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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, canis and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-Personal and series and scriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial ce, but are pot asponsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray LORISO, EDICED QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILDRICK, and Wasted Phillips

I is the columns of The Linerator, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Staveholders!

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

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

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

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

THE STIPULATION TO SURBENDER PUOTIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinal; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for BLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repre-senting the oppressed ! . . To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of

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

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

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF BLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. :- John Quincy Adams.

VOL. XXV. NO. 44.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1855.

WHOLE NUMBER 1113.

THE LIBERATOR.

THE BOSTON MOB OF FIVE THOUSAND GENTLEMEN OF PROPERTY AND STANDING! OCT. 21, 1835.

Is porlance with a call issued by a Committee of ngements, the Anti-Slavery friends in Boston and sicipity assembled at Stacy Hall, 46 Washington street, Calman's Block, (the identical spot which was the sect of the ever memorable outbreak of 1835,) on Sundy, the 21st October, at 2 o'clock, P. M. The weather vs exceedingly unpropitious, but the hall was filled to is atmost capacity, and the ante-rooms leading to it sere crowded with eager and interested listeners. Selis it the privilege and blessing of any man to look sees such a concourse of noble men and devoted, selfserificing women ; and the spectacle, with the solemn and deeply interesting proceedings of the occasion, will not, we have faith to believe, be without an abiding and tenfornt influence upon the hearts of all present.

At about half-past two o'clock, the meeting was called to order by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, who said-

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,-It is a stormy day to-day, sol it was a very stormy day twenty years ago this day. The storm of to-day is of the Lord-it is well; the storm twenty years ago was of the Adversary-it was ill. think, if I were to take your suffrages as to the man who of all others ought to preside-to have the honor, allow me to say, to preside-on this occasion, you would all sgree that it is the man who, after the Female Anti-Slavery Society was driven from this place, offered them the use of his house, at the risk of having it pulled down ver his head. I allude to our friend FRANCIS JACKSON. He still lives, and long may he live ; and I propose that he preside on this occasion. Those who are in favor of this proposition will manifest it.

The motion of Mr. Garnison was carried by a unanimoss vote, and Mr. Jackson came forward and took the

FRIENDS,-I am glad to meet you at the old homeged. It was here that one of the mile-stones of the Anti-Slavery movement was erected, and a very important one it is: It marks the progress of the Anti-Slavery movement ; it also marks a most disgraceful spot in the history of Boston.

Twenty years ago this day, I ascended this flight of stairs amidst riotous men, who came to break up an Anti-Slavery meeting, and insult the ladies who held it. That most disgraceful mob effected its object, with the assistance of the Mayor of the city, and the Anti-Slavery ladies were compelled to leave their own Hall, and pass out through a long lane of ruffians dressed in broadcloth; and they were reviled and insulted as they pass-

After this gallant achievement of the mob of ' gentlemea of property and standing,' they made an onset tore it down, and threw it upon the pavement. The nob reared and stamped upon it like wild beasts, and son broke it in pieces.

The most prominent person who was engaged in tearing down the sign was a well-known merchant, who

then kept a store on Central Wharf.
I had some words with several persons well known to ne, relative to the disgraceful transactions going on before us. I expressed to them my abhorrence at such cutrageous conduct; but I was met by a shake of the bend. They said that the abolitionists had outraged public opinion long enough; they did not approve of mobs; but then, the abolitionists deserved to be re-

The principal triumphs of the mob were the breaking up of the Anti-Slavery meeting and the dispersion of the ladies; the destruction of the sign-board, and the easture of the Editor of The Liberator. No ropes were used about the ladies or the sign-board. Not so with friend Garrison; he was too dangerous a man to go unropel or unimprisoned. The prison was thought to be the fittest place for him, and he was locked up in Leverett street jail. He will, however, make his own statement of what befel him.

The outrageous conduct of the mob being upheld by public tentiment, the shopkeepers in the lower part of the building became much alarmed for the safety of their goods, and were very desirous to have the Anti-Slavery office removed from the building. The Society was in debt, their office rent over due, and they feared they night be ejected by their landlord, as summarily as the ladies were by the mob. They therefore mustered gold enough to make a legal tender for their own due rent, and thus put themselves legally, as they always had been morally, right.

I will not, however, occupy your time with these small details. There are other friends present who will interest you more than I can. I see many of the members of the Female Anti-Slavery Society here, and I should be glad to hear from them, as I saw how they were insulted that day. I would therefore invite them to speak, if it is only a few words; it would be very gratifying to hear from them.

Mr. Garanson-The President of the Female Anti-Starery Society, Miss Many Parken, has long since tone to her heavenly home. She it was who prayed, while the mobocrats in the hall were jeering and threatening violence, -she it was who prayed, in a clear and unfaltering voice, thanking God, that while there many to molest, there were none to make afraid. One of the Vice Presidents of the Society, Mrs. THANKFUL Sorrawick, one of the earliest and most faithful friends we have had in the cause, is present with us, and I hope the will take a seat on the platform.

Mrs. Sournwick rose, and said, with deep emotion,-My mind has been so much affected by looking around, and seeing how few are left, that I would rather not. This is to me a very solemn and affecting occasion, to meet the few who yet remain with ue."

At the earnest request of several friends, however, Mrs. Sorrawick convented to come forward, and takes test on the platform ; as did also Miss HESRIETTA SAR-CENT, another long-tried and most devoted friend of the

The following appropriate portion of the Scriptures was then read by Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr. :-

[SELECTIONS PROM THE PSALMS.] If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, ow may largel say; if it had not been the Lord who

was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath

was kindled against us; then the waters had over-whelmed us, the stream had gone over our soul. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth. Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we securion and estracism, which have taken place during

are escaped.

O bless our Lord, ye people, and make the voice of his praise to be heard; which holdeth our soul in life, and suffereth not our feet to be moved. For thou, O God, hast proved us: and thou hast tried us, as silver God, hast proved us: and thou hast tried us, as siver is tried. Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads: we went through fire and through water; but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place.

Many are the afflictions of the righteous: but the

his bones: not one of them all. He keepeth all his bones: not one of them is broken. Evil shall slay the wicked; and they that hate the righteous shall be desolate. The Lord redeemeth the soul of his ser-vants; and none of them that trust in him shall be

desolate.

The Lord will be a refuge for the oppressed, a refuge in times of trouble. And they that know thy name will put their trust in thee: for thou, Lord, hast

name will put their trist in thee; for thou, love, has not forsaken them that seek thee.

When he maketh inquisition for blood, he remembereth them; he forgetteth not the cry of the humble.

Unless the Lord has been my help, my soul had al-

ones the Lord has been his part of the most dwelt in silence.

Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law? They gather themselves together against the soul of the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood. But the Lord is my defence; and my God is the rock of my refuge and he shall bring upon them their own iniquity, and shall cut them off in their own wickedness.

Light is sown for the rightcous, and gladness for the by side with his proud, haughty and oppressive white

Light is sown for the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart.

God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble: therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters thereof roar, and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.

Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help. Happy is he whose hope

he way of the wicked he turneth upside down.

Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.

Praise ye the Lord. A fervent prayer was then offered by Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE; after which the following hymn, ists. Threats of personal violence were multiplied on son, and a portion of it sung by the audience :-

Now, joy and thanks forevermore! The dreary night has well nigh passed; The slumbers of the North are o'er, The giant stands erect at last!

More than we hoped in that dark time, When, faint with watching, few and worn, We saw no welcome day-star climb The cold, gray pathway of the morn!

Oh, weary hours! oh, night of years! What storms our darkling pathway swept, Where, beating back our thronging fears, By faith alone our march we kept!

How jeered the scoffing crowd behind, mocked before the tyrant train, As, one by one, the true and kind Fell fainting in our path of pain!

They died, - their brave hearts breaking slow, But, self-forgetful to the last, In words of cheer and bugle-glow, Their breath upon the darkness passed

A mighty host on either hand Stood waiting for the dawn of day,
To crush like reeds our feeble band:
The morn has come — and, where are they

Troop after troop its line forsakes, With peace-white banners waving free, And from our own the glad shout breaks, Of "Freedom and Fraternity!"

Like mist before the growing light, The hostile cohorts melt away: Hurrah! — our foemen of the night Are brothers at the dawn of day

As, unto these repentant ones, We open wide our toil-worn ranks, Along our line a murmur runs Of song and praise and grateful thanks.

Sound for the onset! blast on blast! Till Slavery's minions cower and quall!
One charge of fire shall drive them fast,
Like chaff before our Northern gale!

Dumb, toiling millions, bound and sold!

Look, stretched in Southern vale and plain,
The Lord's delivering hand behold!

Above the traitor's pride of power, His iron gates and guarded wall, The bolts which shattered Shinah's tower Hang, smoking, for a fiercer fall !

Awake! awake! my Father-land, It is thy Northern light that shines! This stirring march of Freedom's band, The storm-song of thy mountain pines

Wake, dwellers where the day expires! Your winds that stir the mighty lake, And fan your prairies' roaring fires, They're Freedom's signals! — wake! — awake

Mr. Gannison then addressed the audience, as fol-

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON. Mr. President,-I know of no language more approriate to this occasion than that which was uttered y the Apostle eighteen centuries ago. Having obtain-

ed help of God, we continue unto this day." I need not say to any one in this Hall, this afternoon what it is that has brought us together. Twenty years ago, to-day, this atreet was crowded with men inflamed to the highest degree of madness, who riotously at-

commemorate did not spring up out of the ground, or quence of certain strictures in The Linerator, concern-fall like hall from a clear sky. There had been a cause ing their infamous treatment of Miss Chandall. Prior fall like hall from a clear sky. There had been a cause ing their infamous treatment of the same watched and hunted, for it at work, actively, unceasingly, by day and night, to sailing from New York, I was watched and hunted, to sail he will be sailed by the sail he will be sailed by the sail he was watched and hunted and

nal thame upon the city of Boston.

the last twenty years, -the necessary consequences of its application to the consciences and the hearts of a pro-slavery people. Sir, we should have had no trouble in this land-no household divisions-no friends turned into enemies no mobocratic outbreaks if we had not demanded one thing, if we had not made use of one shibboleth. If we had spoken of slavery as an evil, a calamity, a curse to be overthrown at some indefinite period, we might have spoken in Carolina as easily as in Massachusetts ; we might every where have been recognized as good neighbors, excellent citizens, and sound Christians. But the moment the doctrine of immediate, unconditional, everlasting emancipation was enunciated, It was as the voice of God sounding in the ear of this nation, calling upon it at once to repent, to break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free' ;-it was the affirmation of the truth, that under no circumstances could slavery be right for a single moment; that the slave was a man, and, being a man, God made him for freedom; and that there could be no delay in regard to his deliverance, without a compromise of justice. It was the assertion that the black man had a right to be educated here, to be protected by equal laws, to develop brother. The nation could not endure a proclamation

occasion might require. Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help. Happy is he whose hope is in the Lord his God, which executeth judgment for the oppressed, and giveth food to the hungry. The Lord looseth the prisoners; the Lord openeth the eyes of the blind; the Lord raiseth them that are bowed As soon as this doctrine was enunciated, the Slave Power took cognizance of it. It knew that it was ' the down : he relieveth the fatherless and the widow ; but hope of ever putting them down, and that their horrible slave system must be destroyed. Hence, throughout the entire South, the greatest consternation prevailed. The slaveholders, banding themselves together, began to offer rewards for the seizure of prominent Abolition-

of this kind. It was the touchstone whereby all men

were proved. It showed who loved liberty as a vital

principle, and who held it merely as a sentiment, a

matter of expediency, to be repudiated or sustained as

by John Greenleaf Whittier, was read by Mr. Garri- the right hand and on the left. Every mail brought letters to me, declaring that I had only so many days to live that conspiracies had been formed for the purpose of having me abducted-&c. &c. Sometimes I received representations on sheets of paper, showing me up as tarred and feathered, or hung by the neck, or stabbed to the heart, because of my sympathy for the

The North did not so instantaneously participate this feeling of alarm as the South. It was not until the Colonization conspiracy was unmasked, that the North began to heave with indignation and fury, as the South had done in regard to the declaration, that lavery ought to be immediately and forever abolished. One principle unmasked the South, the other the North; for at the North, the Colonization scheme hypocritically assumed to be somewhat anti-slavery, and the people were told, -some were led to believe,that, by helping the scheme, they would help abolish slavery in our land, put a stop to the foreign slave trade, and civilize and evangelize Africa. A large majority of the people, however, being infected by the hateful spirit of colorphobia, naturally rallied around that scheme; caring little or nothing for its humane and pious pretences, -caring to know but one thing about it, namely, that its object was 'to get rid of the niggers'-to use our refined and Christian dialect toward that injured class. They wished them well, hoped they would thrive well-in Africa; but they could not and would not live pecceably with them on the American soil. With opposition to this proscriptive orusade began the most envenomed hostility to the Anti-Slavery cause. The mobocratic spirit ran like wild-fire, North and South. It was impossible to hold Auti-Slavery meetings any where, without danger of personal outrage, often at the peril of life. Men calling themselves respectable, and so esteemed, -occupying high and responsible stations, and reputedly intelligent, virtuous, and patriotic, - were carried away by ' the madness of the hour '-which indeed has proved to be not merely the madness of the hour, but of days, and menths, and years.

At that troublous period, every attempt to elevate the colored man in this country was assailed in the most rabid manner. When, for instance, Miss PRUDENCE CRANDALL, a noble Christian lady in Canterbury, Conn., who had been teaching a school of white young ladies in that village, -feeling her soul baptized into the spirit of deepest sympathy with the oppressed,-made up her mind that she would educate colored young ladies, instead of white, all Canterbury, the region round about, the whole State of Connecticut, combined to crush her. She was denounced by every hateful epithet; though up to that hour, she had been greatly esteemed and admired as a teacher. Among other outrages committed to drive her from the place, the well near her house had a large quantity of filth thrown into it, so that the family should have no water to drink. An agreement was made by the traders of the village, that they would not sell her any thing, even to eat; and she actually had to send to other towns to produce food to keep her family from starvation. Her house was assailed, and brickbats, rotten eggs, and other missiles, were dashed through her windows; and finally, it was set on fire, to burn it down over the heads of the teacher and the taught!

At that eventful period, in the spring of 1833, I was nduced to undertake a mission to England, at the request of my Anti-Slavery condjutors, (a small band indeed,) partly to undeceive WILBERFORCE and CLERKSON, tempted to break up a meeting of Anti-Slavery women, and other emineut philanthropists in that country, in resembled within these walls, for the purpose of look- gard to the real character, design and tendency of the ng to God for strength to overthrow slavery in our American Colonization Society; and partly to solicit and. These quel you all know. Many of you know all aid to establish a Manual Labor School in New England the particulars connected with it.

Before reciting those particulars, it may be well to go behind them,—for the event which we are here to able more clearly to perceive upon whom rests the responsibility for the mobocratic violence which raged at that period like an epidemic, and which brought eteral chame upon the city of Boston.

Let me begin, Mr. Chairman, at the beginning.— Another manifestation of the Colonization spirit was until the vessel railed which conveyed me to England.

made, not long afterward, in the town of Canaan, New
Hampshire, when an effort was made to establish a
school in that place, for the purpose of educating colorlast and the only hope of civil freedom on earth? it was any thing but the land of Canaan to those who it was any thing but the land of Cansan to those who went there to be taught. Again there was a mobocratic outbreak to break up the school. At last, a team of one hundred yoke of oxen was hitched by a chain to the chool-house, and it was dragged off into a swamp! This was the spirit of Colonization,-a spirit which

This was the spirit of Colonization,—a spirit which prepared the way for every outrage that followed.

On my return from England, in 1833, the first mob.—the parent mob, I will call it—of the many that afterwards took place, was that witnessed in the city of New York. The Colonization journals had industriously circulated the lying accusation against me, that I had gone to England for the purpose of slandering and dishonoring my native land,—that I was in league with British tories, conspiring for the overthrow of this resulting the property of the resulting the country.

