Island, as their allies, would be able to inflict fearful damage on the United States. -New York Times.

CHANGE IN PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

We challenge the curious annals of history for more striking progressive change in the sentimen of a nation, than that which has taken place in re gard to Abolition, pure and simple, in the free States of America. A few years ago, and the name of Abolitionist was identified with social outlawry. Southern States put a price on the head of Garri son: Southern Post Offices opened letters and pa post, and Committees of Northern Safety-met burned Abolition journals by the heap; moss drove the emancipation apostle from Baltimore—burned down a Liberty-Hall in Philadelphia—shot down Lovejoy for printing and speaking democracy-an everywhere persecuted the name, fame and person of the Abolitionists. Three years ago, a mob head of the Abolitionists. Three years ago, a mob head-ed by Isaiah Rynders, broke up their meeting at the Tabernacle, and fairly pursued them from the City. Two years ago they could not obtain here a place to assemble in, and were obliged to go to Syracuse to hold their Anniversary. But now all this is changed. They are welcomed to one of the largest and handsomest churches in New York, and for the past two days, their discounts have not only been entirely undisturbed, but have been not only been entirely undisturbed, but have been attended by crowded and sympathetic audiences of the most respectable people. Even conservatism and moderation now listen without a shock to the bold utterances of these quondam fanatics.— Such is the effect produced by the conviction which is now gaining complete possession of the public mind at the North, that the South is faithless to of Slavery at whatever risk. This great change has been wrought by the Nebraeka bill, and as yet we are only at the beginning. Garrison, Phillips, and al their compeers, could not have made so many Abo-litionists and Disunionists in half a century, as Pierce, Douglas, Badger and Clayton have made hree months.—New York Tribune.

A WAR FOR CUBA.

The moment the Nebraska Iniquity is consum mated, if it should be consummated, the Adminis-tration will seek to distract public attention from that abhorred deed by getting up a row with Spain. Whether this will be pushed to the point of actua War is not yet certain; but the President and his advisers hope and expect it will. They have re-solved to impose on the feeble and decrepit Spanisl Government conditions which cannot be accepted without disgrace, and insist on every icts of them to the last. Should Spain refuse them, War is to be made, and Cuba seized if possible—and the projectors entertain no doubt of our ability to overrun and subjugate that island in six weeks from the and subjugate that island in six weeks from the declaration—at all events, before any reënforcements from Spain can reach it. This achievement, by adding about a fifth to the slaveholding territory and population of the Union, is expected to unite the South under the flag of Pierce & Co., and drown the Nabraska excitement at the North in the ery of 'Our Country, right or wrong! Hurrah for Cuba and manifest destiny!' Such, we are well assured, is the programme agreed on at the White House; and it is an even chance that we shall be at war with Spain on the 1st of July.—Ibid.

JAMES W. WALKER-HIS PAMILY.

In the death of James W. Walker, not only have the oppressed and outraged of earth lost one of the ablest and most devoted of their advocates, but his wife and little children have lost a kind husband and father—their protection and support.

The work of the slave's redemption, to which for the past seven or eight years, Mr. Walker had devoted all his talents and energies, is not a work that meets with a reward in gold. His family therefore are left destitute. A settlement of his

affairs will leave nothing for their future mainte-nance. The friends of freedom, and especially the friends of the American and Western Anti-Slavery Societies, whose agent Mr. Walker was, and in whose service he expended all his talents and wore out his life, owe a debt to his widow and lit tle children, which we trust will be cheerfully and

promptly paid.
While abolitionists, generally, have been at the homes, making provision against future want, and giving to the cause sparingly of their abundance, Mr. Walker has been away from his family, toiling for the advancement of a cause, in which we are all alike interested, and for a compensation barely sufficient, under the most favorable circumstances, to supply the imediate wants of those dependan him. Had he sacrificed as little as other sed friends of the slave, his family probably have needed no pecuniary aid. But laborprofessed friends of the slave, his family provided would have needed no pecuniary aid. But laborers were needed; and by the approval and appointment of the friends of freedom, he went forward,

ers were needed; and by the approval and appointment of the friends of freedom, he went forward, forgetful of self, to the work of the slave's emancipation, and the result is as above stated.

It is then but simple justice, that we should make some provision for his family. Arrangements will be made to secure to them the full benefit of whatever is contributed. It is suggested, that a little home should be provided for them, where they may remain permanently, and be comfortably situated.

—Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MAY 19, 1854.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

American Anti-Slavery Suciety.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Broadway Universalist Church on Wednesday, May 10th. The church, at the hour of meeting, was well filled. After a voluntary on the organ, the President Mr. Garrison, called the So. the organ, the President, Mr. GARRISON, called the Society to order, and announced that, in accordance with the programme, selections would now be read from the Scriptures by the Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse.

Selections from the Scriptures were then read by Rev. Mr. Mar, who also offered prayer; after which, the congregation united in singing a hymn, composed by

FRANCIS JACKSON, the Treasurer of the Society, then gave the following abstract of the Annual Report, which, he said, was certified by James S. Gibbons, cashier of the Ocean Bank :-

RECEIPTS FOR THE YEAR EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR. For Lecturing Agents, Publishing Anti-Slavery Standard and Pamphlets.... \$8,729 00

Balance on hand..... \$2876 29 The report, by unanimous consent, was laid upon the

table, to be taken up at the business meeting.

Mr. GARRISON then said :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : This is the twentieth anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I do not propose to go into any extended preliminary re-marks, but wish simply to say, at the outset, that the object of this Society remains unchanged, and our purpose is as it was at the beginning. We make no side rightly, all the business of this great cly would b issue with this nation, or with the Slave Power which governs it, as absolutely as any plantation at the South is governed; but, declaring our eternal hostility to it, Not as a clergyman, not as a Christian, bulas a manentering into no compromises with it, making no attempts at conciliation thereof, we are resolved on its the name of the Almighty, and no other nme, I proutter destruction, undaunted by anything that may occur seemingly in favor of that power to which I have alluded, and resolved to continue to the end, come what Territory of Nebraska, but because it does not solemn may. We know, and the slaveholders know, and the may. We know, and the slaveholders know, and the slaves know, and all in this world, and in heaven and of Slavery into that Territory. (Loud applaus.) And in hell, know that we are right in vindicating the rights in the next place, because it is a mockery and an out of man for every human being on this earth; and that only the base, or the blind, or the bigoted, or the unonly the case, or the bind, or the bigoted, or the un-scrupulous, or the time-serving, or the bloody-minded, principle which is qualified by the color of the skin are against us and our glorious position.

In regard to the work to be done, there are hundreds of thousands of slaves that have been added, since this Society was organized, to the old stock, who are waiting for deliverance at our hands. At this moment, the last great crime of the nation is about to be perpetrated; but the end is not yet. The liberties of this country deadly struggle with despotic power. And how is i have been betrayed, sacrificed, trampled in the dust No man can stand up in any part of our country, and say before God, truthfully, 'I live in a free land, where I enjoy all the rights God vouchsafed to me by my very nature.' On all hands, there are those who are conspiring to crucify Liberty, and to seal this nation over to destruction. It is for you, and me, and all of us, to is in human beings. (Applause.) And, under these God and man are unmasked; that no compromise, in any snape, for any purpose, or the made with the demon spirit of Slavery in this land. In regard to all, whether in Church or in State, found sympathizing with the oppressor, our duty is plain-in the name of Jesus Christ, to declare they cannot be Christians; and in the name of genuine republicanism, to affirm that they belong to those who sympathize only with the despots of the human race in all parts of the

· Lay the proud usurpers low; Tyrants fall in every foe; Liberty's in every blow; Let us do or die.'

(Great applause.) I have now the pleasure of intro-

MR. FURNESS'S SPEECH.

MR. PRESIDENT : I so sincerely deprecate the expecta tion of a speech from me on this occasion, that although it is not exactly in good taste to begin with talking about one's self, yet, I must be allowed to say that I have come hither, on this occasion, not so much to make a speech as to take sides. It appears to me it is not a question of speeches, or whether a man can speak well or ill, or not at all, but that this is the question, namely, on what side he is; and I thank those gentlemen who have invited me hither, for the opportunity of committing myself again and irretrievably to the great cause of humanity. (Applause.) Besides, Lam a timid man, and I like to be on the safe side and on the strong side. (Applause.) I do not think I have courage enough to be, or to appear to be, on the pro-slavery side, though I should have the President, his Cabinet, and all Congress to back me. (Laughter.) And besides, again, it is difficult to make a speech. When I am in the pulpit, I have notes before me, and there is a refreshing grace there; but upon this free platform it is difficult to speak in any measured terms upon slavery; and at the present time, when we think what is doing at Washington, it geems to me that if any man who has a heart in his bosom, rises and attempts to speak on the subject, his words must die away in a shriek of horror and indignation. (Applause.)

I recollect, thirty or forty years ago, (and nearly all who are old enough to remember so far back have a are held as chattels personal, and the other portion are similar recollection,) that when the subject of slavery was mentioned, our elders used to shake their heads, look grave, and say: 'Ah! there is the danger, that is who passes for a colored man in our country. If he b the thing which is going to work the ruin of this coun- a colored man, ay, a black man, who of us is white try; that is the black cloud which will grow bigger and What reason he has for pleading here, personally, tha bigger, and at last send out terrible lightning to dash Slavery may be overthrown, I will tell you, by giving te pieces the fabric of American freedom.' This was you an instance of this kind, which is a very commo universal anticipation; and a fearful looking for affair at the South. A New Orleans paper says :of dread mischief from that quarter; and the way and the form in which the mischief expected was to come. was by insurrection. It was expected that the blacks would increase to such a degree that they would at last rise upon their masters ; that the terrors of St. Domingo would be re-enacted here on a larger and more frightful scale; and that a war between the two races would be begun, which would probably terminate in the Robert Purvis is eligible to the highest office in the gift establishment of a black empire over nearly one half of of the people (applause)—and is protected by its Conthe country. That dread of insurrection has now almost entirely died away. It does not appear to be feared that the slaves will ever rise of themselves; and the reckless determination with which slavery seeks to work out a year of hard labor, and then what? To be enlarge her borders more and more, looking with a greedy eye on Mexico, Cuba, the River Amazon, and the remotest part of the earth, shows how distant that day is, in the apprehension of the South, when the

I am free to admit, that I think there is very little danger of an insurrection; and for two reasons : First, the character of the colored race themselves, so gentle and so docile. The fact that nearly four millions of them have been kept under such unmitigated despotism, and have never made any attempt to strike it off, creates a strong presumption that they never will rise. The second fact which is our protection against insur-rection, is the abolitionists. Abolition at the North is the protection of the Southern slave-master. I know

for harm. If their existence is known, then bey a sown as the friends of the slaves, and naturally, cording to every principle of human nature, hey a induced to wait patiently, knowing that thy he riends in the country who are laboring for then. Our rulers talk insanely about putting dow abol tionists. Put them down, silence every word a beha of human rights and common humanity at the North and then, if ever, look for insurrection, when all tope for the slave is cut off from every quarter but from times!

But, although there is so little prospect of insurection any danger to the country from that quarter it do not by any means follow that slavery can do uso ev for it has done and is doing us the very greatst mi working the decay of the spirit of liberty. Apunt a passionate and supreme love of liberty buring every heart; and it is now come to this, that w know not the distinction between freedom and slavery as is seen from any of the objections that have been ured against the cause of abolition; as, for instance when we are charged with being abstractionists—wit being realous and fanatical for an abstraction. Wha is h abstraction? It is the golden rule of Christiasty, the natural law of human justice, the only thing for the beginning of the world never questioned. Theex istence of God has been denied; the doctrine o'impor tality has been questioned; the existence of the out ward world has been speculated upon and desied ; bu the natural law of justice, the golden rule, has never been questioned. This is the abstraction abut which abolitionists are charged with being too zealus!

Again: they have been charged with inerferen they have been accused of being middlesome. Why, their doctrine is to put an end to iterference; it Slavery that really interferes; that interferes mos cruelly with men and most impiously ith God, lording it over God's heritage.

Then, again, what a decay of the spin of liberty

revealed at this present juncture, when he country overwhelmed by this iniquitous Nebraka Bill, the most melancholy thing about which is th general in sensibility of the people! It seems to m, if we felt suspended, and men would flock together n masses express their outraged sense of justice ad freedom First, and mainly, not because it allows Slatery in the What is that liberty which claims the right p violate liberty? What right can be established to trample or

Some eight or ten years ago, we were all boking to Europe for a grand social revolution. We expected that the great cause of human rights would inter into now? There is a war there; but we hear not on whisper of any popular cause. It is a war of kings and governments. My friends, it could not be so, if this country were only true to its character and its destiny We have the forms of a Republic, but in fact, we are becoming a great barbarian Empire, whose main traffic circumstances, if, as they say, Slavery is necessary; if as they contend, it must always exist, as it has always that it is necessary, and must exist for ever. We must bind our hearts and consciences to it, so that the voices pleading for the slave shall be, in this nation, like the voice of fate, sounding for ever in our ears.

