

We can see no motive, except a sheer love for falsehood and calumny, which could induce the President to pour forth the four columns of pre-arranged lies upon the people. It may seem harsh to say that there is no syllable of truth in this part of the Message, but such is the fact. Not but what there is a syllable, or a word, or a line, which taken from the context and placed in an innocent position might stand unimpeached. We should be loth to believe so ill of the English Alphabet as to say that Pierce had so abused it that it could never be again used for truthful purposes. But the whole of the Message is an interwoven web of falsehood, permeated and saturated with lies, that a truthful idea cannot be disconnected from the whole of it and made to stand alone. In this respect the Message is a literary curiosity, and as such its author may be justified in putting it forth. It is a close, condensed, compact, concise, concentrated mass of falsehood. Other men have published as many lies, but not in the same space, and not without some small admittance of truth. Other men have spread their given quantity of falsehood over a larger surface, but they have left holes and cracks through which the truth might be seen, if not drive through. But Pierce's Message is an impenetrable, black jungle, matted together, woven tight, and held firmly by an exuding and hardened gum which defies penetrability. The merit of the document is its brevity and compactness, and this is accounted for by the fact that the author had exhausted falsehood. He could not proceed farther without saying something that was at least partly true, and this would interfere with his programme, so he wound up his tale.—*Boston Telegraph.*

If the Message pirks somewhat of the character of a special plea, and is a valuable for a lawyer's brief or a demagogue's leader than for a dignified communication from the Executive to the Legislature, it is a pity that it is not so. It is an explanation and apology for its weakness, its partisanship, and its lack of true patriotism, may be found in the loud rebukes which have been thundered in the President's ears almost daily since his inauguration, and in the complete condemnation of his policy, indicated by the nomination of another person to succeed him, and by the large vote cast against the party which by implication might be supposed to approve of his course, and to accede to his policy. The rebukes and the condemnation have been so terrific and so total that a defence was simply the instinct of self-preservation.—*Boston Traveller.*

From the New York Daily Tribune.

THOMAS H. BENTON.

There is an old saying, that "the longest way round is the shortest way home." We presume that Col. Benton has heard of this adage, and is disposed to put it to the test. Having made his home so long in the United States Senate, it is no wonder that he should have homelike yearnings after it, and that he should be willing to do almost anything to get back there. We can see, as in the case of Cowper's schoolboy,

"With what intense desires he wants his home,"

by the pains he is taking to return thither. They have a saying in the Jay State when they wish to illustrate something in a relatively circumlocutory way, that its undertakers had gone "by the way of Sagadahoc" (we are not sure of our spelling) to do it. This metaphor the veteran Colonel has transmuted into a fact. His goal being the Senate Chamber at Washington, he has undertaken to find his way thither, from Missouri, by Boston, Portland, Bangor, and, for all we know, Sagadahoc itself. The route is somewhat circuitous, but if it brings him safely to his journey's end, he will not grudge his time and pains. Most politicians profess the line of honesty to the line of directness. They generally think it the shortest as well as the most graceful.

The dodge is not an ill-imagined nor a badly-carried-out one. By way of precaution against a fire in his rear, which the Colonel is too old a soldier not to look for, he has taken out a copyright of his lecture—not that there is any violent danger of its being stolen as a piece of literary property (though possibly he may labor under the delusion that there is), but to put a stopper upon the busy pencils of the reporters for the press. Thus he has in his own hands the command of what shall go abroad authoritatively about it. If anything should crop into the papers which would not be precisely germane to the matter he has in hand, he is at full liberty to deny its authenticity, and to hold up the axes of his copyright between himself and his assailants in that direction. And when the proper time comes for making his direct move upon the Legislature of Missouri, he will be able to lay his hands on the table to the witness to him! How he stormed the citadels of the Yankees, sword in hand, and carried fire and confusion into their most inaccessible fastnesses; how he tickled their tobes for them, and they had not a word to say; how it was his compatriot at alone that so cunningly cooped the glorious Union, that its hoops still hold, and without which it would have long before tumbled into an undistinguishable heap of shreds (we state by way of convenience, that this signifies the shreds of which a barrel is made, before it is made). Will it not all be written in the History of the Next Thirty Years, and be told on all the stumps of Missouri!