What renders the conduct of these instigators of treason, robbery and massage still more outrageous public! It happened, on my arrival in the harbor of treason, robbery and massacre still more outrageout New York, that a meeting had been called by the abo-Hall, rendering it impossible to hold a meeting there; best natured in the world. but the abolitionists quietly withdrew to Chatham Street
Chapel, and succeeded in organizing a City Anti-Sla-

val of our noble friend and condjutor, George THOMPsox, of England, in the fall of 1834. He came over compliance with the desire of the friends of the cause on this side of the Atlantic. I had known what he had done in England, for the abolition of slavery in the British West Islands. He was the most eloquent man to whom I had ever listened. Moreover, I found him to be a man world-wide in his spirit, principles and feelings, with nothing English in his composition, in a narrow sense. This was indicated in the answer he made to those who taunted him for being a foreigner, that he was not consulted in regard to the place of his birth; but if he had been, he might have preferred Boston instead of Liverpool, to be the city of his nativity! I felt assured, therefore, that if he should come here at my earnest solicitation when abroad, and in

As soon as he came, however, the cry was raised that judge and the executioner.

he was a British incendiary; that his pockets were filled We admit unhesitatingly, that the proceedings of cause it is a Union cemented with the blood of millions. with British gold; and that it was the design of the Garrison and Thompson, and those Aristocracy of England to upset this 'glorious Union' cours! Designing political demogogues and unprincipled public journalists filled the air with these foul on this subject, whether he be what is termed an Abaccusations, and they fell upon ears accustomed to take olitionist or a Colonizationist, will condemn their coneverything from such sources for granted. When, there-fore, the spirit of American ' patriotism ' was invoked ritate the great mass of the people, under a pretence to put down this dangerous ' foreign emissary,' Geonge THOMPSON was treated as though he were a wild beast. ere reprobation. We have no sympathies for them. It is overwhelmingly affecting to go back, and recall And we cannot help entertaining an opinion that the what he was obliged to pass through; while it is consolatory to know that his coarage never faltered, and
that his Christian heroism was equal to-every emergency. Let me read your some extracts from the them to give security in a large amount for their future papers of that day. There was the New York Journal good behavior. Such a measure, we believe, is what further as malically properties as medically then as now more realistic requires, and what the laws would sanction. of Commerce, as malignant then as now,-more malignant, if that were possible, but I do not know that there can be any going beyond, where everything is absolute and perfect. Then there were the New York Commercial Advertiser and the Courier and Enquirer, daily belching forth their denunciations of the Abolitionists. and representing them to be the vilest of the vile.

Let me first give you an extract from the Courier and Enquirer of that day, and then you may determine whether it was strange that riotous pro-slavery outbreaks followed :-

It is time now for this subject to be taken in hand seriously. The movements of the immediate abolitionists involve not merely the welfare of our country, but the very existence of her institutions; and every citizen from Maine to Mississippi, who has not already made up his mind to a willingness to see our confederacy dissolved, our whole frame of Government eracy dissolved, our whole frame of Government broken up, and an experiment made to better it amidst the confusion, misery and bloodshed of a revolution, is bound to grapple at once with the seditions fanati-cism now abroad. It has become the duty of all classes and all parties — of the hall of legislation — of the press — of the pulpit, and of every good citizen within his own particular sphere of influence, to assist in putting down this TREASON that is stalking through our borders.

in putting down this TREASON that is staining through our borders.

These dangerous men must be met. They agitate a question that must not be tampered with. They are plotting the destruction of our Government, and they must not be allowed to screen themselves from the enormousness of the guilt, under canting pretences, or even under the delusions, in many instances, perhaps, of their own scretched infatuation. The inces, or even under the deliasions, in many instances, perhaps, of their own seretched infatuation. The integrity of this Government, and the general happiness of this great people, are of too much worth to be jeoparded to the caprices of a mad fanaticism; whether urged into career by wickedness or by folly. We do not stop to inquire whether the incendiary is about to set our house on fire from motives of ill-will, or under the impulses of a disordered intellect — we snatch the brand from him, whatever may be the impulse which is driving him to the deed. The freedom of which we boast so much—is until the property of the standard of

chite population — that it would be unfuring the shoody banner of murder, rapine and devastation to his household. Who would not die with arms in his hands, rather than subject himself, and those who are dearer to him than life, to such a calamity? Such self be the result, if the people of these Northern States should ever be insure enough to meddle with this

New York, that a meeting had been called by the abolitionists of that city, to form an Anti-Slavery Society. They were to meet in Clinton Hall. But as soon as it was announced that I had arrived, placards were immediately put up all over the city, announcing that the 'infamous libeller of his country, the notorious Garntson,' would be at Clinton Hall that evening, and summoning all the friends of the Union to be present. The appeal was promptly responded to. A mob of five or six thousand assembled, and took possession of the Hall, rendering it impossible to hold a meeting there;

very Society, before they were tracked by the mob.

Mr. Chairman, I think what did more than any one thing else to fill this land with madness was the arriof his pupils.

The following was the inflammatory language of the Boston Mercantile Journal :-

'The conduct of the Abolitionists tends directly

Boston instead of Liverpool, to be the city of his na-nand perhaps to the commission of atrocities, at tivity! I felt assured, therefore, that if he should come which humanity would blush—the laws of our country ever to us, gifted with such powers of argument and persuasion, and master of his subject, he would do the anti-slavery cause immense service; but I did not dream that his life would be put in jeopardy, and he and thus save the community from the disgrace of compelled to flee as the only means of preserving it.

As soon as he came, however, the cry was raised that

that they wish to convince them of their errors in re-lation to the subject of slavery, deserve the most se-

Here is a specimen of the spirit displayed by the Boston Centinel at that time :-

'As to Thompson, the foreign vagrant, who has at tempted with impudent zeal to create excitement, he has been hooted from every place where he has recently attempted to hold forth. He has been completely silenced in this city and vicinity, and the last accounts we have of him are from Concord, New Hampshire, from which place he was scouted by the good sense of the people, and it is said that he was compelled to fice to the woods for safety. In short, such is the prevailing sentiment against him, that he will never be allowed to address another meeting in this country. There is no mistake on this subject, and we speak of it as a matter of fact, of general not-ricty. He has been completely silenced, and he will doubtless soon find it most expedient to return to his own country, and give an account of his mission to the silly women who squandered their money for his

Here is an extract from the Courser, which still maintains its satanic malignity :-

George Thompson. This scoundrel proposes to lecture some of the women of our city this afternoon, at Julien Hall. The vagabond would have made no addresses, nor delivered lectures in any of our cities, if he had not found encouragement from our own citizens. The poor devil must live, and to get bread he must fulfill his covenant. His supporters have no such apology for their conduct. The caution, we have said, we think superfluous. Persons of both sexes will doubtless be at Julien Hall, but what ladies would encourage, even by their countenance, the continuencourage, even by their countenance, the continu-ance of lectures, debates and addresses adapted, if not intended, to interrupt and eventually to destroy the union of these States, and to lead more directly to scenes of lawless violence, by exciting a state of feel-ing which was not be so easily whether ing, which may not be so easily subdued as provoked?

The Commercial Gazette continued daily to publish articles like the following :-

'It is certainly very remarkable, that Mr. Thompson should dare to brow-beat public opinion in this way. It is in vain that we hold meetings in Fancuil Hall, which is driving him to the deed. The freedom of which we beast so much—justly beast so much—is the hardly broad enough to protect TREASON. Our liberty is not exactly the liberty of pulling dozen our liberties, and it is a false charity that would cherish the TRATOR who aims at the act—no matter under what prefext, and no matter of what delusion he may possibly be the victim himself.

Full well does every individual know that to liberties, and the store could be to hoist the signal of death to the white population—that it would be unfurling the bloody banner of murder, rapine and devestation to the bloody banner of murder, rapine and devestation to the location the eloquence and patriotism of our most talented citizens, if Thompson and Garrison and their vile associates in this city are to be permitted to hold their meetings in the broad face of day, and to continue their denunciations against the planters of the South. They must be put down, if we would present the greatest magnitude—and the opinion prevails the transport of the store of the source of the greatest magnitude—and the opinion prevails the transport of the store of the store of the source of the store of the store of the store of the source of the store of the store

bloody banner of murder, rapine and devastation to his household. Who would not die with arms in his hands, rather than subject himself, and those who are dearer to him than life, to such a calamity? Such will be the result, if the people of these Northern States should ever be issue enough to meddie with this feitful subject.

And now, we ask the citizens of the United States if they are prepared to bring such a catastrophe upon the country, to gratify the visionary projects of a band of causting, diviciling fanatics, one half of them blowing this blast of death and desolation to the people of a whole section of the Union, for the sake of notorical whole section of the Union, for the sake of notorical whole section of the Union, for the sake of notorical transfer and the other the mere victims of a senseless infatty, and the other the mere victims of a senseless infatty.

parties from the contraction was the contribution of the pare" statistic be was affect boy and the rest interested and therefore

who are determined, let the consequences be what they may, to put a stop to the impudent, bullying conduct of the foreign vagrant, Thompson, and his as-sociates in mischief.'

'The Anti-Slavery Society hold one of their incenliary meetings this morning at Julien Hall. The mis-hievous Garrison will deliver an Oration on the occachievous Garrison will deliver an Oration on the occa-sion, to the 'black and white' spirits of the city. If the orator and his heprers could all be thrown over-board this morning, as was the tea in the days of the revolution, every true friend to the Union of the States would have cause to rejoice most heartily. A cold bath would do them good.

If the Anti-Slavery fanatics persist in holding public meetings in this city, to discuss the subject of slavery, who will be answerable for the consequences? If there is no law that can reach these common disturbers of the public peace, they must be reached and put down in some other way, or they will destroy the

Imagine language like this put forth authoritatively on the part of one of the most influential journals of the day, and what the effect must have been upon the combustible materials then getting into a state of vild confingration !

Next, appeals were made to Northern capidity; and ur merchants and manufacturers were told by Southern slaveholders, that if this agitation was allowed to go on, it would break up all intercourse with the South; and a staggering blow would thus be given to Northern commerce and manufactures. This was 'the pocket argument,' and it had more effect in Boston than in any

Appeals were made, also, to the religious prejudices of the people. The Abolitionists were represented as those not inclined to give heed to the teachings of the Bible; who boldly affirmed that it was an Anti-Slavery volume; and that God, in the Bible, was on the side of the oppressed against the oppressor. The idea, that slaveholding under all circumstances is a sin against God, was treated as a pestilent heresy; and every effort was made to prejudice us in the minds of religious

Appeals were made, also, to the hateful spirit of colorphobia. We were represented as intent upon amalgamation, and it was said that all we cared for was to get black wives or black husbands, as the case might be ; whereas, it was evident that God had made the colored race to be thewers of wood and drawers of water,' and that the only way for them to rise in the scale of being was to get as far off from us as Africa.

The next device was to excite plarm for the safety of the Union. I am deeply impressed, as I look over the records of that period, to mark how early the slaveholding spirit recognized the fact, that Anti-Slavery was cessarily and inevitably Anti-Union. From the very first hour I stood forth to plead for the slave, it was universally declared that the result of the agitation would be the overthrow of this Union. I did not believe it then; I do believe it now, and rejoice in the fact, beconer it is dissolved, the better. But I did not so understand it at that time. The Slave Power, however, well understood it; for it is unmatched for sagacity, vigilance and discernment. It is never misled; it never nistakes; it is always sure. If you wish to know what you ought to do to put it down, just see what it is that gives it the greatest alarm,

In Philadelphia, in the summer of 1835, a mob sacked me thirty houses occupied by the colored inhabitants, many of whom were driven out into the woods like wild seasts, to hide themselves from the fury of their merciless assailants. At an earlier day, the colored citizens of New York were treated in a similar manner.

At that time, too, the slaveholders were busily engaged in rifling the United States mail of every letter, paper and pamphlet that savored of abolitionism. These ere taken out, and made a bonfire of, as at Charleston, S. C., in the presence of the clergy and the leading citizens. The Charleston Courier gave the following acount of this transaction :-ATTACKON THE POST OFFICE. The recent abuse

of the U. S. mail to the purpose of disseminating the vile and criminal incendiarism of northern fanatics, has caused a great and general excitement in our community, and led, on Wednesday night, as may have been expected, to an attack on the Post Office, which, although perhaps not to be justified, had much to excuse it, in the cause of provocation. of the U. S. mail to the purpose of disseminating the

though perhaps not to be justined, national objects it, in the cause of provocation.

Between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock, that night, a number of persons assembled about the Exchange, and without any noise or disturbance, but on the contrary, with coolness and deliberation, made a forcible entry into the Post Office, by wrenching open one of its windows, and carried off the packages containing the incendiary matter.

According to full notice published, the pamphlets, rned at 8 P. M. the next ever

site the main guard-house, 3000 persons being present. The effigies of Arthur Tappan, Dr. Cox, and W. L. Garrison, were at the same time suspended. At 9 o'clock, the belloon was let off, and the effigies were d by the neck, with the offensive documents at their feet. This lawless procedure was virtually justified by

the Postmaster General, Amos KENDALL, in a long and elaborate paper, as a measure of self-preservation against the designs of Northern incendiaries! This was his view of it:-

'There is reason to doubt, whether the al There is reason to doubt, whether the abolitionists have a right to make use of the mails of the United States to convey their publications into States where their circulation is forbidden by law; and it is by no means certain, that the mail carriers and postmasters are secure from the penalties of that law, if they knowingly carry, distribute or hand them out. Every citizen may use the mail for any lawful purpose. The knowingly carry, distribute or hand them out. Every citizen may use the mail for any lawful purpose. The abolitionists may have a legal right to its use for distributing their papers in New York, where it is lawful to distribute them; but it does not follow that they have a legal right to that privilege for such a purpose in Louisiana and Georgia, where it is unlawful. As well may the counterfeiter and the robber demand the use of the mails for consummating their crimes, and complain of a violation of their rights when it is denied.

Lings these grounds.

upon these grounds, a postmaster may well hesitate to be the agent of the abolitionists in sending their in-cendiary publications into States where their circula-tion is prohibited by law, and much more may post-masters residing in those States refuse to distribute

An application was made to the city authorities for he use of Fancuil Hall for an Anti-Slavery Convention but it was unanimously rejected. The Commercial Gazette thereupon raised the following note of exulta-

The refusal of the authorities of this city, to suffer the advocates of abolition and disunion to desecrat

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[From the New York Times.] -

The Mayor and Aldermen of Boston have unanimously refused the abolition lecturers admission into Fancuil Hall. Well and bravely done. The old temple of liberty must not be descerated by admitting within its walls the mad fanatics, who, if unchecked, will trample our freedom into the dust.

[From the New York Courier and Enquirer.] The Abolitionists refused admission to Faneuil Hall. It is gratifying to see, as we do by the Boston papers, that these wretched plotters of mischief have been promptly refused admission into Faneuil Hall. A petition for liberty to descrate that honored edifice by a more in of the immediate survey. tition for liberty to descrate that honored edifice by a meeting of the immediate emancipationists, signed by the leading spirits of that most miserable of the disor-ganizing factions of the day, was presented to the Mayor and Aldermen of Boston, and that body, with a feeling and spirit that do it signal honor, refused

unanimously to grant the incendiary request.

What! the cradle of liberty in little more than half what: the cradic of liberty in little more than half a century to become its coffin? The place where the Adamses and Otises have so often uttered in burning eloquence the matchless value of our institutions, to echo with the raven croakings of such creatures as Garrison, the mad imbecilities of Stow, the flatulent dogmatisms of the fanatic from Kentucky, and the theatigal contestions of the mouthing and rain the theatrical contortions of the mouthing and noisy driveller acting as the stipendiary of the Glasgow

sempstresses?
We rejoice that the Municipal Government of Bos We rejoice that the Municipal Government of Boston has thus stepped between the venerable building so long devoted to a pure patriotism, and the fanatical banditti that would pollute it. To have suffered such an assemblage within its walls would have taken from it half the venerated sacredness of the place. It would have levelled the proudest monument of New England's history; for Fancuil Hall would have lost all the charms of its glorious reminiscences. by such a land's history; for Fancuil Hall would have lost at the charms of its glorious reminiscences, by such a contamination. Heaven grant that the day may be extended far, very far into future time, when that building shall be dishonored by the presence of trai-tors, whether of native growth, or brought here from tors, whether of native growth, or brought here fro foreign countries, to sever the bonds of this Union.

By a singular coincidence, an Anti-Slavery Conven tion was held on this very day, twenty years ago, in Utica, N. Y., for the purpose of forming a State Anti-Slavery Society. That Convention had been looked for with great anxiety and alarm on the part of the South, and it was declared that, cost what it might, the meeting must be broken up. Accordingly, a mob assembled in great force, to prevent the contemplated organization ; but they were foiled in their purpose. After the formation of the State Society, however, it was deemed advisable to adjourn the meeting, at the invitation of GERRIT SMITH, (who nobly took that occasion to join the Anti-Slavery ranks,) to Peterboro', the place of his residence, where they completed their business.

Singularly enough, too, on the very same day, endeavored to break up an Anti-Slavery Convention which was held at Montpelier, Vermont, and was to have been addressed by our beloved friend, SAMUEL J

Indeed, in every direction, the advocates of the slave were the objects of popular fury.

Before the meeting was held which we are here to

celebrate, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society en gaged the New Jerusalem Church, (now called Cochituate Hall,) for the purpose of holding a meeting ; bu the mob spirit was so rife, that the trustees backed out, and declared that the Society should not have the church, unless twenty thousand dollars were deposited in the bank, as security against any damage done to their property. Julien Hall was next secured by the Society ; but just on the eve of holding the meeting, the lessee receded from his engagement, afraid of a mob,for a mob was threatened. It happened that Rev. HENRY WARE, Jr., officiated on the previous Sunday in the pulpit of Rev. Dr. CHARNING, and he innocently read the notice of the contemplated meeting of the Society in Julien Hall, which act created a great commetion in that parish, and brought down vials of wrath upon his head from all the leading Boston presses.