But, as I said in the beginning, I did not rise to make a speech. I beg simply to say, I believe I am the only one of the speakers not belonging to this Society; that I am here by their invitation, by which I feel greatly honored. In stating this fact, that I do not belong t the Society-I do not wish to be understood as disclain ing their fellowship-far from it. But, as the pastor of a Christian church, I consider myself as already ducing to you the Rev. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Phila- belonging to an Abolition Society, exofficio (applause); the ideal-an Abolition Society; although it must be confessed, with sorrow and shame, the great majority are very unfaithful Abolitionists. (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON-I very deeply regret to announce the audience, that our esteemed friend, THEODORE PAR-KER, of Boston, will not be with us to-day to address this assembly. I have in my hand a letter from him received yesterday, in regard to the event which keep him away. I am sure that the disappointment will b very great and very general, but it is unavoidable

'A melancholy death of a young mother has just hay pened among my friends, which makes it impossible for me to go to New York. I regret that I cannot speak at the meeting, for I have much to say which burns in my heart until it gets spoken. But the audience will lose nothing, for even the Anti-Slavery party has sel-dom had such an array of talent and eloquence in a single meeting.

The funeral which our friend is called to attend transpiring probably at this very time, and hence the impossibility of his being here. I am happy, however to say, that, beyond all doubt, on Friday evening, h will speak at the Anniversary of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, at the Tabernacle. (Applause.)

A hymn was then sung.

Mr. Gannison then said :- I have the pleasure next introducing to the audience, one of that proscribed class in our country, a very large proportion of whom treated as lepers, who ought to be ejected from every ' healthy organization,' and trampled under foot; on 'Isaac Goodwin, free man of color; for coming into

the State contrary to law, sentenced to one year at hard

labor in the penitentiary.

'James Turney, free man of color; for coming into
the State in contravention of law, sentenced to one
year at hard labor in the penitentiary.' The crime is, for a man to stand on the soil of Lot

isiana-ay, a man! In Massachusetts, thank God stitution-at least, if he will not travel to Louisiana, he is protected; but when he gets there, he is arrested for being a free man of color, and thrust into prison, to liberated? To be permitted to make his escape from that horrible State? No, but to be melted into the mass of slaves, never again to appear among men as a man! I introduce to you Robert Purvis, of Byberry, Pa.

MR. PURVIS'S SPEECH.

Mr. PRESIDENT :- The remarks you have employed in introducing me to this audience, excite a feeling in my mind scarcely ever dormant in the terrible ordeal through which we are passing every moment of our existence, in the presentation to-day of that state of things which victimizes us by a cruel and relentless prejudice. This, Sir, is hard, very hard to bear; for, with due deference to modesty, we live in the consciousness of our rights and our manhood. (Applause.)

Mr. President, you have said that this is the twee

mands we make upon them. Is it not passing strange, that there is as yet needed from the people of this country, a practical recognition of the fact, that the colored man is a man, and, as such, is entitled to equal rights with other men? Rat Si. with other men? But, Sir, we have well-grounded hope in the history of past success and the present aspect of our cause, that we shall yet triumph. I beg leave, Sir, to offer as an expression of my views upon this point, the following resolution:—

this point, the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the contrast between the present aspect of the Anti-Slavery cause now, and as it presented itself twenty-three years ago, is in the highest degree cheering—that the change which has taken place in public sentiment on the subject of the colored man's right, as evinced in the tone of the newspaper press, and in the character of the current literature of the day, is such as not only to inspire the friends of the cause with the liveliest satisfaction, but to produce in the minds of all careful observers the conviction that a mighty revolution is going steadily on in this country, that will result, and that at no distant day, in the utter overthrow of American slavery, and the restoration to overthrow of American slavery, and the restoration to the colored man of the rights of which he has been so

We all recollect the effect of the first declaration o immediate and unconditional emancipation, and how the man who startled this guilty nation by the bold avowal of that doctrine had large rewards offered for his head, and was incarcerated in a Southern prison. The gathered energy and spirit of that philanthropy, penetrating the walls of Slavery, said, 'I am in earnest ; I will not equivocate ; I will not excuse ; I will not retreat a single inch ; and I will be heard.' (Applause.) That these pledges, made in the full confi dence of an abiding trust in the power of truth and God, have been faithfully redeemed, no argument is needed to show. The trials and persecutions, and sac-rifices of property, of liberty and life, have shown that those men who entered this cause were not to be turned aside by threats. 'We may be personally defeated ; our principles, never. Truth, reason, justice, humanity, will and must gloriously triumph.' And that there has been a triumph, both of the principles and of the persons who advocated them, our presence here to-day is not among the smallest evidences.

I will not weary the patience of this audience by at empting a recital of facts that have fallen under the observation of all, in proof of the progress which our principles have made in this country; but you will alow me to refer to a single one, and a significant one, in the rebounding of public sentiment, overwhelming in defeat, disgrace and moral death, the Irish miscretion to human liberty, the sacred names of St. Paul ers who may hastily prostrate their servile souls to the such an occasion as this. slaveholding spirit of our land. (Applause.) This Mr. President, this is i John Mitchel is a disgrace to your city, and his pres- I cannot even commence any remarks upon the general ence would be a curse any where. (Applause.)

Pardon, Sir, somewhat of feeling on this subject. became a member of an association of colored person in Philadelphia, whose object was, by contributions an otherwise, to promote the repeal movement in Ireland. ('Hear, hear.') We felt for Ireland, as we believe no sympathized with her in her distresses, in the wrongs and outrages inflicted upon her. We contributed our money and our personal effort to assist her in the overthrow of what we conceived to be a galling despotism But, Sir, could we have believed for a moment, could it ever have entered our minds, that the leaders in that movement were such men as your Mitchel and your Meagher, how much sympathy do you think we could of trade, and whose heart is eaten out with money, that have shown for that cause? I couple the name of the Anti-Slavery cause has not gone backward, but has be enabled to determine whether he will be a man when of American life, and found the doors of every religious he becomes an American citizen. (Applause.) In other edifice shut against you, you would give more imporwords, this liberty-loving patriot will then decide tance to the fact than, perhaps, you are at present ready whether his influence shall be for or against native- to do, that the doors of a religious edifice are open to born Americans, many of whom are descendants of those who shed their blood in the Revolutionary struggle, and of those who subsequently, in important crises and perilous times, have shown their unfailing debonds as these. (Great applause.)

from the foes or the apostates of liberty, whether for- ence to-day. eign or domestic, whether exhibited in that rare speci- I mention this fact at the beginning, because we count men of superlative impudence, John Mitchel, or in the and long-continued applause,) -a man who would offer teen States. (Applause.)

Sir, these things should only stir us to renewed zeal and devotion to the cause of freedom; for, after all, signs of the times are brighter than ever before. A series of articles has lately appeared in that widely-inthe value of the Union. (' Hear, hear.') The doctrine of disunion, which this Society has so often expressed and maintained, amid censure and opprobrium, is finding its way into the minds and hearts of men. The sentiment of freedom is abroad in the whole world. and animating men every where to do their duty. For man slave, or authorize another to be a slaveholder been performed in your city, in obedience to the demand progress of the cause of human freedom.

But I will not detain you with any further remarks. In the language of the resolution I have submitted, I as these sentences sound, they are not unchristian, how repeat, that a mighty revolution is going steadily on ever infidel they may be to American Christianity: that in this country, that will result-and that af no distant they are not disorganizing, however illegal they may day-in the utter overthrow of American Slavery. The at first appear; that couched under them is the only day is not far distant, we confidently hope and believe, hope and remedy for the system of American slavery; when the soil of this country will be unpolluted by a and that we have not disturbed the community unneces

single stain of Slavery. (Applause.)

Mr. Funness begged to be allowed to state, as Mr. Purvis was a fellow-citizen of his, that he had the reputation of being a man of wealth ; at all events, he was rick enough to have purchased an alliance with a whiter complexion ; but he chose, to his great credit, to identify himself with the colored race. (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON-My friend, Mr. Purvis, made allusion to the case of the Irish refugee, John Mitchel. It is difficult to look far enough down to be able to discern one who has sunk so low. But do you want to know you want to see the latest evidence of the fact, that the like a drowning man, even at a straw to save itself from that political Anti-Slavery has failed. It commen bly spit upon him, and spurned him as one almost too cy. They dared not launch boldly on that pathless see not on all fours, but on his belly, (laughter,) and at- safety; but they provided a little city- is it not a lit-

senting to the American people the plain and just de- to keep them in countenance; and it is only the other of compliment for his base servility, offering him an avation, if he would only go to Louisiana!—a thing unprecedented in the history of Southern legislation. A State Legislature gets down as low as John Mitchel! Southern statesmen can no longer be chivalrous, but are willing to welcome apostates even of a baser kind than they formerly spurned and despised.

I have now another announcement to make to the au-lience, which I regret equally with that which I made with regard to THEODORE PARKER. Our friend, Mis LUCY STONE, who was announced to speak on the pres ent occasion, is compelled, by a series of calamities that have rendered her presence here impossible, to disap-point you to-day. We never advertise at our meetngs that persons are expected to speak, or that any will speak, who have not previously stipulated that they will, if possible, be on hand; and so we are ourselves as much disappointed as the audience assembled.

Miss Stone, in a letter addressed to us, says:

'My brother and his wife are gone to see her mother who is very sick, and have left the children for us to care for. We have no help in the family. On the same evening, my dear old mother, stepping in the dark, stumbled and fell, her whole weight coming on her head and face. She was dreadfully stunned and bruised. It seems to be imperative, therefore, that I shall stay here. I wanted, for various reasons, to be at the Anniversary, and regret more than I can express the chapter of misfortunes which compels me to stay at home. You can say to any one who cares to ask, that I am unavoidably absent. I hope you will have such an Anniversary as the hour demands.'

Mr. G. then introduced to the audience WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PHILLIPS'S SPEECH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I should feel great regret o stand here now, in any sense, in the place of the speaker whose absence has just been apologized for, did I not feel, as our friend Mr. Furness has expressed himself, that this is not a meeting for speeches, but to take sides in a great moral controversy, and that our only purpose and expectation is, not to tickle your ears with eloquence, but to tell a plain, unvarnished tale, and to endeavor to arrest the attention of a great nation to the greatest of all possible wrongs.

You will allow, friends, at any rate, that in the let ter which has just been read to you, Miss Stone, the well-known advocate of human rights and of woman's rights, at least vindicates herself most emphatically from the charge of neglect of her home to-day. [Laughant, John Mitchel (applause); a man who longs for a ter and applause.] You will have it to say, also, and Southern plantation, stocked with healthy negroes, and the memory will be impressed upon you by your own who blasphemously associates, in his infernal opposi- disappointment, that she feels the weight and responsibility of her domestic relations as tenderly and as fully and Jesus Christ! Sir, this braggart traitor to liberty as those who are not accustomed to occupy this platform; has met with a repulse, which, while it is an index of and hereafter, whenever the charge is made against the the advancement of our principles in the public mind, champions of this cause, you will at least do her the will be a warning to any unprincipled foreign adventur- justice to recollect that she once disappointed you on

Mr. President, this is indeed a marked occasion, and aspects of the Anti-Slavery cause, until I have called your attention to the singular fact, and one indicative certainly of much of that hope to which Mr. Purvis has alluded, that we are met here for the first time within my memory in the city of New York, on an anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in a other class in the country could. (' Hear, hear.') We church, in a building consecrated exclusively to religious exercises, and known only as one representing the religious sentiment. You may not view this as much, but straws show which way the wind blows. It is great thing that recent events have done for us when they have stirred so deeply the public sentiment, even here in the city of New York, in this great commercial capital, in a community whose streets roar with the din his own confession, it will be three years before he man peen my puring to go by the seventeen years, as

whose anniversary you this day attend ; it is a 'treasonvotion to the interests of this country, in maintaining able' Society that is met here to-day. You shall go its liberties, and securing a refuge even for such vaga- elsewhere, this very week, and in this city, and in many other parts of the country, where anti-slavery senti-Mr. President : It is hard to bear up against the ments are uttered; you shall go to Congress, and rials and persecutions which our cause has to encoun- attend the meetings of an efficient debating Anti-Slaveter from our own countrymen ; it is hard to endure the ry Society in the House of Representatives; but there is insults and the ingratitude of Americans; but, God a character which attaches to this Society. It is an 'inhelping us, we will defy them all, and we will look with fidel ' Society; it is a 'treasonable' Anti-Slavery Socipityingscontempt upon all insults to freedom, whether ety, whose anniversary you countenance by your pres-

these epithets no insult, but cling to them as our most unscrupulous demagogueism of that traitor to humani- fitting characteristic, and we claim of history that she ty and to his country, Stephen Arnold Douglas, (loud should never overlook them, but that she should do us the justice to hand them down to posterity as our only up to the bloody Moloch of Slavery, the unpolluted and claim to the gratitude of those who are to come after virgin soil of a territory larger than the original thir- us. [Applause.] At a time when the influential and respectable pulpits of New York were not willing or did not dare to pray for the abolition of slavery; at a time when large classes of respectable and influential men there is no mistaking the tendency of the age. The with hearts in their bosoms could see so much of authority in human laws, or so much value in political institutions, that they stopped faltering at a half-way fluential journal, the New York Tribune, calculating line in their hostility to slavery, and dared not attack it when it shelters itself behind the Constitution of the United States, though we had no other offering to lay on the altar of human liberty, we laid this : A willingness to believe that Christianity, no matter how dark the hour, never could sanction slavery -that the New Testa-The despotic thrones of Europe are shaking to their ment, no matter how many Doctors of Divinity stood very foundations, and the spirit of Liberty is arousing before it, had no line on its pages that could make a humore than three hundred consecutive nights, the popu-lar and faithful drams of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' has portant to the material interests of society, never ought to be, never could be binding when they put a fetter of the public; and still the demand keeps up. Such on a single human being. That is our creed; and, in signs are not to be mistaken; they are an index to the the few moments that I am to address you, having shown you the length and breadth of our offence intentionally, I want to endeavor to prove to you, that harsh sarily by adopting too radical principles, or covered any more ground than we ought to have done. In a word, I wish to prove to you, that the Society which meets here this morning, and which you have graced with your presence, is one that really believes that there is no help for the American slave, except in a total revolution in the religious institutions of the country, and total destruction of the political arrangements of the land

