

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 2, 1855.

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

This meeting convened at the Melrose Hall, in Boston, Thursday, the 26th instant, at 10 o'clock, A. M., the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, in the chair.

A Business Committee was chosen, consisting of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Wells Brown, Stephen S. Foster, Anne W. Weston, Nancy L. Howe, Charles L. Remond, Henry C. Wright, and Nathaniel H. Whiting.

Samuel May, Jr. and Wm. J. Fish were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

Prayer was offered by Wm. H. Fish of Hopedale. The General Agent, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., read an encouraging statement of the operations of the Society for the past year, giving a brief notice of the labors of the various agents employed, and urging the importance of keeping many such faithful servants constantly in the field.

The action of Boston, under the direction of its Mayor and other officers, in the Burns case, was warmly and justly commended upon; and as were also the special labors of Rev. Drs. Lord and Nehemiah Adams in behalf of the *endangered* Despotism.

Mr. May's statement concluded with an impressive tribute of respect to the late JOHN M. FISK, of West Brookfield, who had long been a faithful friend and officer of the Society.

On motion of EDWARD QUINCY, it was voted, that the Report of Mr. May be referred to the Board of Managers for the ensuing year; but before this motion was put, JOHN C. CLARK wished to make a suggestion. He regretted that while Mr. May had very justly condemned the men of foreign birth who participated in the rendition of Burns, he had neglected to mention those Yankee blacklegs of Boston who were his especial guards. Mr. Cluser considered Mayor Smith as the chief of these Boston villains, and he desired the fact to be known across the ocean.

Mr. May replied that he had had no design to exempt any man, American or otherwise, from deserved execration, who took part in the delivery of Anthony Burns into slavery; as he thought a glance at his Report would show.

Mr. Quincy's motion was unanimously adopted. Mr. QUINCY suggested some change in the manner of holding the Annual Meeting, and adopting the method of the American Society, viz., to commence with a general meeting, for which the best speakers should be previously engaged and prepared, and publicly advertised. The city would thus be thoroughly notified and aroused.

G. W. PUTNAM of Lynn objected to having a meeting arranged beforehand, thinking it would infringe upon free speech.

Mr. GARRISON commented upon the refusal of the House of Representatives to grant the use of the Hall for a single meeting of this Society, and thought that, though their chief reason, on the face of it, viz., that it was closed to all parties, seemed plausible enough, it was somewhat like Herod's requirement that all the children of a certain age should be destroyed, in order that they might be sure to slay the one most objectionable to them, and dangerous to their existence.

Mr. GARRISON, chairman of the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That while we rejoice in every indication of an approximation, on the part of public men, of religious or political bodies, to the standard of uncompromising abolitionism, and are ever ready to give credit to whom credit is due, for any real service that may be done to the anti-slavery cause; we, nevertheless, feel constrained to admonish all men and all parties, that no incidental labor, no partial issue, no struggle against slaveholding aggressions upon the rights of the North, can be a substitute for the duty of seeking the immediate and utter extinction of the slave system, and separating ourselves from all participation in the guilt thereof.

2. Resolved, That institutions are for men, and not men for institutions; therefore all institutions, whether in Church or State, that cannot exist without enslaving men, ought to be, and must be, destroyed.

Mr. GARRISON spoke of the general change made against Abolitionists, that they are *uncharitable*; but he believed they were always ready to do justice to any man who should do any true anti-slavery work, in whatsoever way he might do it. We are contending, however, he said, with a united and uncompromising Despotism, and we must be as uncompromising as that. It was a good thing to be opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law, the Nebraska Bill, and to give succor to fugitives; but commendable as these acts are, genuine anti-slavery comes broader-ground than this; and those who make the charge of uncharitableness should remember that it is not a question of charity at all, but of right. Abolitionism, he insisted, is to *hate slavery* for others as we should hate it for ourselves; and to repudiate and oppose whatever upholds slavery.

Mr. PHILLIPS said, if we accept any half way anti-slavery without criticism, we shall fail to meet the demands of the time. He would acknowledge many things as a gain to the anti-slavery cause, that could not be regarded as at all an anti-slavery triumph. The political action needed is not that a great deal of ground should be gone over superficially, but that some one thing should be done thoroughly. He asked for the result of the partial Anti-Slavery action of the country. It is the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the Nebraska Bill, and it will be by and by Cuba. Under its influence, the country was lost for freedom; the Slave Power has the control, and Senators and Representatives can only ineffectually protest. He insisted, therefore, that the great need is an example of Anti-Slavery—a commonwealth or a city that should be a model for the world. The true policy is to keep before the country our ultimate ends, and this is the only method of success. The question is not whether Mr. A. or B. is a great man, an eloquent man, but whether he is an uncompromising Abolitionist. Reform movements are necessarily aggressive, and they should draw up every man's method to the ring-bolt of a rigid scrutiny. When our Anti-Slavery enterprise shall become tame and compromising, it should be put out of the way.

JAMES N. BUTT, of Lynn, expressed his approbation of the first resolution, and thought that if the sentiment and philosophy of our movement were known, they would find a wide response among the people. He referred to Frederick Douglass, who had lately been on a lecturing visit to Lynn, when he undertook to represent Garrisonianism, but most shamefully misrepresented it. He wished to protest against such labors of Mr. Douglass, and to bear his own testimony in favor of uncompromising anti-slavery.

Mr. PUTNAM attempted an explanation of Mr. Douglass's lecture somewhat different from Mr. Butt's, and in the late Manchester (England) Anti-Slavery Conference, for refusing a hearing to Joseph Barker.

JOHN C. CLARK said that Joseph Barker was put down at the Manchester meeting on account of his religious and philanthropic views, strongly, earnestly and eloquently expressed. The men who prevented his speaking were not lovers of universal freedom. But he himself had stuck by old organized anti-slavery in this country, and the Luther leaders of it, because he had always found them loyal to liberty under all circumstances. He knew Mr. Garrison in England, and knew him to be as true there as at home; and he cherished the highest regard for both him and Mr. Phillips. But he loved the cause they represented better than he loved them.

On motion of Mr. MAY, Committee on Finance, and

upon the officers of the Society for the ensuing year, were appointed, as follows:

On Finance—Lewis Ford, Elbridge Sprague, Reuben H. Ober, Sallie Holley, and Samuel Dyer.

On Nomination of Officers—Edmund Quincy, of Dedham, Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford, Briggs Arnold, of Abington, John Clement, of Townsend, Joshua G. Dodge, of West Cambridge, William Ashby, of Newburyport, Elias Richards, of Weymouth.

[The paper having the names of this Committee having been mislaid, the Secretaries have supplied the above from memory, but perhaps imperfectly.]

Mr. GARRISON, in speaking of Frederick Douglass, simply said that Mr. Douglass was in such a state of mind as unfitted him to represent the views which he (Mr. Garrison) held on any subject. As to the case of Joseph Barker, at the Manchester Conference, he thought that Mr. B. was not prevented from speaking in consequence of his peculiar views, but because he was not in order, according to British ruling in such cases. This Mr. Garrison felt himself bound in justice to say.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN coincided with Mr. Garrison's view of Mr. Barker's case, and as he was present, he deemed it well to state his convictions on the subject. The door belonged to Samuel R. Ward, and the chair simply so decided. The meeting would not have refused Mr. Barker a hearing on the ground of his supposed heretical views, and did so solely to maintain a point of order. This he said was the view of the matter which George Thompson took.

Mr. PUTNAM had got his impression of the case of Mr. Barker principally from Mr. Barker's own letter, and Mr. Garrison's comments on it; but he was glad to hear Mr. Brown's explanation, though not entirely satisfactory to him.

AFTERNOON. The President in the chair. Mr. Garrison read the resolutions presented to the meeting in the morning.

FRANCIS JACKSON, in the absence of the Treasurer, Mr. Philbrick, read the Treasurer's Report, as audited; from which it appears that the receipts of the past year were \$8,735.27. Expenditures, \$8,066.76.

Voted, To accept the report and publish it.

Mr. GARRISON thought that notwithstanding all the labors of the Abolitionists, there are few who comprehend the magnitude of the anti-slavery movement. This movement at first was simply in behalf of the three millions of slaves in our land; but now it is far wider in its scope and object. The slaveholding spirit is the universal spirit of the land, therefore it is that the Government and the Church are pro-slavery. The first thing to be understood, then, is human nature and the rights of man—man's superiority to all institutions.

And this is what the anti-slavery movement, in the Providence of God, is emphatically and impressively teaching the nation. Whatever institution outlaws men, we must so treat it that it shall outlaw us too. This thought he enlarged upon in his usually searching and effective manner.

HENRY C. WRIGHT responded to Mr. Garrison's remarks, and said he would labor to no institution that outlawed man, but would labor for the overthrow of all such institutions. The great object of the Anti-Slavery movement is to rescue man from the thralldom of institutions. These views Mr. Wright enlarged upon for a short time, and was listened to with attention and evident interest.

Wm. WELLS BROWN said that the Slave Power had, from the first, used all its resources to sustain itself and its reputation for respectability. Its policy has been to buy up whatever stood in its way—politicians and ministers especially. He instanced Dr. Nehemiah Adams as an illustration of the way in which the South buys up the ministers.

Mr. Brown thought he knew about as much of slavery as Dr. Adams, and could give quite as accurate a view of the subject. He had been a slave himself for twenty years, and he would undertake to examine some of the Rev. gentleman's positions and assertions. This work of criticism Mr. Brown did up much to the interest and satisfaction of his hearers, and to the detriment of his dissected reverence. Had Dr. Adams been present, we think he would have felt himself to be a very insignificant personage before this graduate of the plantation, and we could wish him no greater justice than to have to meet Mr. Brown on the anti-slavery platform. Mr. Brown closed with some interesting remarks on the anti-slavery sentiment of Great Britain, and upon the importance of laboring to strip slavery of its social and religious character.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions:—

3. Resolved, That as even the atrocious Fugitive Slave Law was overruled, by Divine Providence, to accomplish an effective anti-slavery work, so the misstatements of fact, the perversions of reasoning, the eulogies of slavery, the libels against freedom, and the caricatures of religion, contained in the Rev. Nehemiah Adams's 'South-Side View of Slavery,' may be expected to produce a similar result, and, in that view, are commended to the thorough and attentive perusal of every Abolitionist.