As another proof of the malignant state of the pu lie mind at that time, I recollect seeing, a few days before the attack, one of our independent military compa nies marching through Washington street, with a target to be shot at, on which was painted an image intended for Geonge Thompson, and also the figure of a colored woman, in close proximity. This was an attempt to excite all that was murderous in the city. It was saying, in effect- George Thompson We shall shoot at his effigy to-day. Make sure of him, if you can, to-morrow.'

What also served greatly to inflame the public mind against Mr. Thompson was an atrocious accusation brought against him by a Southern student at Andover, named Kauffman, who falsely declared that Mr. THOMPSON had said, in one of his addresses at Andover, that the slaves ought to be stimulated to CUT THEIR MAS-TERS' THROATS. Imagine the effect of such a charge as this upon the public mind, already exasperated almost to madness ! It was like fire applied to gunpowder. The whole community was in an inflammable state, and here was the torch to start the conflagration.

I believe all the Boston presses, -with one exception religiously, and one exception politically,-were anima ted by a violent pro-slavery spirit. The exception po litically is a singular one to name at this day. You could hardly guess what paper it was ; you could not guess who the editor was. I will tell you. The paper was the Boston Daily Advocate, edited by BENJAMIN F. HALLETT! Mr. Hallett, at that time, was our magnanimous defender, and ready on all occasions to risk his own safety in vindicating our right to be heard, though he had a mighty opposition to stem in regard to his anti-masonic principles. Then he showed himself every inch a man; now, every inch of manhood appears to have gone from him. The exception religiously was the New England Spectator, edited by Rev. WILLIAM S. PORTER, and it did us good service.

Allow me to read you some extracts from the Boston newspapers of that period. I will read first from the Christian Register, the Unitarian organ :-

After they [the abolitionists] perceive that it impossible to make themselves understood, and that the inevitable tendency of their doings (while all the rest of mankind are obstinately in the dark respecting them) is directly opposite to their wishes and prayers, is it not time for them to pause, '&c.

'We have been more and more appropriated that the

We have been more and more persuaded, that the means they have been pursuing tend either to prolong and increase the evils of slavery, or to produce a convulsion in the country beyond anything which its inhabitants have ever witnessed.

That was an appeal to violence, it seems to me, a least indirectly, because it was calculated to inflame and madden the public mind.

The Baptist Christian Watchman said :-While we have no apology to offer for a riot under any circumstances, we hold as being equally culpable, those who persist in a course that is calculated to

excite such proceedings. Thus, Jesus was responsible for his own crucifixion and we were to be held responsible for every mob ! The Boston Recorder, at that time the mouthpiece

the orthodox denomination, said :-. Mr. Garrison's policy, we have no doubt, is to ider tify his cause with the cause of civil liberty, by maling it necessary for all who would defend civil libert to defend him and his meetings. He wishes to put the defend civil representation of the manufacture of the manufa all good citizens under the necessity of choosing between him and the mob; believing that, in such casthey will be on his side. It is, therefore, his settle policy to provoke mobs as much as he can."

But the Commercial Gazette was, on the whole, th most active and the most malignant in its efforts to put down our movement by mobocratic violence.

Early in August, 1835, fifteen hundred of the m nt citizens of Boston appended their na to a call for a public meeting in Fancuil Hall, to denounce the agitation of the question of slavery as put ting in peril the existence of the Union. Some who signed that call have long since repented of the act, and brought forth fruits meet for repentance, and now glory in the Anti-Slavery cause. There was the most intime

connection between this meeting and the riotous outbreak of October 21st. Well, the meeting was held in Panenil Hall, (the

Mayor in the chair,) and addressed by the Hon. HARRI-SON GRAY OTIS, Hon. PELEO SPRAGUE, and Hon. RICH-ARD PLETCHER, whose speeches were eminently calculated to whet the knife to be put into the heart of Gronge THOMPSON by some stealthy massesin. No men could have brought deeper disgrace upon themselves than they did in regard to the opprobrious language which they used toward Mr. Thomson and the Anti-Slavery cause. If there were time, I would give you some extracts from death. Among the number present in the hall was the those speeches; but I refer those of you who are curious to know what they said, to the files of THE LIBERA. TOR, or the leading Boston papers of that day.

Hear what was the language of the Commercial ed. One portion reads as follows :-Gazette on the subject :-

· FENEUIL HALL MEETING. Let it not pass unl If, however, disregarding its warning and solemn voice, this Society persevere in their nefarious schemes, let the bolt of public indignation fall upon them; let them be marked as disturbers of the public peace, and shunned as traitors to the country. Let no citis who sets a value on the Union of the States — let no who hold to those sacred principles bequeathed to them by the immortal Washington, have any intercourse with men whose measures are firebrands, ar rows and death, and whose success would be the de-struction of this now happy Republic.

The whole city was now wrought up to a pitch of in sanity. It having been advertised that the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society would hold a meeting at 46 Washington Street, on the 21st of October, a placard was circulated through the business portion of the city announcing the fact, and stating that George Thourson would be present. This was printed at the office of th Commercial Gazette, and written by Mr. Homen, one of the editors of that paper, and an active instrumen in getting up the mob, and in seeing it carried through. Here is a copy of it :-

THOMPSON, THE ABOLITIONIST !!!

That infamous foreign scoundrel THOMPSON, will hold forth this afternoon, at the Liberator Office, No. 46 Washington Street. The present is a fair op-portunity for the friends of the Union to make Thoms son out! It will be a contest between the Abolition-ists and the friends of the Union. A purse of \$100 has been raised by a number of patriotic citizens to reward the individual who shall first lay violent hands off Thompson, so that he may be brought to the tar kettle before dark. Friends of the Union, be vigilant! Boston, Wednesday, 12 o'clock.

It was a false statement, that Mr. Thompson was be there. He was not in the city, and had not been asked to address the meeting. The ladies, howbeen asked to address the meeting. The ladies, however, had requested me to deliver an address on the occasion. I thanked them, and told them I would do so. Accordingly, on that eventful day, anticipating ing my sympathy with you. But as I am requested ing my sympathy with you. But as I am requested to speak, I will say what I have said through the speak, I will say what I have said through the a serious disturbance, I went to the hall some time be fore the hour of meeting ; but, early as it was, I found the doorway and staircase crowded with rioters. I was recognized and hooted at, and with difficulty I passed through them. In the hall, I found some thirty we men, who had anticipated the hour of meeting, and had thus been enabled to get in. Others, who came later, were kept from entering by the crowd. The street was was densely packed, and the outcries of the mob were various. This is not the same hall. The building in which we met was subsequently injured by fire, forn down, and replaced by the present structure. The fiall ran lengthwise, and was differently shaped from this. One part of it was partitioned off for the Anti-Slavery office, in which we had all our books and publications, none of which, happily, got into the hands of the mob On entering the ball, I took my seat quietly, waiting that time, will serve to confirm what I have stated, until I should be asked to speak. In the midst of the bowlings of the riotous throng, a prayer was offered by *We were extremely sorry to learn, a few days since, the President of the Society, Miss MARY PARKER, in a strong and clear voice. I shall never forger it. It was thrilling beyond description; evincing the utmost trust in God, and complete serenity of soul; and 'thanking God that while there were many to molest, there were none that could make afraid.' After a while, it was suggested that if I would withdraw, my absence might influence the ruffians to behave with more decency. I accordingly left the hall, and stepped into the Anti-Slavery office adjoining, and locked the door. I found no quently the most mischievous controversies in which one of the most useless, the most bitter, and conse-very office adjoining, and locked the door. I found no one there, except my friend, Cuarks C. Burkston, I immediately sat down, and wrote to a friend in Providence a description of the incidents of the day, as they were transpiring. Whilst writing, the ruffians in I immediately sat down, and with the incidents of the day, as providence a description of the incidents of the day, as country. We had a right to expect from her well country. We had a right to expect from her well known intelligence, from the favorable reception of the were transpiring. Whilst writing, the ruffix is known intelligence, from the respect and esteem with the hall broke in the lower pannels of the door, and the publications, from the respect and esteem with the hall broke in the lower pannels of the door, and the publications, from the ruffix is the ruffix in the publications. down, glared at me through the aperture like so many wolves, and shouted- Here he is ! '- Out with him ! out with him ! My friend Mr. Bunteton, with admirable courage and presence of mind, stepped out of the room, locked the door on the outside, and put the key into his pocket. He then, non-resistant to his calm and firm demeanor that our office was not harmed. The rioters, however, got hold of some prayer

the window as incendiary documents ! I will not occupy your time by going into all the de-tails of this disgraceful affair. Suffice it to say, that the Mayor, on entering the hall, told the ladies they must disperse, for the sake of the peace of the city! I will not occupy your time by going into all the de must disperse, for the sake of the peace of the city This they declined doing until they had transacted a portion of their business, when they retired in a calm trines, and encouraging measures which lead directl and dignified manner, though scoffed at and insulted as to civil war and a dissolution of the Union, must shak

they passed through the lawless throng. The cry was now raised for the Anti-Slavery signboard. This was soon thrown down, in the presence and by the acquiescence of the Mayor, and exultingly

danced upon, and finally broken into fragments. Again the cry was raised for 'Thompson!' Mayor (the late THEODORE LYMAN) assured the multitude that Mr. Thompson was not in the hall. They surrender. The agitation of the Mayor was excessive.

Unwilling or unable to protect me by an appeal to the military, but desirous that I should receive no harm, he endeavored (having cleared the building of the side. he endeavored (having cleared the building of the rioters) to find some way of exit for me, so as to be able truthfully to announce that I was no longer in the hall, and thus induce the rioters to disperse. It was proposed that I should escape by dropping from a window in yard, leading through a carpenter's shop, into Wilson's lane. I felt at first very great reluctance to leave the premises in this manner; but, by the urgent sotreaties of the Mayor and his posse, and of several Anti-Slavefaithful condjutor, SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq.) -and to avoid the charge of wilfully hazarding my life when a quiet withdrawal was feasible-and as no pledges were given or exacted, and no sacrifice of principle was involved in such a step-I consented to make the at- passed can never be realized, except by those who en nell, now, I believe, in the spirit-land. The attempt strewed with flowers. The Anti-Slavery flame ha persons on the watch-Wilson's lane, in the course of a few minutes, was densely filled with the rioters, the most active of whom found me in the second story of the carpenter's shop alluded to, and, coiling a rope and all the signs of the times are encouraging in regard around my body, let me down to the crowd below. I to the continued growth of our glorious movement. was dragged bare-headed through the lane into State street, where my clothes were nearly all toru from my body, the intention being, as I understood, to carry me to the Common, and there give me a coat of tar and

with difficulty, and I was taken up into his office. The

night was approaching, and the mob were still bent on

my seixure, it was deemed necessary alike for the preservation of the Post Office and of my life, to send me to

the jall in Leverett street as the only place of safety to

of course; and so, to obtain a writ of commitm

be found in the city. But I must be con

aper. To the jail then I was sent, every effort be ing made by the mob once more to get possession my person, but in vain. I remained in jail till next day, when the Court came to me, and formally discharged me as one who had done no evil, and whose imprisonment had been only a ruse to protect my life
The heroism manifested by the ladies of the Fems

lamented ANN GREENE CHAPMAN, whose memory wil always be precious. Allow me to refer to the Wi she made, to show the spirit by which she was animal

"Whilst I live, I have solemnly devoted myself to the cause of Truth, Justice, Freedom; and dying, I would yet bless it, in its onward course. Believing that the American Anti-Slavery Society is most beneficial to the slave, and is advancing rapid-ly the coming of Christ's kingdom, I leave to its Trea-surer, Mr. John Rankin, or his successor in that of-fice, the sum of one thousand dollars for the use of the Society.

the Society.

To the Samaritan [Colored] Asylum, one hundred dollars. To the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, one

hundred dollars.

I trust that when the hour of death comes, my m will be, as it is now, convinced that the way to serve God, and secure his favor, is by making the cause of his oppressed children my cause. And then I shall not have lived in vain.

No, she has not 'lived in vain,' and, being dead, she yet speaketh !

It is also due to one who is now drawing near to the grave, to refer to her particularly, in connection with this meeting. I allude to HARRIET MARTINEAU, of Eng land. The invitation extended to that Female Society to occupy your house, Mr. Chairman, come what might was very gladly accepted by the Society, and the meet ing was accordingly held. Miss MARTINEOU had com over to our country, some time before, with the highes literary reputation, had travelled through the Sout with great colat, and had been every where received with high honors. She came to Boston at this trial-hour and was at once put in the furnace. She had claime to be the friend of the enslaved at home; it was now be seen whether she would be faithful to her principle on this side the Atlantic. The course taken by alm every other distinguished person from the old world has been such, that her conduct now looks all the more sublime and glorious. Allow me to give, Mr. Chairman the testimony uttered in your own house :-

'I have been requested by a friend present to sa whole South, in every family where I have been, that consider Slavery as inconsistent with the God, and as incompatible with the course of his Providence. I should certainly say no less at the North than at the South concerning this utter abomination—and I now declare that in your principles I fully agree.

And because she attended that meeting, and enun ciated these noble sentiments, she at once lost cast among the literati of the country; and while she remain ed here, was treated with manifest scorn and neglect But she never faltered. She is now very ill, and is no expected long to survive; but she has proved herself, and deserves to be ranked with those of whom the work

is not worthy.

The following article, which her morally heroic course elicited from the 'respectable' Daily Advertiser regard to the treatment of Miss MARTINEAU :-

· We were extremely sorry to learn, a few days sine quainted with the institutions, manners and character of the people of this country, that her visit here would be productive of a useful effect, in disseminating among people of Great Britain more correct though he was, stood guard; and it was entirely owing we are sorry to say, are in a good measure blasted, by the act of indiscretion to which we have alluded. It is of very little consequence, except as it regards the influence which she was capable of exerting on other and hymn books, belonging to a religious society that subjects, what are her opinions on the question of occupied the hall every Sunday, and threw them out of slavery. and influence, to a system of opinions and measure which have not the remotest-tendency to remove th of George Thompson, the most odjous foreign renegad who ever visited this country, in propagating doc the faith of many of her friends in We had hoped that the public would her judgment. We had hoped that the public would have been favored with some explanation of the sentiments which are stated, in the Liberator, to have been expressed by her, at a late meeting of the Ladies. Anti-Slavery Society, in this city. No such explanaeen made, we take this occasion to copy tion having b the remarks of an intelligent cotemporary, upon the course which she has adopted, for the purpose showing in what light that course is regarded by those who do not see the propriety of preaching up a crusade against slavery, among a people where no slave-

I have trespassed too long upon your time in going through these preliminaries, but I felt that they were important as bearing upon this lawless outbreak in our city, and as showing how the prevailing violence of the second story upon a shed, and from thence into a that period was stimulated, and who are to be held responsible for it.

Mr. Chairman, what a change has been effected in public sentiment within twenty years! It has seemed to me, in scanning the file of THE LIBERATOR for 1835 ry friends then present, (among them my early and as if I were in another country, among another people "Tis somewhat like the burst from death to life, From the grave's cerements to the robes of heaven."

It is not much to be a professed Abolitionist to-day. The fiery trials through which the early Abolitionist tempt, accompanied by a friend, Mr. John R. Camp-dured them. Our pathway is now, comparatively proved unsuccessful. I was instantly discovered by spread from heart to heart, from house to house, from State to State. Hundreds of thousands are imbuec more or less with sympathy for the oppressed. The press is inclining more and more to the side of freedom

On the other hand, it is also true that the Slave Poer has lengthened its cords and strengthened its stakes When I tell you that, during these twenty years, th natural increase of the number of slaves has been equa feathers, a ducking in the pond, &c. &c. Approaching to the passing of the entire population of Massachusetts into a state of bondage, I tell you precisely the growth of the slave system during that period. More than a million of slaves are to be delivered, who were not in existence twenty years ago-and REARLY Your MIL-

Post Office was then located in that building. As the LIONS IN ALL! But, our cause is of God. It has been so from the eginning. Why did this nation tremble at the outset? Why were the slaveholders smitten as with the fear of death? Who were the Abolitionists? Confessedly, in a numerical sense, not to be counted. They had no in fluence, no station, no wealth. Ah! Mr. Chairman disturber of the peace !- though I believe he was actu- they had the truth of God, and therefore God himse

on their side; and hence this guilty nation quaked with fear when that truth was uttered and applied. But our work is not to cease until liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. We are to contend until every chain is broken, or until our labors on earth are finished. Remember, they only who endure to the end shall see salvation, and raise the song of "Victory!" We have fought a good fight, and we shall yet conquer, God helping us. All the spirits of the just are with us; all the good of earth are with us; and we need not fear as to the result of this great the Mayor guilty. us ; and we need not fear as to the result of this great

*For truth shall conquerant the last:
So round and round we run,—
And ever the right comes upperment,
And ever is justice done.