This is a Disunion Society; and, for one, I am gla and proud to profess my creed at a moment like this dark enough for mere politicians, dark enough for any how far the South has fallen, or a portion of it? Do one who has looked for the success of the Anti-Siavery cause in the established institutions of the country Slave Power feet, at length, that it is time to clutch, for they have failed. It is not too much to say, to-day sinking? Hitherto, we have heard a great deal about Washington and Jefferson. It commenced with the fa-Southern chivalry, Southern dignity, and Southern self- there of the republic. They were anti-slavery in the sens respect. In times past, these traits of character have of their day. They hated the slave trade; they shrun been strongly exhibited on various occasions, so that back from the basis of the slave system itself; bu when any Northern doughface has undertaken to pay they had not an utter faith in the safety of doing right court grossly to Slavery, the slaveholders have invaria- They could not trust in justice as the highest expedien base for them to touch, even with their feet. But now, doing justice to each human being, confident that when when John Mitchel comes over here, and gets down, God established justice, he saw to it that it would be the protection of the Southern stave-master. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know hess of our rights and our manner. I know he all four, our of that this is the twentitempts to curry favor of that demoniacal power which tempts to curry favor of that demoniacal power which to every favor of that demoniacal power which the our? they said—a refuge of compromises, a halfgoverns us all, is he spit upon as, judging from the sure way attempt, as much as they dared. Disheartened by past, we had reason to suppose he would be by Southern slaverly truth has been preached according to the gospel
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trade, but looked forward to the abolition of it after the lapse of twenty years; and having thus held of the evil at arms' length, they sat down by their an in side, and enjoyed the material prosperity which a prodent sagacity had secured for the present and the country prospered. In the meanwhile, slavery pro strong—strong enough to warp aside what was right the Constitution—to smother out of sight what we wrong—and to make even a greater use than had ben expected of what was compromised; and gradually in has taken fort after fort, barrier after barrier, delan after defence which the fathers erected, until to-day the stands with her plume of conquest floating over the tatouched territory of Nebraska; sure if victory is not h corded to-day, it will be to-morrow-if not this senice it will be next; for when has the South failed? the in any crusade, has she ever been beaten?

The Tribune, this morning, in an article of pu courage, of noble enthusiasm, of generous and en reckless daring, begins by saying, that if the Nebrata iniquity is consummated, the North will go on to reis as she has begun ! [Applause.] O, that is an ombig prophecy. 'She will resist as she has begun.' Well she began with twenty majority, on the 21st of Mari against the scheme, and to day she stands with twent majority in its favor. She has begun with being bride and bullied. Will she go on so? [A Voice- Ya.] There has been no beginning of effectual resistance ye When we have defeated at least one pro-slavery agers sion, when we have laid one conspiracy against justice in an unexpected grave, then we will plant a green as over it, and write upon the whitest marble the imme. tal epitaph, 'The North: she has begun to resist is tal epitaph, 'The North: see has begun to resist a gression.' [Applause.] But do not tell us, at the very moment when the proclamation comes from Washington that the Government has bought up enough to seem its triumph, that the North will resist as she has be gun. What is this North? It is the controlling the

ment of the country ; controlling, not only by virtue of a vast numerical, but by virtue of a vast moneyed a jority. It educates the country ; it furnishes school pasters, it writes books for the whole States. It is, is fact, the Government of the Union. The South arely the slave overseers; the North are the slaveholden the Union, in the true sense of the word. We have n right to lay upon Southern shoulders the fault of Irus annexation, or any thing else that the Government by done. The South could not have annexed Teras, if the had not first gained the North. She never could his achieved a single triumph in the whole career of be conquests, if she had not first gained the North. The South rules by the North, and the responsibility & Slavery must be sought north of Mason and Direct line. The intellect, the enterprise, the culture, the money of the country are here. The majority is hen, every element of political strength is here; therefor, we are responsible for every act of the Government

I have said that political Anti-Slavery has failed. h has done its best, and I am not here to find fault win it. It has done its best under Washington, Jeffenes, Rutledge, Lee, Luther Martin, Alexander Hamilton and under a greater and better than all, John Jer. [Applause.] It has done its best under the great an f succeeding epochs down to our own day, which is the day of little men. [Laughter.] Mr. Garrisa thought we should strain our optics to see down to the depth to which an unhappy Irishman has descended We of New England are as sharp-sighted as the sales that has been long at sea, and with eyes bleared with tears, we have fathomed a deeper depth than that is find our own Everett and our Webster. [Applause] We are accustomed to look down deeper far than the depth to which the unfortunate victim of Irish opension has sunk. My friend Purvis said he had been id to believe that Ireland had suffered from the Britis Government, and he spoke in language as if he are doubted it. I do not doubt it. Ireland has sent us of her chosen apostles, and British tyranny ha ben so weighty and so bitter, that it has crushed his mehim. [Lauguter and applause.] He is the best and most living apostle against the British govern ment, for it has written all over his moral nature what a dreadful land the Irish live in, if he is a specimen d its apostles. [Renewed laughter.] But don't let us re-joice too hastily, for New England, from which some us come, I have always been accustomed to regard a the Ireland of the empire. The manhood is crushed at of our public men, and when we send them to Wastington, they are John Mitchels all over. [Laughte.] Yes, we are the Ireland of the empire. When he boasted New England, with her pulpits, her schools, her literature, her education of every kind, moral a intellectual, sent from beneath the religious or political institutions of any of her six States a single man, vis, unless he was covered all over with Anti-Slavery aspopularity, has been truer to liberty on the national arena than John Mitchel has been here? Our Adam, our Sumner, have spoken bold words for liberty, but it was not until the great and respectable classes of its Whig party had kicked them out of their companies ship. It was not until they had been baptized into a Anti-Slavery minority that made them hateful; it was not until they had graduated from a New England of lege of Anti-Slavery discipline, and taken their degree under President Garrison, that they spoke out in behalf

of liberty. [Applause.] But let me pause a moment upon that charge, which many of you will think very harsh, and see whether I am exaggerating. I choose to speak of my own section of the country ; I know it better than I do yours. I does equally well to illustrate the influence of America institutions, and you will know whether I do it any injustice when I place the facts before you. I place ust now the name of Edward Everett in juxtaposites with that of John Mitchel. I do not come here to blam Edward Everett, or to say that he does not represent Massachusetts. He does. I do not come here to complia that he has betrayed Massachusetts. He has not lit represents Boston, and the constituency that has set him. He represents money and the fashionable pulpits; he represents the bank vaults of State street, and it represents Harvard College,-all of them faithfully He represents one Massachusetts-thank God, therear I will tell you, in a moment, what the distintion is between them. My charge is not against himthat he misrepresents Massachusetts; but it is against this Union; and I assert that the State of Massach setts has been made what it is by the Union, which " anathematize and endeavor to sunder. Mr. Everettha been long in public life, and he has never yet met a rebuke from Massachusetts. What right, then, but any man to say that he misrepresents her?

A slight sketch of his life will be the best introduction for the remark which I wish to make on the infleteet of the Union and of public opinion. I wish to bring the fault home to you, fellow-citizens, on the subject of Slavery. These men at Washington are not gods ; the do not create us nor our opinions. They do not eres guide public opinion; political leaders never have They are like snakes, the tail moves the head. [Laughter.] It is public opinion at home that dictates the speeches of the mere politician at Washington, and I ask to-day, who has a right to say that Edward Everett

misrepresents Massachusetts? Mr. Everett was formerly an occupant of a Unitarias pulpit. Harvard College tempted him from it and seat im to Greece, where he passed some sif or seven year amid the classic ruins of the Republics of the Old Warid. He came home in 1825, I think, overflowing with the love of Grecian liberty, and his lips dewy with the Greek of Plato and the Latin of Cicero. Massachusett could not leave him, her chosen son, fresh from the old scenes of martyrdom and of triumph, baptized in liberal Christianity and re-baptised with the baptism of the Tiber and of the Grecian seas, to the seclusion of the University, so she summoned him into politics. He west to Washington in 1826, and the first time this apostle of Unitarianism and Greek liberty opened his lips, it was to say that he studied Christianity all his mature years, and Greek all his life, and he knew nothing in the New Testament that went against slavery. And though bre n the pulpit, he added that " he was ready to should

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That was the first speech of the Massachusetts scholar to the assembled Congress of his country—a speech at which the noble sattre of Randolph was aimed, when, shich the noor state of the lips in Virginia Slavery, he pointed his ed to the ups in select the miscreant Unitarian, and said

proceedings pager as the mead nor the heart of the man who her here from the North to apologize for Slavery. (Applaise.) This was the speech which your own releng found so have that even he advised Mr. Cambreleng touted and the treet ne advised Mr. the service of the Crar. [Laughter.]

well, he came home, and perchance you will suppose Well, he came manage a cold shoulder to him-that we re that we an turnen a constant of min-that we refused to green land deed in 1807, in voting for Jefferhad done a similar to add grass grow on the wharves of son's embargo, that made grass grow on the wharves of Boston; and when he came home, and walked around the malls of our Common, his old college mates put the malls of our common, and held their necks so stiff that you would have imagined they had lost their verthat you would make the said to him, God bless you, from Barntebre. No one same the same to Coventry, and, to stable to Berkanite. and the Coventry, and, to meet him from utter isolation, Jefferson sent him abroad. Bat Elward Everett had not made any grass grow on But Livard Lecrets in the shares of Boston; but if one bone of old Samuel the wastes to another in his coffin, he had made them Adams mange to another [Applause.] He came home, rattle against its barpose we did with him? We receivhd what do you suppose as and made him Governor. [Laughter.] Has he any reason to think that a pro-Languer. 1 has no any reason to think that a prosetts! About this time, Georgia or South Carolina (I brief which) sent a letter to Massachusetts, saying that Anti-Slavery Societies were a great nuisance; that ther did not like them; that they were against the Constitution; and that they ought to be put down. Gor. Exercit sends the letter to the Legislature, inclosed in a message, in which he says that he has consulted legal authority, and his opinion is that Anti-Slavery nectings (such meetings as were held by my friend Samuel J. May, who read from the Scriptures to-day or friend Mr. Garrison, President of the Society, and r. Follen, who had fled from the dread of a German ingeon to New England hospitality,) that such meetings ought to be indictable and punished by imprisonment. Well, that was going lower still. He had offered to shoulder the musket against a South Carolins rebellion; he was now willing to load and fire off a message against rebellious men in Massachusetts, who were serting the right of free speech ; for we in Massachusets have always tried to fulfil the description of Alfieri who says of his own beautiful country, Italy, that if it were a country of slaves, they had at least the credit of being a country of rebellious slaves. [Applause.]

Well, what did we do again with Mr. Everett? selected him Governor the next year. And when we nest took him up, we recommended, and besought, and faslly persuaded the Senate of the United States to apgove his nomination to the court of St. James. And rom that day to this, he has been acting in the same say. He edited the speeghes of Mr. Webster, and sunk out of sight all his Anti-Slavery testimony, and made him as pro-slavery as he could. And now we have sent him to the Senate. Well, who

an say that we ought to expect anything different on him? Every step that he has made in servility to the Slave Power has been rewarded. His own party, his predominating, influential, rich, controlling Massachuetis has not yet rebuked him. State street does not care if you plant Slavery in Nebraska, and annex all Mexico, South America and China, provided you will let it make one per cent. In peace. State street has pever yet rebuked Mr. Everett.