Now we can quite understand how Colonel Benton should sigh for the flesh-pots of Washington when he finds himself in the wilderness of Missouri, a wilderness howling with Border Ruffians and all manner of doleful creatures. We can fully comprehend his longing to exchange the stumps of that scarcely semi-civilized State for the soft, stuffed and gaily arm-chairs of the Senate Chamber. And if he thinks that he can compass it by compassing all New-England in the pursuit, we can see very clearly the sense of his describing that particular area of that particular circle. But we do not perceive so plainly the motive the New-England people have in helping him to fetch his compass. Why need they be so forward with flattering urgency to this slaveholding Ulysses to take them in his way back to his longed-for Ithaca? What object have they in helping to send him up the tree from which he has vowed to throw the noisome of their bellows into the already bursting bladder of this poor old gentleman's vanity? It can't be for the sake of the lecture itself. They know altogether too much for that. It must be thrift, after all. They know he will draw for once. His daughter's father could not fail to fill a hall for one evening—if only for a look at him. If it be a fault, the managers are probably aware that it is one which brings its own punishment. They would not be so stupid as to think it is a fault, this running after such persons to enlighten Northern Lyceums. It savors of snobbishness and sneakishness. Of course, it is of no advantage to the hearers, for there is not a lecturer south of Mason and Dixon's line that could get an invitation to the most rural of districts, if he lived at the north of it. And it gains the listeners no respect at the South. The motives are fully understood there, or if they are not, they will be understood soon. We know we shall have the virtue of Magnanimity flourish in our face. But Magnanimity, though a virtue of an excellent temper, may be put to purposes for which it is never meant, and, as General Cass's sword was at Bull's Surrender, it may be run into the ground. We would not counsel retaliation with the South. We would not, for example, urge Massachusetts to make it a felony, punishable with five years' imprisonment, for a Carolinian to commence a suit at law in the United States Court for that District, though this would be but for the legislation after Mr. Hoar's mission. Nor should we advise New York, because our colored citizens are illegally imprisoned and villainously sold into life-long slavery by the barbarous laws of the seceded Slave States, to enact that every Carolinian, on arriving in the State, should be imprisoned until he was ready to return, and then, if unable to pay the fees provided by law, be sent to the penitentiary for life; and yet this would be reasonable compared with the statutes of those barbarous communities. But we submit, when the suspicion of any Northern feeling is enough to drive clergymen and professors from the South, when men are not suffered to live there when the whole region is shut against all Northern speakers, on all subjects, who have not the mark of the Beast in their forehead—we submit, we say, that we at the North might at least forego going for the egotistical platitudes of Mr. Benton, or the flatulent impertinences of Mr. Stima-

Have we not borne enough of our own? If they wish to come, let them come. Let Brooks or Douglass have a hearing, if they demand it, without molestation; but let it be on their own responsibility, and without entreaty or countenance of ours.

COL. BENTON AT BOSTON.

Extract of a letter from a merchant's clerk in Boston to a gentleman in New York:—

"I went to hear Col. Benton last evening, on the Union. His popularity was manifest. Poor man! I pitied him, to be so frightened as to be so frightened of such an event as the dissolution of the Union! He enumerated a long catalogue of the evils which would result from a separation of the North and South: the most prominent of which was the establishment of a line of custom-houses, and an army of custom-house officers in all the border States; and then there would be no *Fugitive Slave Law*, to protect the Southern master who should come North in search of his property. This last point most decidedly brought down the storm. He showed how much of an evil that was considered by a Boston audience. The last agonizing consequence he named was the depreciation of the value of that peculiar kind of property in which a large proportion of Southern wealth consists. The protection given to that property by the Fugitive Slave Act had, as he said, raised the price of slaves, from four and five hundred dollars to twelve and fifteen hundred. But should the Union be dissolved, they would fall to less than their former value. I don't think his lecture will go a great way toward strengthening the love for the Union at the North.

SAM."

'THE GREATEST CITY IN THE WORLD.'

A gentleman, who for more than thirty years past has been a resident of one of the principal cities of the South, was a few days since looking from an eminence commanding a fine view of this city. "There," said he, as his eye rested on it, "is, according to its size and population, the greatest city in the world,—the greatest in wealth, industry, intellectual and moral power." It was a strong asseveration and a generous award, more so than we could have ventured to claim. In fact, it had not occurred to us that Boston was entitled to so high a distinction; and yet the statement, on reflection, could not be controverted. But that reflection connecting itself with the Franklin celebration just referred to, called up in the mind a blessing, not only on a noble ancestry who in generations past laid the foundations on these shores—but a blessing not less on the free industry of which they have left us so bright an example. Slavery, though having here, for a time, a nominal existence, never, in this respect, marred our heritage,—never caused the mechanic and artisan, and the tiller of the soil, to be looked down upon, pover made labor disreputable. Their worth and the industry of maintaining on the day of setting up the statue of that prince of mechanics and practical philosophers—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. We wonder this was not seized on and enforced, as it well might have been, in Mr. Winthrop's elegant and otherwise well-put oration. It is a glorious birthright, this which we inherit of free labor. Let us, by all means in our power, as well as by our standing and suggestive example, seek to extend its blessings to our entire country and world. The disenfranchisement of the race would follow, and the way of the Lord would be prepared among the nations.—*Boston Christian Watchman.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S LECTURES.