4. Resolved, That those who remain inactive, for fear of the 'consequences' of the abolition of slavery, may profitably note, in Dr. Adams's hints at the desirableness of introducing slavery at the North, and of re-establishing the foreign slave-trade, some consequences of apostasy from freedom.

5. Resolved, That those who have doubted the testimony of Anti-Slavery lecturers, that the clergy are the chief bulwark of slavery, strongest in opposition to those who are laboring for its removal, and farthest of the whole community from favoring radical reform in the case of popular sins, may find in this book one more item of evidence on those points.

6. Resolved, That the open and thorough falsehood of Dr. Adams's pretence, that his course of action and general influence, public and private, before his three months' visit at the South, had been against slavery, is an absolute bar to the favorable construction of some of his criticisms, that, in writing and publishing this book, he had been candid and well-meaning, though not intelligent, and had shown weakness rather than wickedness.

7. Resolved, That the unimpaired good standing of President Lord, Dr. Adams and Dr. Blagden with the clergymen and laymen of their sect, and their continued reception as competent teachers of piety and morality in their respective parishes since their recent advocacy of slavery, give us renewed evidence of the hollowness and falsehood of the popular religion, and the need of replacing it by true Christianity.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER thought one of the objects of the annual meeting should be to lay out business for the future. He would therefore lay before his hearers a plan of operations, and the motives in which they should be adopted. He thought the first need was *enthusiasm*, without which we could do little or nothing. This point Mr. Foster enlarged upon with an enthusiasm that seemed to diffuse itself through the audience, and to be a perfect illustration of the truth of his position. But he thought that not only enthusiasm, but some new form of anti-slavery action, should be presented to the people, at this crisis. He believed the time had come in which all men should be denied the possession of an anti-slavery character who support the United States Government. He acknowledged that he himself had sinned in this matter, having recognized such men as Charles Sumner and John P. Hale as abolitionists; but he could do so no more. This declaration of Mr. Foster elicited a considerable and earnest discussion about Mr. Sumner's position, and the character of the U. S. Constitution; in the midst of which, the meeting adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

EVENING. The President in the chair.

GEO. W. PUTNAM commenced the services of the evening with an anti-slavery song.

S. S. FOSTER resumed the remarks commenced by him in the afternoon.—As to Mr. Sumner's character as a man, which was under discussion in the afternoon, he was willing to concede all in reference to that, that

his warmest friends could claim for him; but his position as a professed anti-slavery man, he felt himself under obligation to oppose. He supposed Mr. Sumner to hold, in the main, the popular views of the Constitution; hence, in carrying out these views, he must of necessity occupy the position of a pro-slavery man.

His saying that he is an abolitionist does not, of course, make him so; for, if he stands pledged to put to death men who rise in insurrection to secure their liberty, he is as much a slaveholder, in that respect, as ever was Henry Clay. In answer to a question from a hearer, Mr. Foster said he would have such a government for his brethren as he would have for himself; and he would never, God helping him, hold up his right hand to swear allegiance to a government, the worst of whose laws he would not willingly have executed on himself and his family. He believed, too, that the great work of abolitionists, for the coming year, should be the overthrow of the American Government, and that Free Soilers should be rebuked and denounced for their support of it. He urged the importance of forming a new political party, on the basis of the Constitution of Massachusetts, wholly ignoring the Constitution of the United States.

He said, that such a Congress as the Americans have, was not a party for an honest abolitionist to be connected with. Gerrit Smith, he said, tried it, but soon got sick of the business of legislating with the pirates, and very properly turned his back upon them.

Mr. Foster also gave an account of his recent trial in Worcester, which was listened to with much interest; and closed his remarks with offering the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the time has come, when the friends of freedom who believe in political action can render essential service to our cause by the organization of a political party based upon the State Constitutions, and ignoring the Federal Government, thereby presenting, in a tangible form, the commencement of a political revolution, which is essential to the overthrow of slavery, and the success of which is sure to be followed with that glorious result.

Mr. PHILLIPS being now rapturously applauded as he entered the house, and called upon for a speech, said he had nothing special to say, but he had just been listening to a great speech from Mr. Emerson—one of the greatest and bravest ever made in the city of Boston, or in New England. Mr. Emerson, he said, had showed himself to be a man, whom literary fame had never tempted to a wrong, and whom the opinions of his fellow-citizens never fettered. Mr. Phillips then passed to the subject of Slavery, and was more than ordinarily eloquent for even him. He hoped, he said, we should yet have a *Massachusetts*, and we might have, if we only had a dozen clean men to make it. He thought that, in order for Mr. Sumner and his friends to accomplish the needed work, they must take substantially Lyander Spooner's view of the Constitution—such a view as would not only unseat Franklin Pierce, but Chief Justice Taney. This eloquent speech he closed by calling upon his hearers to exert themselves to save at least one State from the general wreck, to bear aloft the true standard, and lead the way to Freedom.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock, Friday.

FRIDAY MORNING.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President, in the chair, and a good audience in attendance.

Wm. H. FISH offered some remarks against the spirit of violence which manifests itself in the anti-slavery movement.

GEO. W. PUTNAM spoke briefly in reply to Mr. Fish, advocating war and violence, under certain circumstances.

ABBY K. FOSTER said, the great thing needed is to get the people ready to do anti-slavery work; and when they get ready to do it, they will, of course, do it in their own way. But very few are up to the point of fighting for slavery, if they have the disposition; and she did not believe that even Worcester was prepared to protect the slave by force of arms. We ought, then, to go to work and get up such a public sentiment as will give vigor and life to the fugitive. Agitation should be our motto; and this was our work, which work she described in an unusually interesting and impressive manner, that held the attention of her audience to the end. Her speech was one of the noblest of the whole meeting, and made a deep moral impression.

Mr. MAY spoke of the necessity of a hearty co-operation of all the friends of the Society in contributions to sustain it during the ensuing year.

The Finance Committee proceeded to take pledges and donations to the Society.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky, came forward as the representative of three millions of his brethren in bonds; of whom he was once one; and he spoke on the general subject of slavery earnestly and well. His advice to the fugitive was, to be always ready to defend himself, at whatever hazard.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, on rising to speak, said, he was once in a Water-Cure establishment, in which he noticed one peculiarity, which was, that just before they were getting well, they were worse. A crisis preceded cure. So it might be in the anti-slavery movement. Certain it is, that many bad things were just now coming upon the surface. Some of these bad things he had in his pocket.—Dr. Adams's 'South Side View,' and President Lord's Letter of Inquiry to Christian Ministers. When such things, he said, were coming upon the surface, it was a good sign—a sign that there is something good near at hand. When we see men putting up bulwarks and making preparations for defence, it is a sure sign that their citadel is thought to be in danger. Anti-slavery men ought, therefore, to 'thank God and take courage.'

Mr. CLARKE did not wish to see the Union dissolved, but he preferred dissolution to the continuance of slavery. His brief speech was a good one, and an acceptable offering to the cause.

The following resolution, from the Business Committee, was presented by Mr. MAY:—

8. Resolved, That we desire to express, in this public gathering of the abolitionists of Massachusetts, our profound appreciation of the rare sagacity, fidelity, and clear-sightedness of our friend PARKER PILLSBURY, during his tour through Great Britain—our sincere sympathy in his severe illness, and our deep gratitude for his constant, unintermitted efforts to serve the slave, shield his best friends from slander and misrepresentation, and turn the eyes of British abolitionists upon the only effective method to emancipate him; and we recommend Mr. PILLSBURY to the entire confidence of our British friends, as one whom observation, long experience, constant presence in the anti-slavery field during many years, insight into the philosophy of our cause, and disinterested fidelity to it, have made a most reliable witness on every part of the Anti-Slavery movement.

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, in commencing the speaking in the afternoon, said, that he always found it a great help, in the presentation of the anti-slavery enterprise, to have a few well-defined axioms; and he proceeded to state some of these axioms, and to comment upon them.

On behalf of Mr. GARRISON, (who was confined to his house by a sudden illness,) Mr. Wright presented the following resolutions:—

Whereas, the Rev. Drs. Lord, Adams and Blagden profess to believe that the institution of chattel slavery, as it exists in this country, is sanctioned both by 'natural and revealed religion'; that the slaves are in a desirable condition, kindly cared for and protected by their masters, and requiring no special sympathy or aid to deliver them from the authority exercised over them; and that the slaveholders, instead of being guilty of injustice, cruelty and immorality, are exemplary citizens, and in many cases excellent Christians; therefore,

9. Resolved, That it is to be deeply regretted, that those reverend Doctors cannot be transferred to Southampton plantations, to fill the places of those noble spirits in bondage, whose aspirations are continually for freedom, and who are only waiting for the first favorable opportunity to assert their manhood, by flight to Canada.

10. Resolved, That an exhibition of these impious vindictors of the 'sum of all villainy,' on the auction-block, at public vendue, to be knocked down to the highest bidder—or their subjection to the lash of the slave-driver, or the seizure of their wives and children for the purposes of lust and robbery, never again to meet on earth,—would in one moment purge their moral vision, enlighten their understanding, and satisfy them, beyond cavil, that slavery is from beneath, and that no apologist or defender thereof could, by any possibility, be a follower of Jesus Christ, or rationally hope for salvation, without thorough repentance.