Now, what makes this state of things in Massachusets! What shuts up the voice of the pulpit and prostitutes the press? It is the bonds which bind these States together. It is the intimate communion which exists between the portions of this confederacy. It is the commercial temptation. It is the great national arena to which all broad-minded men and men of large ambition naturally tend, in which the Websters and Everetts are longing to be distinguished. It buys them up faster than nature can create them. It tempts them mislead the people. The Union ! it is a constant vortex in which the great minds of the country are swallevel, and these great minds have power enough for the time being, over the political parties, to mould their Savery protest of the public heart.

Bear with me a moment, while I illustrate what I mean. There have been frequent occasions and positions in States precisely similar to our own. Switzerland is an instance ; Holland is an instance ;-both of them situated exactly, in regard to European despotism, as New England is in regard to American. Let me take Holland as an illustration.

You know that the petty province of Holland rose against the Spanish Empire, and vindicated its indeendence. The inhabitants redeemed their soil from the ocean; they actually made the very land on which they lived, and it required's great proportion of their elections to retain that land from the ocean, year after year. Now, the commerce of Holland was with England, with France, with Germany, with Spain, and with Italy. She was the great mother of eastern commerce; she led the way in the opening of new seas. So far as the great money power was consumed. Louis XIV. could bring to bear on Amsterdam and the Hague, all the power that New Orleans and Charlesten can bring bear on Boston and New York. He could tempt the nerchants. He could make grass grow-upon their sharves, and could make their ships rot in their harbors. He could cut off their trade, could starve the common people, and bankrupt the rich; and he did it or nearly a century : and yet, spite of all his efforts, although he crushed the commerce of the Dutch, although he ruined their merchants, although he covered their scanty soil with armies, still, the love of liberty, unbroken by bankruptcy and want of bread, was strong enough in that little State, led on by a pulpit that had no temptation from gold, to defeat Louis, though he represented the money power of his age, and the monarchical element besides. The populace was ready to take ship with the Prince of Orange, and acually desert their country, leave it to the waters, and found a new colony beneath the Southern cross. This is what Helland could do, severed from intimate union

with the great States of Europe. Now, I maintain that the reason why New England, with the same Puritanism, with the same love of liberty, with the same indignant self-respect at the comncement, has bowed her neck, time and again, so often and so vilely, to the Slave Power, is because her pulpit and her merchants have been led astray by that great political relation which has smothered the sentiment of freedom in the masses. Break off New England from this unboly compact with death and this cover nant with hell, place her as Holland stood to France to Charles the Second, to Germany and to Spain, an you shall see De Ruyters and De Witts in the land of the Pilgrims ; you shall yet see the spirit of the old Covenanters going to the battle-field for the rights of man. This is the charge that I make against the Union: that it has done just what Louis XIV. would have done, could be have made Holland a province of France. And the object of the labors of this Anti-Slavery Society in breaking down the Union is, that we may place Massachusetts and New England, and New fork and Ohio, and all of the free States, in the same relation to the Slave Power that is forming its empire about us, that Holland stood so long to the monarchies of France and of England. And then, in the place of Mitchels and Websters and Everetts, we will give you De Witts and De Ruyters, who shall lead a navy and an army, if necessary, in defence of justice and humanity, trea though the Slave Power sweep into her lap Nebrasla and Brazil.

I am anxious to impress this truth upon you; for if there be any thing written in history, it is the noble

ed States Treasury to enable them, with the surplus linois; it has not settled the West; it has not ploughed own chains. But, thank God, there is another Massaplause)-whom no broad sign of infidel blasphemy, writhing under the lash on the plantations of Louisians away. There is another Massachusetts, that sends their hands was ever meant to have for its cement the rising of this glorious nineteenth century in his hand, and crushed it all. The great leader, in whom every hope was garnered, for whom all hearts were beating, veiled his crest and went down. The State was bankrupt; her scale kicked the beam. We are here to do ing soil, and she devotes herself hereafter to undoing, if it may be, the great wrong that he did to the slave (applause). This is the other Massachusetts; and we mean to make her so restive, so disorganizing, that if the South will not go out of the Union, she will kick not pursue this subject any further. Massachusetts out. We will not stay together ; we will not assist in this great conspiracy against justice. We will not assist, at any rate, in this great extension of Slavery empire. Our devoted efforts shall be to break up the very formative elements, to tear up the root of this evil; to change the educational sources of the country; to make the very commencement of American life

different.

I have endeavered to describe to you Edward Everett.
I tried to add no epithet of blame as I did it. I would like to have you forget the man, and think of the schools and pulpits of Massachusetts that made him. No Anti-Slavery effort is worth any thing, that does not undertake to change these. It is no great matter for liberty, if Nebraska triumphs to-day. All political triumphs erash. But how soon, and what is our duty in the Christ, and him crucified'-not glorified, but crucifiedpremises, are altogether different questions. remises, are altogether different questions.

Let me point out to you, for a moment, the fosition

have spoken is permanent. This Government is in constant session ; it never goes away ; it never intermits. | chattel. (Applause.) Wellington, when he fought the battle of Waterloo, you If there had been time, he was going to give to the centre of his post, six or eight deep. They stood with clerical brethren, and their position touching the antifixed bayonets; and no matter what cavalry, no matter how many cannon, no matter what force was brought to show the extreme hostility of the clergy, generally, how many cannon, no matter what street to show the extreme to show ken, on their dead bodies another stood fixed; and it recated the spirit and language of the abolitionists was by this central anchor that, against the maddest accusing the latter of retarding the work of emancipal efforts of French enthusiasm, he gained the day. Now tion, and declaring that the Southern slaveholders would efforts of French enthusiasm, he gained the day. Now the Government, which is the Slave Power, is just like this—a hundred thousand men and twenty millions of dollars capital in constant session, with nothing else to do but to bribe Everetts, to buy up Websters, and to seduce Mitchels; with nothing else to do but to create seduce Mitchels; which is the Southern statement and the seduce seduce Mitchels and the seduce seduce Mitchels and the seduce sedu public opinion ; and if it cannot be created to-day, can bounded by 36 deg. 30 min. North latitude, and makwait till to-morrow. There it sits perpetually—no spring, no winter; no night, no day—sleepless and vigStates of the Union, they had nevertheless been assailed ilant. If Nebraska is defeated to-day by the hot fury of in the fiercest manner and with the vilest epithets, in the North, the Government can wait until it cools. She Congress and out of it—a most righteous retribution can say with the old English baron, 'I bide my time.' Mr. G. read extracts from various Southern journals. If Mr. Summer and Mr. Hale, if Mr. Greeley and Mr. denouncing the clerical remonstrants as guilty of treato-day, you cannot keep the North at a white heat forever; she will cool to-morrow. The merchant goes natives—either to give battle, in the name of God, to home to his counting-room, the lawyer to his client, the the Slave Power, as it presents itself, a hideous devil; doctor to his patient, the clergyman to his parish, and or else openly to deny that there is any God, and pay the flying militia of reform is dissolved , the guerilla homage to this devil as one exalted above all that troops and hastily levied soldiers of reform, every man with a different motto-Sumner with his 'No Slavery extension,' Greeley with his patent Whigism, somebody else with his Democracy-will soon disband and go home. To-day we are melted, and cohere by an enthusiastic purpose, but you cannot keep men at work forever. National interests come in. We must eat and drink, attend to business, and support our families; and we go home. Meantime, the Government, unrelenting, always in session, always rich, stands ready to home. To-day we are melted, and cohere by an enthulenting, always in session, always rich, stands ready to buy up and bully, to circumvent and to undermine; tees aforesaid. that is the reason why she carries all questions. She is ever there-and the moment the weak hour comes, she seizes it for her purpose.

A man can at times be wound up to the pitch of he-rolem, and fling down martyrdom under his feet, and face the stake ; but a million of men are not martyrs. Martin Luther was at a burning heat all his life; and enthusiasm of the pioneer of the Anti-Slavery cause (Mr. Garrison). But saints do not march in regiments, and martyrs do not travel in battalions; they come lant, that the Government cannot outwit and undersave the slave is so to arrange political circumstances, that there shall be no such Government in existence.

What has the Union ever done for us? Absolutely nothing. I challenge any man to-day to tell me what it has ever done. Every one of us pays five dollars on every coat-for what? That there may be a national It is printed, and makes a pamphlet of 24 pages. treasury full of gold; that great men may go to Washington to make each other President. There was an old Swedish statesman, who told his son to remember attention of the audience for a few moments to the state with how little wisdom the world was governed. The of slavery in America. Geographically viewed, our whole world must be governed with very little wisdom country is beautiful exceedingly. Here is the foundaindeed, for this nation manages to govern without any tion of a great nation; not a nation, but a common wisdom at all. Congress is engaged year after year in wealth, with differences enough in blood to make a new making Presidents, and but little else, while the Slave race of men, and much better than the Anglo-Saxon Power is engaged in nothing but getting additional ter- The Eastern and Western sections of the country are the ritory; in the meantime, the practical working Gov- finest portions of it. What a spectacle it is ! A nation ernment goes along of itself. While Douglas and Cass not eighty years old, so great in its cradle! All this are making Presidents, Sumner and Chase are resisting their being made. It is a regular cock-pit for the the people and their God—no Popes to impose their contention of champions, and the utmost hope of success that the most sanguine lover of liberty indulges, is that the battle will be a drawn one. [App ause.] He does not hope for victory. What does Greeley hope from the Union? Why, that he will raise up a terrible North, that is to do-what? To defeat Nebraska, to sand inhabitants. The nation is the wealthiest, nex prevent Douglas from becoming President! Well, sup- to England, on the face of the globe. Above all this pose he does; Cuba is the next issue, and you will have rises the great American idea—that every man is enti-as many Douglases to defeat as you will wait for. tled to certain inalienable rights, on which the governas many Douglases to defeat as you will wait for.

My old mathematical professor at college used to say, ment must rest. Above that is the other idea—on hat man could not invent a perpetual-motion machine, God, one Christianity, whose worship is love. that man could not invent a perpetual-motion machine, because the resistance to be overcome was always equal to the power to propel; and that the difficulty about the aspect presented to the victims of European despo every machine got up for that purpose was, that it tism by this country. But when you come nearer, the would not go. Well, our Government is exactly the land is black with elavery. More than one eighth of same; our fathers erected it, and supposed it was a the citizens are called cattle, and the rights of human-machine that would move perpetually in favor of liberity must not be extended.

struggle of the artisans of Holland, for a whole century, against the literature and the money of a despotism similar exactly, and almost as powerful as those that are leagued to-day against liberty.

I said there were two Massachusetts. There is one that fall that sends Exercit to the Sarate. There is one that fall have been a little too powerful for the North, and, so far, the perpetual motion has been on the wrong side; it has censed to move in favor of liberty. Sanguing men, like my excellent friends Summer and Hale, that sends Exercit to the Sarate. There is one that fall have been a little too powerful for the North, and, so far, the perpetual motion has been on the wrong side; it has censed to move in favor of liberty. Sanguing men, like my excellent friends Summer and Hale, I said there were two Massachusetts. There is one that sends Everett to the Senate. There is one that follows in long procession the dust of Webster to his grave; that meets year after year to celebrate his obsequies, or his birth; that is always crying 'Peace,' 'Peace,' 'Let us go and make money;' that is busy at Lowell and Lawrence in making a tariff that shall fill the Unitfunds, to buy up all the real virtue there is at Wash-ington, and to vote for the Nebraska bill; that stands New York does not make money because South Carolina bent over her forges and looms, diligently forging her whips negroes. She can do it without. I proclaim my belief, that a Yankee can make money, even if the Southchusetts; it is the Massachusetts which crowds, Sunday after Sunday, the spacious four-thousand-people-holding walls of Theodore Parker's church (great apwritten by a recreant church over its portals, can scare No Union to which Adams and Hancock and Jay put Charles Summer to fill her Webster's place, (applanse,) blood of the slave. [Applause.] And if to-day one of and hopes that if he is not perfect, he is at least an improvement (laughter). There is another Massachu- with disunion, he would say, 'Children, do us the jusetts, which feels, as we do here, that it owes a deep tice to believe that we did not intend the foul trick that debt to liberty and justice. Our Webster incurred it has been wrought upon you; that, with the experience all. When he proved traiter to the North, he made the of sixty years, we would now bid you not to hold back State bankrupt, so far as her debt and credit account your hands, but to dash in fragments the proof of our with liberty is concerned. We put Bunker Hill, and only, but our fatal mistake, to blot out the only record Hancock, and Adams, into one scale; we add Concord that humanity has against our memory.' It is but jus-Hancock, and Adams, into one scale; we and concord and Lexington to that scale; and yet he stood there tice to the past to suppose that they did not mean to with the hopes of millions, with the public opinion just leave us such a legacy as they have done. Do you suppose of this glorious nineteenth century in his hand, pose that if Samuel Adams had foreseen Webster, he would not have cut off his right hand before he would have sanctioned the American Constitution? Do you suppose that if he had foreseen Everett, he would no have fainted before he would have lifted up his prayer what little we can in the way of protest; at least, we for the perpetuity of this Union? Do you suppose that owe a great labor to endeavor to pay that debt to liber- if he could have seen the Court-house of Boston hung ty and justice. This Massachusetts, of which we speak, in chains, in order that men might be kept silent while has laid his dust with its sins and sorrows in the pity- a slave was carried back to his master, he would not have protested against a Government which made it

But I have already occupied more time than I should have done on an occasion like the present, and I will

Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER next addressed the assen bly in a brief, energetic, uncompromising speech, which we are obliged to defer this week.