The people of Salem had a rich treat, last Saturday and Sunday, in the lectures of Wendell Phillips. On Saturday evening, he delivered, to a full house, his justly celebrated lecture on the *Last Days*. Therein he administered a needed lesson to the overweening self-sufficiency of our people, who imagine that wisdom was born with them. On Sunday, Mr. Phillips delivered two lectures on the subject of slavery. We cannot attempt to give our readers even a sketch of these masterly addresses. They evinced great clearness of moral vision, and unswerving fidelity to principle, and were eminently calculated to induce his hearers to take the highest moral ground in favor of freedom. It was the only successful method for the overthrow of slavery. He presented, most impressively, the strength and resources of the Slave Power, and inquired for the successful means of encounter with it, and urged with much force of logic, and beauty and pertinency of illustration, the impossibility of securing freedom to the slaves, while bound in our present union with slaveholders. The States alone, and not the General Government, are competent to any efficient action in opposition to slavery. They should follow in the course indicated by the principles of Wisconsin, and assert their sovereignty in protecting the personal liberty of their citizens. The audience filled the Town Hall, and hung upon Mr. Phillips's words with an interest absorbing everything else. Besides the people of Salem, there were persons present from many of the surrounding towns, some having travelled twenty-five miles to enjoy the pleasure of listening to this faithful and eloquent friend of the slave. The influence of the meeting was eminently good, and will be seen hereafter.—*Salem (Ohio) A. S. Eagle.*

SEWARD AND WILSON.

It is equally amusing and instructive to see that, in spite of their political caution and circumspection on the subject of slavery, and their constant asseveration of unswerving loyalty to this blood-stained Union, Messrs. Seward, Wilson, &c., get no credit for it in pro-slavery quarters, but are denounced as cherishing the most "treasonable" designs! Bennett's *Herald*, for instance, the ichneumonid supporter of Col. Fremont—comes down upon them in the following characteristic style:—

There were two Northern men participating in the Senate debate of Tuesday on the Message, who cannot be passed over in silence—Mr. Seward, of New York, and General Wilson, of Massachusetts—the former a thoroughly trained sectional demagogue, the latter a bold and fiery anti-slavery fanatic. The allusions of Mr. Brown to the abolition lectures of those two sectional declaimers were substantially correct. There is not so much of method in the madness of Wilson, but his speeches during the late campaign were more or less tinged and tinted with that leaven of abolitionism which has for its ultimatum: 'No Union with slaveholders.' As for Seward, he was a very zealous and active Fremont stump in the late campaign; but in what he did, he betrayed the same instincts at the bottom, which are always, with William Lloyd Garrison, at the top. Mr. Seward, during the late canvass, made a campaigning speech at Albany, another at Buffalo, another at Detroit, and another at Auburn, and in each of these speeches, more or less, the prevailing idea is this—that Southern slavery is an excrescence, a disease demanding a radical cure, and that, while the Union is maintained, it is a source of danger to the life of the nation, and a hindrance to the progress of the Republic. In harping upon the South as the 'slave power' and the 'slaveholding oligarchy,' and upon the slaveholders as a class which it is the duty of the North to put down, Mr. Seward had made himself the proper subject for every word of reproach uttered against him by Mr. Brown.

We take it for granted that in none of the heavy volume of heavy public speeches delivered by Mr. Seward, has he ever distinctly recommended the Garrison, the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, Constitution or no Constitution, Union or no Union. Mr. Seward is a demagogue, a pettifogger and a trickster too cunning for this. He is not the man to expose himself, like Garrison, by an attempt to storm the citadel—his policy is that of regular approaches, and minning and starving out. But he is only playing the hypocrite in pleading his attachment and consistency to the letter of the Constitution and its compromises of Union, while laboring, as he has labored, in violation of the spirit of the Constitution, to array the North against the South, as against a dominating section, and against the slaveholders of the South as the despotic governing class of the country. This course of campaigning on the part of Mr. Seward did much to place Fremont in a false position in the central States, and much to damage his cause among their conservative people, who love the whole Union, and who know that the Constitution requires of all good citizens. Had Wm. H. Van Buren in support of Mr. Buchanan as the true anti-slavery extension candidate, we might have had a different result in the election.

When will such men as Seward and Wilson cease logging a Union accursed of Heaven?

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 12, 1856.

FESTIVE COMMEMORATION

OF THE
TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On New Year's Evening, 1857, a quarter of a century will have been completed since the formation of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—originally called the New England Anti-Slavery Society—the parent of all similar associations in the land. Believing that a period of time fraught with so many thrilling reminiscences, and crowded with events of unsurpassed historical importance, should not be allowed to pass without a fitting observance, the Board of Managers have made arrangements for a PUBLIC SOCIAL FESTIVAL to commemorate this suggestive event, on the evening of January 1st, 1857, in this city; and they hereby cordially invite all the friends of freedom, far and near, without regard to sex or complexion, to participate in this celebration, which cannot fail to be deeply interesting to all present, as well as to 'help the cause along' to its triumphant consummation. A supper will be provided by that distinguished caterer, Mr. J. B. Smith; after which there will be music, sentiments, speeches, &c., appropriate to the occasion. As the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar will not close till Saturday, January 24, an additional motive will be furnished to friends in the country to visit the city on the occasion designated. It is hoped and believed that there will be a numerous attendance.

Price of tickets, \$1.00 each—to be had at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill. Those intending to be present are requested to make seasonable application, in order to secure a place at the tables.

Further particulars hereafter.
FRANCIS JACKSON, President.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec.

FOREFATHERS' DAY AT PLYMOUTH.