Whereas, Southern Slavery, by its own code, and not by any abuses, is the abolition of the marriage institution, and, therefore, a volcano of lewdness, in full and constant operation—is the denial of the right of its victims, under terrible penalties, to learn to read the name of their Heavenly Father, or to 'search the Scriptures,' in accordance with the injunction of his Beloved Son—is a classification of those who are made 'a little lower than the angels,' with cattle, swine, and other articles of merchandise—is the annihilation of all personal and individual rights—is the desecration of all the sacred relations of life, recognizing neither father nor mother, neither husband nor wife, neither parent nor child—and, is, finally, in the fullest and most awful sense, the exaltation of the tyrannical master 'above all that is called God,' to the utter extinction, in the minds of his victims, of all sense of moral accountability to the Final Judge of quick and dead; therefore,

11. Resolved, That, making (as they do) no issue with the slave code, and endeavoring to counteract the humane efforts of those who are striving to overthrow the slave system by 'the sword of the spirit which is the word of God,' the Rev. Drs. Lord, Adams and Blagden give the clearest evidence to the world, that their spirits are impure, that their reverence for the Bible is a mockery, that they are yet unable to discriminate between a man and a sheep, that they are the unblushing enemies of freedom and equality, and that they ought to be 'hissed out of their places' as the professed ministers of Him who came to 'preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound.' And let all the people say, Amen!

STEPHEN S. FOSTER expressed his gratitude for the friendly criticism of which he was the subject in the morning. He justified that criticism as being legitimate to the anti-slavery platform. But he thought he could defend any course of action he had pursued and recommended, as consistent. On the same principle that Mr. Fish held him (Mr. Foster,) amenable to his professed non-resistance principle, he held professed fighting abolitionists amenable to their principles. Mr. Foster argued this point in his usual logical manner. He also spoke at length on various phases of the anti-slavery movement, and frequently called forth great applause from the audience.

The Committee appointed to nominate officers of the Society made the following Report:—

President—FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.
Vice Presidents—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballou, Milford; John W. T. Everett, Princeton; Effingham L. Cason, Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Oliver Gardner, Nantucket; Henry L. Bowditch, Boston; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Caroline Weston, Weymouth; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Cyrus Pierce, Newton; John T. Hilton, Brighton; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; John S. Stafford, Cambridge; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Richard Clap, Dorchester; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thatcher, Barnstable; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Lewis Ford, Abington.

Corresponding Secretary—Samuel May, Jr., Leicester.
Recording Secretary—Robert F. Wallcut, Boston.
Treasurer—Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.
Auditor—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Councillors—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, John Rogers, Cornelius Bramhall, Anne W. Weston, Eliza Lee Follen, Charles K. Whipple, Edmund Quincy, William J. Bowditch, John T. Sargent, Charles F. Hovey.

JAMES N. BUTT, in reference to Mr. Foster's plan, that it is a dangerous thing to go into a political party; and he hoped, therefore, that the Massachusetts Society would still maintain its original position, and continue to labor chiefly to remould public sentiment.

HENRY KEMP, a Roman Catholic, came forward to defend the Roman Church in reply to Mr. Foster. He claimed that the Catholic Church is thoroughly anti-slavery—as thoroughly as even his friend Foster. Various Popes, he said, had condemned slavery, and called upon the faithful everywhere, in the name of Almighty God, to put it entirely away from them. Hence he considered Arch Bishop Hughes and all the professed Catholics of America who sympathize with and aid the Slave Power, as *excommunicated heretics*. He thought himself about the only representative of the true Catholic Church in this country. He took the highest anti-slavery ground, and was listened to with much interest.

EVENING. EDWARD QUINCY in the Chair.

GEO. W. PUTNAM read the following original anti-slavery poem; which was received with considerable applause:—

THE ARRESTS.

Where the Revolution's sages
Once from wall and niche looked on,
Where from distant hill-side gazing
Once stood Stuart's Washington,
Hangs the Traitor's paltry picture,
And with a law's curse and frown,
Pimps of Law, at Slavery's bidding,
Right of speech are hunting down!

Hunting Faneuil Hall for victims!
Legal bond and mongrel crew,
Baying on the track of freedom
Through the streets of Worcester!
O'er a race of men too patient
Shake their chain and crack their whip,
Bidding us, with words insulting,
Stay the pulses, close the lip.

Now upon the Northern shoulder,
Slavery lays its bloody hand,
With the crime and with the hunter
Face to face the freemen stand!
Stowell, with his heart of lion;
Higginson, of spotless fame;
Phillips, with his angry utterance;
Parker, with his tongue of flame!

From Corruption's charnel creeping,
Scarce worth crushing 'neath the heel,
How Oppression's writhing victim
Tear their fangs at Freedom's steel!
How the blood-bespotted ermine
Trailed aloft beneath the chain,

* In the language of Rev. Dr. BRECKENRIDGE in the Kentucky Convention a few years since, 'no woman is the wife of any husband in particular, and no man is the husband of any woman in particular; no child is the child of any parent in particular, and no parent is the parent of any child in particular.' To the entire speech of Dr. Breckenridge, the well known Presbyterian minister of Kentucky, we would specially direct the attention of the Rev. Drs. Lord, Blagden and Adams, if it could be supposed that they are not already perfectly familiar with it, and with the universally recognized facts of the adultery, fornication and incest inseparably connected with the slave system.

Flaunts its folds around the leper,
As he tramples Truth again!

Ever this, many a man has made
In the pit for others made;
Many a weapon keen and two-edged
Torn his throat who forged the blade.
Wait awhile, O thieves and dastards!
Hunting down the good and true;
Stay!—a jury of the people
Stand betwixt their doom and you!

Never yet since Freedom's watchman
Sent his cry along the land,
Never yet since round him rallied
Freedom's small but tireless band,
Has an hour so grand and hopeful
Dawned upon our upward path,
As this hour, when baffled malice,
Struggles in its dying wrath.

Better this than Northern drum beat,
Better than array of steel,
For, beneath the agitation
This broad land shall rock and reel.
Phillips's greeting, SUMNER's welcome,
Tell of Freedom's going forth;
Through the doors of Tremont Temple
—Roars the trumpet of the North!

Hark! a cry comes from the pulpit—
'Spare me, or my heart will break!
Not my mother, but my brother,
Bound I for the Union's sake.'
'Not I sent the slave to bondage,
On me let the storm be beat!'—
Shrieks the conscience-lashed kidnapper
From his home in Vernon street.

These are signs which well the freeman
May regard and treasure up;
To their lips who brewed the poison
Cometh back the deadly cup;
These have heard the dashing surges
Of Humanity's vast tide,
Seen the avalanche of Freedom
Moving down the mountain side.

But if crime again shall triumph,
If the right of free speech fall,
If Oppression's hand of midnight
Quench the light of Faneuil Hall;
If the cold and gloomy prison
Its dark shadow o'er them throw,
If from their path of glory
O'er the dungeon threshold goes;

There shall be for them no darkness,
Angel bands the living night,
Through barred gate and iron portal
Shall bring in their urns of light,
Till the cold wall glows like crystal,
And as to the seer of old,
Every gate shall seem a jasper,
And the rocky floor of gold.

I have seen the heavy surges
Beating 'gainst a fortress wall,
For an entrance and the mastery
Vainly struggling, faint and fall;
Seen them in their fierce returning
O'er the ground where once they bent,
Wave on wave their white crests rolling
O'er the topmost battlement.

So, while o'er their hard-earned victories
Hold they hollow triumphing,
Freedom, from her place of ages,
Crouches for another spring!
And while soul-sick and despairing,
Earth's poor ones are sold and bought,
'Gainst the galls of Slavery's Bastille
Beat God's ocean depths of thought!

Not much longer shall the slave mart
Thrive beneath the stripes and stars,
Free speech here shall stand for ever,
Spite of laws and prison bars!
Light shall fill the far horizon,
Where the night of Slavery lowers;
Heaven and earth are leagued for freedom—
Storm or shine—THE DAY IS OURS!

Mr. BRADLEY, a young colored man, of Boston, rose to speak against the project of Mr. Foster for a new political party. He had long been a political man and he claimed the honor of originating the Liberty Party! He gave quite a complete account of his early labors in the cause, and his influence over some of the Anti-Slavery political leaders of New York. He also alluded to Frederick Douglass and spoke of him as a prodigal son, who had turned away from his first love, and from the friends that made him all that he is.

Rev. Mr. HOPKINS, of Watertown, (late of Barre,) came forward, by the urgent request of friends, without premeditation, to define his position, though a minister as that of an uncompromising Abolitionist. He gave in his adhesion to the principles of the disunion party, and thought these principles the only ones that could save the country. This brief offering he laid upon the altar of the Anti-Slavery cause, and it might be taken for what it was worth. It was accepted appreciatively and gratefully.

Wm. WELLS BROWN said that he should prove to his hearers this evening that he possessed one qualification of a good speaker—*bravery*. He stood on that platform to represent both the African and Anglo-Saxon races—his mother being an African, his father an Anglo-Saxon slaveholder. But he stood up free by virtue of British liberality, which purchased him from American Despotism. This freedom he used for a half hour, with some general but excellent and stirring remarks upon the subject of slavery, interspersing various exceedingly interesting facts and anecdotes from his European tour, experience and observation.

Mr. MAY offered the following resolution, the vote upon which he moved should be taken by rising:—

12. Resolved, That this Society would render its tribute of respect to the memory of the late John M. Fisk, of West Brookfield—to his early and disinterested choice of the anti-slavery cause and his steadfast adherence to it in every trial, and notwithstanding the bitter personal animosity of opponents; to his excellent judgment, sound discretion, and resolute firmness in maintaining the justice, moral necessity, and essential Christianity of the anti-slavery movement;—to the spirit of noble independence which he manifested, in separating himself from a pro-slavery and powerful church, and in openly and unequivocally exposing their guilty connection with slavery; and to the generous friendship and aid which through a long period of years he rendered to this Society, its agents, and its operations. Although his last years were years of suffering, from disease, yet his testimony to freedom abode firm to the last. Unsympathizing relatives carried his lifeless body, for funeral services, into the church which he renounced in his life-time, and from which every cause dear to his soul had always been shut out, and there a canting priest merely presumed upon the fact that his lips were closed in death, to beg the people to forgive his many offences and great presumption in opposing the church and creating discussions in it. But those of us who have known him long and well, prize his memory as that of a true and noble spirit, whose life of courage and true devotion to the right is a rich legacy and a high encouragement to all who remain to carry on his labors.