Mr. GARRISON then came forward, and said he should not trespass long upon the courtesy or patience of the meeting, at that late hour. Enough had already been said to inspire every heart with a just sense of the glo rious nature of the anti-slavery enterprise.

As for himself, if they wished to know aught respec ing his patriotism or piety, he had but a single test to present-THE SLAVE! He had no Constitution, no Union, no country, no Bible, no God, aside from THE SLAVE, until the hour when the victim should be loosed from his chains, lifted up from his degradation into the sunlight of heaven, placed upon his feet, and recognized are deceptive. In the true sense of the word, to the as a whole man. (Applause.) Eighteen hundred years man who believes in God, liberty is never beaten; she ago, an apostle, now honored as a saint, but then deem is always victorious. If the South adds Nebraska to ed a madman and a heretic, boldly proclaimed, 'I am her territory, in the end she only falls with a greater determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus between two thieves-the worst of them both. So, in similar spirit, he trusted, and under analogous circum n which we stand. It is this: This Union of which I stances, he (Mr. G.) was determined to know nothing,

will recollect, stationed a solid square of infantry in the audience some refreshing reminiscences in regard to his French cavalry made an onset, and one rank was bro-Benton, if Sam Houston and the North, defeat the South son, blasphemy, &c. In concluding his remarks, he said called God. (Loud applause.)

The following resolution was then offered by Mr. Garrison, which was adopted :

Resolved. That at a time when the churches of the

After singing another Hymn, the Society adjourned.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEW YORK CITY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The first annual meeting of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society (auxiliary to the American A. S. Societhe white ashes have never yet covered the burning ty) was held in the Broadway Tabernacle on Friday evening last. The speakers announced for the occasi were Rev. Theodore Parker, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. Notwithstanding the admission fee alone, once in an age. You cannot create an Anti- of 124 cents, the spacious building was densely crowded Slavery sentiment so durable, so unrelenting, so vigi- by as intelligent and weighty an assembly as ever convened for any purpose in that city; and the stronges mine it; consequently, the only way in which you can demonstrations of approval were manifested throughout

the proceedings.

The meeting was called to order by LAURENCE WET. MORE, Esq., the President of the Society.

The Chairman introduced Rev. Mr. Max, of Massa chusetts, who opened the exercises with prayer.

The annual report was alluded to by the Presiden

Rev. THEODORE PARKER, of Boston, would ask the

What a contrast this seems to Europe ! And this

Mr. Parker read from the Richmond Enquirer, to preve that the leading idea of the South was in accordance with the above statement. In spite of law, slave-ry has gone to California, and in the State in whose capital twelve hundred murders have been con in one year, slavery has been very properly legalized for a short time, preparatory to its final establishment. Senator Foote, whose brother is a slave, threatened to hang John P. Hale on the highest pine in Alabama, behang John P. Hale on the highest pine in Alabama, because he was the only man that dared to be true to between two seventy-fours, and crushed by their imme freedom. There is not one spot of free soil, from Noot-diate contact. (Cries of 'Go on !' and general laughte ka Sound to Key West. In no part of the country is and applause.) Mr. G. declining to proceedthere freedom, except the five thousand acres that Dan-iel Webster surrendered to Ashburton in 1842. (Hisses

and applause.)

The President should be sworn upon a negro's back he should be sworn to protect no laws but fugitive slave laws—no property but slaves. The Supreme Court is slave court, the Senate is a slave Senate, the Senators are overseers. Mr. Douglas is a great overseer, and Mr. Everett is a little overseer. (Laughter and appeared), that we may fulfil the announcement that brought you to this hall. ('Go on, go on.') Allow the statistics and facts laws—no property but slaves. The Supreme Court is a slave court, the Senate is a slave Senate, the Senators home at 10 o'clock; ('No, no!' applause,) and white man's child, but will give none to children of the me to comment somewhat upon the statistics and facts same color that Madison left behind him. (Hisses and which our friend Mr. Parker has just presented to you. applause.) It is a crime to teach these children their He told us of the wealth of New York and of the pover-letters, that they may spell out their Bibles. At the ty of Virginia, and he laid before us, amply and in de-North, the black man is shut out of the meeting-houses tail, all the items. Had he had a little more time, I because he is black, although, according to their theory, he may sit in heaven with the just men made perbalance sheet. It would have been this: Poor as she is, fect. The black man is driven out of the graveyard, even. Only the gallows and the jail are open to the black man. The press is generally the friend of slavery. By the old Virginia law, when a slave had three Casar describes, 'What she wills, she wills with a will,' fourths white blood in his veins, he became free. It is and with all her eighty-seven thousand men that canno fourths white blood in his veins, he occasion that to read and write, she rules the nation. The aggregate three fourths white. This being the fact, it was pro-posed to repeal the law, and make the standard nine have un Walster. Virginis exerbid us. Court up you posed to repeal the law, and make the standard nine tenths. Now, Mr. Jefferson left children by his slaves, and, before they could be free, their female descendants cavern make daylight, and yet the South has the magic might bear slave children to slave Presidents, from Jef- to buy up all your Everetts and Websters. Your mer

his recent treatise on races, he had sold himself to the mous swindle. It is a noble effort, and they will do support of slavery, and all the Southern press have their utmost. I believe the old spirit of 1820 is alive joined in the exultation over his defection. Mr. again. What Rufus King and Harry Otis tried to de Mitchel comes over here, and has the reputation of be-ing a brave man; but here, the Irish Apostle is only Mr. Parker told us that the great New Hampshire the slaveholder's Paddy. The Emperor of Russia, traitor was gone. Oh! no. When he lay upon his even, has liberated some three millions of his slaves. death-bed at Marshfield, he said : 'I still live!' What a contrast between the Autocrat of Russia and the slaveholding democracy of the United States! What a sight to behold, that every eighth person in the land cannot call his or her little finger their own ! brasks, which all the press and pulpits of New York And though America claimed to be an educational country, yet, throughout one half of the land, it was lives.' Wherever on the broad earth the heart of the forbidden to teach those oppressed children of toil the three letters that spell God. Though we translated the beats faster, he 'still lives,' and his spirit rules over Bible into one hundred and forty languages, and sent missionaries to every part of the world, the only mishis whip, in place of a Bible. The Scandinavian, the fiend for every lover of liberty. . . German, the French, all hate slavery, except the Irish, who, as a general thing, side with the slaveholders. position to this iniquity. (Applause.)

very, though in his latter days, he made ample amends considerable hissing.) for his acts of omission. All the Presidents, Secretaries and office-holders are and have been pro-slavery men. Pierce himself, in his inaugural, took sides decisively were, if not pro-slavery men, at least not anti-slavery of Vermont, which, however, was in no way a commerstitution, had effectually controlled the country since litionists, are the men, and the only men, who have ut-

The speaker then went on to say that, however public opinion might change in regard to politics, national of all those aggressions by slavery upon the cause of banks, tariffs, donations of the public lands, &c., it freedom, there is one thing in which they have not never changed in respect to slavery. He referred to succeeded, that is, the right of free speech-of peti-States as being especially valuable, and contended that ed to break them down; in that case she failed. Let those States were by no means as wealthy and pros- us never, then, surrender this manhood of thinking for perous as their natural advantages would permit them ourselves-of denouncing men and parties-no matter to be, if slavery were abolished. The speaker then how boldly and frankly-who are recreant to the cause read an immense array of figures relative to the popu- of freedom. And let us go home with this lesson : That lation, school statistics, land under cultivation, circu- 'it is right to learn from the enemy,' and that what lation of newspapers, number of persons able to read prosperous New York and New England want is, not to and write, and an enormous quantity of other partie- read and write more—to make more money—but it is ulars, occupying nearly half an hour in the reading of to imitate the 'pluck' of the South-to stand by you them—all of which he requested the reporters to give in extenso. The gist of the argument, however, was to show that New York was a greater State in point of as gallantly by New York as the Southern men do by numbers, wealth and commerce, than Virginia. He the South. (Loud applause.) That applause is very then touched upon the Gadsden treaty, and the Nebras-grateful; send it to Washington incarnated in a repre-ka bill, and branched off to the acquisition of Cuba. sentative who will speak it. [Cheers.] Do not send ka bill, and branched off to the acquisition of Cuba. He expressed it as his belief, that Lopez met with a deserved fate when he lost his life on the scaffold. This was another move, he believed, to extend slavery ; but he thought that England, on account of her Spanish debt, would not consent to our acquiring Cuba. Moreover, he understood that there was an agreement between England and Spain to emancipate all the slaves in Cuba within twenty years. Then, as to our attack-ing the island, he would remind his hearers that the Captain General had a document in his pocket, authorizing him to free and arm the blacks at such a moment as he saw fit. The fastnesses of the island, the vomito, and other diseases, would render the conduct of a war extremely difficult. Besides that, Spain would issue letters of marque. How, then, would the stocks in Wall and State streets be, when the news of the seizure of our ships was received?

better things-the good wine last.

Mr. P. went on amid many signs of dissatisfaction and impatience, having, up to this period, occupied two Hon. Mark Spencer presided, supported by many promhours. He contrasted that large assembly with the fact inent Whigs and Democrats. Among the speakers were that Messrs. Garrison and Phillips, a few years ago, Messrs. B. F. Butler, R. N. Havens, T. Fessenden, and were unable to get a hall in this city, in which to hold several working men. Spirited resolutions were adopta meeting. In the course of his observations, when ed amid great cheering. The purport of them is denunspeaking about the exclusion of the word 'slavery' ciatory of all who vote in favor of the Bill, and pledgfrom the Constitution, yet the influence of that institu- ing to withhold votes from all such for any public oftion controlled the government of the country, whether fice hereafter. It is also proposed to establish an effi-Whig or Democrat, he related what he termed an old cient scheme for emigration to Nebraska. Good! legend, to the following effect:—Before the flood, there existed a monstrous giant that they called Gog; and sideration of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause genwhen the waters were rising, and the ark was about to erally, the appeal made in an article we have copied in float, he waded towards it, avoiding the deep holes, another column from the Ohio A. S. Bugle, in behalf of (laughter,) and asked Noah to take him on board. But Captain Noah said :- 'No, I can't take you on board ; ficing advocate of the slave, JAMES W. WALKER. The you are a dangerous fellow, and you'll make trouble. Bugle states that donations may be forwarded to Bex-I dare not take you on board; and he shut down JAMIN BOWN or JAMES BARNABY, of Salem, Ohio, which the window of the ark. (Renewed merriment.)—
'Go to thunder,' said Gog, 'I'll ride, after all'; sent to R. F. Wallour, 21 Cornhill, will be thankfully and he put his foot on the side of the ark, and got acknowledged and promptly forwarded. astride on it, with his right leg on the starboard and his left on the larboard, and so he was enabled to steer the ark whatever way he pleased, and made things very uncomfortable within. It was so [Mr. P. resumed] with comfortable within. It was so [Mr. P. resumed] with the Constitution ; they would not take slavery in-there was no such word to be found in it—but it was allowed to get astride, and it had ever since governed the country, and made things very uncomfortable within.