The Abolitionists of the Old Colony will maintain their accustomed notice of this approaching Anniversary by appropriate Anti-Slavery meetings in PLYMOUTH, on Saturday evening, Dec. 20th, and Sunday, day and evening, Dec. 21st, which they invite all friends of freedom, both of the body and of the mind, far and near, to attend.

Among the speakers who are confidently expected to be present are—WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDMUND QUINCY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, NATHAN H. WHITING, &c. In connection with the above, will be held a quarterly meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society.

BOURNE SPOONER, President.

THE WEYMOUTH ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR

Has been crowned this year with a greater measure of success than has ever before attended its long-repeated annual effort.

The sum received was \$282 00, which has been appropriated by the Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery Society to which it was paid, as follows:

To the Massachusetts A. S. Society,	\$100 00
" Liberator,	40 00
" Standard,	40 00
" Tract Fund,	20 00
" Payment of Expenses,	21 26
Leaving in the treasury a balance of	10 74

This (for us unprecedented) success was far more easily obtained than the lesser results of former years; which we attribute to the past labors of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries, acting upon the intellect and heart of the nation, as to bring slavery before the people in all its indiscriminate rapacity and murderous violence, till they have been shown that the Anti-Slavery cause is a common cause, and its principles fundamental and of universal application. So much kindness and general interest we have never before experienced on one of these occasions, which we seize the present opportunity most gratefully to acknowledge.

The addresses of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison made a profound impression on a crowded auditory.

It has been the practice of late years to close the fair with a dance, which contributed at this time so considerably to our funds, and added so greatly to the satisfaction of the occasion by its admirable decorum and the completeness of its arrangements, while promoting good feeling and good neighborhood, and giving the young an opportunity for festive enjoyment in the presence of their families, that it is proposed to continue on the same plan in future.

The musical friends of the cause who enlivened one of the evenings by their talent, received the thanks of all who heard them.

Special thanks are due to Messrs. Joseph Loud & Co., to Captain Lane, and to Mr. George Bowditch, for donations.

To the Rev. Mr. Mellen, who never fails publicly to advocate the cause, and at the same time to sustain the American A. S. Society in serving it, cordial thanks are due, and also to Mr. Wales and family, whose kind offices did so much to make the season a profitable and pleasant one.

Our esteemed poetical correspondent, JANE ASHBY, of England, writes to us as follows:—
"How anxious I feel respecting the fate of your noble country! It will ultimately be free, and take a high place among nations; but, before that, I fear it must undergo a baptism of blood, before the stain of slavery can be washed out. The plan of the South to enslave all the laboring and poorer classes is but the legitimate sequence of negro slavery. May it not be visited on their own children, whose vice and extravagance will sooner or later bring to poverty! It reminds me of the fearful impression of Christ's murderers."

I hardly know whether I wish Fremont to be elected, and thus to pave the way slowly, but not quite surely, for the emancipation of the slave; or Buchanan, and by the Southern party, in their eagerness for entire dominion, so disgusting the friends of liberty as to drive them into disunion, and so hastening the total abolition of slavery;—for slavery, unsupported by Northern power and gold, must soon fall. How does the disgraceful complicity of the North recoil on their own heads! Impartial History will give all their due. May God bless your endeavors after freedom for the slave, and may you live to hail that glorious event!"

It appears, by the alarming intelligence from the South, in another column, that the once 'happy and contented slaves' are no longer so; that they have caught a little of the spirit of '76, and are extensively conspiring to strike for liberty, as our fathers did; that a number of them have been summarily executed, on mere suspicion, without judge or jury; that some white men have been implicated in the plot, and one of them barbarously whipped to death, and another shot, without any proof of their guilt; and that great consternation prevails throughout slavehood. Wouldn't the South like to dissolve the Union at this juncture, seeing that this is but the beginning of the end?

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8th. Considerable excitement prevailed here to day among the Southern members of Congress, in consequence of the news of an inspection among the blacks in Southern Kentucky. The latest information is that it was promptly put down.

For the official proceedings of the recent Non-Resistance Convention at Worcester, see our last page. Of course, so brief an abstract of the speeches made as we could give no adequate idea of their force or scope. For an excellent letter from Rev. Josiah C. Coffin, addressed to the Convention, see another column.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH, by William Robertson, D.D. With an Account of the Emperor's Life after his Abdication, by William H. Prescott. In Three Volumes. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1857. pp. 618, 604, 565.

We acknowledge our special indebtedness to the publishers for these three superb volumes, which, being the joint productions of two such historians as ROBERTSON and PRESCOTT, and embracing such an important historical period, require no other commendation than that which pertains to the dress in which they are presented to the public. The work is too massive and costly for popular circulation, but will find its place in all public libraries, and in very many private ones likewise, to be consulted by students in history as a most valuable repository. In addition to whatever relates to the life, reign, and abdication of Charles the Fifth, it contains an elaborate view of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The whole work embodies a large amount of learning, research, and general information.

Phillips, Sampson & Co. have just published a series of new Juvenile Books, for Christmas and New Year's gifts, which are unique, highly attractive, and elegantly printed.