By the arrangement made with the Executive Committee of the American Society, the further labours of Mr. Quincy, in this regard, were not to be lost to the cause, and we confidently hope they will not be. We will hope that they may be continued for yet many years, and through them that the whole history of the mighty battle of the 19th Century, the battle of the great Principle of Human Freedom with the vile dogma of Chattel Slavery, will be faithfully chronicled.

In such circumstances, it became desirable last year that some one should prepare for the annual meeting of this Society at least a statement of its operations during the year previous; and it seemed to belong to no one so properly to do it, as to the General Agent of the Society. By him such a statement was then made. The return of another anniversary calls for a similar statement from him of the Society's doings for the year 1854, which he proceeds to give.

In every way, in which its treasury and the agents in its service could be rightfully employed, the Society has been steadily labouring during the year past. Immediately after the last annual meeting, it undertook anew the work of preaching the Gospel of Anti-Slavery, and of selling the people of New England to repentance of their sinful complicity in the bondage of their brethren, the three million slaves in this boasted Christian Republic. It has had, for another year, a band of tried and faithful agents who have gone forth, fearing no sect, or party, or man—having no personal and selfish aims to promote—and resolved only to proclaim the truth, with regard to this oppressive people, and their victims to slavery.

To carry forward this work, the Society has had the funds raised and pledged at the last annual meeting, together with those raised and pledged (so far as paid in) at the New England A. S. Convention, held in May last. Being entrusted with the expenditure of the latter, the Society has felt its obligation to expend them in part in other of the New England States, besides Massachusetts; and has endeavored to discharge its duty in that respect.

The following agents have been in the Society's service during the past year: STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ABNEY KELLEY FOSTER, ANDREW T. FOGS, CHARLES C. BURLING, CHARLES L. REMOND, NATHANIEL H. WHITING, LEWIS FORD, and SALLIE HOLLEY. Also, Rev. ELMATHAN DAVIS, of Fitchburg, and Rev. E. A. STOCKMAN, of Cummington, as Local Agents.

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We cannot pass, without a cordial and grateful acknowledgment, the services which, in different places, in and out of New England, have been rendered to the cause of our most earnest, devoted, and efficient advocates, she has given herself for the last year or two mainly to another cause, in which, as a woman and a true friend to humanity, she has felt a deep and natural interest. This, while it has withdrawn from the Anti-Slavery cause much of that direct attention and service which she had been wont to render, has not lessened the interest she feels in it, nor wholly deprived us of her direct and most welcome cooperation. It need not be said that all her words and deeds are, in a high and noble sense, anti-slavery. And we know that, in every position, and however employed, she will ever be acting with her old associates and friends, for the redemption of the American slave.

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The two special meetings of the Society, held on the Fourth of July at the Grove in Framingham, and on the First of August in the Grove in Abington, were most numerous attended, and most happy in their effects. The utterances at both were, as the times required, of the boldest and most searching character, as the reports of them made at the time testify; but bold and thorough as they were, they were entirely sustained by the judgment and sympathies of the numerous hearers which had thronged together from far and near, to hear and participate. In addition to the speakers whose names have become more familiar to anti-slavery ears and hearts, we had the pleasure, on the 4th of July, to welcome HENRY D. THORNTON to the public advocacy of our cause; while at Abington, we had the hearty support of Rev. Messrs. STETSON, HIGGINSON, and DALL.

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The pledges made at the Annual Meeting, a year since, have nearly all been redeemed. Some however are still unpaid, and are now fully due. With these however, and the contributions made from time to time at local meetings, the operations of the Society are greatly restricted, from the want of the means necessary to sustain them. And here we must not omit to thank the many friends who, by their hospitality to our agents, and by aiding them from place to place, do much to lighten the Society's burdens. With the Society's means, it has done what it could; yet how very little in comparison with what needs to be done, and we should do! Not an agent has it sent, during the year, into Vermont. One only has visited, and that for not a long period, New Hampshire and Maine. With the aid of the American Society, Rhode Island has been better cultivated, but still the work there is only commenced. Connecticut is almost unvisited; and sorely needs the warning cry of the genuine anti-slavery gospel. For at least half of the year, on the average, we have been compelled to spare even our few agents for the far wider field in the great West. It would be quite within the most moderate bounds to say that at least ten agents should be continually at work in every one of our New England States; for 'tis in high time they awakened out of their sleep, and only the living voice of faithful instruction and rebuke can, under God, awake them.

The past year was a momentous one to our cause, and was a long stride towards the ultimate downfall and ruin of the Nation. It was a year to all who prize liberty, and whose hearts yearn for the deliverance of the poor and the oppressed. The passage of the Nebraska Bill,—full of fraud and knavery, originating with and passed by Northern hypocrites and traitors,—signaled the triumph of the Slave Power over Freedom and her friends. Then followed hard that spectacle,—so ignominious, so disgraceful to Massachusetts,—so damning to Boston,—the seizure of Anthony Burns on our streets for no crime (though on the lying pretext of one)—his mock trial before a cowardly commission—his delivery to his brutal Virginia owner. It was noticeable, to some who attended those court-room scenes, how seldom (if at all) the Commissioner or the prosecuting attorney ventured to look upon the face of their poor helpless victim. In their dying hours, the agonised face of that suffering man will look out of the hell of slavery into which they forced him, and will mock when their fear cometh. Then too we saw the hateful sight of a Massachusetts court-house filled with ignorant men of foreign birth, but wearing the uniform of the United States, driving out Massachusetts men from its precincts, and aiding in sending a native-born American into hopeless slavery. We saw a Mayor, who had declared that none of the city police should be allowed to lift a finger to help reduce a man to slavery, with falsehood and meanness, and shameless audacity taking the lead in the kidnapping. We have seen other sights, so incredibly base and mean, that the reader of history will refuse to believe the tale. We have seen the military companies of Boston, composed of men, young and old, brought up in their schools and churches, and supposed to be the very elite of Boston society,—men claiming to be the most of Boston society,—not only ready to help enslave a man, and shoot down all who might befriend him, but grovelling before the General Government afterwards, impatient for their pay! Shame, foul shame, on the Colonels and Captains, the Officers and Privates of Boston, who would do the work of Guinea traders, kidnappers, man-stealers, sinners whom God dooms, and every honest man loathes, and then receive the gold and the silver, the price of blood, the price of him that was valued, or put in their treasures! The Boston of fifty years ago cries out in judgment on the men of this generation, and spurs them out of its mouth. And we have seen the recent and degraded Boston of 1854 restore to his official position the Mayor who had brought this new disgrace upon the city; re-electing him, too, through a party which professes in an especial manner to vindicate the rights of the humblest born upon our soil.

To crown this evil work, and to seal their own disgrace, the United States Court, sitting in this city, caused THOMPSON PARKER, WENDELL PHILLIPS, THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, MARTIN STOWELL, and SAM'L T. FROTHINGHAM, to be indicted as accessories to the so-called Burns riot; and required them to give bonds to appear and take their trial in March next. We have every reason to be confident that this act of JUDGE BENJAMIN R. CURTIS, and District Attorney J. F. HALETT, is regarded with disapprobation and censure by the great mass of the intelligent and respectable people even of conservative Boston; while through the State at

ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE GENERAL AGENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting another annual statement of the operations of the Society, cannot without the expressions of his regret,—in which all the members of the Society, and all the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and all the friends of the Gospel of Anti-Slavery, and all the friends of the people of New England to repentance of their sinful complicity in the bondage of their brethren, the three million slaves in this boasted Christian Republic. It has had, for another year, a band of tried and faithful agents who have gone forth, fearing no sect, or party, or man—having no personal and selfish aims to promote—and resolved only to proclaim the truth, with regard to this oppressive people, and their victims to slavery.

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The past year was a momentous one to our cause, and was a long stride towards the ultimate downfall and ruin of the Nation. It was a year to all who prize liberty, and whose hearts yearn for the deliverance of the poor and the oppressed. The passage of the Nebraska Bill,—full of fraud and knavery, originating with and passed by Northern hypocrites and traitors,—signaled the triumph of the Slave Power over Freedom and her friends. Then followed hard that spectacle,—so ignominious, so disgraceful to Massachusetts,—so damning to Boston,—the seizure of Anthony Burns on our streets for no crime (though on the lying pretext of one)—his mock trial before a cowardly commission—his delivery to his brutal Virginia owner. It was noticeable, to some who attended those court-room scenes, how seldom (if at all) the Commissioner or the prosecuting attorney ventured to look upon the face of their poor helpless victim. In their dying hours, the agonised face of that suffering man will look out of the hell of slavery into which they forced him, and will mock when their fear cometh. Then too we saw the hateful sight of a Massachusetts court-house filled with ignorant men of foreign birth, but wearing the uniform of the United States, driving out Massachusetts men from its precincts, and aiding in sending a native-born American into hopeless slavery. We saw a Mayor, who had declared that none of the city police should be allowed to lift a finger to help reduce a man to slavery, with falsehood and meanness, and shameless audacity taking the lead in the kidnapping. We have seen other sights, so incredibly base and mean, that the reader of history will refuse to believe the tale. We have seen the military companies of Boston, composed of men, young and old, brought up in their schools and churches, and supposed to be the very elite of Boston society,—men claiming to be the most of Boston society,—not only ready to help enslave a man, and shoot down all who might befriend him, but grovelling before the General Government afterwards, impatient for their pay! Shame, foul shame, on the Colonels and Captains, the Officers and Privates of Boston, who would do the work of Guinea traders, kidnappers, man-stealers, sinners whom God dooms, and every honest man loathes, and then receive the gold and the silver, the price of blood, the price of him that was valued, or put in their treasures! The Boston of fifty years ago cries out in judgment on the men of this generation, and spurs them out of its mouth. And we have seen the recent and degraded Boston of 1854 restore to his official position the Mayor who had brought this new disgrace upon the city; re-electing him, too, through a party which professes in an especial manner to vindicate the rights of the humblest born upon our soil.