At last, fresh evidence of impatience and wearing being manifested by the audience, in consequence of the great length of his speech, the lateness of the hour, and a desire to hear the other speakers that had been advertised in the programme, (Messrs Garrison and Phillips,) Mr. Parker gave way to

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, who came forward and said-Ladies and gentlemen : You have been told that the 'good wine 'was reserved for the close of this feast. No better wine can be furnished than that with which you have been so abundantly supplied; and as I am a temperance man, I object to giving you a drop too much on this occasion. (Laughter.) As between Theodore Parker on the one hand, and Wendell Phillips WENDELL PHILLIPS next took the platform, and was

warmly greeted. He spoke in substance as follows:— Ladies and gentlemen, I am well aware, with the last speaker, who has so gracefully, and I think unneces rily left the stand, that while slavery is holding its midchants meet to-morrow in the Park-God bless them-In relation to Mr. Agassiz, Mr. Parker said, that by (loud cheers,)-to send up a protest against this infa

the New York merchants meet with yokes upon their necks to protest against an evil they cannot help, he still lives.' On those untrodden mountains of N and New England could not save for freedom-he 'still victim sinks within him, and the pulse of the tyran the blackening storm against freedom. These words come back to us in the plaintive accents of a dying sionary that approached the slave was the overseer with man, but almost in the jeering laugh of the mocking Mr. P. then went on to say that we always ha

either slaves or slaveholders for Presidents. He pre-He would like to see a Catholic priest come out in op- ferred the latter to the former. If we had no dough faces at the North, he contended, there would be no The voice of commerce here in New York was hostile at Washington. The great evil, however, was in 'Gog, to freedom, as was also the greater part of the capital and he went for throwing him off the ark. Then, speak of Massachusetts. The coastwise slave-trade was a ing of Webster, Mr. P. said he could not afford to for profitable business to capitalists. In the year 184-, a get men whose evil lived after them. (Hisses and apship, named the Edward Everett, carried negroes on plause.) When we go back into Paradise, (continued two voyages between Baltimore and the extreme South. Mr. P.) I will myself speak well of Satan: until I do, A fit name, indeed. (Applause, and some hissing.) I mean to call him 'devil.' (Laughter.) When you The great men—the great major prophets—Clay, Cal- make the grave at Marshfield large and strong enough houn, and Webster, were prophets of slavery and to place in it the Fugitive Slave Law, and bind it down against freedom. (Hisses and loud applause.) Even with the seal of Solomon, I will consent to apply to Web-John Q. Adams, as President, did nothing against sla- ster no epithet, except one of praise. (Applause, and This element of slavery was deranging our compass

on all sides. It seems but common sense, then, to change the whole relations of the country, and get rid of alawith the South. In the States, too, all the Governors very and its influence over the politics and religion of the land. Where are those 3000 clerical protestants against in their professions of political faith, with the exception slavery? Why have they not made the land tremble beneath the force of their rebuke to Senator Douglas, for cial State. Slavery, though not mentioned in the Con- the insults he has heaped upon them? We, the abotered our indignation against his attacks; the clergymen of the North, who were insulted, are silent! But the gold dollar-the working loom-the bushel of grain from the Genesee country; send you a man who will rally round Gener Smith. [Applause and hisses.] Send you a man as true as SEWARD, and a little wiser, [applause,] for Seward is a man, I think, that would change Captain Noah for a better one; whereas, I would have him put his head out of the window, and pull 'Gog' off the Ark by one of his legs. [Laughter and

applause.]

The audience separated immediately after Mr. Phillips had closed his remarks.

The Nebraska Bill is still under discussion in the Iouse of Representatives. The past week has been one of great excitement in the House, and one of the sessions lasted all night (36 hours) before an adjournment could be effected. We have no room for particulars (Stamping of feet, and signs of impatience.)

The opponents of the Bill are contending gallantly, but Mr. P.—Pardon me, my friends; you will soon have we fear ineffectually. The South always conquers.

Another great Anti-Nebraska meeting was held in the Park, at New York, on Saturday afternoon last.

of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society.

An able and valuable Sermon on 'The Signs of the Times,' by Rev. Fiske Barrett, of Scituate, may be found on our last page. Also, an interesting letter from Rev. Hiram Wilson, of Canada West.

The article on our first page, from the pen Richard Hildreth, Esq., is taken from his masterly work, entitled * Despotism in America. We can find no room, this week, for the proceed-

ings at the business meetings of the American Society.

A SLAVE-CATCHER IN WORCESTER.

Mr. Garrison—Will you please call attention to the fact, that Charles Dryers, Jr., Esq., late U. S. Marshal—principal slave-hunter in the Sims and other Boston slave cases—under whose auspices the Boston Court-House was surrounded with chains, which none but 'gentlemen from the South could pass without a perfrom him-has just opened a law-office in Worce

This caution may be needed for the safety of fugitive slaves, who, relying on the anti-slavery reputation e this city, may direct their course hither. Yours, WORCESTER.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

The Annual Meeting of the New England Anti-Sla very Convention will be held in Boston, in the MELO-DEON, OR TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 30th and 31st, and June 1st, commencing at 10 o'clock.

No trumpet-call, especially in a crisis like the present, is deemed necessary in order to bring together, on this occasion, those who are sincere, earnest and uncompromising in their hostility to slavery, and also such as are honestly inquiring, for the first time, what are their responsibilities and duties in regard to that hideous system. Knowing that the platform of the Convention is free for all, whatever may be their peculiar views on the subject, and rejoicing that another favorable opportunity will be afforded to arouse the Northern mind, and to give a staggering blow to that Demoniac Power which rules the land, they will rally after the manner of '76, but with no sectional or personal feelings, and with a desire to save all, to destroy

'Up, then, for Freedom !—not in strife,
Like that our sterner fathers saw—
The awful waste of human life—
The glory and the gullt of war:
But break the chain—the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God." Made mighty through the living God.' FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLOUT, Sec.

NEW ENGLAND

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

The undersigned respectfully invite

All citizens of New England who believe in the right of laborers to control their own earnings;

All who believe in a fair day's wages for a fair day's All who believe in the equal right of all children in the community to all public provisions for education;

All who believe in the right of human beings to determine their own 'proper sphere' of action;
All who believe in the right of all to a trial by a jury of their peers ;

All who believe that ' taxation without representation is tyranny';
All who believe in the right of adult Americans to

have a voice in electing the Government whose laws control them : To meet in Convention, at Bosron, on FRIDAY, the 2d of June next, to consider whether these rights shall

continue to be limited to one half the members of this Community. Paulina W. Davis, Sarah H. Earle. Samuel W. Wheeler. David A. Wasson, S. Crosby Hewitt, Asa Fairbanks. Anna Talbot Fairbanks. Harrietta C. Ingersoll

Tho. Wentworth Higginson, Joseph Henry Allen, James Freeman Clarke, Amory Battles, Mary Ann Laughton Lucy Stone, B. P. Dearne, A. D. Mayo, Mary F. Dearne, Harriot K. Hunt. Sarah H. Pillsbury Anna Q. T. Parsons, P. B. Cogswell, Wendell Phillips, C. I. H. Nichols, Ann G. Phillips. William I. Bowditch Gertrude H. Burleigh.

Paulina Gerry, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Adin Ballou. Lucy H. Ballou,

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE PRIENDS. This Association will convene for mutual help and

edification, and for the discharge of its appropriate duties as a religious body, in the meeting-house at Old Kennett, Chester County, on First day, the 21st of Fifth ment, from day to day, as long as necessity may re

TO YOUNG MEN .-- PLEASANT AND PROPITA-BLE EMPLOYMENT.-Young Men in every neighborhood may obtain healthful, pleasant and profitable employment, by engaging in the sale of useful and popular Books, and canvassing for our popular Journals. For terms and particulars, address, post-paid,

FOWLERS & WELLS, 308, Broadway, New York April 28

Connection. The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges to have received Twenty-Five Dollars from D. B. Morey of Boston, in redemption of his pledge made at the annual meeting in 1853. This payment was made many months since, but by inadvertence was then credited to another gen

REFORMATION OF PRISONERS_A ing on the subject of Prison Discipline will be held dur-ing Anniversary Week. Place to be announced next week.

MRS. C. S. BROWN will deliver an address in the City Hall, Roxbury, on Sunday evening next, at 72 o'clock. Subject—State Reform School for Girls.

REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Mystic, Conn. Sunday, May 21.

Mystic, Conn. Tuesday eve'g, 21.

East Greenwich Wednes. 24.

Coventry. Thurs. 25.

Knightsville Friday, 26.

Pawtucket. Sunday, 28.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture on Human Relations and Duties, on Sunday next, May 21st, afternoon and evening, in Leyden Hall, in Plymouth

SPIRITUALISM

SPIRITUALISM.

One or more members of the Association of Governmentizers, in the Spiritual World, will speak through their Agent, Eliza J. Kenny, in Salem, on Sunday evening, 21st inst., in Lyceum Hall, at 7½ o'clock.

Admittance, 10 cents, to defray expenses.

The address of LUCY STONE, during the ensuing summer, will be at Gardner, Mass., care of Mr. Lau-rence. Friends will be careful to make the addition, as there is another Lucy Stone in the place.

PORTRAIT OF MR. GARRISON

THOSE who would secure early and good impression should engage them without delay. A few processes remain, at \$1 25 each. The others are offer at \$1.

at S1.

Persons at a distance can have them safely enveloped and mailed for eight cents, if pre-paid.

Frames can be furnished to order, including oval and square. Gilt and dark wood at prices varying from \$1 25 to \$5 00, and upwards.

The approaching New England Anti-Slavery Convention will afford the friends a fitting opportunity to avail themselves of the long-hoped-for faithful portrait of the great anti-slavery Pionect.

Apply to WM. C. NELL, May 20.

21 Cornhill.

MARRIAGE AND PARENTAGE: or, the Reproductive Element in Man, as a means to his elevation and happiness. By Henry C. Wright. The Present is the Child of the Past, and the Parent of the Euture. Price, 50 cents. Just published and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 15 Franklin street.

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POETRY.

From the Onondaga Gazette. NOSES TO GRIND. ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY

Said to have been recently issued from the United St Senate, in secret session, and done into metre. BY THE MAN IN THE MASK

Ho, noses to grind! Any noses to grind? We've a new patent grindstone, the best of its kind : A machine Senatorial. Ready to go for all, Sham politicians and Northern B'hoys,

By one Mr. Douglas, of great Illinois Chorus-Ho, noses to grind, Any noses to grind, Here's a ready-made nose Grinder, going it blind.

It's an elegant article, surely that same, It grinds for all sections, of every name; On grounds Presidential. Endorsed, so it goes, by one General Frank, While the valorous Senate sit turning the crank. Chorus-Ho, noses to grind! &c

Then walk up, Young America; this the good cause is Down with you; no skulking; apply your proboseis: The vista of glory See it open before you;

O, a God-send this grindstone is, now can we tell, Who carries the cheapest tough conscience to sell.

Charus—Ho, noses to grind ! &c.

Pretty figure you cut with a nose of your own, When all men of mark have them ground to the bone See how early it musters All brave Fillibusters, And every would-be renowned politician With his nose on the grindstone in courtly submis

Chorus-Ho, noses to grind ! &c.

Look at Mitchel, that terror to Liberty's foes. Down on his marrow-bones, grinding his nose O, isn't he beautiful. Humble and dutiful. Meekly imploring some windfall to claim a Fine lot of fat niggers in sweet Alabama! Chorus-Ho, noses to grind ! &c.

Come, then, all ye Northern tools, brave second fiddlers, Office-seekers, Judge Griers, and Jeremy Diddlers; You're wanted, there's glory And office before ye; Keen your eve on the spoils and your nose on the stone

Till your honorable lickspittle service is done. Chorus-Ho, noses to grind, &c And ye, who have other men's noses in keeping,

Up with you! be stirring! no slumbering nor sleeping, To mount on the pinion Of slavery's minion! Bring your men! lick the dust! show yourselves the true mettle.

Or, walk up to the next captain's office and settle! Chorus-Ho, noses to grind ! Any noses to grind? Here's a ready-made nose Grinder going it blind.

> THE 'NEB-RASCALITY.' A SONG FOR THE TIMES,

As sung at the Concerts given by the Hutchin

Sung to the Air of ' Dandy Jim.' Kind friends, with your permission, I Will sing a few short stanzas, About this new ' Nebraska Bill.' Including also Kansas; All how they had it 'cut and dried,' To rush it through the Senate, Before the people rallied, and Before they'd time to mend it.

11., 111., IV. Air- Yankee Doodle.

Iniquity so very great, Of justice so defiant, Of course, could only emanate From brain of mighty giant. This giant now is very small, As all of you do know, sirs: But then there is no doubt at all, That he expects to grow, sirs.

There is one thing more I ought to say, And that will make us even: It is to mention, by the way, This giant's name is-Stephen. Fo, fi, fo, fum,

I smell the blood of free-dom; Fe, fi, fo, fum, Dead or alive, I will have some." Oh, terribly this giant swore, And language such as I cannot

Engraft into my verses. There was a giant once before, And with a sling they slew him; That Stephen could be slued with one, No one would say who knew him.

Air- Burial of Sir John Moore.' Twas at the dead of night they met, (So I'm informed the case is,) Stephen in person leading on The army of 'dough-faces.' They voted, at the dead of night While all the land was sleeping, That all our sacred, blood-bought rights Were not worth the keeping.

Air- Yankee Doodle,' double quick time. Ah! bless those old forefathers, in Their Continental ' trowsers. Who in their wisdom looked so far And organized two houses-So let them shout, their time is short. They'll very soon be stiller-For in the House they'll find a boy Called ' Jack the Giant Killer.'

Air-Scots who ha' wi' Wallace bled.' And now, kind friends, for once and all, Let's swear upon the altar Of plighted faith and sacred truth To fight and never falter; That Liberty and Human Rights Shall be a bright reality. And we'll resist, with all our might, This monstrous Ne-brask-ality

THE PIRST ROBIN OF SPRING, I am Robin the First, of the kingdom of song, And my throne is the bough of the old cherry tree The zephyrs of Spring bear my mandates along, And the gentle and good are all subject to me.