The first is ROBERTSON; a Sequel to 'The Last of the Huggenmugger, a Giant Story'; by Christopher Pearse Cranch. With forty exquisite illustrations on wood, by the author. Large 8vo. \$1.00.

The next is, BRIGIT PICTURES OF CHILD LIFE; translated from the German, by Cousin Fannie. Illustrated with highly finished and really exquisite Colored Engravings. 8vo. 75 cents.

The next is, DAISY; or the Fairy Spectacles; by the author of 'Violent'. A story attractive in style, and delicate and pure in spirit. 50 and 75 cts., according to the binding.

The next is, WORTH NOT WEALTH, and other Stories; by Cousin Angie. A collection of stories replete with interest, and of a high moral tone—with engravings. 50 and 75 cts.

The next is, RED BEARD'S STORIES FOR CHILDREN; translated from the German, by Cousin Fannie; the numerous illustrations of which are of the most novel and taking kind, and the stories being worthy of their elegant dress. 75 cents.

All these books should be examined by loving parents, uncles and aunts, cousins and friends, who are desirous of making seasonable, amusing and instructive presents to their little favorites, as they cannot fail to be suited; the same enterprising firm having a large number of other juvenile works, not less worthy of examination and purchase. Let the hearts of the dear children leap for joy in view of 'the good time coming,' which is, happily for them, close at hand.

Remember Phillips, Sampson & Co., Winter street, Boston.

ATUNAL LEAVES: Tales and Sketches in Prose and Rhyme. By LYDIA MARIA CHILD. New York: C. S. Francis & Co., 564 Broadway. Boston: 68 Devonshire street. 1857.

Mrs. CHILD states that several of the articles contained in this volume (an excellent one for a Christmas or New Year's gift to the young) appeared in various periodicals ten or twelve years ago, (the reader will find them all 'as good as new'), while others have been recently written, during hours that could be spared from daily duties. The following are their titles:—The Eglington; A Serenade; The Jayman; The Fairy Friend; Wergeland; The Poet; The Emigrant Boy; Home and Politics; To the Trailing Arbutus; The Catholic and the Quaker; The Rural Mechanic; A Song; Touch and Touch; The Brother and Sister; The Stream of Life; The Man that Killed his Neighbors; Intelligence of Animals; The World that I am Passing Through; Jan and Zibba; To the Netherland; The Ancient Claymore; Spirit and Matter; The Kansas Emigrants; I want to Go Home.

The name of Mrs. CHILD is a household name on both sides of the Atlantic. How many homes she has gladdened, how many hearts inspired, by her admirable writings! Her rank is justly among the foremost women of the earth, for elevation of sentiment, nobleness of aim, love of humanity, and a world-embracing philanthropy, as well as for clearness and purity of diction, power of description, and influence of imagination. She excels in what Burns calls 'the path of sense,' and combines the ideal and the practical in a rare degree. If she has been somewhat retired from the public eye for a few years past, it has not been to rest upon the laurels already won, nor for self-indulgence, but to meet the trials and discharge the duties of life, like a true heroine. A considerable portion of the time has been given to unceasing care and watchfulness of an aged father, long afflicted by a troublesome disease, and recently called to his final home; and never has filial affection been more resplendent than in her case. But, notwithstanding these hindrances to literary effort, her pen has not been idle. Her great work on 'PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS,' comprising three volumes royal 12mo., is a lofty monument of her industry and research, and deserving of the widest circulation as it is of the highest praise.

In the remarkable change which has taken place in public sentiment at the North, on the subject of slavery, during the last quarter of a century, much is due to her, by the reading public, by way of atonement. Her open and earnest espousal of the anti-slavery cause, at a very early period, and at the height of her literary popularity, was a noble act of self-sacrifice, and an event of no small importance. It cost her friends, reputation, pecuniary support, and subjected her to hostile influences such as few have been called to encounter. Our eyes moisten as we think of all that she voluntarily and generously essayed to do for that class of Americans called Africans, before any one in her position condescended to be their advocate, in full view of public proscription and social ostracism. The value of her example was great and far-reaching, like that of the immortal FOLKES, whose memory is indelibly connected with the sublime struggle for universal emancipation alike in the old and in the new world. Every one who has since been quickened into anti-slavery life, or made to realize the hideousness of the slave system, should remember the toils and sacrifices of this excellent and gifted woman, (to say nothing of the early testimonies and valuable labors of her husband in the same glorious cause,) and take special pleasure in purchasing her works, both as a mark of personal regard and for their intrinsic worth.

NOW OR NEVER; or, the Adventures of Bobby Bright. A Story for Young Folks. By Oliver Optic, Author of 'The Boat Club,' 'All Aboard,' 'In Doors and Out,' &c. Boston: Bazar & Co. 1857.

Those who have peeped into the other story books of 'Oliver Optic,' will need no inducement to purchase this one also, which is crowded with exciting incidents, and admirably told throughout. The author makes the interest of his story depend more on the hero's devotion to principle than on his success in business. Little Bobby is a smart boy, but a good one, and he makes a true man. Give him a hearty welcome, young and old; you will all like his acquaintance.