To crown this evil work, and to seal their own disgrace, the United States Court, sitting in this city, caused THOMPSON PARKER, WENDELL PHILLIPS, THOMAS W. HIGGINSON, MARTIN STOWELL, and SAM'L T. FROTHINGHAM, to be indicted as accessories to the so-called Burns riot; and required them to give bonds to appear and take their trial in March next. We have every reason to be confident that this act of JUDGE BENJAMIN R. CURTIS, and District Attorney J. F. HALETT, is regarded with disapprobation and censure by the great mass of the intelligent and respectable people even of conservative Boston; while through the State at

large it meets with undiminished contempt. We cannot, of course, predict the result, but our belief is, that neither of these gentlemen can, at this day, and in Massachusetts, be found guilty on such a charge. And we are very sure that the result what it may, it will tend to the greater honor and fame of the parties accused, and will lift them to a higher place in the confidence and affection of all the true friends of freedom.

But we would thank God and take courage that even these terrible wrongs—these apparent defeats of freedom, have not been without their compensation. Thousands have been aroused to understand the true character of Slavery, who before were wholly indifferent. Cheated, over-reached, and insulted themselves, in their bargain and compromise with the South, they learn at last the meaning of these Southern aggressions, and begin to perceive their object. May their awakening not be too late!

The feeling of indignation which so extensively followed the violation of the Missouri Compromise, (in the passage of the Nebraska Bill) seriously alarmed some of our Northern politicians—but, far more, some of our Northern Divines! With an almost despairing shriek, two of them have rushed to the rescue of slavery, resolved if possible to suppress and annihilate Northern conscience and Northern sensibility. Behold their wicked and Heaven-daring works! Rev. Dr. Nathan Lord's Pamphlet to prove the Scriptural and moral and lawful character of slaveholding, and Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams's South-Side View of Slavery! The orthodox pastor of Dartmouth College, and the orthodox pastor of a Boston Church united in the goodly and so appropriate (!) work, of reconciling the Northern mind and heart to the existence and growth of 'the sum of all villainies'! Let them strive—they kick against the pricks; they fight against God!

It would be unpardonable not to make mention of a new instrumentality which, during the last Autumn, was put in operation by the American Anti-Slavery Society, viz. the issuing of brief but ably-written Anti-Slavery Tracts, for gratuitous distribution. This work was undertaken by the American Society, but the business of stereotyping and printing was done in this City. Four tracts—on the United States Constitution—on the extent to which the White Population are held in slavery in the Southern States—on Colonization—and on the Moral and Religious Effects of Slavery, both upon the Slave and Slaveholder—have been written, stereotyped, and printed. Of these tracts, thirty thousand have been printed, and ten thousand more will soon be issued, making a total of 40,000 tracts, or 800,000 pages. To meet the cost of these, a special fund was created, to which the contributions hitherto have been about \$1600. This sum needs to be greatly increased. The tracts have been sent to Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania, as well as to all of the New England States, and very many calls for them are still unanswered. These we hope soon to supply. Other tracts are in preparation, and some are promised for which many are anxiously looking.

The General Agent of this Society is also its Corresponding Secretary, and as such, is called upon to conduct a somewhat extensive correspondence, both at home and abroad. It is quite impossible, in the limits which must be observed for this statement, to go into the details of this correspondence. We have, as you know, many noble and zealous co-workers throughout our land,—would to God they were multiplied a thousandfold. Abroad, the friends of our cause and of our Society are increasing in numbers, are steadfast in their faith, and unwearied in their labors of love. The blessing of those who are 'ready to perish' is theirs. To one circumstance connected with the foreign correspondence allusion may be made, because of the illustration it affords of Southern manners, as well as of Southern character. Some friends in Edinburgh, Scotland, were very desirous that the recent able and dispassionate Scottish Remonstrance against American Slavery, signed by 40,000 ministers, church members, and others, and addressed in a courteous manner, and in a spirit of true Christian fidelity, to the People of the United States, should be published in some of the leading newspapers of the Southern States. These Edinburgh friends addressed a letter to the writer of this, enclosing a copy of the Remonstrance, and sending a sum of money to pay for its insertion in such Southern papers. Though having little faith that any Southern newspaper would either dare, or desire, to print a line calling the Christian character of slavery in question—the writer of this addressed a courteous note to the Editor of the Richmond Enquirer, sending a copy of the Remonstrance, and requesting its insertion as an advertisement. No notice was taken of the letter. After waiting several weeks, and receiving no answer, a similar note was addressed to the Washington Union. A copy of the latter note was preserved, and is as follows:

Boston, January 13, 1855.

To the Editors of the Union—
(Washington, District of Columbia.)

GENTLEMEN:

I have lately received from Edinburgh, Scotland, a 'Friendly Remonstrance on the subject of Slavery,' addressed to the People of the United States of America. The original is signed by some 40,000 persons of Scotland. The senders have requested me to obtain its publication in some Southern Journal or journals, if possible; and have forwarded to me a sum of money to pay for such publication.

The enclosed is a copy of the Remonstrance. Will you give it an insertion in the Union? If you see fit, so to do—on receiving from you a copy of the paper containing it, I will immediately forward to you the above named sum.

If you decline to insert it, please give me a reply to that effect, and much obliged.

Yours, in the hope of a truly free country.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
No. 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Although it is not the object of this report to speak of things transpiring beyond the borders of New England, yet we must give expression to our feelings of high satisfaction in the progress our cause is making on the other side of the water. The Anti-Slavery Conference held at Manchester, England, on the first of August last, was a most highly respectable assemblage, and an important event in our history. A large number of gentlemen, from various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, composed the Conference. There was also present, as a faithful friend and able representative of American Anti-Slavery, PARKER PILLSBURY. The Conference passed a series of strong and effective resolutions, and among them one of warm sympathy with the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, commending it to the confidence and support of all who desire the abolition of slavery. Near the end of November, another Anti-Slavery Conference, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, was held in London. It was well attended, and several ladies were recognized and admitted as delegates. Our friend Mr. Pillsbury was present also at this Conference, by the courteous invitation of its Secretary, Mr. Chamerovous. This Conference, by a majority, refused an expression of sympathy to the American A. S. Society, or to so much as recognize its existence, and struck from its resolutions all but the most general reference to American Abolitionists. That Society asks no favors, at home or abroad, and surely had no reason to expect sympathy from men who, belonging to the British and Foreign A. S. Society, have been its most insidious and bitter enemies for fifteen years. But it was a question for those men to decide for themselves, whether they could honorably withhold a resolution of sympathy and regard from a Society, against which all that is vile and corrupt, all that is malignant, secessionary and proscriptive, all that is oppressive and pro-slavery in our land, has been always, and persistently, and most bitterly arrayed. Mr. PILLSBURY, though weakened by his severe illness, made a most able and noble defence of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and demonstrated in the very ears of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, how unworthy and ungenerous their course, and that of their late Secretary, Mr. Scole, had been, and how many obstacles they had thrown in the way of the abolition of Slavery, by their

own religious fellowship and alliance with some of the worst pro-slavery sects in America. Mr. PILLSBURY established a new claim to the confidence, esteem, and love of American Abolitionists by his manly and judicious course at the London Conference.

Nor will we forget to bear our testimony to the good work done by the London Anti-Slavery Advocate. With great ability and good judgment, clearness of moral vision, excellent spirit, and undeviating fidelity, this Journal has maintained the cause of uncompromising anti-slavery. It is now in the third year of its existence. The best thanks of all the friends of true freedom are due to those who, at great personal sacrifice of time, labor, and money, have sustained it so long and so well.

To this note also, no answer has been received. The upholders of Slavery of course cannot be expected to observe the common courtesies of social life. A natural shame, also, would deter them from the confession that they dare not listen even to a 'Friendly Remonstrance' on their great sin against man and against God,—much less be the vehicle of conveying such remonstrance to thousands of others, some of whom might be touched by its appeals, perhaps even 'pricked in their hearts,' so as to ask, 'Men and brethren, what shall we do?' We bring this paper to a close—already too long—by calling to our minds those of our associates—true and faithful spirits—who, during the past year, have been called from earth, and have ceased from their labors here. Among them we will mention but one—JONAS M. FISK, of West Brookfield. The son of an Orthodox clergyman, and brought up in a rigid conformity to sectarian ideas and limits, the Anti-Slavery cause came to him as a severe trial and test of his humanity, and his reverence for God. It was a struggle, but he came out from it the victor. Compelled to choose between fidelity to God and to conscience on the one side, and the favor and fellowship of a powerful but pro-slavery church on the other, he did not hesitate, but boldly and nobly declared for Freedom, for Truth, and for the Downfall of Oppression of every kind. In the long contest he was called to wage with the pro-slavery church in his town, he maintained his position with singular ability and skill, and with entire success. For many years he served the Anti-Slavery cause with a spirit of most exemplary devotedness, with a rare judgment, and with a large charity to all who differed. As President, or Secretary, or Treasurer of the Worcester County South Anti-Slavery Society, (for at different times he held all these offices) he was the best officer that Society ever had—as we think all its members will cheerfully agree. He was long a Vice-President of this Society, and one who, in every position, won the confidence and respect of the friends of the cause. A painful and long-protracted disease deprived us of his active co-operation for several of his last years; but his heart was right and true to the end. His body was taken for funeral services into the identical church which, in the vigour of his life and in obedience to the voice of God in his soul, he had renounced and come out from, because of its determined participation in the sin of enslaving millions of their fellow-men. In that house a pro-slavery minister, and one who within twenty-four hours refused so much as to read a notice of a lecture by one who had been an American slave, went through a service in mockery of all true religion, meanly taking advantage of the death-closed lips of our friend, to beseech the people of that church to forgive the deceased his sin of causing dissensions among them, and now he was dead, to forget him, his example, his rebukes of their faithlessness, and his labors for the oppressed, as fast as possible—burying all in his yet open grave;—for, if not the exact words, this was the substance and spirit of them.—But the people of that town and vicinity will not forget John M. Fisk. They knew his truthful, disinterested, benevolent, honourable character too well to bury it out of their recollection at the call of a time-serving priest. And, for ourselves, we are thankful to have known him, and to have been honoured by his friendship and fellowship. And we rejoice in the belief that an unclouded vision now has opened to his eyes, which no disease can dim. May his memory be to us a blessed one, and one of the rich inheritances we have derived from our noble cause—a cause which brings Freedom to our own souls, no less than to the down-trodden Slave.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
General Agent of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society.