A hymn by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL was then sung by the audience, to the tune of 'Scots wha hae,' after which, WENDELL PRILLIPS addressed the meeting. SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

PRESIDENT, -I feel that I have very little right on this platform to-day; I stand here only to express my gratitude to those who truly and properly occupy it for what we all owe them- the women and the menwho stood by our honor and so nobly did our duties when we forgot it and them twenty years ago.

At this hour, twenty years ago, I was below, in th street ;-I thank God I am inside the house now! I was not in the street as one of the mob, but as a spectator. I had come down from my office in Court street to see what the excitement was. I did not understand Anti-Slavery then ; that is, I did not understand the country in which I lived. We have all of us learned much since ; learned what Anti-Slavery means-learn ed what a Republican Government really is-learned the not know then. I remember saying to the gentleman ed by her magistrates, her wealth, her press, and he who stood next to me in the street- Why does not the Mayor call out the regiment ?- (I belonged to it then) It is a very shameful business. Why does be stand even though the Mayor was in this hall, the use of your there arguing? Why does he not call for the guns? I did not know that the guns were in the street-that the men who should have borne them were the mob; that all there was of government in Boston was in the street ; that the people, our final reliance for the execution of the laws, were there, in the street. Mayor Lyman knew it; and the only honorable and honest course open to him was, to have said- If I cannot be a magistrate, I will not pretend to be one." I do not know whether to attribute the Mayor's dis-

graceful conduct to his confused notion of his official duties or to a cowardly unwillingness to perform what he knew well enough to be his duty. A superficial observer of the press and pulpit of that day would be inclined to consider it the result of ignorance, and lay the blame at the door of our republican form of government, which thrusts up into important stations dainty gentlemen like LYMAN, physicians never allowed to doctor any body but the body politis, or cunning tradesmen who have wriggled their slimy way to wealth; men who in a trial hour not only know nothing of their own duties, but do not even know where to go for advice. And for the preachers, I am inclined to think this stolid ignorance of civil rights and duties may be pleaded as a disgraceful excuse, leaving them guilty have been whipped into silence. only of meddling in matters far above their comprehension. But one who looks deeper into the temper of that day will see plainly enough that the Mayor and the Editors, with their companions in broadcloth, were only blind to what they did not wish to see, and knew the right and wrong of the case well enough, only, like all half-educated people, they were but poorly able to comprehend the vast importance of the wrong against others than Abolitionists, the ripe fruit of the

seed here planted, opened their eyes somewhat. press of that day. There was the Daily Advertiser, ture of that whole scene, and her able, graphic, and ponents are strong and numerous, and quite ready to be Slavery Society, and specially of this day, have hung of course on the wrong side-respectable when its opscurrilous when scurrility is safe and will pay-behind up to everlasting contempt the 'men of property and whose editorials a keen car can always catch the clink standing '-the ' respectable' men of Boston of the dollar-entitled to be called the Rip Van Winkle of the Press, should it ever, like Rip, wake up; the Ad- which stood here, and listen to the Mayor receiving his vertiser condescended, strangely enough, to say, that it lesson in civil duty from the noble women of this Sowas not surprised (!) that papers abroad considered the ciety : meeting of mobocrats in the street below a riot (!); but the wiser Advertiser itself regarded it ' not so much as a riot as the prevention of a riot!' It 'considered go home! MR. LYMAN-I am the mayor of the city, and I the whole transaction as the stranger over riot and evening.

less violence and the love of order over riot and he President - If the ladies will be scated, we will tak confusion!!' Dear, dreamy Van Winkle! and he goes on to 'rejoice' at the exceeding 'moderation' of the populace, that they did not murder Mr. Garasson on the spot! And this is the journal which Boston litterature regards as its organ, and which Boston wealth befole itself by styling.' respectable'!

PRESIDENT—It is antice and the sense of the meeting.

Mr. Lyman—Lodies, go home.

Mr. Lyman—Ladies, do you wish to see a scene of the meeting.

Mr. Lyman—Ladies, do you wish to see a scene of bloodshed and confusion? If you do not, go home.

befools itself by styling respectable '! Next came the scurrilous Gazette, which it is said repented of its course when it found that Northern subscribers fell off and Southerners continued to despise it as before : and which, outliving public forbearance and becoming bankrupt, earned thus the right to be melted into the Daily Advertiser.

With them in sad alliance marched the Courier-always strong and frank whichever side it took, and even of whose great merit and bravery between that time and this, it is sufficient praise to say, that it was enough to outweigh its great wrong in 1835, and its vile servility now.

With rare daring, the Christian Register snatched the palm of infamy,-the organ of a sect (the Unitarian) that skulked its way into New England under disguised banners, and so right fitly, in a moment of ner to matter, it hints to the Abolitionists, that they norance, it avers, of the early Christians of Trajan's day, and meet in secret, if the 'ranity' of the ladies would allow! The coward priest forgot, if he ever knew, that the early Christians met in secret beneath the pavements of Rome, only to pray for the martyrs whose crosses lined the highways, whose daring defied Paganism at its own altars, and whose humanity stopped the bloody games of Rome in the upper air; that they met beneath the ground, not so much to hide themselves as to get strength for bolder attacks on wicked laws and false altars.

Infamy, however, at that day, was not a monopoly one sect. Husnand Winslow, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, strictly Orthodox, a bigot in good and regular standing, shortly after this preached a sermon to illustrate and defend the doctrine, that no man, under a pinion but such as 'a majority of the brotherhood ould allow and protect '; and he is said to have boasted that Judge Story thanked him for such a discourse

The Mayor played a most shuffling and dishonorable art. For some time previous, he had held private conferences with leading Abolitionists, urging them to entire friendship, and the most earnest determination to protect them in their rights at any cost. The Abolitionists treated him, in return, with the utmost confidence. They yielded to his winderesse the public exdence. They yielded to his wishes, so far as to conholding meetings often enough to assert their right to meet. Yet, while they were thus honorably cooperating in avoiding every thing that would needlessly excite the public mind, going to the utmost verge of subion and silence that duty permitted, while the magnanimous forbearance and regard to the weakne of public authority and the reckless excitement of the ublic, the Mayor himself, in utter violation of official orum and personal honor, accepted the chair of the ublic meeting assembled in Fancuil Hall, and presided ably,-an assembly which many intendwhich none but the weak or wilfully blind could avoid

ated by a friendly and sympathizing spirit. Not to on their side; and hence this guilty nation quaked with have saved my life would I have had him act in this fear when that truth was uttered and applied. But our speech to that factious meeting, the Mayor, under eath

Such was the temper of those times. The ignorant were not aware, and the wise were too corrupt to confers, that the most precious of human rights, free thought, was at stake. These women knew it, felt the stand in the gap. Those were trial hours. I never think of them without my shame for my native city being swallowed up in gratitude to those who stood so bravely for the right. Let us not consent to be asham-ed of the Boston of 1835. The howling welves in the streets were not Boston. These brave men and women were Boston. We will remember no other. I never open the Statute Book of Massachusetts without thanking Ellis Gray Loring and Samuel J.

MAY, CHARLES FOLLEN and SANUEL E. SEWALL, and those around me who stood with them, for prevent ing EDWARD EVERETT from blackening it with law making free speech an indictable offence. And we owe it to fifty or sixty women, and to a dozen or two of men, that free speech was saved, in 1835, in the city of Boston. Indeed, we owe it to one man. If there is one here who loves Boston, who loves her honor, who rejoices to know that, however thin the thread, there is a thread that bridges over that dark and troubled wave, and connects us by a living nerve with the free men of the Revolution, and that Boston, though betrayber that we owe it to you, Sir, (Mr. JACKSON,) who offered to the women who were not allowed to meet here. read whenever Boston men are met together to celebrate the preservation of the right of free speech in the city of Adams and Otis. History, that always loves courage, will write it a page whiter than marble and more incorruptible than gold. You said, Sir, in answer to a letter of thanks for the use of your house :-

· If a large majority of this community choose urn a deaf ear to the wrongs, which are on their countrymen in other portions of the land—if they are content to turn away from the sight of epsion, and ' pass by on the other side' - so it mus

be.
But when they undertake in any way to impair or annul my right to speak, write, and publish upon any subject, and more especially upon enormities which are the common concern of every lover of his country and the state of and his kind—so it must not be—so it shall not be, if I for one can prevent it. Upon this great right let us hold on at all hazards. And should we, in its exercise, be driven from public halls to private dwellings, one house at least shall be consecrated to its preser-vation. And if, in defence of this sacred privilege,

This was only thirty days after the mob. I need not read the remainder of the letter, which is in the same strain.

We owe it to one man that a public meeting was held, within a month, by these same women, in the city of Boston. But to their honor be it remembered, also,a fact which Mr. GARRISON omitted to state,-that when Mayor LYMAN urged them to go home, they left they were doing. The mobs which followed, directed this hall in public procession and went 'home' to the house of Mrs. M. W. CHAPMAN, in West street, to organize and finish their meeting that very afternoon. To Mrs. CHAPMAN's pen we owe the most living piceloquent reports of the proceedings of the Female Anti-

Let us open, for a moment, the doors of the hal

Mr. Lynan—Go home, ladies, go home.
PRESIDENT—What renders it necessary we should

ONE OF THE LADIES—Mr. Lyman, your personal friends are the instigators of this mob; have you ever used your personal influence with them?

MR. LYMAN—I know no personal friends; I am merely an official. Indeed, ladies, you must retire. It

s dangerous to remain.

LADY—If this is the last bulwark of freedom, w vell die here as any where. There is nothing braver than that in the history

the Long Parliament, or of the Roman Senate. At that Fancuil Hall meeting, one of the family was present ; one of that family that was never absen when a deed of infamy was to be committed against the slave,-a family made up mostly of upstart attornies, who fancy themselves statesmen, because able to draw a writ or pick holes in an indictment. Mr. Thomas B. Cunris read the resolutions; and then followed three speeches, by HARRISON GRAY OTIS, RICHARD forgetful frankness, counselled hypocrisy; suiting man- FLETCHER, and PELEG SPRAGUE, unmatched for the adrost, ingenious, suggestive argument and exhortation should imitate the example, as, with laughable ig- to put down, legally or violently, each bearer could choose for himself, all public facetings on the subject of slavery in the city of Boston. Every thing influential in the city was arrayed against this Society of a few women. I could not but reflect, as I sat here, how im mortal principle is. Rev. HENRY WARE, Jr., read the notice of this Society's meeting from Dr. CHANNING's pulpit and almost every press in the city woke barking at his next morning for what was called his 'impudence.' He is gone to his honored grave; many of those who me in this hall in pursuance of that notice are gone like wise. They died, as WHITTIER so well says,

. Their brave hearts breaking slow, But, self-forgetful to the last, ". In words of cheer and bugle glow, Their breath upon the darkness passed."

those days, as we gathered round their graves, a republican government, has a right to promulgate any resolved that the 'narrower the circle became, we would draw the closer together,' we envied the dead their res Men ceased to slander them in the sanctuary of the grave; and as we looked forward to the desolate vista calamity and toil before us, and thought of the temptations which beset us on either side from worldly properity which a slight sacrifice of principle might secure discontinue their meetings, professing, all the while, or social case so close at hand by only a little turning neide, we envied the dead the quiet sleep to which w left them, the harvest reaped, and the scaleset beyo the power of change. And of those who assault ed them, many are gone. The Mayor, so recrean to his duty, or so lacking in knowledge of his office is gone; the Judge before whom Mr. GARRISON was arraigned the next day after the mob, at the jail, is gone; the Sheriff who rode with him to the juil is gone; the city journals have changed hands, being more than once openly bought and sold. The editor of the Allas, whose zeal in the cause of mob violence earn-Abolitionists, with rare moderation, were showing this ed it the honor of giving its name to the day—'the magnanimous forbearance and regard to the weakness alles mob' many called it—is gone; many of the Atles mob' many called it-is gone; many of the prominent actors in that scene, twenty years ago, have passed away; the most eloquent of those whose volori his wish, that the grave might close over him before closed over the Union, which God speed in his good time ;-the same principle fills these same halls, as fresh and vital to-day, as self-fixed and resolute to

struggle against pulpit and press, against wealth me majorities, against denunciation and unpopularity, and certain in the end to set its triumphant foot on manual every thing that man has made alike.

Here stands to-day the man whom Boston wealth and Boston respectability went home, twenty years ago the night, and gloried in having crushed. The lovies boasters are gone. He stands to-day among us, then very walls, these ideas which breathe and burn stones us, saying for him, 'I still live.' If, twenty or two twenty years hence, he too shall have passed are; may it not be till his glad car has caught the jaken of the emancipated millions whom his life has be given to save!

This very Female Anti-Slavery Society which an met here twenty years ago, did other good series but a few months after, in getting the Court of the sachusetts to recognize that great principle of freelon that a slave, brought into a Northern State, is to It was in the celebrated Med case. We ove that a the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Today Judge Kane, and the Supreme Court which alone to control him, are endeavoring to annihilate that praciple which twenty years ago was established Ber far and how soon they may be successful, God esh knows

Truly, as Mr. Gannison has said, the intellectual. moral growth of Anti-Slavery has been great with twenty years; but who shall deny, that in that has twenty years, the political, the organic, the civil great of slavery, has been more than equal. We stand beto-day with a city redeemed-how far ? Just so far a this meeting commemorates—the right of free speech secured. Thank God! in twenty years, we have proved that an Anti-Slavery meeting is not only possible, but respectable, in Massachusetts-that is all we have proved. Lord Erskine said a newspaper was stronge than government. We have got many newspaper a our side. Ideas will, in the end, beat down any thin--we have got free course for ideas.

But let us not cheer ourselves too hastily, for the government, the wealth, the public opinion of this per city in which we meet, remain to-day almost as fraj anchored as ever on the side of slavery. Amid all the changes of twenty years, the Daily Adrestist his se changed a whit-not a whit. The same paper de spoke doubtful words before Oct. 21st, heped the ner. ing would be stopped, and afterwards was so temate shocked at the occurrence of a mob, but was glaine ladies were not allowed to hold their meeting ,-that me paper would act the same shameless part to-day. Die aper, which represented then so well the molecule broadcloth, has passed from a father wearied in trier to hold Massachusetts back, to his son-whose access to reverse James First's motto, ' no day followed'- and s published to-day with the same spirit, represents same class, actuated exactly with the same persent If there is strength outside the city, in the muse able to rebuke that class, and that press, soldie purpose, and give the State of Massachusetts nor m phatically to some kind of Anti-Slavery, it is ellstruggle. I would not rejoice, therefore, too much must discriminate. 'To brenk your leg twice eer to same stone is your own fault,' says the Spinish po

I came here to-day to thank God that Boston pore wanted a person to claim his inalienable right to use his thoughts on the subject of slavery, nor a spot unt which he could do it; -that is all my rejoicing today, And in that corner-stone of individual daring, of the ity to conscience, I recognize the possibility of in emancipation of three millions of siaves. But the possibility is to be made actual by labors as errectual inceasing, by a self-devotion as entire, as that shit has marked the twenty years which have goor below I find that these people, who have made this by famous, were accused in their own time of his language, and over-boldness, and great dispurgued of dignities. These were the three charges book against the Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1855. It women forgot their homes in endeavoring to make in men do their duty. It was a noble lesson which is sisters and mothers of that time set the women of its present day-I hope they will follow it.