THE PLAY DAY BOOK: New Stories for Little Folks. By FANNY FERN. Illustrated by Fred. M. Coffin. New York: Mason & Brothers. 1857.

Here is another pretty and very interesting book for Christmas and New Year, embodying no less than forty-five different stories, accompanied with several well-executed illustrations. The author says she has had many letters and messages from little children all over the country, asking her to write another story book, and this is her response to the call. It will be eagerly read.

For sale by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston.

THE HART OF FREEDOM. By George W. Clark. New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. Rochester: 104 State street. 1856.

A handsome volume of 327 pages, filled with poetry and music, adapted to the progressive spirit of the times, in all its various manifestations, and deserving a place in every family. It contains nearly two hundred spirited lyrical effusions, many of which are of permanent value, and calculated to nerve even the feeblest soul to the conflict with Oppression and Wrong. The music is arranged as solos, duets, trios, quartettes, choruses, &c., &c., to be used 'in the domestic circle, the social gathering, the school, the club-room, the mass-meeting, and, in short, wherever music is loved and appreciated—Slavery abhorred, and Liberty held sacred.' It is a volume worth five times the cost of it, being a poetical reformatory encyclopedia. It has a good portrait of Mr. Clark, who has long been the minstrel of Freedom, doing eminent service in her cause by his vocal powers, and unwearied labors in her behalf.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF HORACE SMITH AND JAMES SMITH, Authors of the 'Rejected Addresses.' With Portraits and a Biographical Sketch. Edited by EPH SARGENT. New York: Mason Brothers. 1857.

This being the first American edition of the collected poems of these rare brothers and imitatable wit, the work will be most acceptable to all who have any appreciation of genius, any love of exhilarating mirthfulness, or any taste for genuine humor. Besides the 'Rejected Addresses,' (which secured for their authors immediate fame,) it contains no less than one hundred and forty-five poetical effusions, ranging 'from grave to gay, from lively to severe,' though what is gay and lively is much more abundant than what is grave and severe. It is an admirable volume wherever it is 'driven full care away,' to stimulate digestion, to diffuse cheerfulness, to restrain morbid tendencies, and to relieve the gloom of a sick chamber. It is well said in the preface, that 'it is no small virtue of these popular writers, that, though witty and satirists, they are always gentlemen.' To look upon their pleasant portraits is sufficient to bring one into genial affinity with them. James was born on the 10th of February, 1775, and died on the 24th of December, 1839, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Horace was born December 31st, 1779, and died July 12th, 1849, in his seventieth year. Each was peerless in his own way, though Horace was superior as a poet. He is the author of the oft-quoted 'Address to a Mammy,' which will outlive many generations. All this is expressed in a single verse!

'I need not ask thee if that hand, when armed,
Has any Roman soldier mailed and buckled;
For thou wert dead, and buried, and embalmed,
Ere Romulus and Remus had been suckled:
Antiquity appears to have begun
Long after thy primeval race was run.'

And what scope for speculation is given in the following verse!

'Perchance that very hand, now pinioned flat,
Has hitherto nobled with Pharaoh, glass to glass;
Or dropped a half-penny in Homer's hat,
Or defied time own to let Queen Dido pass;
Or held, by Solomon's own invitation,
A torch at the great Temple's dedication.'

And what a thrilling apostrophe have we here!

'State of flesh—Immortal of the dead!
Imperishable type of evanescence!
Posthumous man, who quitt's thy narrow bed,
And standest undecayed within our presence,
Thou wilt hear nothing till the Judgment morning,
When the great trump shall thrill thee with its warning—
Long!

The last two lines are objectionable, in a literal sense, as affirming the extinction of all life in the grave; but they must be construed figuratively.

The last verse is peculiarly impressive, though the second line implies the correctness of a theological dogma which is far less current than it once was:

'Why should this worthless tumbler e'er be
If its unyielding core be lost for ever?
Oh! let us keep the soul embalmed and pure
In living virtue, that when both must sever,
Although corruption may our frame consume,
Thy immortal spirit in the skies may bloom.'

For sale by A. Williams & Co., Washington street.

BOOK OF PSYCHOLOGY. Stearns & Co., 25 Ann st., New York, have just published 'Pathetic, Historical, Philosophical, Practical; giving the rationale of every possible form of Nervous or Mental Phenomenon, known under the technical names of Amnesia, Charns, Enchantment, Spells, Fascination, Inanitation, Magic, Mesmerism, Philters, Talismans, Relics, Witchcraft, Ecstacy, Hallucination, Spectres, Trances, Illusions, Apparitions, Clairvoyance, Somnambulism, Miracles, and 'Spiritualism,' showing how these results may be induced, the theory of mind which they demonstrate, and the benevolent uses to which this knowledge should be applied. By LABOT SUNDRELAND, author of 'Pathetic,' 'New Theory of Mind,' 'The Magnet,' 'Book of Health,' 'The Nutritive Cure,' &c.