THE WESLEYAN.

We have copied a short article, on our first page, from the *Syracuse Wesleyan*, written in the narrow and ungenerous spirit which usually characterises the lucubrations of its editor, whenever making any reference to the American Anti-Slavery Society—towards which, he seems to be incapable of exhibiting any thing availing of justice or magnanimity. He is the last survivor of the 'new organization' malignants, for all the rest appear to have 'died out.' It will be seen that 'he is greatly shocked that, at the recent London Conference, an attempt was made to get a recognition of the American A. S. Society, as worthy of approbation for its faithful adherence to the cause of the slave for more than a score of years; and as much delighted to learn that the Conference was so illiberal as to refuse to make any such acknowledgment. But, while he thinks it was impudent for the old Pioneer Society to look for any such token of regard, it was 'an ungenerous and cruel act' for the Hon. GEORGE THOMPSON to suggest that no special laudation should be made of the Anti-Slavery members of Congress, if the Conference were not prepared to do so small an act of justice to the Society which had shaken the American nation to its centre. This large-hearted editor speaks of PARKER PILLSBURY having indulged in 'an episode of abuse (!) of the British and Foreign Society, whose platform he stood on.' What Mr. Pillsbury did was to arraign that Society, or rather its Committee, to their faces, for having been guilty, during the last fourteen years, of defaming the American A. S. Society, in the most dastardly manner, to gratify a sectarian spite; and, so self-convinced were they of their baseness thus boldly exposed to the Conference, that not one of them attempted to make any defence whatever! They were dumb!

JEWISH BONDMEN AND BONDWOMEN. In reply to the inquiry of our respected friend, E. W. TWING, of Springfield, we beg leave to say that if the verses which he has quoted from the 25th chapter of Leviticus, in regard to Jewish servitude, fairly warrant the purely American interpretation which is given to them by the defenders of CHATTEL SLAVERY, (which we do not believe,) they do not constitute THE BIBLE itself, the spirit of which, as a volume, (as we read and understand it,) is as clearly opposed to the sin of oppression as light is to darkness. Quotations in proof of this might be made to any extent. We would refer our friend to the masterly examination of this whole subject by Judge JAY, and to WELD'S 'BIBLE ARGUMENT'—two vindications of the Jewish code which no competent Biblical expositor has ever attempted to refute, and which it is believed have not been answered, because they are unanswerable.

It gives us pleasure to chronicle the election of Hon. HENRY WILSON, as United States Senator from Massachusetts, in the place of Edward Everett, resigned. Though far from agreeing with Mr. Wilson in all his political ideas, and having no sympathy with his position in the 'Know-Nothing' ranks, yet we believe him to be an out-spoken and sincere Anti-Slavery man, one who will not sit dumb in the Senate when Massachusetts is insulted, or when the enemies of freedom are to be met. In the circumstances, his election is to be viewed as an anti-slavery triumph.—

No. 6 of the New Series of Tracts, issued by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY for gratuitous distribution, has been prepared by Hon. JOHN G. FALGOUT, and will be stereotyped and printed as soon as possible. Other tracts are also in preparation, by different persons.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

BUY THOU THE TRUTH.

BY JANE ASHBY.

Buy the truth, and sell it not.—Prov. 23: 23.

Buy thou the Truth. It is not lightly won;
Long, patient search alone can make it thine.
Buy thou the Truth; such labor do not shun;
Deep, deep the jewel lies—explore the mine.
Falsehood may glitter; but, on noon-day shine,
Pales the dim lamp, so will Truth's glory shine.

Buy thou the Truth; 'tis the most precious gem
The wide earth holds. Oh! they are mean and poor,
That gleam and flash upon the diadem
Of haughtiest monarch! All his glittering store,
If Truth be wanting, there is nought in them
Can compensate its loss, can peace ensure.

Buy thou the Truth by suffering in its cause;
Shrink not through human love or human fear;
All else thou hast risk freely—do not pause;
Truth must be dearly bought to make it dear.
Well it repays obedience to its laws;
The noblest prize is won by toil severe.

Buy thou the Truth, or it is not indeed
Thine own. Take not, as thine, what others call
Thy Truth; though Fear, though Indulgence may plead,
Shielding themselves beneath the sacred pall
Of meek Humility. Shouldst thou succeed,
Possess'd of Truth, thou richest art of all.

Sell not that Truth which thou hast won with care,
Though persecution round thy path be rife;
Yet, though so dearly purchased, freely share
With all less able to sustain the strife;
Aid thou the weak, the timid ones to dare
All for that fountain of man's better life.

And what is Truth? Creator! 'tis to know
Why man was made, and what his destiny;
Wherefore on earth he strives with sin and woe,
And what shall lead him to his home on high.
Oh, Father! thou art Love; and He, the Way,
Taught man that love will guide his steps aright
In Duty's path, leading to Heaven's bright day—
Taught him that Truth is Love, is Goodness, Duty,
Light.

For the Liberator.

TO THE SPHYNX OF THE NUBIAN DESERT.

BY THE SAME.

Beauty and intellect we fondly name,
We, the pale children of the temperate zone,
As our proud birthright. Is it ours alone?
Shares not each race, each color in the claim?

And thou art beautiful, O thou desert Queen!
Passionless grace endiames thee now;
Age has succeeded age, yet still that brow
Retains undimmed its majesty serene.

Beauty has many types. When great and free,
Lords of rich Nilus, Ethiop monarchs pass'd
Through crowded cities, rock-built temples vast,
Did they in conscious power resemble thee?

Thou, mystery of the desert, dost unite
The past, the present, and the future time;
Calmly contemplative, thy brow sublime
Scans the wild desert with prophetic sight.

Hearst thou the iron steeds of Commerce rush,
Bearing Art, Peace, and Freedom in their train?
Seest, with Isaiah-vision, waving grain
Clothe the drear sands, and living fountains gush?

Art a prophetic type of Ethiopia race,
When all earth's children, of whatever hue,
United, form one band of brethren true,
Worship one Father-God, and share his grace?

God hath made nought in vain. Although a flood
Of sin and crime long centuries hath swept
O'er earth, and Wrong hath triumphed, Right hath
Love shall renew her prime, again pronounce her
'Good.'

From the Portland Inquirer.

A CALL TO ACTION.

From the far-off Southern valleys
Comes a cry of deep despair;
Comes a wailing note to tell us
Breaking, bleeding hearts are there.

Africa, groaning in her bondage,
Doth her fettered hands stretch forth,
Asking—shall it be vainly?
Succor from the freeborn North.

Stealthily within the bosom
Of our broad and ample land,
Hath the Man of Sin now gathered
Many a strong and loyal band.

And the freedom that our fathers
Gave to our brightest dower,
Who shall say it may not totter
When his minions strike for power?

Still another curse is brooding
Darkly o'er our valleys fair,
Still man tempts his weaker brother
With the wine-cup's fatal snare.

Not yet have we shorn the viper
Of his deadly power to kill;
Yet he lurks around our pathways,
Bruised, but living, living still!

Shall our hands be idly folded?
Shall we careless, slothful, stand,
While this flood of wrong and error
Sweeps o'er our beloved land?

His, who toiled and suffered for us,
His, who wrought our mercy's pain,
Gives he not the broad commission—
Labor for your fellow man!

ARE SLAVES PROPERTY?

AN ADVERTISEMENT UNDER EMPHATICISM.

'The limbs and members of my servant are not mine, but his.'

BY REV. DR. THOMAS WELLS.

I offer at auction my man John;
A likelier negro never looked on;
A fine, stout fellow, robust and tall,
Without a blemish ever so small.

See what a hand! you'd know 'twas made
For the skillful use of a cunning trade.
Did ever you feel such muscles as these?
He has the power of a Hercules.

I would not sell him, but funds are low;
It hurts my feelings, but John must go.
Yet, one word duty compels me to say,
Before the fellow I bargain away:

'Tis not the man himself that I sell,
And what it is I can hardly tell.
This body, so healthy, compact and neat,
From his curly pate to his nimble feet,
Belongs to himself—I am sure not to me—
How absurd such a notion as that would be!

His soul—I'm afraid more pure than mine—
His soul is his own, by a right divine.
'Tis a puzzling subject beyond my wit;
I must have the doctors to settle it.
However, it makes no change in the trade;
'Twill be a good bargain as ever was made;
And you'll feel all the better—'er do since I'm told
It is not the man, but—what is it?—we hold.

A USEFUL LIFE.

'Is anything, in a world of woe,
'Tis something, in a life of pain,
When all at length is past, to know,
We have not lived in vain.'

THE LIBERATOR.

GOD VS. NATURE.

BRO. MCARTHUR.

To a certain extent, you misunderstand, and therefore misrepresent me. I am not a materialist, as you define materialism. I believe in the eternity of matter. We cannot conceive of its non-existence. It is the previous non-existence and subsequent creation of matter, and not its eternal existence, that seems absurd and impossible. Matter must exist; it couldn't do anything else. Its existence is natural—its non-existence impossible. But if God made matter, of what did he make it? Something can never be made of nothing. If God could make a universe of matter out of nothing, what can he not do? He can suspend the laws of mechanics, mathematics and chemistry. He can make two mountains with no valley between them, produce water by the combination of oxygen and nitrogen, and multiply two by two and get five for a product.

Contempt for Law is one of the pernicious effects of the belief in a God. Law is thought to be a thing that can be made and unmade. The idea of the immutability of law is not dreamed of. It is now one thing, now another. The arbitrary will of God at one time, the people at another, is thought to be law. Whatever God wills, whether right or wrong, is right because he wills it. So of the people; they are God's imitators. Belief in God establishes the principle that natural law or principle is not supreme and unchangeable, and people act accordingly.