Glad, glad is the home near whose precincts I stay, A grant to abide I'll repay with delight; My matin shall cheer it at dawn of the day, And my vesper hymn bless it at coming of night.

As when in the gay bowers of Eden 'twas sung. I sing to the world my melodious strain; And the heart that is sad the earth's discords May turn, with my notes, back to Eden again.

I'm Robin the First, of the kingdom of song, My sceptre the power of melody sweet; he Summer's glad months my rule shall prolong. And its flowery trophies be laid at my feet.

THE LIBERATOR

The Signs of the Times.

ASERMON Preached at Scituate, on Fast Day, April 6, 1854 BY REV. FISKE BARRETT. Matthew avi. 3- Can ye not discern the signs of th

This is Fast Day, as it is called-a day prof set spart for Public Humiliation and Prayer. Originally, this day meant something; the people generall felt the need of it, and made a proper use of it. it is but little better than a farce; hardly as good, for that makes no pretensions to be what it is not, and it might have the virtue of putting us in good humor We confess, that we have but little respect for Fast Day, as commonly observed among us. The Governor appoints it by Proclamation: Custom opens the doors of the churches: Custom leads a few to enter there, to hear some general confessions, and some general remarks about some general short-comings; while the marks about some general short-comings; while the We confess, that we have but little respect for Fast Day, devote it to recreation, riot and excess.

But if there ever was a period in the history of any nation, when the people ought to pause in their headlong career, and set apart a day for real Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, that period is the present, and the people are our own. If men were ever called upon, with thrilling earnestness, and by every thing dear and sacred, to consider well 'the signs of the times,' we And they will be considered. Pulpits, all over the

State, which, for years, have either been dumb with respect to slavery, or its cringing apologists, will today speak out, and call it infamous. them. Men, who, three years ago, to-day, denounced all agitation of the subject, and all its agitators ; de fended the Compromise of the previous year, and the Fugitive Slave Bill,—that quintessence of villany and inhumanity,—a bill which turned the whole North into a slave-hunting ground, offered a bribe of five dollars to Northern cupidity, to induce Northern hirelings to decide in favor of oppression, and forbade, under severe penalties, any Christian citizen to obey the promptings of his soul and the precepts of his religion,-to offer food and shelter, or even 'a cup of cold water,' t a fellow-man or woman in distress, without friends, panting and struggling for what is dearer than life itself :- methinks I hear these preachers now, sounding the tocsin of alarm, calling upon their people to bestir themselves, to rise in their might, and oppose the fearful aggressions of slavery. Hear them ! How eloquent they are! How fearless and brave! How the 'pec liar institution ' gets it-that on which the safety of the Union rested, three years ago ! How anti-slavery they all are, just now! Why this change of tone and expression? Why dare the occupants of pulpits now petition protest, remonstrate and preach against slavery? Why I will tell you. Circumstances have changed a little not principles,-they never change, but remain ever the same. Another political party is in power. There is a change of Administration; and that Administration, like the one that preceded it, is giving its influence and patronage to the support and extension of sla very. It is popular, therefore, in this section, to oppose It does not cost any thing, now, to preach anti-slavery. The pews will allow the pulpits to speak. No body will be offended, unless it be some stern old Democrat, or some official, with one hand deep in the Government's coffers. It is safe and politic now to discuss and agitate the subject; and discussion and agitation

The Bill now pending in Congress, proposing to re peal the Missouri Compromise, and to open the immense and beautiful Territory of Nebraska and Kansas to slavery and slave labor, is an Administration measure. Whigs of Boston, and elsewhere, are, of course, almost to a man, firmly set against it. They make a and speeches against slavery; and the churches reiterate their old sentiments against the same, without fear just as if they had been all along the only real and consistent friends and advocates of freedom; forgetting how, with Daniel Webster for Dictator, they have ostracised, and driven out of pulpits, and out of all ' healthy organizations,' men of too much principle and integrity to make any compromise with wrong; men who felt summoned by the voice of God within them to glorious Union. After sundry shrugs of Northern oppose and protest against the Bill of 1850, because it shoulders and contortions of Northern countenances was a violation of right and justice; and because they knew full well the natural law which attaches to all wickedness, and by which alone it can grow and thrive ;-that if a single inch is yielded to the spirit of iniquity, an ell will soon be demanded. So it has proved, and so it always will.

My friends, as much as I abhor slavery and oppres sion in all their forms, as much as I fear and detest this new demand of the Slave Power, I must confess, that I cannot help looking upon this recent feeling and movement against it, these sudden converts to the cause of freedom, with distrust, and, in some instances, with contempt. I am afraid it is not based on firm, unwavering, eternal principle—on a settled, unalterable conviction, that to enslave a fellow-man is a damning sin against High Heaven. Those before me who have had their eyes open to the state of things around us for the last few years, to the shifting and shuffling of pol-Iticians and political parties, and of churches and ministers, on this subject, will be convinced that the doubt just expressed is not without some good foundation.

Take an example. Previous to the 7th of March,

1850, the prevailing party of Massachusetts was pro fessodly the true anti-slavery party, as the records of their Legislatures and Conventions will clearly show. The 'solid men,' and all the preachers, in and about the metropolis, gave their united voice against slavery Since that memorable day, and that memorable speece until recently, how great the change ! How have all ns and fine sentiments vanished in thin air; and how has the vilest thing that slavery ever in the judge's bench, and in the churches of the living God ! Conscience was derided and laughed at ; the ' Higher Law' made a jest ; man's innate sense of right and justice trampled under foot; and the moral perception of the people darkened and corrupted. Such was utation for sanity and good sense, was worth, to presume to raise his voice in opposition. 'Fools, fanatics,

idea was hooted at and frowned upon Four years have not elapsed since your speaker thought quite wild and visionary, and even guilty of an the presumption to make such a proposition in the Con mpropriety, because he stated publicly that, in his gress of the United States. Not a man would have opinion, it would require only a change of the Administration, a little shifting of circumstances and interests, to popularize what then was so odious, and to induce would bear-how servile and mean we were. There churches, ministers and politicians to advance the could hardly be a lower deep than that. It taught claim of always having been true to Liberty, and to them that there are men enough here ready and glad t proclaim doctrines and sentiments which they had just do their dirtiest work, for a price. It is an absolu repudiated. Has not that statement been verified? fact, that some of our Northern men have incurred the And now let me add, that I have not the least doubt, that, if this very Bill now before Congress had emanated from a Whig Administration, and some Daniel Webster of the party had given his voice and influence fy it. Northern judges have packed juries, and given in favor of its passage, you would have seen the very men that denounce it new, defending it as another and treated with distinguished honor Southern kidnap great 'peace measure,' with all the real and force racterized their support of the Fugitive Bill men, and these same cities, all at once seem to be

of 1850. Do you wonder, then, that I have so little freedom? Southern men laugh at them. They know what they mean and what they are worth, and have no fears. They know, that here at the North, principle are in the market, ready to be struck off to the higher bidder. Money, patronage, trade, promise of office will buy Northern men, and the South boast of it Why, this very scheme, about which there is so much Why, this very scheme, about which there is so much excitement just now, and about which so much will be boldly said to-day, is, as every body knows, not only one of the legitimate results of the Bill of 1850, and based upon it, but is a child of the North; proposed by a Committee, the majority of whom are men ; supported and urged by the President, a Northern man. What care the South about the oppos the North? Not a straw, if they can only push the mea sures through. From experience, they have learned how far they can go with impunity. Step by step have

portentous. The present gloomy prospect is the growth of many years. Our Government began with compr mising a little with slavery. Hence the few words re lating to it found in the Constitution of the United States. It was a 'peace measure,' almost pardonable in that early and unsettled state of national affairs This Government was meant to be free and republican and no man dreamed that slavery would ever becor a permanent institution. The records of those time show, that the common impression was, that it would soon die out and cease to exist. Its inconsistency wa felt and acknowledged, and therefore was barely tolern ted. From such inconsiderable and precarious beginnings, it has increased and extended itself to its presen gigantic dimensions and strength.

In 1820, it was proposed to admit Missouri into th Union as a slave State. Strong and fierce was the opposition against it. The same arguments, and the sam node of petition, were used to defeat it, as are now em ployed to defeat the Nebraska Bill. The contest was between Freedom and Slavery; and after a long and fearful struggle, Freedom yielded, and Misscuri became a slave State, under the following Act of Compromise viz. :- That in all that Territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Lou lies north of thirty-six degress and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than as the punishment of crimes shall be and is hereby for ever prohibited."

So, from that day to this, in every conflict between Slavery and Liberty, the former has triumphed. By browbeating, by bribes and threats, by getting up the ory, ' The Union is in danger !' the South has invariably gained her point. Though at first only a local personal and pecuniary interest, this institution has ucceeded in working itself up into nationality, that i has become the chief subject of legislation; has cos the Government hundreds of millions of dollars, and in all probability, will yet cost it its existence. The six years' war in Florida, with a handful of naked Seminoles, cost the Government \$42,000,000, and all for the interests of the Slave Power. Slavery caused the an nexation of Texas, in direct violation of the Constitu tion and of all right; the necessary and intended re sult of which was, war with Mexico,-a war which for injustice and barbarity, has not a parallel in th annals of the civilized world. The moving ide throughout this war was, Southern aggrandizement the extension of the area of slavery. Facts, withou limit, might be adduced in confirmation of this. It was early broached and publicly avowed at the South, and in the halls of Congress. Thus was expended, directly over \$100,000,000, and the poor, feeble Mexicans rob bed, absolutely robbed, of an immense extent of territory, comprising California and New Mexico.

Now, it came to pass, that in dividing these honorabl spoils, a difficulty arose. The South wanted the lion's share. The Union was in danger! To save that, another Compromise was offered-the Compromise 1850. You know its history, and its servile condition You know its great defender and advocate. You know how it was proposed to the freemen of the North, a the only pacificator, the great finality, that was to sto all agitation, satisfy the South for ever, and save th test of respectability and of public favor. O, how officials and private citizens vied with each other in their efforts to become conspicuous as zealous defenders and enforcers of that law! What a proud day for Boston was that, when all her judicial and martial forces were mustered, and, after prodigious exertions, succeeded is conquering, and sending back into perpetual servitude one poor colored man! How the 'solid men' gloried in that chivalrous deed! How the electric wires bore the news thereof, to the extremest South, of New England obedience ! And how the pulpits commended and congratulated the energy, the promptness, and the pi ous, self-sacrificing efforts of the worshippers below The Union was saved! Peace was restored, and all agitation was to cease. What immorality and virtua atheism-what wrong, misery and anguish-what torture of body and of mind-what corruption of public morals-what letting down of all that is manly and noble in human nature, this enactment occasioned, no longue can tell, and no pen describe. But no matter The Union was in danger, and it should be saved, at any

The work was now considered done. Every thing enceforth was to remain quiet. The two great political parties meet at Baltimore, side by side, and th creed of both is, No more discussion, no more talk about slavery. They agree to discountenance and frown down all attempts to renew the agitation of the subject On this, they are fixed and agreed. The Compron measures are final. Anti-Slavery is dead.

Pass a few brief months, and what have we? Why in effect, just what many expected and predicted. have now a Bill which proposes to repeal the Misson Compromise, and to open to slavery an immense and fertile Territory, almost as great as all the existing free States put together. The slave States alone have dethe state of feeling during this period, such the eager- rived advantage from the compromise of 1820, and not ness to do homage to this Moloch of the nation, that it they want to repeal it. Their demands were quite mod was as much as a man's position in society, or his rep- est at first, but now almost boundless. They hav sucked the life out of their own soil, and entailed curse upon it, and now ask for more. Nay, they dedisorganizers,' were the epithets applied to the few, mand it. They will dissolve the Union without it who, true to their convictions, and to the religion they They threaten and storm, as has been their wont professed, spoke earnestly and fearlessly against the in- Here, then, are millions of acres of the finest land in iquity, against the 'finality,' as it was called, against the country, lying right across, and in the very hear the 'Union-saving measures.' The people were told, of our national domain, from which free men and free repeatedly, what would be the result of that Compro- labor are to be for ever excluded, and all given up to mise; that it was not only immoral and wicked in and the insatiate demon, Slavery ! Will it be done? Can of itself, but that it would lead to greater enormities; that, from necessity, there could be no finality, no permanent peace, except in truth and justice. But the your bosoms? Now, I do not believe that there is man to be found, who, five years ago, would have had dared to offer such a Bill. The Fugitive Bill prepare the way for this. That taught the South how mu scorn and contempt of sensible men of the South, by nce of slavery. Northern theologis their eager defe have furnished Scripture proofs to sanction and decisions to support it. Northern cities have for pers and women-whippers. And now, these sa

struck with holy horror at this new aggressive move ment of the Institution they have so vigorously defended. At the South, we find, at least, uniformity and consistency. At the North, neither. We know where to find Southern men. They are true to a principle bold and earnest in maintaining it. They never dodge the question, nor require certificates to assure the publie of their ill health. They have oneness of purpose and aim. Hence their power and influence in the

Judging from the past as well as from the present we must say, that the probability is, this Bill will pass, sooner or later. The men engaged in its defence doubtess know full well their own strength, and the force at their command. They are men too shrewd and farseeing to hazard, in so desperate a game, the possibility

Nor is this the only movement on foot by the propa gandists of slavery. They are grasping after new ter-ritory, new without the limits of the United States. The acquisition of Cuba has long been regarded as essential to the stability and strength of Southern interests. How to get possession of her has been a ques-tion. That question may soon be solved. A scheme is now in process to get up some pretext for a war with slave territory. The President, in his recent message others, that justice and right, are in danger. to the House of Representatives in relation to the 'Black Warrior' affair, clearly indicates this design. At all events, the South is bent on this scheme of annexation Southern papers boldly avow it. The ' manifest destiny' men predict it.