There was another charge brought against the was, that they had no reverence for dignitures. In friend who sits here on my right (Mrs. Southwick) des to rebuke a slaveholder with a loud voice, in a root, is before, if not then, consecrated by the presence of Old Justice Shaw, and the press was astonished at her bilness. I hope, though she has left the city, she hu is representatives behind her who will dare rebake any slave-hunter, or any servant of the Slave Power, the same boldness, frankness and defiance of authority

and contempt of parchment. Then there was another charge brought spiret be meetings, and that was, that they indulged is cross ingly bad language about pulpits, and laws, sol dies of the country. That is a sin I hope will not de of

God grant we may inherit that also. I should like to know very much how many the in this hall to-day who were out in the street, as attach mobocrats, twenty years ago. I know there are all here who signed the various petitions to the City Goes ment to prevent the meeting from being bell, id would be an interesting fact to know how many and to day, actually enlisted under the Anti-Slaver han who tore that sign to pieces. I wish we had con relies; the piece of that door which was long promise the door so coolly locked by CHARLES BULDEL was a touching relic. We ought to have a porting sign which the Mayor threw down as a tab to the red hoping to save some semblance of his authorities the multitude would be satisfied with the sign, and the women in this hall, forgetting that a mob se

trolled only by its fears, not by pily or good man But, Mr. President, it is a sad history to tiel Anti-Slavery is a sad history to read, and to help upon. What a miserable refuse public opinion been for the past twenty years! what a war wreck of all that Republican education ought a proposed! Take up that file of papers which & & nison showed you, and think, Republicanism, Popularism, Popularism education, a Protestant pulpit, free schools, the si government, had existed in this city for say po and this was the result! A picture, the very set that which Sir Ronerr Pear held up in the British liament, within a month of the mob, as profited publicanism never could succeed. It is a pi to look back upon. The only light that rebess? the heroism that consecrated this hall, and est b in Hollis street, places which Boston will pet pair

cans to-day, not simply Abolitionists) the inf that Americans can rejoice for this day is, that thing was not rotten. The whole head weight side the schole heart faint. There were its mes, es Sodom! And when the Mayor forgot his day, if the pulpit prostituted itself, and when the pres itself into a pack of howling hounds, the woods ton, and a score or two of men, remembered Ham Adams, and did their duty. And if there are people who hear me to-day, let us hope that who special cause of Anti-Slavery effort is pased sale when another generation shall have come upon and new topics of dispute have risen, there all more such scenes. How shall we ever learn hi for what we do not believe? The last lessen and learns is, that liberty of thought and speech # 10 for all mankind; and of all opinions, that the denies every article of this creed is to be about preach just as often, and just as loud, as he be a right to. We have learned this-been taught secution on the question of slavery. No ma the lips that would speak, they must be heard see to it, my friends, Abolitionists, that we lesson the whole circle round. Let us believe whole of truth can never do harm to the shell Trust it. And remember, that in order to of truth, you must allow every man, right

ip, so matter what his doctrine ;—the safety of free ip, so matter wast his mostrine;—the safety of free the parcelal assemblage of thoughtful men! Let us persist our labors for twenty years to come in doing bear than those who went before us, and widening the bear than those was well before us, and widening the erde of their principle.

Itsi and proper significance.

Let me thank the women who came here twenty years

have done me. I thank them for all they have I had read Greek and Roman and English noght me. ner and martyrs; I dreamed, in my folly, that I heard ner and many, that I heard the same tone in my own day from the cuckoo lips of the same time in my own day from the cuckoo lips of LOWARD EVERATT—these women taught me my mistake. They taught me that down in those hearts that loved a for itself, asked no man's leave to think or inciple for the state of the same of the same of the same of the same were willing to sacrifice every thing for it, spear, and their convictions, no matter at what hazard, flowtrue to their conversion, no matter at wast nazard, flow of the true blood of '76, of 1640, of the hemlock-drink et the track, and of the martyr saints of Jerusalem, tref Athens, and the for it 1 My eyes were sealed, so that, although I knew the Adamses and Otises of 1776, and the though I knew the Anathers and Others of 1776, and the Mary Dyers and Adamses and Otises, the Dyers and Hatchinsons whom I met in the streets of '35 Thee somen opened my eyes, and I thank them and 1000 turning to Mrs. Southwick and Miss HENRIKTTA SINGEST, who sat upon the platform) for that anointing. May our next twenty years prove us all apt scholare of so brave instruction !

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER.

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Mr. CHAIRMAN, -It is very few words I shall speak Mr. CHAIRMAN, The last very few words I shall speak to this occasion; I do not consider myself entitled or worthy to say more. When you, and Mr. Garnison, and others were men, and playing a manly part here tenty years ago, and these women were playing the part, not of 'mothers in Israel,' but, what is a great led better, of women, of mothers in New England, I was what I may call a boy, a young man, in the Theological School, studying for my profession. I very well remem-ber the 21st of October, 1835. At that time, I was occupied chiefly in theological and metaphysical abstractions, which are now-a-days coming out in the prayers lefer, in the sermons I preach, in the life I try to lead. I sesthen laying the foundation for what I am now trying to establish in works.

I very well remember the event of this day. Wholly unexpected it was to me ; for I was so lost in Hebrew and Grecian, and German metaphysics, that I did not duly read the Daily Advertiser or the Commercial Gazette, and had not even heard of Mr. Benjamin F. Hallett. Since that time, I have had occasion to make the acquaintance of that gentleman.

I came into Boston that day, and spent the evening with some of the most respectable inhabitants of the town,-respectable for their descent, respectable for their riches, and still more respectable for the social standing which made them looked up to. There were four of them present. I do not mention their names, which none here will detect. There was but one opinien among all four, and that was, in commendation of the deed done. They did not exactly commend the mob; er approve of the means; they commended the end that was arrived at and accomplished, and thought, on the whole, the mob was a very good thing, and that Mr. JACKSON, and Mr. GARRISON, and these noble ladies (Mrs. Southwick and Miss Sargent) had deserved it all. They represented the sentiment of the 'men of property and standing ' in Boston at that time. They eere the respectabilities of Boston. They have not altered their mind, I think, to this day, or at least two of the same men so loved the Fugitive Slave Bill, that they went publicly and thanked Mr. Eliot for his vote in its support, and one of them wrote in the Daily Advertiser in support of the bill.

Allusion has been made to the early Christians. Mr. Saver J. Max once wanted to go and preach Anti-Slavery in the town of Taunton, and asked the Unitarian minister if he could have his church. '.Yes,' said the minister. He went to the Unitarian minister's house to stop, and he asked him- Perhaps you will open the meeting with prayer, and other services? . . . shall be very glad to, and I will read some Scripture, if you will allow me.' So the minister went to the meeting, and 'made a prayer,' praying against the Abolitionists with might and main,-it was not much might nor much main ;- and then (for the Goddess of Vengeance never sleeps) he read from the Bible some pas sages representing the conduct of the old prophets and Christian apostles; and what made it still more touching and practical, he took this passage out of the book of Acts, 'These that have turned the world upside down have come hither also.' Thereupon he stopped. Mr. May, with that face which is a benediction any where, and that voice, which seems to have been created to utter the beatitudes which his heart always conceiver, said to the audience, Men and women. brothers and sisters, you hear what your minister has said to you. He has ended by saying, "These that have turned the world upside down have come hither also." So we have! Who was it "that turned the world up side down," and who were thus alluded to. It was Peter, it was Paul, it was James, it was John. It was the men who wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, of whom the world was not worthy. They turned the world upside down, because it was wrong side up before. And we have come here to do just the same thing over. I thank him for his Scripture.'

How idle it seems, at this day, to undertake to pr down truth by mobs ! Violence !- It is an argument to this poor flesh ; it is no argument to a man's mind, to his conscience, or his heart, or his soul. And, least of all, is violence, persecution, of any avail to a New England man or a New England woman, who has whole file of Puritan fathers and mothers, reaching back

beyond the reign of Bloody Mary.

There were two great books which our fathers were bred on. One was the Bible; and though I am no worshipper of the Bible, I must say, that whatever high praise be bestowed on Roman eloquence and Roman law, er on Grecian art, philosophy and poetry, none of them ever came from such a deep of manly hereism as those old Hebrew Prophets, Psalmists and Apostles spoke out of and spoke into. And a community which took the Bible for its one book, wept over it in sorrow, rejoiced over it in delight; prayed over it, and almost worshipped it-and that at a time, too, when priest and king forbid, would be likely to have some heroes among its sons and daughters. That we might depend uponfor the Bible does not lack spunk-depend upon it. If the Puritans did not take the Love of the New Testa ment, they did take the sternness, the unconquerab courage, that flamed in the Old Testament, and in the

New. That was the first book.

The other was a kindred work ;—it was Fox's Histo ry of the Martyrs. Mr. Fox was a noble man, who lived three hundred years ago, who, with unaccountable industry and untiring patience, ransacked all his tery to find out the story of men who had resisted the majority of the Christian Church, been wise and religious in advance of the clergy of their day, and suffered in consequence. There are three volumes of this

stuffed with Old Testament prophets, and whose cradities of the quilt was made of Fox's Martyrs. This mob of 35 was only fanning the flame; and every other mob was only fanning the flame; and every other mob was only fanning the flame. One of the fathers of New England said,—I do not give his words, but his idea,—When the ungodly are nearest to their hopes, the godly man is furthest from his fears. And I put it to these friends behind me, if they were everturater from their fears than twenty years ago this day? The woman was much the letter man of the two. Our own history the Mayor's cowardly counsel, and those who were as sociated with her,—why, 'when the ungodly were and you cannot go into a little New England town, or said the said—You and I are getting old; for God's sake, let us go into the next world with clean consciences. Doubtless, it will cost you your place;—it is of very small consequence. You and I can fare hard, and the judge yielded. The woman was much the letter man of the two. Our own history is full, Fox's Martyrs runs over, with similar stories and you cannot go into a little New England town, or

There were two different spirits present here on that day. One was outside, howling and yelling in the the godly are farthest from their fears. Let us take mob; the other was on the inside. The outside, it was a lesson from her. the slave spirit. It is represented by two powers nowone the Slave Power of the South ; the other, the Money Power of the North. They had struck hands long ago Their hands were joined in mutual insurance; they have not separated since. The Money Power of Boston is on the same side with the Slave Power of Richmond and Alexandria.

Since that day, see what triumphs have been mad by the Slave Power. Then we had, at most, two and half millions of slaves; there are three and threequarters in the United States to-day. Since that day, see what has been done. Arkansas has been made slave State ; Mississippi a slave State ; Alabama a slave State ; Texas has been annexed as a slave State ; the Mexican war has been fought in aid of the Slave Power ; Utah and New Mexico have been made slave territory ; slavery has been carried into California, and exists there at this day, on sufferance, by the common law, though it is forbidden by the Constitution. We have passed the Fugitive Slave Bill ; eight and twenty men have been returned into slavery from Pennsylvania in a single year, and two from Boston. That family, to which Mr. Phillips alluded, had commenced their service of the Slave Power four years before the mob In 1832, when Mr. SAMUEL E. SEWALL, whose office is under our feet, askel the Supreme Court of Massachu setts not to allow a slave owner from Cuba to take his slave back, one of that same family, Mr. CHARLES P CURTIS, asked the Court to deliver him up; and the Court said, 'Yes; let the slaveholder have his victim; and he took him.

I say, that the Slave Power of the South, allied with the Money Power of the North, has made stupendot atrides since that time ; and just now, it has marched into Kansas and Nebraska, and carries the hallot-box at the point of the bayonet, and puts down freedom with the edge of the sword. In Pennsylvania, you know what has been done and is doing. The mob of 1835 is now organized, and has the forms of law on its side. Mayor Bigelow and Marshal Tukey in 1851, Dr. Smith and Apothecary Edmands in 1854, they are the mob of 1835, in an official dress.

You see what strides have been taken by the Power outside. But the Power inside has not been inactive. How immensely it has grown! Mr. PHILLIPS said it had the press on its side-though the Daily Advertiser had not changed. The Advertiser is one of my pets. Let me quote something-it is very brief, and is not so dull as its editorials now are, demonstrating the existence of the Whig party-which was published in that paper Oct. 22, 1835-the day after the mob :-

As far as we had an opportunity of observing [for appears the Advertiser was himself present] the deit appears the Advertiser was himself present; the de-portment of the great number of persons assembled, there appeared to be a strong desire that no act of vio-lence should be committed, any farther than was ne-cessary to prevent the fomentors of discord from ad-dressing a public meeting, which the active portion of the crowd were determined at all hazards to do. If those who call these useless meetings have not regard enough for the public quiet to avoid the summoning of another assemblage of this kind, we trust that the proper authorities will take care that they are bound ver to keep the peace. When women turn reformers, and become so blinded by their zeal that they cannot perceive that they are persisting in a most use-less and dangerous measures against the universal and clearly expressed sontiment of the public, it is incumbent on the officers of the law to step in, and preserve the public peace, [by forbidding women to "assemble an meet together"] and not wait until continued provoca tion shall have led to lawless violence.

Such was the Daily Advertiser's opinion of a mot ry mob, and so must be defended. But listen a mo-

We trust that the repetition of such an outrage e deliverance of an innocent man from the hands of a kidnapper, at noon day, in the heart of our city, by which the laws are treated with derision, will awaken our citizens to the necessity of some measures, if not to relieve us from the disgrace of such proceedings, at least for the protection of life and property,

You see by that first extract how the Advertiser felt the day after the mob. It wanted these men, FRANCIS JACKSON and WILLIAM LLOYD CARRISON, and these women, Mrs. Southwick and Miss Sargest, bound over to keep the peace-never to atter a word against the great crime of America. FRANCIS JACKSON held a clusion. It would have taken several Mayors to have made him keep the peace after that sort !

Since this day, twenty-one years ago, what a step ! See all these parties coming up into power, - the Free Soil party, the Republican party, - which are only the wings of the great Anti-Slavery party which is to be, and will command the continent. Just now, it is very plain, that the only question before the people, at the next national election, will be, Shall the Slave Power possess the Presidential office, or shall the Power of Freedom possess it? I say, there is to be only one question before the people, and that is the question.

In my mind, there is no doubt how this is to terminate, at last. The Anti-Slavery cause is a very sad one to look back upon, as Mr. PHILLIPS said. But so is the history of every great reform. Look at the American Revolution-what a sad history it is! Washington fleeing through the Jerseys, his army miserably clad and without shoes, marking the ground with their bridge, when Boston was filled with red coats! Here lay a powerful and well furnished army within an hour's march; at one time, he had not three rounds of powder and ball for each man! The history is very powder and ball for each than . The history is very sad; the thing itself is not so sad. Let us look about us, and see what honor and praise is given to the heroism of the Christian martyrs, who faced persecution and death with unfaltering courage, and see what triumph there is for us, whenever we will-

· If, beating back our thronging fears, By faith alone our march we keep.

The God of earth and heaven is on our side. There is no attribute of Commiscience that does not take part this assembly, and I have asked miself, wast course with us; and what seems distant, we can bring near will they take? Here are three sitting near me, meither whenever we will. We honor these women for their of them, twenty years ago, had any existence,—two of whenever we will. We nonor these women for their or them, twenty jears ago, had any existence, two of heroic bearing in the hour of danger. It is not the first time in our history that women have stood for the the streets of Boston, and one, your own grandson. first time in our nistory that women mare stood for the line streets of Boston, and that your wan grandson right when men have shrunk back in fear. When the I ask, what course will these young men, now it Bancroft's History. That was the 'profane literature' question was brought before the twelve judges of Enguestion was their sucred literature, with whom the Bible was their sucred literature.

Now, it must not be supposed that a mob is much of lan argument with men and women whose pillows were lan argument with men and women whose pillows were

stuffed with Old Testament prophets, and whose cra- in all England who did not know that. One of the sociated with her, -why, 'when the ungodly were and you cannot go into a little New England town, or nearest to their hopes, they, the godly, were furthest into this great New England town, -you cannot go where the fidelity of woman does not meet you at every step. When the ungodly are nearest to their hopes

THE LIBERATOR

We see dindy in the distance what is small and what is great, Slow of faith how weak an arm may turn the iron helm

of fate;
But her soul is still oracular,—amid the market's din
Hear the ominous stern whisper of that Delphic sou
within.

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

MR. CHAIRMAN,-I would not occupy more than coment, as the hour is so late. I was a resident Boston twenty years ago this day, and saw and heard both the preparations for that mob, during the six months previous, and also the proceedings of the mob rinter. Now, the question arises, what caused that nob? The same Power, Mr. Chairman, raised that mob, dragge! Mr. Gannison through the streets of Boston, tore down that sign, broke up that meeting, the same Power brought about these things, that got up the Missouri Compromise, and delivered that State over to slavery,—that bought the Territory of Louisiana for the purpose of making it a slave country,—that bought Florida, with a view to converting it into a slave State,—that precipitated this country into the Mexican war and annexed Texas, with a view to spread slavery over three hundred thousand square miles there, -that has enacted and executed the Fugitive Slave Bill o 1850, and all other Fugitive Slave Bills, -that is now struggling in Kansas to carry slavery into that vast an fertile territory, -that same Power, Mr. Chairman, that met, in 1787, in the city of Philadelphia, when the Constitution of the United States was there framed, and went into a Convention with Liberty to form a govern ment to execute justice and secure the blessings of free dom, -that is, the Slave Power of our country. Mr. Chairman, we have had but just one governme

n this country ever since we became a Republic; there has been but one supreme law of this land, which has controlled everything,-I mean, the will of the slave holder. That, and that alone, has controlled the State of Massachusetts ever since she has been a State in this Confederacy, and it has controlled all the States of this Union. It has mobbed the Abolitionists from town to town,-it has taken the lives of our citizens,-it has trampled all our rights in the dust,-it has controlled the literature of Massachusetts, (one most disgraceful evidence of this has recently been exhibited among us, and my heart bleeds at the thought that a man who has stood with us so long, and battled s faithfully, should at length cower before that monster the Slave Power,)-it has controlled the literature Massachusetts, her colleges, her Legislature, her Judi ciary, her Executive, and even her ballot-boxes,-it has controlled Massachusetts in everything, even in domestic and social relations. It has stalked up and down your streets, and you have not dared to meet it

Twenty years ago, Sir, I was a novice in the Anti-Slavery movement, but I had made up my mind,-it took me three years to be converted,-I was born again ' in 1834, born of God, regenerated, once and for ever, on this question, and I made up my mind to lay everything,-my church, my ideas of religion, of the Bible, ccerything, upon the altar of my Anti-Slavery principles, if it was called for. Well, it was called for I was an orthodox man, in my views of religion then, and I had to lay them all on the altar of the slave's re-

demption.