HONORS OF FALCONBRIDGE: A Collection of Humorous and Every-Day Scenes, by the late Jonathan F. Kelley, better known to the reading public by his signatures of 'Falconbridge,' 'Jack Humphries,' and 'Stumpie.' This book is handsomely illustrated, abounds in humorous scenes and anecdotes, and will afford an agreeable relaxation to the mind of the peruser of more solid works. The author, Mr. Kelley, died young, leaving a wife and interesting family, for whose benefit this compilation of his writings is published. Complete in one large duodecimo volume of 500 pages. Price, \$1.25 in cloth binding, or \$1 in paper. Published and for sale by T. B. Peterson, 102 Chestnut st., Philadelphia. It can also be had of A. Williams & Co., 100 Washington street, Boston.

LITTLE DOBBIE. T. B. Peterson, 102 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, has just published, as a part of his Uniform Edition of Charles Dickens's Works, LITTLE DOBBIE—in Two Books—with numerous illustrations. Copies of the work will be sent to any one, by mail, free of postage, on receipt of 50 cents. It furnishes a large amount of most entertaining reading at a cheap rate.

MORE NEW MUSIC. The following new pieces of Music have just been published by Oliver Ditson, Washington street, Boston:—

Gleanings from the Ball Room. Brilliant pieces arranged for the piano by J. S. Knight.

The Graces. A Collection of Favorite Quadrilles, by various Authors.

Beauties of Russia. Arranged for the piano by A. Diabelli.

La Traviata. Opera Seria, with Italian and English text. Composed by G

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LETTER FROM REV. JESHEL CLAPLIN.
To the Friends of Universal Peace and Human Brother-
hood, in Convention assembled, in the city of Wor-
cester, Mass., Nov. 22nd and 23rd :

RESPECTED AND BELOVED FRIENDS,—Deeply sym-
pathizing with you in the self-sacrificing, yet most ex-
alting and sublime principles which you have met to
discuss, and which constituted the distinguishing glory
of the FRATERNITY OF PEACE whilst here among men, and, as
I shall not be present to participate in your interesting
discussions, and enjoy your wise and matured counsel,
I wish to speak one word for this morally sublime and
surpassingly interesting cause, and to be recognized ac-
quainted among its unwavering, though unworthy friends.

To no our moral principle, as taught and exemplified
in the beautiful and blameless life of Jesus, do I owe
so much in developing, enlarging, disciplining and
subduing my mind and spirit, as to this one divine
principle. There is divine power in it. It is the
which "crucifies us unto the world, and the world un-
to:" Such is my estimate of its excellence and worth
that it seems to me to bear the relation to other prin-
ciples or virtues, that a foundation does to the super-
structure. The truth of this will appear obvious at

give way, though one party or another be defeated or triumphant. He who made the solid rock has planted in the human soul a sense of right and wrong which cannot be destroyed, nor can it be violated or perverted with impunity. There is an absolute right, an absolute justice and moral propriety, adapted to the instincts and wants of all men. Wrong and injustice are alike repulsive to all, when personally experienced. As the human body is endowed with certain senses and capacities which are common to all, so the human soul is endowed with moral and intellectual senses just as universal; and the enactment of laws which are repugnant to the instincts of any good man is as absurd as the enactment of a law against hearing or seeing, or the circulation of the blood. All such laws must become null and void. A world of votes cannot make them right. How many such are now on the statute books of the country!—laws for enslaving men and robbing them of their rights; laws for returning flying fugitives; laws for slaughtering men in war; laws for barbarous punishments; laws that degrade and brutalify. Their own inherent wickedness will cause them to be repealed or expunged at last.

God governs, in heaven and on earth, and good men are his viceregents, whether they are voted into office or not. Let this thought content those who stand with

city, on this day, for the purpose of determining the best course to be adopted, to suppress a supposed insurrection of the negroes in this and the adjoining counties. This move was put off after information having been received that no foot of this county, together with those of Ohio county, Tennessee, have concerted and are meditating a general insurrection, to take place on the 25th of December.

NASHVILLE, Dec. 8th. The excitement regarding the attempted insurrection of the negroes continues. Four of the ringleaders have been seized and executed at Dover.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 9th. The Louisville *Journal* corresponds to-day, says there has great excitement at Franklin, Tennessee, owing to the projected insurrection among the slaves there. Twenty-four muskets and two kegs of powder had been in the possession of a gang of negroes at Columbia, Tenn. In Perry, Tennessee, negroes had been killed by their owners.

The Evansville *Journal* of the 6th inst., learns that there was much excitement in the neighborhood of Dover, on the Cumberland river, among the negroes. Many of the ringleaders had been arrested, and eleven hung. One white man, disguised as a negro, had been sentenced to 300 lashes, but died before the penalty was fully inflicted.

The whites were arming and organizing for defence. An opinion prevailed that a general uprising would take place among the negroes during the holidays. Escapes of slaves were unusually numerous.