While I believe that matter is eternal, I regard it as powerless in itself, inanimate, void of intelligence. Self-existent matter is, naturally and necessarily, under the control of self-existent law. There is a Spiritual Universe, and a Material Universe. There is gross matter, and refined matter—(as electricity.) The term 'essence' I do not like, as I do not know what it means. Refined matter can pervade gross matter, but cannot occupy the same space. The impenetrability of matter is one of the simple principles of material philosophy, (not 'natural' philosophy, all philosophy is natural.) Electricity pervades an iron bar, but does not occupy the same space; the particles of the refined matter occupy the interstices between the coarser particles of the iron. There is matter compared with which electricity is gross. The forms of our Spirit forms are composed of such matter. Love, justice, truth, law, &c., are principles, and do not occupy space. If you say that these constitute God, and that God and universal principle (or law) are one and the same; or, better, that the Spiritual Universe is the mind of God, and the Material Universe his body, I have no quarrel with you, except as to the use of terms. I prefer the term 'Nature,' and give up the term God to those who believe in a being—a personal God. Beings occupy space, and no being can be infinite or omnipresent.

You say matter does not occupy all space; but it does, though. There is no such thing as a vacuum. Matter changes places with matter—that is all. There is no nothing. There is no such thing as creation. We cannot imagine non-existence. You say, 'space is unbounded.' True. In another place you say, 'We cannot conceive of space without matter.' Enough said. But you make God the author of space? Now, I cannot imagine the non-existence of space, and forgive me for saying that you cannot.

You say God is not the author of 'truth, justice and love.' But I thought God was a 'Universal Creator'—the author of all things. I fear your God will prove not to be God. If he is not the author of these principles, he is the author of any? If so, what ones? If God is not the author of Justice, is he the author of Law? 'Justice is the soul of Law.' Rather, Justice is Law—the two are inseparable. You have robbed God of one of his essential and most important attributes. Do you reflect that, stripped of any one of his attributes, he is no longer God? If there is no Universal Creator, there is no God. You complain that I call God a 'lawless' being. But if God is the author of law, he must have existed, previously, without law, and was, of course, 'lawless'; for that is a lawless being who does not conform to law, and that he could not do, for there was no law.

'What did God do before creation?' Here you misrepresent my argument entirely. You say God could have employed himself with 'mental and spiritual creations.' Why attempt to limit the argument to material things? The argument is this: God made 'all things,' both spiritual and material, and previous to their creation, there was, of course, nothing in existence, either of a material or spiritual nature; and further, there must have been a whole eternity previous to their creation, during which eternity there was nothing in existence but God; it follows that God existed for a whole eternity, 'doing nothing.' What can be plainer? Do you say he occupied himself with contemplation? This he could not do, for there was nothing to think about! But he could not exist, even; no being, much less an Infinite Being, can exist without law. And an Infinite Being could not exist without universal law, without universal principle. It would take a universe of law, principle, spirituality, to constitute an Infinite Being. Hence the Spiritual Universe, including our own mentality, constitutes God. Here we have the true idea, but an improper term. Let us give that up.

About God abolishing slavery. Do not you and other Christians ask him to do it? Now, either he can or he cannot. If he cannot, you are very foolish to ask him. But if he can and won't, he is a very great scoundrel. No more on that point.

You ask me to show how moral evil can be prevented by a divine being. I can't do it. Law is supreme—the Universe, spiritual and material, is under its control. All any being has to do is to obey or disobey, and take the consequences.

My Brother, I am 'really searching for the truth,' and am of the opinion that the further examination of this subject will not be unprofitable. You are abundantly able, I judge, to do justice to your side of the question. I hope you will present the 'proofs,' and especially I wish you to tell how much and what God is, how much and what he has created, and what part of the Spiritual Universe is self-existent.

FRANCIS BARRY.
BERLIN HEIGHTS, O., Jan. 14, 1855.

A FEW THOUGHTS.

Because a present sin is inexcusable, is no proof that the individual, after suffering consequences, may not be ready to give it up, and then be saved.

Sin, like a compost heap, continues to do evil till it is resolved into elements of fertility. Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death, but goodness is never finished.

The better we become, the worse sin appears. The world seems worse now than in former days, because we have grown better.

As the vegetable kingdom is the mineral kingdom plus something higher, as the animal kingdom is the mineral and vegetable kingdom plus something higher, so the Gospel is the Law plus something higher. It contains absolute morality, positive law, and what is higher, that heart-moving Power wherewith the law may be fulfilled. It is not only Truth, but Grace. As the something higher in each of the above instances is that which distinguishes the kingdom, so it is Grace which distinguishes the Gospel.

Laws are not expressions of the moral sentiment of the Public, but of the rational conceptions of the Public Moral Sentiment creates not laws, but obedience to good laws. It is true, that a good moral sentiment helps the Reason see what is right, but its great office is to prompt men to do what is right. Enlightened and purified Reason sees glorious visions. The regenerated heart moves us to realize the ideals of the mind.

It shows much love, if we punish wrong-doers for their good; it shows more, if we move them to repent. Punishment is the inevitable and beneficent act of good persons upon bad persons; but it must be begun,

continued and followed by manifest tokens of affecting love, else no conversion of the offender will take place. It is because Love is more manifest at the bedside and in the church, that these places are more potent for immediate good than court-houses and jails; though courts-houses and jails may be built by benevolence.

We may, and should, each, judge for himself, seeking light from above, around, and within, what is right in itself. What is right in itself is obligatory—but no written statute is obligatory, if it is not founded on that which is right in itself.

Some say we must obey the Fugitive Slave Law till it is repealed; that we must support the Constitution till so amended as to abolish us from breaking the higher law; but this is not good logic, nor sound morality. No law, though backed up by words and bayonets, and yet not right in itself, should be obeyed for an instant, but resisted and overcome by what is right. Even Uncle Tom would have been a higher character, if he had broken trust with his usurpers, and fled with Eliza to the land of Freedom.

It is a law of Christian Morals that we are to bear wrong when we can overcome it with right. Inevitable evils are to be borne with patience, but all that can be overcome by good, should be.

W. G. B.

THE BIBLE AND SLAVERY.

SPRINGFIELD, JAN. 21, 1855.

FRIEND GARRISON:

In the report of the doings of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Convention, published in THE LIBERATOR of last week, the reporter says that Mr. GARRISON declared his belief that the Bible does not sanction slavery, &c. Now, if such is your belief, will you be so kind as to inform the readers of THE LIBERATOR what it is that is sanctioned in the following text, viz.: 'Both your bond-men and your bond-maid which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maid. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they began to your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bond-men forever; but over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour.'—Leviticus xxi: 44-45.

Yours, most sincerely,

For truth and right,

E. W. TING.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A VISIT TO LUDLOW, ENGLAND.

From 'Places and People Abroad,' by WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

It was in the latter part of December, and on one of the coldest nights that I have experienced, that I found myself seated before the fire, and alone, in the principal hall in the town of Ludlow, and within a few minutes' walk of the famous old castle from which the town derives its name. A ride of one hundred and fifty miles by rail, in great uncomfortable carriages as no country except Great Britain furnishes for the weary traveller, and twenty miles on the top of a coach, in a driving rain, caused me to return in the fire side to a later hour than I otherwise would have done. 'Did you ring, sir?' asked the waiter, as the clock struck twelve. 'No,' I replied; but I felt that this was the servant's mode of informing me that it was time for me to retire to bed, and consequently I asked for a candle, and was shown to my chamber, and was soon in bed. From the weight of the covering on the bed, I felt sure that the extra blanket which I had requested to be put on was there; yet I was shivering with cold. As the sheets began to get warm, I discovered, to my astonishment, that they were damp; indeed, very. My first thought was to ring the bell for the chambermaid, and have them changed; but, after a moment's consideration, I resolved to adopt a different course. I got out of bed, pulled the sheets off, rolled them up, raised the window, and threw them into the street. After disposing of the wet sheets, I returned to bed and got in between the blankets, and lay there trembling with cold till Morphine came to my relief. The next morning I said nothing about the uncomfortable bed, but I had experienced, and determined to leave it until they discovered the loss of the sheets. As soon as I had breakfasted, I went out to view the castle. For many years, this was one of the strongest baronial fortifications in England. It was from Ludlow Castle that Edward, Prince of Wales, and his brother, were taken to London and put to death in the Tower, by order of their uncle, Richard III., before that villain seized upon the crown. The family of Mortimer for centuries held the castle, and consequently, ruled the country. The castle rises from the point of a headland, and its foundations are ingrafted into a bare gray rock. The front consists of square towers, with high connecting walls. The castle is a complete ruin, and has been for centuries; large trees are still growing in the midst of the old pile, which give it a picturesque appearance. It was here that the exquisite effusion of the youthful genius of Milton—The Masque of Comus was composed, and performed some time since by Charles I. in 1634. Little did the king think that the poet would one day be secretary to the man who should put him to death and rule his kingdom. Although a ruin, this fact is enough to excite interest, and to cause one to venerate the old building, and to do homage to the memory of the divine poet who hallowed it with his immortal strains. From a visitor's book that is kept at the gatehouse, I copied the following verses:

'Here Milton sung! What needs a greater spell
To lure thee, stranger, to these far-famed walls?
Though chronicles of other ages tell
That princes oft have gazed far off his halls,
Their honours glowing on the walls of stream,
And o'er the wreck of time of ruin drives;
Faint and more faint the rays of glory beam
That gild their course—the bard alone survives.
And when the rude, uncaring shrouds of time
In one vast heap shall whelm this life of pile,
Still shall his genius tower above the gloom,
Still shall his name be hailed as the grandeur smile;
Still in these haunts, true to a nation's tongue,
Echo shall love to dwell, and say, Here Milton sung.'

I lingered long in the room pointed out to me as the one in which Milton wrote his 'Comus.' The castle was not only visited by the author of 'Paradise Lost,' but here, amidst the noise and bustle of civil dissensions, Samuel Butler, the satirical author of 'Hudibras,' found an asylum. The part of the tower in which it is said he composed his work, is a small window, through which the light found its way. On a stone, chiselled with great beauty, was a figure in a weeping position, and underneath it some one had written with pencil, in a legible hand:

'The Muse, too, weeps in hallowed hour
Here sacred Milton owned her power,
And woke to nobler song.'