At that time, Mr. Chairman, we had not entered upon the discussion of the Bible question, of the relation of the Church to elavery, of the Sabbath, of the Constitu which attacked a body of women. It was a pro-slave- tion or the Union,-not one word had then been said upon these subjects. We were all of us,-Mr. GARRIment to the words of this venerable authority on Monday, the 17th day of February, 1851. He is discours- sition to these things. We supposed, at that time, that Shadrach, which took place on the these things were going to help us. We had no idea of the conflict before us, but we had made up our provided these things stood in the way of Anti-Slavery of a fugitive slave in this city on Saturday, while he was in a court of justice, [i. e. in the same room with George T. Curtis, fugitive slave bill commissioner,] in the custody of an officer of the law, [to wit, the celebrated Marshal Riley,] as related in another column of this paper, will naturally suggest to the legislature now in session, the propriety of repealing the set provided these things stood in the way of Anti-Slavery, they were to be laid on the altar. I soon found, for myself, that they did stand in the way. The Bible, the Church, the Constitution, and the Union, were all thrown right before us, in the pathway of our principles. What could we do? Should we give up our Anti-now in session, the propriety of repealing the set of this paper, will naturally suggest to the legislature what could we do? Should we give up our Antinow in session, the propriety of repealing the act
passed in 1843, called "an act further to protect personal liberty." It must be very obvious that the
maintenance of such a law as this [act to protect "personal liberty"] among the Statutes of Massachusetts,
sonal liberty"] among the Statutes of Massachusetts, sonal liberty") among the Statutes of Massachusetts, and I never will. It has always seemed to me idle to tends to encourage a violation of the Constitution and a resistance of the laws of the United States.

I know it is wrong, whatever great men or so-called sacred books may say about it. This feeling has animated me for more than twenty years. Whatever stands in the way of Anti-Slavery, I will give up. I know it is right, as a self-evident fact; and whatever says to the contrary, utters a self-evident falsehood.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the question we have to decide s-What shall we do? Some of us, many of us, believe, have put on the armor for death or victory and now, what have we to do? We have got a terrible fact to deal with in this country, and we cannot stop t discuss the technical meaning of words, whether in th Bible or in the Constitution. We have to deal with meeting in his own house, and came to a different conernment, in the literature, in the domestic and social life of the country,-the SLAVE POWER. What shall we do? Shall we go on trying to compromise, to keep the peace between Liberty and Slavery? I say, No Sir, there is but one way to meet that Power, and that is, on the field where "Death or Victory" is to be the motto. I say, wherever Slavery and Liberty meet, there is to be but one issue, and that is, Death or Victory! We have got to come to this, and let us meet it. Let the people of Massachusetts take their stand, and proclaim that no minion of the Slave Power shall be allowed to exercise any of the functions of his office on the soil of this Commonwealth. I wish that you would do towards the Slave Commissioners what your ancestors did towards the Stamp Commissioners. they do? Go and read the history of your Revolution ary struggle. In 1764 or '65, when a certain Mr. Ax-DREW OLIVER undertook to act as Commissioner in Boston to enforce the odious Stamp Act of the British Parliament, your fathers took him and bore him to the ry is that of General Washington over there at Camcise his office in this country. Now, go call your Uni ted States Commissioners, your Curtises and Lorings, to account, in the same way, and make them swear pever to exercise their infamous office in your midst. Espe cially, do not fail to remember Judge Loring the com ing winter in your Legislature.
Will you for ever submit to that infernal power which

has ground you down to the dust? I do not believe the people of Massachusetts will. I go, Sir, for revo ution ! Mr. Chairman, while I have been sitting here this af-

ternoon, I have noticed quite a number of young men in this assembly, and I have asked myself, what course

drive slavery from our soil, and never allow a

but I hope I may be allowed to mention the name of one young man, who has proved himself bold and festin opposition to the Slave Power, and who is about to leave our shores, and may never have an opportunity again to utter his voice on this subject, though I trust in God he will, many times. I hope we shall remain and hear him now. I allude to THOMAS WENT-

SPEECH OF REV. T. W. HIGGINSON.

Mr. HIGGINSON, in response to this call, rose and said : MR. CHAIRMAN—The golden moments of this afteron are flown, and neither I nor any one else ought to try to protract them farther. The light is fading from our eyes, but I trust the light will not soon fade away from our hearts, that have been blessed by so many ble memories, and made happy by brave and hopeful ble memories, and made happy by brave and hopeful if we have made sacrifices, remember them, and allow anticipations from those who, of all others, have the others to speak of them;—and they are so few, that they others to speak of them;—and they are so few, that they

best right to predict our future.

It is good for us to have been here, Sir. I have felt it almost every moment of the afternoon; and when I have looked around this hall, and seen alternately the smiles upon the lips of noble women, and the tears in learn. Passmone Williamson is in his prison, and the eyes of brave men,—seen them as well as I could Massachusetts men are quiet, and go about their daily for the closer tears that dimmed my own,—I have felt business; and if he were in prison in Boston, it would the same hope with the last speaker, that the younger be very nearly the same thing. In Kansas, the liberty of sons, from this Auniversary, may at least rekindle the raise money to arm with Sharp's rifles his company of inthusiasm of their own self-devotion.

are so changed around us,' he said. It is not for me I will not read it, 'lest the daughters of the Philis here and now to question one word of his; but my times rejoice.' But you cannot wonder if members o heart asked my intellect. Are things so changed, after Congress, statesmen, refuse to sacrifice their places for all? Is the Massachusetts of 1855 so transformed from the Massachusetts of 1885? Is State street so utterly cannot wonder at the selfishness of Hunkers, when w changed now from what it was when it poured forth its base-hearted myriads then? Is it true that all the hard work is done, no great duties left, and no great demean it. What is that great samples the labored that. I was not present at the meeting we celebrate for twenty years, and what have they conquered? it all passed over me as wars and perils pass uncon

What have they conquered ? The right of free speech !

A Voice- That is something.

Mr. Higginson- Something ! Thank God, it much ! But, in comparison with that vaster much we have yet to gain, the result of all this past contest is trifling! And I say to you, younger men and womer who are here, that if you come here to exult, to fremble with excitement, as I have seen you tremble, at the thrilling story of the past, and not to consecrate yourtorical,—things to be honored and admired, not imitatel,—the more we lower the tone of our own natures and

Mr. Phillips told us, that on this day, twenty years hear of courage and self-sacrifice, as things merely his-But the Massachusetts of 1855-what is it? It is

still a part of the Union of 1855. And the Union of 1855 - what is it? Still a Union between Freedom and Slavery; still a Union of the dead and the living! beautiful, bound to the living form of what ought to be beautiful, but is fast ceasing to be so from the polluting contact of that sad decay! The Union of 1855 is what the Union of 1835 was-a Union governed by slavery ; Union in which not merely 'slavery is national and reedom sectional,' but slavery is national and freedom nowhere; for there is no foot, no square inch, even, of free soil in Massachusetts ! The fairest and daintiest woman's finger in this hall is not delicate enough to at this moment; and we, born and bred in dreams of these, I have said enough. But, I say, in closing, draughts of sublime ideas and hopes and wishes, find ourselves, in maturity, with our birthright gone, our dreams faded, our hopes betrayed, and life one long conflict, if we are true to principle! If this is the result of those magnificent labors and sacrifices of twenty years, how long, do you think, are the labors and sacrifices of the future to continue, before the work is done? If all that has passed has only come to this, what is the future to be? God knows; I do not know. We never know what new openings God may have in store for putting an end to the long controversies of men, and letting the weary, saddened spirit of humanity out from its perplexity by some new door it did not know until it opened. Upon a single thread of flax, perhaps, at this moment, the destinies of this continent may hang. We cannot allow for future revelations chusetts, and of the whole country, could not have and possibilities. We have got to take the present as been present to catch the spirit of this meeting. it is, and work in it; and that present, even in Masachusetts, is dead against the life of freedom, the purposes of freedom, and the hope of freedom; and if you see it differently, it is because you do not know Massachusetts-do not see how far off we are from realizing that great, determined uprising of the people in behalf first cousin, gets a seat in Congress, and then he gives lection be now taken, to be devoted to that purpose." the same vote, or turns round and applauds it. I now take no satisfaction in hearing men abuse politicians I have beard so much of it, that I am tired. I am like of Mr. Jounson, with authority to include in the the old lady who complained that she could not even pamphlet such further account of the mob, and its antake comfort in her newspaper. 'Why,' said she, 'I tecedents, as they think proper. do not even enjoy my murders, now !! So I do not This motion was carried unanimously, and the followeven enjoy being in at the death of a politician butch- ing gentlemen appointed that Committee :- OLIVER ered, whether annihilated by the sledge-hammer of Johnson, Samuel May, Jr., R. H. Oben, Robert B. THEODORE PARKER OF the silver lancet of WENDELL ROGERS, AUSTIN BEARSE. PHILLIPS. I know all that, I know what has become of the Halletts of the past. I remember, that on a cer- written, within a few years, by Mr. Homer, former ed-

suppose he tool air. Hallett line he ought to be a good subscribers. There is no good paymaster in the uni-judge of that process. I know what has become of the Hillards, also, (Lam sorry their names all begin with

H,) who once had words to utter even before committees of the Legislature in behalf of freedom, and who now cringe before ' the hand that feeds them,' by their own confession, and go to Whig Conventions in Worcester, to prove that there is too much Anti-Slavery in Massachusetts already! I know what has become of these little men; but I do not care for them. My concern is, with the feelings it evinced, would repay, and overpay what stronger and better men, men who have con- all that any man could do in such a struggle. what stronger and better men, men who have con-aciences, are going to do. Will they do any better? If Massachusetts is to be saved, it is not to be saved by ter's shop from which he was taken by the mob was

Slavery men and women? Are we ready to make sacrifices? Some of us, perhaps, will say, in our self-complacency, "O, yes; I gave a dollar to a fugitive complacency," O, yes; I gave a dollar to a fugitive complacency, "And precisely what I contend against company (a few minutes past six o clock) dispersed. a real formation of the matter of the transfer of the state of the sta

sons tell them ought to be done.

, let us strike for revolution ! is, the lowides we have of what constitutes self-encrifice I will go far away for an example, and show what ca Let us drive slavery from our soil, and never allow a man to be put on trial on the question whether he is a man or a beast. How long shall this last? I hope to live to see the hour of triumph; and as I mark the spirit that pervades this assembly, I can hardly help crying out, Hallelujah!

Samuel Max, Jr.—There are many persons present Samuel Max, Jr.—There are many persons present liberty; not even a great man to rally round. Yet liberty; not even a great man to rally round. Yet there was not a father, who, in those times, left his eastle or his hut, who did know that before he cam back to it at night, it was an even chance that it might be levelled with the ground, and his wife and children dead on the door-step. There was not a woman in those days, who saw her husband or lover or son leave her in the morning, who did not know that when she waved her farewell from the window of cottage or castle, it might be for the last time! Talk of sacrifices! Wholg-clans whole tribes, laid life and property, a daily sacrifice they died daily, and for what? For a foolish line o legitimate, dethroned kings! And we, with the greater of all principles to sustain, with three millions of fellow men and women in the most fearful of all bondage, with a whole nation failing and dying for the want of the from our hearts, that have been blessed by so many no-redemption which we must give, --why, we actually

can be mentioned!

My friends, even in the greatest self-devotion, ther is something more to be learned, and we have got it to white men is struck down, and held at the point of the among us, especially those who cannot speak from per-sonal memory of the 'inside' or the 'outside' of this bayonet, and here in Massachusetts we sympathize—in hall, on the day we celebrate, -that these young pera hundred Kansas farmers, does he find a 'material Mr. Chairman, one sentence spoken by Mr. Garniaid at all commensurate with his expectations? Alas,
sox sunk deep into my heart this afternoon;—'things
no! I have a sad letter which tells the contrary, but freedom, when we will not sacrifice our purses. We remember our own !

I tell you, the fanatics have something to learn. (mands made upon us-us, whose misfortune it is, not who have made the past sacrifices, and still make our fault, that we could not bear the yoke of twenty them. I am preaching to you who sit before me,—to you, who have got the sacrifices of the future to make, mean it; for it is not true, and therefore he did not to you, who are not yet prepared to make them.) Are mean it. What is that great change in which we ex-

scious over the heads of boys at school; but I shall They have conquered the right to meet in Stacy Hall, and call their souls their own! But what else! when I first read the record of this day in the description of HARRIET MARTINEAU, and of that yet more be roic woman, whose praise has not been mentioned as should have been this afternoon,-Maria Weston CHAPMAN, -I shall never forget, I say, the thrill that went over me then, nor the sigh that succeeded it-for I did not know then as much as I know now-when said to myself- O dear ! that is all past and gone, and Anti-Slavery is easy work now : there is nothing more to be dared and done.' And when I read afterwards, your own souls by coming here, and you had better have in Emerson's brave words, that 'self-sacrifice need never stayed at home. For the more we accustom ourselves to wait long for an opportunity to try its edge, -it came

> the guns were outside in the mob-or the men who should have carried them.' There has been a time since when the men were on the outside, and the guns too; and as surely as this earth turns on its axis, that time will come again! And it is for you, men who hear you will do-and what you are willing,-I will not say to consent that those you love should do,-but what you are willing to urge them to do, and to send them from your homes, knowing that they will do it, whether they ive or die.

I am speaking of realities now; of real dangers an duties here in Boston, that appeal to all,-to non resistants as much as any other, and in speaking of drink great there is any young man here who is not prepared to ter meet the issue now, for this night the duty may be required of him. And I say, yet more, that as the devotion of Hannibal, and his life-long hostility to Rome, were built up by his mother in his childhood, when she brought him to the altar in the temple, and day by day pledged him there anew ; so we have in vain come here to-day, to this honored spot, unless our last act is to touch its consecrated altar, and pledge aurselves to Freedom once again and for ever!

At the conclusion of Mr. Higginson's remarks, Ot-VER JOHNSON, of New York, associate editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, said, - It has been to me ! source of deep regret, that the Abolitionists of Massa came from New York to attend it, and I am a thousand times rewarded. I desire to disseminate as widely a possible the spirit which has here prevailed; and order that I may do so, I propose that we shall take measures to publish these proceedings, not only in Tux LIBERATOR and THE STANDARD, but in pamphlet form, of freedom, about which we dream. We talk as if we for general circulation, and especially in this city. had it, even now, but we have not got it. Every man where there are thousands of men who know more or is willing to talk about freedom, many to vote for it. less of the history of that mob, who will read the ac-Every man is ready to denounce votes given for slavery count of this meeting with deep interest, and I believe in Congress, and goes on denouncing, until he, or his it will do great good. I therefore propose that a col-

HENRY C. WRIGHT moved that a Committee of five be appointed by the Chair, to carry out the suggestion

Mr. Garnison then read an extract from a letter tain day, when our friend PARKER was discharged by itor of the Commercial Gazette, to whom frequent reftain day, when our friend FARKER was discouraged by iter of the Commercial Gazette, to whom irrequest retained and the United States Court, Mr. Hallett stepped up to him erence has been heretofore made. In this letter, Mr. and said— Well, Mr. Parker, you have got out at last:

H. expresses his regret at the part he took in stimulatbut it was through a very small knot-bole. I did not ing the mob, and states that he got no thanks for it hear Mr. PARKER's reply, I was not near enough; but from the South, and offended many of his Northern suppose he told Mr. Hallett that he ought to be a good subscribers. There is no good paymaster in the uni-Mr. G. further remarked, that he had received that

afternoon, a beautiful bouquet, from some colored friends residing in Salem, as a token of their regard. Twenty years ago, he was presented with a halter, by 'gentlemen of property and standing 'in Boston. He had accepted that joyfully, but the present of to-day

politicians; it is to be saved by you, who make politi- eccupied by Joseph K. HAYES, the man who so nobly politicians; it is to be saved by you, and make politic occupied by Joseph R. Halls, the man was a claus. Yes, this hall, small as it is, is sufficiently large to threw up his commission as a police officer, rather than cians. Yes, this hall, small as it is, is summerfully large to threw up his commission as a police olicer, rather than hold men and women enough to revolutionize Massachusetts, to revolutionize the nation, if this handful could not only closed the doors of his shop and barred them. summon hearts and energies to do the work their rea- but gallantly endeavored to keep the mob back. The man who could do that in 1835, of course would refuse But how is it pow? How is it even with us, Anti-Very brief remarks followed from Mr. ALEXANDER

THE LIBERATOR. No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 2, 1855.