Another step is, to get a decision, in a case no pending in the Supreme Court of the United States, to indemnify a slaveholder for the loss of slaves in a free State,-which will legalize the execrable Institution throughout the Union, and permit Southern men t bring their human chattels North, and even to establish marts for their traffic in any of our cities.

· O, shades of Hancock, and Adams, and Otis, and Ames, and a host of others, why do ye not rise and rebake these recreant sons of American liberty! Why do ye not step forth, and, with wonted power, stay the triumphant and desolating march of Oppression's host!

O come, and with trumpet tones rouse to life the drooping form of Freedom! But that may not be. They labored and died in the cause of their country's free dom, and have gone to their reward. Let their exam ple stir us to action. Let their immortal words resound in our ears and thrill through our frames. Where i the spirit of our fathers? Where is that love of liber ty and hatred of oppression which fired their bosoms and led them to contend and hold out for justice and right? Where are the lovers of a free land? Where

I repeat it : I have but little faith that any lasting good will be accomplished by this show of opposition the Bill in question. I fear it comes too late. For the sake of gain, or favor, or peace, Northern men have petted and nursed and defended the 'peculiar institution,' until it has become a monster, threatening to deuour us. There is no unity, no combination of effort in this new movement. No all-absorbing, soul-stirring principle forms the basis of action. The resolutions of conventions and politicians, in relation to this subject, all smell of party. The Whigs of Boston could not for get themselves long enough to join their efforts and cooperate with the Free Democracy in their remonstrance against the common foe. The great question now before the people is, Shall Freedom or Slavery have the ascendency? And very soon the question will be decided. If Freedom is to prevail, the North, to a man, must cast aside all party names and distinctions, and, out of pure love of justice and humanity, form one solid and impregnable phalanx against the encroachments of the Slave Power, and slave usurpation.

That Truth and Freedom will ultimately triumph we have no doubt. That they will in our day is not likely. 'The signs of the times' do not betoken s

Kossuth, that noblest, best and greatest of living men, visited our shores. As an exile, but as an ardent lover and defender of human freedom, he came. How be towered amid our tallest men! He knew our early history-our struggles, our final success. He knew the feelings, the sentiments which once burned in the hearts of our fathers. He had heard of this 'home of the free.' - He came, therefore, in confidence, and asked for sympathy and encouragement in behalf of his oppressed and bleeding countrymen. What eloquence, what vain. True, many of 'the common people heard him gladly ; ' but the 'chiof priests and rulers' were deaf to his pathetic appeals. He went away disappointed and

John Mitchel comes to this country-an Irish exile. He is more politic. He glances at 'the signs of the times,' and strives to catch the popular and pervading spirit of his new home. He cons the words of the graceful, eloquent Edward Everett, in his first speech in Congress :- Domestic slavery is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral relation. No sir, the New Testament says, "Slaves, obey your masters." I know of no way by which the form of this servitude can be fixed, but by political institutions'-and his course is fixed. He starts a paper, and writes, 'We deny that it is a crime or a wrong, or even a peccadillo, to hold slaves, to buy slaves, to sell slaves, to keep slaves to their work by flogging or other needful coercion.' John Mitchel saw what was popular in this country, and what would bring him patronage and sup-

My hearers, I would raise no false alarm, nor make any exaggerated statements here to-day. The simple truth, the most palpable 'signs of the times,' are quite ough to sadden and fill with dark forebodings every New England heart. We see slavsry fast becoming the controlling principle of the nation. We see that advancing and gaining strength, year by year, which The womah was looking for her son, who had escaped degrades honest toil, and sinks the worthy laborer to the level of the brute. We see our Government and its the perpetuity and extension of slavery. All the resources of the nation are employed to plant its standard, and give to the breeze the black flag of a worse than Russian servitude.

Where are the men who defended so strenuously the Peace Measures' of 1850? Have they got peace? They thought to stop all agitation by entering into an agreement with sin and shame. Have they stopped it? No, they have only added fuel to the flames, and given warmth and strength to Oppression's arm. So it has been from the beginning; so it always will be.

No mortal eye can penetrate the future, nor tell with proaching a fearful crisis is too evident. That her fairest honors and her dearest interests are threatened with artificial airs, simple nature speaks. an ignominious betrayal and overthrow, cannot be deand nourishing a deadly viper in our political bosom, which now turns upon us, and would sting us to death. What ever may be the result of all the plans and measures now in operation for the aggrandizement of the Mexico, and legalizing it in all the free States ; should you, as you visit the metropolis of your State, hear the hoarse voice of the auctioner offering to the highest bidder men, women and children; remember then who have been instrumental in bringing all this shame. wretchedness and wrong upon us. Remember that such are only the legitimate consequences of compromises called fanatics, enemies of religion and of their country. Let professed Christians, then, call to mind the language of a distinguished clergyman :- There is no popular. hour, if it were not sustained in it. Not a blow need

be struck. Not an unkind word need be uttered. N nan's motives need be impugned; no man's properlight invaded. All that is needful is, for each Christia an, and for every Christian church, to stand up in the sacred majesty of such a solemn testimony; to free themselves from all connection with the eyil, and utter a calm and deliberate voice to the world, and the work

This is truth itself. Had such been the position o he Church, we should not now stand as we do, disraced in the eyes of the civilized world, nay, in the great heart of humanity, and perjured in the sight of ligh trust. Strong hands are raised against her be use she is false. Most of the best efforts for the pro gress and improvement of the race originate outside of the Church. Many of the purest hearts and noblest souls have left her communion, because, within it, they could get no sympathy or encouragement in their wo of philanthropy and Christian benevolence.

Friends, if we love truth, justice and humanity,we love our country, and the memory of our fathers,let us forget all party considerations, prejudices and strifes, and band together, as free men, to fight anew the battle of freedom. Let us sound the alarm .- no Spain, and thus to furnish an excuse for making a con- that the Union is in danger, (that is comparatively a est of those islands, to be annexed to this country as small matter), -but that our liberty, and the liberty of

PUGITIVES IN CANADA. Sr. CATHABINES, C. W., May 5, 1854. WM. LIOTO GARRISON :

DEAR FRIEND, -Presuming that a few lines from my eeble pen may be acceptable to your readers, I take the liberty to address you.

During my brief stay in Boston and vicinity last rinter, I met with most gratifying proofs of the deep interest felt by the sons and daughters of Pilgrim sires of New England in the cause of the refugees in Canada from American slavery. By reason of the great influx of strangers from the South, who had entered this asylum in a deplorably destitute condition, our mission had become a good deal involved. This was unavoidable, unless we had allowed the new comers to suffer, which we could not do while we had means to divide or credit by which to procure for them the necessaries of life. My applications to friends of humanity in Boston Charlestown, Cambridge, Dorchester, New Bedford, Fall River, Providence, Pawtucket, Worcester, Wilbraham, Hartford and New Haven, were kindly responded to, so that the mission was effectually relieved for the time, and the necessary means furnished for bringing us comfortably through the winter. The generous do nors all are hereby reassured of our sincere thanks. I would gladly give their names, if possible, in golden

We deem it proper to state, that what was obtained was for temporary uses, and has been expended accordingly. The demgnd for help in this quarter is perennial and unceasing, and must be so, so long as oppression is crushing the sable millions of the South, and compelling them to escape northward for freedom and Our Canadian summer has opened propitiously.

bor of every kind is abundant, with ample rewards for the industrious; and the prospects of all who have been so fortunate as to enter this glorious land of refuge are truly cheering.

With the knowledge I have of Canada West, as compared with other countries, if I were a slave in the

South, or but nominally free in the North, I would, if possible, find my way to Canda, in preference to any ountry under the heavens. It is good sometimes to muse a little upon the order

and developments of Divine Providence. It was wisely ordered, at the time of the Revolutionary struggle, when the American colonies revolted, that this vast Province should be preserved under British sway, as a prospective asylum for the victims of Republican oppression; also, during the war of 1812 to '15. Doubtess, the Divine Being, who is ever rich in mercy, look ing down from heaven, foresaw the growth of oppres sion under forms and pompous professions of Republi-canism, increasing in fury and intensity to madness, or to a sort of incarnation of diabolism. Hence the preservation of this asylum, in gracious fulfilment of his benignant purposes towards the wronged and injured

In the prosecution of our work, we find that the expense of living, with the best of economy, is at least one third more than it was in former years. This state or lucrative employment; but to one who is laboring as philanthropist, on the voluntary principle, it necessa rily brings anxiety and perplexity. Still, we find it good to trust in God, and go forward in the faithful discharge of duty. .

Fugitives are coming over and calling upon us alm daily. Not long ago, a woman of fair complexion came, with a little infant in her arms, of Anglo-Saxon brightness. Another was soon on hand,-a poor widow with two small children; we had much to do for their comfort. Another came, a few days ago, who was from the neighborhood of Ashland, Ky. (residence of the late Henry Clay.) She brought two small children Said she, 'I was determined to be free, and free my children, if I had to wade in blood up to my She was in so needy a state, and so anxious to obtain help, that she walked twelve miles to find my house, and back to her place of service, the same day.

Another poor woman, of fair complexion, called on me last week. Said she had lately escaped from Western Virginia, and brought with her three children. On asking about her husband, she dropped her head, and lost the power of utterance, giving vent to a flood of tears. She had left her husband in slavery, but had some hope that he would follow her. Four fugitives arrived here from the 'Old Dominion

in one day, last week, viz. : three men and one woman and called on me about four months before her. met an acquaintance in St. Catherines, and soon learnhirelings pledged to do any thing and every thing for ed that her son was in Toronto. One of the men from Virginia, over fifty years of age, had left behind him a wife and seven children. Foreseeing that he was about to become a victim to the hellish slave trade, and be torn from his wife and children, he set his face to the North, with the sentiment of Patrick Henry burning upon the altar of his heart- Give me Liberty or giod me death! To hear these strangers talk, and chat, and clap their hands, and leap for joy, in their bright dawn of freedom, would so greatly amuse you, that you would hardly know whether to laugh or cry. In fact, you would be likely to do both, without stopping to analyze or control your feelings. We have here no certainty the fate of this nation, That she is ap- need of going to theatres, innocent and beautiful plays being acted frequently before us. In the absence of all We wish it to be distinctly known among the children

nied or winked out of sight. We have been warming of oppression, East, West, North and South, that this is a most delightful country, a most inviting country, beautifully spangled with thriving cities and villages and diversified with hills and vallies, fertile plains, bubbling fountains, expansive lakes, and broad, ma institution of slavery,—should they terminate in carry-jestic rivers,—a Government honorable, equitable and ing it into all our unorganized territory, into Cuba and powerful, and a people vigorous, healthful, cheerful, active and enterprising.

To show you the mildness of the climate, let me say that a steamer crosses Lake Ontario daily through the winter, with scarcely a day's interruption. The Welland Canal was open, and vessels running, the first of April; whereas, navigation was not open on the Erie Canal till the 1st of May-one month later. I state so vigorously defended. Remember then, too, how that those who had the honesty and independence to protest against that enormity were distrusted and denounced, our Mission is unsectarian. temperance, for race, -- for the paternity of God and the fraternity of man,-and for these things, we are un

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PR. H. HALSTED, formerly of Halsted Hill to ester, N. Y., well known as the author of the tem of Motorpathy, and by his great success in the of chronic and female diseases, has recently peris and removed to the celebrated ROUND HILL WILL CURE RETREAT, at Northampton, Mass., which improved facilities, he will continue the period his peculiar system, in connection with the Feb. pathic Treatment.
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Dr. H. was one of the earliest advocates, as a been and still is one of the most successful pracise of the Water-Cure system. Nevertheless, in this ment of Chronic Diseases, and especially these has to Woman, experience has taught him that Montant combined with the Water-Cure Treatment, is a cases much more effectual, and will restore may tients who are beyond the reach of Hydropathy is tients who are beyond the reach of Hydropathy is This has been made apparent in the cure of very mervous and spinal affections heretofore unreached of Dyspepsia and Paralysis, and the numerous complicated diseases of the liver and kidney.

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