The weather was exceedingly cold, and made more so by the stone walls partly covered with snow and frost around us, and I returned to the inn. It being near the time for me to leave by the coach for Hereford, I called for my bill. The servant went out of the room, but soon returned, and began stirring up the fire with the poker. 'I again told him that the coach would shortly be up, and that I wanted my bill.' 'Yes, sir, in a moment,' he replied, and left in haste. Ten or fifteen minutes passed away, and the servant once more came in, walked to the window, pulled up the blinds, and then went out. I saw that something was in the wind; and it occurred to me that he had discovered the loss of the sheets. The waiter soon returned again, and in rather an agitated manner, said, 'I beg your pardon, sir, but the landlady is in the hall, and would like to speak to you.' 'Out I went, and found the first specimen of an English landlady that I had seen for many a day. There she stood, nearly as thick as the wall was high, with a red face, garnished around with curls, that seemed to say, 'I have just been brushed and oiled.' A neat apron covered a black alpaca dress that swept the ground with modesty, and a bunch of keys hung at her side. 'O, that smile! such a smile as none but a woman who had often been before a mirror could put on. How-

ever, I had studied human nature too successfully not to know that thunder and lightning were concealed under that smile; and I nerved myself up for the occasion. 'I am sorry to have to name it, sir,' said she, 'but the sheets are missing off your bed.' 'O, yes,' I replied. 'I took them off last night.' 'Indeed!' exclaimed she, 'and pray what have you done with them?' 'I threw them out of the window,' said I. 'What! into the street?' 'Yes, into the street,' said I. 'What did you do that for?' 'They were wet; and I was afraid if I left them in the room, they would be put on at night, and give somebody else a cold.' And here I coughed with all my might, to remind her that I had suffered from the negligence of her chambermaid. The heaving of the chest and panting for breath which the lady was experiencing at this juncture told me plainly that an explosion was at hand; and the piercing glance of those wicked-looking black eyes, and the rapid changes that came over that never-to-be-forgotten face, were enough to cause the most love-lorn man in the world to give up all idea of matrimony, and to be contented with being his own master. 'Then, sir,' said the lady, 'you will have to pay for the sheets.' 'O, yes,' replied I; 'I will pay the bill to put them in the bill, and I will send the bill to the landlady's public house, and let the travelling public know how much you charge for wet sheets!' and I turned upon my heel and walked into the room.

A few minutes after, the servant came in and laid before me the bill. I looked, but in vain, to see how much I had been charged for my hasty indiscretion the previous night. No mention was made of the sheets; and I paid the bill as it stood. The blowing of the coachman's horn was heard, and I, a double inducement to every member of the House to liberate him; and when in New York one, meeting some North Carolina brokers, having the paper money of their State, he took gold from his pocket, and redeemed the paper at its full value, for the honor of his native State. (Mr. McK.) hoped such conduct would not be overlooked.

Mr. Smith made some remarks in opposition to the bill.

Mr. Vance said he was a friend of Jerry's, and moved that his dagger be sent to the Senate, with a proposition to print.

Mr. Jordan spoke at considerable length in opposition to the bill, which he considered as establishing too many free negroes in the State, and were not made happy by their emancipation, but were, in his opinion, more miserable than any slaves. Free negroes have become a nuisance, and, for his part, he would not vote for the emancipation of Jerry, or any other, unless the bill in their behalf provided a provision to send them out of the country altogether.

On the motion to put the bill on its second reading, the yeas and noes were called. Those who voted in the negative were: Messrs. Bryant, Chadwick, Daughtry, Gilliam, Green, Harrison, Jones, Jordan, Martin, Perkins, Simmons, Smith, Watts, White, Whitfield, Whitaker, Williams—17.

Ninety-four voted in the affirmative, and the bill passed a second reading.

As Freedom is deemed a curse to the black man in the South, we are sorry to point to this act of the North Carolina Legislature, as another illustration of Southern cruelty.—National Era.

SOUTHERN MARKETS.

The Savannah Georgian, of the 9th ult., has the following market intelligence:—

Monday last, the 1st, was 'general sales day' throughout many of the Southern States—a day when sheriffs, executors, &c., offer property at public auction, to satisfy executions, close estates, &c. We notice, from reported sales in various localities, that property, generally, brought good prices.

As affording gratifying evidence that the 'ring' and 'corner' has been broken up, in this city, railroad and bank stocks, lands and negroes, sold well, bringing, generally, all they were worth. In Columbia, (S. C.) two plantations were sold—one for \$6000, the other for \$9300. Negroes sold at a range of from \$150 to \$1005, according to age, sex, and condition. Girls, from fifteen to seventeen, brought from \$50 to \$750; boys, same ages, from \$60 to \$750. Eight negroes, from one estate, averaged \$738 each. We need no better evidence than these figures to show that the country is not a man of power. But the individual who rushed to the rescue of the endangered science was no other than the weak, the shallow, the conceited, the Buncombean, Sir David Brewster. Since Voltaire's time, with how much wit, force, and eloquence mankind have been told what, in every branch of science and inquiry, they ought not to believe. But when it comes to positive instruction, we find that the men who essay to do the sort of good work as we do, 'Way-ward Political Economy,' or the last book on 'Infidelity.'

The lecture on Slavery, delivered a few evenings since, by Mr. Wendell Phillips, at the Tabernacle, set us upon this train of thought. Wendell Phillips we must call the very best popular speaker we ever heard. He is a master of his art. Tall and finely formed, graceful in attitude and gesture, with a commanding presence and the air of a gentleman, quiet in manner and slow of speech, he has the power of a general, an imagination lively enough, but under strict control, incapable of clap-trap, independent of Buncombe both in money and in mind, patriotic, yet not blind to his country's faults, earnest but not bitter, severe, yet too wise to be uncharitable, Wendell Phillips, the worthy son of a noble stock, seems formed to delight at once and lash the age. How well he speaks! No waste of power. No straining for effect. No 'burets of eloquence.' Every thing is subdued, strong, and telling. He stood upon the audience with unexpected points, and surprises them into enthusiasm. This is one of his stories:

A black man once went to Portland and attended church. He went into a good pew, and the next neighbor asked the man who owned it why he put a nigger into his pew. 'Why, sir, he is a Haytian.' 'Can't help that—he's black.' 'Why, sir, he's a correspondent of mine.' 'Can't help that—he's black.' 'He's worth a million of dollars.' 'Introduce me.'

And this is another:

I lectured, not a month ago, in a manufacturing town in New England, in the town hall, on the Sabbath day. Beside me sat a German man, who, two months before, had been ejected from his pulpit for preaching Anti-Slavery! He had been turned out of his church, and a record made in the church book that he should not be allowed to exchange with his successor. When he preached in the town hall, the benches were filled with hundreds who used to fill the seats of his church. They passed in front of it, and left his successor preaching to six pews full. I said to one familiar with the town, 'How is this?' and he answered, 'The six men who sit in these pews are the richest men in town; they could buy us all.' 'Ah!' said I, 'they have bought you!'

It is that last word, 'the introduce me!' 'they have bought you!' which brings down the frowse. The audience felt it coming before it comes, and restrain the chuckle in order to be in at the roar. For a Yankee audience, a better speaker never spoke.

And yet all this power must be expended in pulling down, and that, too, at a time when so much needs to be built up. We know well that the work of reconstruction can begin, but we do not think that a man of Wendell Phillips's fine endowments might find here and there among the ruins, a place to plant a stone or two. Questions of boundless moment press for a solution. Nothing has yet been settled in this nation on its final basis—nothing! We applaud the zeal, the disinterestedness, the daring of Wendell Phillips; but it is that such a man should be so exclusively identified with one class of ideas.

We think that the principal reason why Horace Greeley has become a power in this country, is that he has tried to build rather than destroy. He has done his share, it is true, of the needful labor of destruction; he has ridiculed, he has opposed, he has refuted, he has denied; but his principal aim has been, it seems to us, to construct, and to 'reconstruct' the country. He has had something positive to offer—he, almost alone.

Mrs. Emma R. Coe was on Friday, Jan. 12, registered at the office of the District Court, Philadelphia, as a student-at-law into the office of William T. Pierce, a member of the Philadelphia Bar. Mrs. Coe is known as one of the leaders in the 'Woman's Rights' movement.—N. Y. Tribune.

From the Greenboro' (N. C.) Patriot, Dec. 28, 1854.

EMANCIPATION OF JERRY.

Most of our readers have doubtless heard of 'Jerry,' a slave belonging to the Hon. D. M. Barringer. It appears that Mr. B. is desirous of setting Jerry free. The following is a sketch of the proceedings on the bill to emancipate Jerry, in the House of Commons, Dec. 5:

'The bill for the emancipation of Jerry was taken up for a second reading.

Mr. Smith, of Halifax, said that he was opposed on principle to the emancipation of slaves, and wished to know something about the slave.

Mr. Myers replied at considerable length, explaining some peculiar circumstances connected with Jerry's history, and appealing strongly in his behalf.

Mr. Dargan followed in the same strain.

Mr. Barringer said Jerry had been in his service fourteen years, and had travelled with him in Europe; that during all that time, he had never heard the slightest thing alleged against him, but, on the contrary, he was a universal favorite. He is remarkable for his honesty and humanity, and in his (Mr. B.'s) opinion, is one of the colored men living. While at the North, as well as in his own country, he has numerous opportunities to escape, but he preferred returning, that he might be set free legally in his own State.

Mr. Shepherd spoke in behalf of Jerry, (producing his daguerreotype, which was handed round.) Mr. Steele was opposed to allowing any precedent in the emancipation of slaves.

Mr. McKesson said the very creditable manner in which Jerry conducted himself among the Abolitionists of the North last summer, was a double inducement to every member of the House to liberate him; and when in New York one, meeting some North Carolina brokers, having the paper money of their State, he took gold from his pocket, and redeemed the paper at its full value, for the honor of his native State. (Mr. McK.) hoped such conduct would not be overlooked.

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