THE STATE ELECTION.

The annual State Election will take place in Massachusetts on Tuesday next, Nov. 6th. There are four rival candidates for Governor in the field -namely, Julius Rockwell, the candidate of the Fusion or Republican party; HENRY J. GARBNER, the candidate of the Know Nothing or Native American party; S. H. Walley, the candidate of the Hunker, Pugitive Slave-Law party ; E. D. BEACH, the candidate of the Slavery, Rum, allthat is unprincipled, National Administration

As, in the nature of thinge, every State Election indicates, with more or less certainty, the relative nearness to, or distance from, the radical Anti-Slavery movement, of the conflicting political parties in the Commonwealth, we are by no means indifferent to the termination of the pending struggle,-though it is well known, that, as a matter of conscience, and in order to make no compromise with the accurred Slave Power of the land, we refuse to touch the ballot, which, in our sincere belief, is stained with the blood of enslaved mil-

The instinct of the slaveholding oligarchy of the South is unerring. They are not more interested in the result of any election among themselves, than they are in that of every election at the North; consequently, they have not been backward in indicating with whom their affinities run, as pertaining to the various candidates for Governor of this State.

Their first choice is, undeniably and unanimously, for the Democratic candidate, Erasmus D. Beach. In him, pre-eminently, they exultingly behold the incarnation of the spirit of that party, which has ever been eager to betray the liberties of the North for a mess of pottage, which has made the most malignant and persistent efforts to prevent the success of every plan to abolish slavery, which has been habitually controlled by the most profiigate demagogues, and which, in its profession of regard for the rights of the people, is a stupendous lie and imposture. Under such circumstances, therefore, no man can give his suffrage for Mr. Beach, without making any Anti-Slavery profession he may put forth the seme of infatuation or

Mr. Walley is, unquestionably, next to Mr. BEACH, the favorite of the slave-breeders and slavedrivers of the South ; and though his election would not be hailed with as much joy by them as that of Mr. Beach, it would, nevertheless, be cause for universal congratulation at the South.

Gov. GARDNER, it is true, by his secession from the National Know-Nothing Convention at Philadelphia, subjected himself to a small degree of Southern opprobrium; but, in view of his vetoes on the Personal Liberty Bill, and the action of the Legislature for the removal of Judge Loring from his office, the entire South would a thousand times prefer his success to that of Julius Rockwell. Indeed, after looking at those vetoes, how any man, claiming to be a friend of the slave, can for one moment think of bestowing his vote in favor of Gov. GARDNER, is to us utterly incomprehensible. We give it as our deliberate judgment, that his election would be most disastrous to the cause of freedom in our country.

Mr. Rockwell is, beyond all doubt, the most

hated and feared by the South, as representing THE HIGHEST PHASE of the political Anti-Slavery element in Massachusetts. This should suffice to induce every actual voter, who does not intend to give any satisfaction to the Slave Power, to cast his vote for Mr. ROCKWELL; though the issue made by the Republican party is very far from being the true issue : for all attempts to limit the growth of the slave system, and to beat back the aggressions of the South upon the rights and liberties of the North, short of a dissolution of the Union, will, in the sequel, prove atterly abortive. Let all those whose motto is, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS,' maintain an erect position-leave such as are ' under the law' to hear the law-and bide their time.

LECTURES ON SLAVERY. We have received the advertisement of a second course of lectures in this city, similar to that of last winter, but have no room for it this week. Among the gentlemen announced are several of the most popular and distinguished speakers in the country. The tickets are now for sale ; price \$3,00. Let those who desire to attend secure their tickets early.

The proceedings of the meeting of Oct. 21st, which occupy so large a portion of our present number, will be issued, as soon as possible, in pamphlet form, with a valuable historical appendix. SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. Anti-

avery Society, will lecture as foll Sunday, Nov. 4.
Wednesday, " 7.
Sunday, " 11.
Wednesday, " 14. Uxbridge, ket. R. L. Hebronville, "Bain, R. I., Sunday, WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the Ameri-

Anti-Slavery Society, wil Woodstock, Vt., Friday, November Springfield, Sunday Woodstock, Springfield, Sunday Monday, Walpole, N. H., Monday, W. Dummerston, Va., Tuesday, Brattleboro', Wednesday, Fitchburg, Mass., Friday, Sunday, Tasaday, Tasad Waltham, Mass., Tnesday, New Bedford, "Sunday, Morning, afternoon and eve'g.)

PURTHER PAYMENTS FURTHER PAYMENTS

For Publication of the Proceedings of the Anniversary Meeting, Oct. 21, 1855.

Miss Hunt, Boston, for subscription, 100

Mrs. Apthorp, do. do. 200

J. H. Stephenson, West Newton, 100

James T. Ford, Boston, for subscription, 100

Theodore Parker, do. do. 100

D. Keith, do. do. 100

J. T. Sargent, do. do. 100

Francis Jackson, do. do. 300

Ann G. Phillips, do.

A RARE CHANCE. MILLS AT AUCTION.

MILLS AT AUUTION.

WILL be sold at Auction, in Southboro', on TUESDAY, the 18th of November next, at 2 o'clock, P. M., two Mill Privileges and Mills. One in Parkersville, about half a mile west of Southboro' meeting-house, and three-fourths of a mile from a railroad depot; having a Saw, two Gristmills and Cracker, with shed, shop, storeroom, hayscales, &c., and about one and a half acres of prime land, with apple, pear, cherry and plum trees on the same; situated in one of the best business locations in the county of Worcester. The other is about a mile east of the meeting-house, and within half a mile of Faysville depot, having a Gristmill, Cracker, Shed, &c. The sale of the last will be immediately after the other. Conditions easy for the purchaser, and made known at the sale.

For further particulars, inquire of Br. JOSEPH BURNETT, No. 39 Tremont atreet, Boston; CURTIS NEWTON, Esq., Faysville; ABNER PARKER, Eq., Cardaville depot, or of the subscriber, on the premises, MOSES SAWIN.

Southboro', Sept. 28, 1855.

For the Liberator. UNION FOR PREEDOM. BY GEORGE W. PUTNAM.

"Above all, let us be united among ourselves." Whittier's letter to Garrison. From rice swamp and from barracoon, The slave's sad eyes are fixed on us ; For to our union came too soon

Strife's bitter blast and curse. Those million eyes, the livelong day, Watch through each fratricidal fight :--I see their sad, reproachful ray, Piercing the gloom of night.

Their steadfast gaze bath on us been, Is on us when in strife we fall; So like the look by Peter seen In Caiaphas' judgment hall !

We strive-the red lash never stays! We taunt-the while the driver's horn Ushers the dawn of parting days, And human hearts are torn. We argue-while the Tyrant's hand

Fills for the slave Wrong's poisoned bowl, And fierce feet down a darkened land Crush out the glorious soul ! Walk the grain fields in autumn time,

And pass the forest temples through,

Mark how beneath the hoar frest's rime, Green takes the golden bue ! Of grain stalks, by the reapers bound, Not one is matched among the sheaves ; Surely, no two alike are found,

Of all the myriad leaves ! So, in the Soul's unwalled domain. Where thought no metes or bounds can find. No soul hath met its perfect twain,

No mind reflects a mind. And we must differ-spare the brand ! We see each other through earth's haze ; Wait still and labor, till we stand Beneath th' Eternal blaze !

In socient days, the stripling brought The tyrant down with stone and sling ; Now sweep the cannon's deadly shot, The horsemen's rifles ring !

In the long war with Freedom's foes, With changing time the measures change, And he who swings the blade best knows His weapon's power and range. One wields words like a scimetar :

From out the brook one takes the stone ; One shouteth in the van of war ; One warreth all alone. One writeth with a pen of flame;

One speaketh in the council hall, And shuddering shows the words of shame, Where Doom's hand shades the wall ! Each hath his place, his work to do, In paths where once the Prophets trod ;

And friends at best we are but few. Though strong in strength of God. Ye who the legal right defend To raise our 'scutcheon from the mire,

Up, now ! and on the shackle send The Ballot's rain of fire ! And ye-the pioneers of light,

Who keep your garments white as snow, Still thunder from your moral height, Upon the Crime below ! Our feet upon the Negro's chain, With earnest word and potent vote We feel for Slavery's jugular vein,

Around her hydra throat ! We're camped before Sin's frowning walls. Our aim to break Oppression's rod, And, hour by hour, our herald calls, · Give back ! in name of God ! '

One host is entering through the brench'; One where the mine the ramparts rent ; One shall the gates accursed wrench ;

One scale the battlement. But in the citadel WE'LL MEET, And beat the Demon to the dust : And none shall care, when, 'neath our feet,

He lieth-who was first. Then hands round, brothers !- we are few, No time for strife or words of hate ; Press on and conquer-God is true ! The slave dies while we wait !

From the Boston Telegraph. LINES TO PASSMORE WILLIAMSON.

BY CHARLES LIST. Heart unmoved ! the tyrant vaunted, But he made a nation's beat ; Could he now, and not be taunted, Eagerly would be retreat.

Foiled, he hears us name you brother, Bid you scorn a bended knee ; Not with haste he'll let another Revel thus in sympathy.

Fate may for a time dissemble, But for chains it must atone : And oppressors well may tremble At the clanking of their own.

Where the slave, in serrow bending, Toils for one he inly hates, Freedom, grace to manhood lending. Shall display its finest traits.

Hearts shall vow, while anguish chides them, Human forms no more to mar ; Whips may wound the hand that guides them Deeper than the backs they scar.

Constitutions, compromises, Shuffling statesmen these may laud : Justice every plan despises When its purpose is a fraud.

Truth the law with strength inspires, Magnitude no crime relieves ; Senates, when they lie, are liars, Nations, when they steal, are thieves.

Freedom's stormy morn grows fairer, And its sunrise we shall see, Hailing you a standard-bearer For the tribes that shall be free.

Smiling on the haman drover, Let your motto be, Endure ; Though the contest is not over, Freedom's triumph is secure.

SELF-SACRIFICE.

II. SAM. 24: 24. My God, I would not coldly offer Thee The withered hue of feeling's flower, The tragment of a passing hour-Gifts which have nothing cost to me. But looking down into my heart, Whatever treasure it hath hidden deep, Whatever talent it would strive to keep, With these, to Thee, O God, I part. I should not dare to bring affections blighted By the rade blasts of worldliness and pride : Nor lay a worn-out heart the earth had slighted Upon the altar of the crucified. ut, in Life's dewy hours when Hope is on the wing.

My love, myself, my all, to thee I bring.

TO HENRY C. WRIGHT.

You urge, with great carnestness, the formation of a 'Northern Republic.' I am surprised that you do. Why should you descend from your lofty position to engage in such a work? I should indeed rejoice to see the masses in the so-called free States withdrawing from the present man-stealing · Union,' even for the comparatively unworthy object of establishing another arbitrary government in its stead ; but I should be willing to wait a long while before witnessing such a result, rather than see it effected through the agency of such as Henry C. Wright.

I should rejoice to see a wretch, who had all his life been a man-stealer, give up his infernal business, and confine himself to horse-stealing; but it would be beneath me to advise him to follow this comparatively honorable calling. My duty would be at an end when I had done all in my power to induce him to become an honest man. I am pleased when I see the Whigs and Democrats joining the Free Soil or Republican party; but I should be askill Jane Johnson and her children, who it was alleged he had unlawfully detained. Mr. Williamson denies that the askill Jane Johnson and her children were then, or ashamed to sak the meanest man of my acquain. life been a man-stealer, give up his infernal busi-

lishment of a Northern Republic as a positive issued without her knowledge or consent. good. Perhaps you would consider a Northern Re- return would under ordinary circumstances be sufpublic not only better than the present government, but better than no government at all. If with is the point where we are at issue. I affirm that there can be no genuine government, other than the government of Nature. All arbitrary liamson was imprisoned without the shadow of authority, by whomsoever exercised, is tyranny bis own unjustifiable and arbitrary conduct, by as-Natural law, pervading both the spiritual and material universe, is supreme. All interference with to his notice has no status in his court. *Our re-Nature's arrangements is both insolent and miscords, he says haughtily, cannot be opened to every stranger who volunteers to us a suggestion chievous. Any other view involves the monstrous as to what may have been our errors, and I absurdity that law can be 'made'—that justice may repair them.' In other words, the testimony may be now one thing, now another. If right and of the very person in whose behalf the writ is sued justice are fixed, unalterable principles, where is out, made voluntarily, under oath, before a com-the legislature or tribunal that is not shorn of all party is under restraint, cannot be received! Her legitimate authority! If their decrees are contralegitimate authority! If their decrees are contra-rery denial that she is under restraint, says Judge ry to justice, they are null and void; if in accord-Kane, with a refinement of subtlety which is disance with it, they are mere re-affirmations of a natu- graceful to the bench of which he is a member, ral principle, and of no more consequence than the assertions of an individual. But it is said that arbitrary arrangements are gotten up for the purpose of enforcing justice and right-of carrying liamson slave case, that the party in whose alleged into effect the laws of God or Nature. And so God and Nature are both impotent without the help of legislatures, courts and ballot-boxes! What glaring and what disgusting atheism! If there is a God, he is infinite; his authority is universal and supreme; the execution of his laws devolves not upon ignorant voters, slippery politicians, or corrupt judges. To believe in arbitrary ed Passmore Williamson for a constructive congovernment is to disbelieve in God. But this class of disbelievers in God are also infidel to Nature. not be released until ne acknowledges and of disbelievers in God are also infidel to Nature. ty of perjury! We say that such a monstrous This is indeed ' going too far.' He who disbelieves in God, should be sure to believe in Nature. Disbelief in both is a degree of infidelity that should not be ' countenanced '

But, not to theorise farther, did you ever know, as a practical affair, of a government that was not the greatest curse the people under it had to en-dure? Did you ever hear of a government that did not be not support to the same of the people under it had to en-dure? Did you ever hear of a government that the greatest curse the people under it had to en-dure? Did you ever hear of a government that the greatest curse the people under it had to en-dure? Did you ever hear of a government that the people under it had to en-dure the people under it had to en-ture the people did not sanction and support ten times as much crime as it attempted to suppress ! Did you ever know of a government that was not worse in character than the mass of the people living under it ! LETTER PROM ANDREW JACKSON DA Did you ever know of a people that would not tolerate deviltry in their government that they would erate deviltry in their government that they would We publish below an interesting letter from Mr. not be guilty of as individuals! You will answer A. J. Davis, elicited, as the reader will perceive, all these questions in the negative, Now, does by a recent private interview between the writer this all happen so, or is it a law of things! As and the Editor of this paper. Our meeting was it always hus been, so it always will be. A republican government can never be better than its work, and to which reference was made in a note people—the stream can never rise higher than its appended to the second chapter of our Review of source—and consequently can never be a benefit to the President's book. Mr. Davis gives a frank the people,—among other reasons, because it sl-tion of this libelious charge. The temper of his ways falls into the hands of demagogues. Politics reply is in striking confrast with the spirit exhib-are corrupting in their nature. To be a successful politician, a man must be as dis-honest as the times will admit of.' Another important consideration is, that the race is constantly progressing, and the people every now and then demand a to be the principles of Nature; and while he new government, the old one becoming intolerable.

But while the people progress, the government re—which determined for the individual his personal mains stationary at a point below them, until lift-ed up by the people towards their own level; thus circumstances, in themselves insignificant and acting as a perpetual burden and hindrance.

The objection to voting and holding office under this government is, that by so doing, we support To S. B. BRITTAN: slavery. But, admitting that slavery is weak and wicked beyond comparison, are there no other mean tion against the spiritual origin of 'Modern Mysand wicked things that ought not to be supported! to have share shared a thought which the slaveholders the only class of scoundrels with still lingering with me this morning, has attained whom we ought to have no 'union'! Would not sufficient importance to prompt the writing of this the Northern Republic sanction fraud, and trickery, and monopoly of almost every description? Would many friends, you think I should take some notice it not drive woman from the ballot-box, rob her of of, and explain a circumstance reported by Mahan Wright support such a government, or advise oth-

ers to support it? of the slaveholder, is what is wanted by the milof the slaveholder, is what is wanted by the mil-lions in the North. Better teach these millions (the Herald,) which, because of its many insufficient that genuine government does not come from ballot-boxes. Until you do, they will adhere to them, and its receivers, deserved, as I then thought, and even though by so doing they knowingly sanction. even though by so doing they knowingly sanction robuke or vindication from parties thus assailed what they acknowledge to be the most glaring and The charge is in brief, (as already stated by you even though by so doing they knowingly sanction outrageous wickedness.

FRANCIS BARRY. Berlin Heights, (O.) Oct. 17, 1855.

against Judge Kane. Although, in view of his has never been one moment out of my soul. In all whole course in connection with this and other the past, I behold the ambition of religious chief-

Again, the issuing of a writ of hadeas corpus for the Again, the issuing of a writ of hobeas corpus for the purpose of securing possession of human beings and reducing them to slavery—for, disguise his object under whatever subterfuges he may, this was the purpose of Judge Kane—was a monstrous perversion of one of the dearest rights of freemen. And then the imprisonment, for life, perchance, of a respected citizen of Philadelphia, without the form of a trial and without appeal, is a stretch of power which requires a rigid investigation. Finally, the recent decision of Judge Kane, that a slave-holder voluntarily bringing his slave into a free State is not divested of his right of property, which is contrary to all precedent, which tramples which is contrary to all precedent, which tramples upon the bill of rights of every free State, and abrogates a principle of the common law that had been universally accepted in all parts of the Union further contributes to make this whole affair a most unwarrantable and dangerous atretch of power. and one which demands a searching investigation.
The recent opinion of Judge Kane is so vulner able a document-so weak and inconclusive in its

ashamed to ask the meanest man of my acquain-tance to join that party. The business of the gen-uine man-saver is to lead men upward toward himuine man-saver is to lead men upward toward him-self, but never to descend for the purpose of help-in whose behalf and for whose benefit the writ ing them do the work they find in their path.

But perhaps you regard this matter in a different that she was restrained of her liberty by Williamlight. Perhaps you would look upon the establish. Perhaps you would look upon the establish. be valid in any court of law, that Passmore Wi suming that the person whose affidavit was brought may be only a proof that the constraint is effec-

> Judge Kane knows, as well as every man, womar and child who has read the accounts of the Wil behalf he has issued a writ of habeas corpus, is not under constraint. He knows that she has appear ed in a Philadelphia Court, since her escape, and tempt of his court, with the intimation that he shall be released until he acknowledges himself guilpeachment, and we shall heartily sympathise with any movement which will lead to a thorough inquiry into the legality and propriety of the official conduct of Judge Kane. We reserve for a future occasion some remarks

> become free .- Boston Journal.

From the Spiritual Telegraph.

VIS. its people. But government is always worse than and satisfactory explanation of the circumstance which constitutes the flims powerless before the Truth.

BROOKLYN, Oct. 16, 1855.

letter.

In justice to myself as a man, and not less to my her property, ny, and of her children! Would it veracity, which, so far as his influence as an ixing system of marriage! And could Henry C. vancement of important principles.

You say—'A ballot-box, unpolluted by the ballot of the slaveholder, is what is wanted by the milin the first chapter of your able Review.) that while delivering a public address in Cleveland, I sudden-ly stopt, went into one of my favorite states of abstruction, and then professed to the audience to have a vision of Horace Mann's lecture on Wo-JUDGE KANE AND PASSMORE WIL
LIAMSON.

The decision of Judge Kane, in the case of Passmore Williamson, is one which may well excite the most earnest solicitude. It is a decision which, if sustained, will effectually reverse the policy of our government—which will make slavery a pational his friends.

sustained, will effectually reverse the policy of our government—which will make slavery a national institution, protecting it by a law which, though unwritten, will override the civil code, and even the bill of rights of every free State. It is a decision which establishes and protects slavery in Pennsylvania, in Massachusetts, and in every State where it has been supposed that freedom was the natural and inalienable right of every human being. It is a decision which makes the local laws of the Southern States paramount to the constitutions of the free States.

We have no desire to indulge in invectives against Judge Kane. Although, in view of his

whole course in connection with this and other slave cases which have been brought before him, we may believe him to be another Jeffreys, we have too much respect for the judicial ermine to denounce him as such. But if ever there was a cause for impeachment, that cause has been furnished by Judge Kane in his persecution and imprisonment of Passmore Williamson. His every step in connection with the Wheeler slave case has been a stretch of power as arbitrary as unjustifiable. In the first place, there are grave doubts in the minds of men of eminent legal taient, whether he had any right to meddle with the case of Wheeler and his slaves, which was one that properly came within the jurisdiction of the State courts.

When that book was given, be it remembered, the world had not heard of Spiritual Manifestations. It was the only psychological marvel then in America. It went forth 'crying in the wilderness,' and called the religious world from its dreams. It aroused more free discussion than I had the presumption to anticipate—especially when, with a few exceptions, it was considered to be a 'weak,' 'auperficial' and 'contradictory' conglomerate, scarcely meriting a single glance of consideration from the intellectual and, literary. The work was called to combination of absurdities: consideration from the intellectual and literary. The work was called 'a combination of absordities; but, by the kindly offices of such as Pres. Mahan, it has already yielded a rich harvest of salutary results to the religious world. It has vulnerable places, doubtless, and I have noticed that Pres. Mahan has entered 'Nature's Divine Revelations' at openings which, should I write the work again, I would either expunge or render impregnable to such criticism. As to the alleged 'mistakes,' I would either expunge or render impregnates, such criticism. As to the alleged 'mistakes,' mis-reports,' and 'absurdities,' ect., I am, as you know, perfectly willing to have them 'explained and exposed 'in every honorable way: because, if I know the beart of A. J. Davis, it is only the Thurn that he wishes to have developed and applied Personal attacks, then, are of little consequent

Personal attacks, then, are of little consequence to me—and, in a brond view, should have no weight with the friends of the New DISPERSATION. This, as I have elsewhere affirmed, is my mental state: I am a lover of what I feel and perceive to be a principle of Truth, regardless of the form; and I hereby assure my reviewers and traducers everywhere, that, should they present unequivocal demonstrations of 'mistakes' and 'absurdities' in any work bearing my name, I will be the first to whom she could confide, and so decided to go her-hall the deed of friendship, and will acknowledge self. There were earnest remonstrances against whatever error I am thus made to realize. I have her going, such as that those seas were dangerous.

to indulge at the expense of truth.

But may I not expect from my reviewers and private traducers an acknowledgment equally trank—in case it should presently be their turn to be convicted of mistakes and absurdities! With individual differences, I can have no fellowship. Principles I am ever ready to consider—not the character of the person who utters them. *Refutation' is the child which public men too often nurse. But I speak for myself. It is neither popular authorities nor A. J. Davis, but The Truth which I love and revere. All I ask, therefore, is, that whenever any reviewer, or system supported to the supported the responses of the voyage. It would have done it, had not the New Orleans consignee cheated her out of the whole. After seeing her freed mental to the support of the support that whenever any reviewer, or system supported by him. is convicted of manifest error, that soel

But to my explanation. It is true that I was de-livering a course of lectures in Cleveland. My the rights of women and relation of the sexes. (The audience, as well as I, knew that Mr. Mann was announced to lecture soon on that subject.) Hence, there was nothing irrelevant or marvellous brief, detached sentences, I gave the audience my impressions—saying: 'Such I receive as a correct rendering of his sentiments, but whether right or wrong, those who will hear Mr. Mann's lecture may determine.' Whereupon a gentleman arose and affirmed that he had read substantially the same in the New York Tribune. President Mahan says that I was 'taken all aback by such an an-

Now, you see, my friend, that I made no pro-fession of reading the lecture by 'vision,' nor did I attach any importance to that psychological transaction. But the Cleveland Herald reported a foolish account of my 'pretensions,' 'attempts,' 'mistakes,' etc.; and, because I did not bestir my-self to correct a bit of prejudicial gossip, this President Mahan considers it a settled fact, implying 'deliberate' imposition, and sufficient to overthrow a series of clairvoyant disclosures which pertain to my past history. This attack I have valued as of practical consequence, and will be disregarded every careful reader of President Mahan. His is a materialistic house, built with timbers hewn by other hands, decorated with

> * Rich windows that exclude the light, And passages that lead to nothing.'

While I am about it, let me say that the bombastic and unscrupulous assertions of 'Professor is conditioned upon the minister's repressing in Grimes' through the country, that he was the first to magnetize me, is all based on the single fact (unknown to him at the time) that I was one among some fifteen young men who one afternoon went to his room at the botel to have the experiment tried. His test of exerting a magnetic influence, then, was to close the eyelids against the person's power to open them. This effect he did not read to the steemant peacefulness of her steemant peacefulness of her steemant peacefulness of her steemant peacefulness of her steemant peacefulness. planation.

In closing, allow me again to urge the conviction that the Harmonial Philosophy is a matter resting upon no personal idiosyncracies or local attesta-tion. It is founded on the Laws of Nature-aiming at the harmonization of the Indicidual first, and the reconstruction of Society upon natural princi-ples. You may rest, therefore, my friend, with my assurance, that all the time, talent and tongue expended upon me as an individual Teacher of this Philosophy, will be as animunition wasted on the open air. Because the friends of the Harmonial Brotherhood (which begins on earth, and ramifies through infinite spheres.) acknowledge no authority save Naturae, and no Gospel which cannot be read unmistakably on the Divine Constitution of Things. And I shall not complain, even if I shall stand first in the battle; and be the fulcrum on which the lever of REASON may operate upon the foundations of ignorance and superstition.

I am, your friend, A. J. DAVIS.

PRANCES WRIGHT.

It has been said that Frances discussed the question with the slaveholders, and drove them from every position but the pecuniary advantage they derived frem slavery. She believed that they were mistaken in this, but she knew of no facts to sustain her position. She believed that the slave might become a free man without loss to the owner, and be a gain to society, in as much as it would add another man.

After deliberating a year, she resolved to make an experiment for this purpose. She purchased a large tract of wild lands in western Tennessee, and thirty slaves, male and female, (with their own consent.) She drew up a constitution or system of regulations. By this article, every slave was charged with his price in the bill of sale; then with boarding and whatever articles of clothing be required, and credited with his labor. Any over work or extra care and management was carefully accredited; labor was rated at usual prices, and articles of consumption at cost. A portion of each day was appropriated to the giving and receiving of instruction. When the credit balanced the debt account in the case of any slave, he was free. There were other regulations, but these may account in the case of any slave, he was free. There were other regulations, but these may

dawn to dusky eve. Are a server and returned in the tion to business, she has left in the morning twilight in search of their cows, and returned in the crening twilight, having traversed the forest a whole day without a mouthful of food. Several times she went alone on horseback from Nashoba, Tenn., to New Harmony, Ind., through a wilderness country, with several rivers of swimming depth. Once she fell in with two men who had a black man in custody. After some altercation, she took the black man behind her, and repaired to the office of a magistrate to ascertain if he were legally office of a magistrate to ascertain if he were legally held. The tisks she ran on these excursions were less than might be supposed, for she was a first-rate swimmer and equestrian.

Having lectored and written until her views

Having lectored and written until her views were pretty fairly before the public, her sympathies were excited for her poor dependents at Nashoba. She went to them, and after stating that she had bought them that they might be free, (and still determined that they should not return to slavery) she wished them to join in consultation regarding what was best to be done. She told them the grounds of her objection to the colonization scheme, adding that in the prejudice of color there was an inasperable obstruction to their elevation in this land, but that in Hayti they would be with equals, and have their share in the government. They were pleased with the proposition, and she negotiated with the authorities of the island for their settlement. She applied to Benjamin Lundy to acsettlement. She applied to Benjamin Lundy to accompany them, but having suffered a sad domestic bereavement recently, on a like occasion, he declined. She knew no other man in the country in whatever error I am thus made to realize. I have no personal pride at stake, no love of infallibility to indulge at the expense of truth.

But may I not expect from my reviewers and private traducers an acknowledgment equally trank—in case it should presently be their turn to be convicted of mistakes and absurdities? With individual differences, I can have no fellowship.

She chartered a vessel for \$1600, and told the dividual differences, I can have no fellowship.

Principles I am ever ready to consider—not the of fesight that would leave comfortable accommo-

by him, is convicted of manilest error, that such her out of the whole. After seeing her freed men will ingeniously 'own up ' and commence anew, on the maxim that it is never too late to learn! their new home, she sailed for New York. A few days after her landing. Colonel Stone published a slanderous report of the whole proceeding in his daily. He stated that she had one slave, and had subject was one which concerned the sexes equally daily. He stated that she had one slave, and had being a definition of their relative positions in induced twenty-nine free persons to profess to be the order of creation. It is also true that, while slaves for effect; the voyage was a fine speculation in the midst of my subject, I hesitated and remarkthe Haytians having remitted the duties amounting
ed 'that it would be interesting to know what a
public teacher, like Horace Mann, had to say on
the rights of women and relation of the sexes.

The additional state of the sexes of the sexe and other dignitaries. It so happened bills of sale were not destroyed, and the custom house receipt in the captain's name was also in in alluding to him, or to what he might teach on that question. It is likewise true that I stood quiet for a few moments—during which I obtained (by impression, not by clairvoyance) what I understood not refuse, but he never again ran himself into a impression, not by clairvoyance) what I understood not refuse, but he never again ran himself into to be an abstract of Mr. Mann's views. In a few similar difficulty. This was the only instance in

> THE PULPIT AND SLAVERY. Extract from a Discourse by Rev. NATHANIEL HALL

But it is further said, . The introduction of this says that I was 'taken all houck by such a subject into the pulpit destroys the peace and harmouncement.' The truth is just the contrary, for I subject into the pulpit destroys the peace and harmous gratified; feeling that my impression was more mony of a society; fomenting discords and animos accurate than I expected to get in the excitement ities between its members, and ill-feelings and discipled in the subject into the pulpit destroys the peace and harmouncement.' trusts towards its minister; hindering thus his influence, and lessening his usefulness. the truth of this, what, I ask, is a minister to do f With convictions which he cannot stifle in relation to slavery, -seeing, feeling its inherent wrongfulness and its resulting evils,—what is he to do!
Regard policy, take counsel of expediency! and
give or withhold his convictions as these,—blind
guides that they are,—shall seem to direct him!
Or, purging himself of all personal and worldly aims: casting himself, in humble confidence,— himself and all his interests,—upon a spiritual Providence, shall he speak as God in that same hour shall teach him-assured that, whatever the immediate effects, none other than good can altimately ensue! Harmony in a parish is a good thing. But its value depends upon its quality, upon the basis on which it rests. That harmony, methinks, is of but little worth, whose continuance is conditioned upon the minister's repressing in was to close the eyelids against the person's power to open them. This effect he did not produce upon me, even after nearly two hours had expired: and I left with others, not even leaving my name. After this he knows of me, as he knows many other matters of more importance—by hearsay. Trusting to the perception of those who may hear this 'Professor' to judge of him, I leave all farther explanation. fulness, I believe it not. It is a suggestion of the tempter. By a 'Get thee behind me, Satan!' would I put it by. I believe in a Providence: I believe in man, and that, in the secret depths of each human soul, there is a respect for the honest faithfulness may cause offence. Clouds of prejudice may, for a time, surround him, and the sur of his influence seem hopelessly obscured; bu sooner or later, while he is living or when he has gone, it shall again break forth, and all the brighter for its temporary eclipse.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN KEENE "Wni. Libyd Garrison and Rev. Samuel May, Jr. de-livered a course of anti-slavery lectures in this town, last week. We had the pleasure of being present at the last, on Sunday evening. We say pleasure, because, in the first place, it was the first occasion on which we have ever seen or heard the distinguished speakers, and we had a natural curiosity to gratify in that regard-in the next place, we were pleased with the marked in the next place, we were pleased with the marked ability with which Mr. Garrison handled the subject (Mr. May did not say much that exening.) and with the absence of that ranting style of oratory and excess Extract from a 'Memoir of Frances Writh the Indiana Rights, by Pioneer Woman in the Cause of Human Rights, by Amos Gilbert':

It hus been said that Frances discussed the question with the slaveholders, and drove them told that he did not advance them in either of the other

account in the case of any slave, he was free. There were other regulations, but these may suffice.

Having thus arranged matters, she conveyed the real estate, the slaves, and the personal property by a deed of trust to herself, her sister, Robert Owen, R. L. Jennings and Lafayette, with the annaxed condition, that as fast as the slaves became free, they should be trustees and owners with the rest. Having completed the arrangements, they went to work.

It was not to be anticipated that one born and bred in the lap of wealthy aristocracy, who probably had never kneaded bread, churned butter, or perchance put a stitch in a garment, should, without the pressure of necessity, voluntarily turn woodman; or that an enlightened, refined female should forego the pleasure of intelligent intercourse,

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harped to receive The follow Committee, but of the paper.

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VOL.

EFUGI THE

Extracts from he Whig meeting, October 81 I am gratified press, by you ence, I am eve ope I see the dould have been to this hall, to gainst the first

merica. Who rn, and the was of the day stelligence co-ganize the pe-ographical p-id anybody sa-elp it on, or fa-ren of the mer-ion of commer-el, with a sort tensity, our t

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ation. We ntatives in t all done, good ir hearty super the success the men the success the men the success the suc lem. We conlyes by all stisfied that e are alive, e are alive, so that we filings! Con fligs! Con fligs! Fan ad Henry C arty to choose hall choose is so ography act we land, and we land, and nothing by to deep to go come to go

e come to p lemnity, ag lemnit