Bagby, of the same place, in consequence of an article written by the latter gentleman for the December number of Harper's Magazine, stirring was the challenge. The parties proceeded on the day named to Bladensburg. Irving was accompanied by Messrs. Fryer, Bacon, Keitt, and Bagby of W. C. Corrie and W. L. Blanchard. On arrival at the ground, the matter was amicably settled without a shot.

☞ A severe gale of wind was experienced at Lafayette, Ind., on the 28th ult., which blew down a large number of tall steeples, and overthrew a large quantity of timber in the woods in the vicinity.

☞ The Zanesville (Ohio) *Courier* mentions the arrest of a man named Peter Ward, for putting the babe of Patrick White in the fire. The only reason given for the ferocious act lies in the fact that White, who, it appears, was brought up in the Catholic religion, had married a Protestant wife, and refused to have the child baptized in the Catholic faith, to which Ward is a warm adherent.

☞ Ferdinand Andrews, formerly editor of the *Boston Traveller*, has commenced the publication of a new weekly journal, called 'The Spectator.' It is an elegant quarto of sixteen pages, devoted to literature and general intelligence.

Death of Col. Thomas Fearing.—Col. Thomas Fearing, well known as one of the proprietors of the old Exchange Coffee House, died in Boston on the morning of the 24th inst., after a long illness.

PLEASE TO READ THIS!

AGENTS WANTED

Extra Inducements for 1857.

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will at once receive our CATALOGUE OF BOOKS for the New Year, pre-paid, by forwarding us their address. Particular attention is requested to the liberal offers we make to all persons engaging in the sale of our **Large Type Quarto PICTORIAL FAMILY BIBLE** with about **ONE THOUSAND ENGRAVINGS**. Our books are sold only by canvassers, and well known to be the most saleable. Address, (post paid),

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CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S PRESENTS.

JOHN T. MATTHEWS, 17 Howard street, has a large and select assortment of **JEWELRY AND FANCY GOODS**, suitable for Christmas and New Year's Presents—all of which he offers at the lowest cash prices.

December 5. 4w

holding and non-slaveholding States—as to territory, population, intelligence, religion, moral advancement, and general progress. The work must have cost a great deal of laborious research, and it certainly presents arguments in favor of freedom on every page. It contains just the kind of information that should be generally known in all sections of the country. We hope there will be a public demand for thousands of copies.'

—

PUBLISHED BY
JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY,
No. 21 117 Washington Street, Boston. 6w

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AND ITS
PRO-SLAVERY COMPROMISES.

THE Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact; or, A Treatise on the Madison Papers, &c. Edited by WENDELL PHILLIPS. Third Edition, Enlarged. 12mo. 208 pages. Just published by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and for sale at 21 Cornhill, Boston. Also, at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York and Philadelphia. Price, in cloth, 50 cts.; in thick paper covers, 37 1/2.

Copies of this work will be sent, by mail, on the payment of its price and the amount of the postage, viz., forty-four cents; or those in paper covers, fifty cents; for those in cloth. Address the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, Boston, or 133 Nassau Street, N. Y.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

POWER.

An awful trust is Power! To see mankind
Before their fellow-men lowly down;
Their weak or woe from others' smile or frown
Humbly accepting, with meek head declined.

How hideous is Power, when jealous pride
Lashes to madness the strong despot's rage!
In pleading, no submission can assuage—
No pity dwells where scorn and hate abide.

Oh, rank! Oh, riches! yes, your power is great:
Proud Mammon's altars countless votaries throng;
There kneel the haughty, and there bend the strong,
Where crowned Mammon sits in gilded state.

But glorious is Power, when o'er the realm
Enlightened laws and equal rule bear sway;
When willing subjects such just rule obey,
As does the vessel the directing helm.

And beautiful the power o'er many a heart,
The life, the actions of the truly good;
Who, strongly tempted, stand; who, unsubdued
By evil, calmly choose the better part.

Wonderful great is intellectual power!
"Though crumbed and crumbed in its cell of clay,"
The minds, the hearts of thousands own its sway—
All ages and all nations are its dower.

Father of all men's spirits! in that hour
We stand before thy throne, responsible
For every talent's use, or good, or ill,
How awful will appear our every power!

JANE ASHBY.

Tenterden, Kent, (Eng.)

For the Liberator.

TO CHARLES SUMNER.

'The path of duty is the way to glory.'

SUMNER, we proudly greet thee now;
We greet thee to thy home;
Fame's brightest wreath rests on thy brow;
A hero dost thou come.

Oh, 'white-souled' man, each loyal heart
Most warmly beats for thee,
In this, thy honored Commonwealth,
The last hope of the free.

She greets thee as her chosen son,
Still suffering for the right;
She thanks thee for the victory won
O'er 'ror's cruel might.

What though the gallant Pioneer
May o'er the nation lead,
Shall we repine whilst thou art spared
For noble work and deed?

Oh, no! brave champion of the truth,
We bless the God who gave,
That He has spared thy precious life
To Kansas and the slave—

That once again thy burning words
Shall fall on guilty ears,
Whilst thou to basest cowards show'st
A soul that never fears.

Our earnest, loving sympathy,
Our hopes and prayers are thine—
And well we know that on thee rests
A blessing all divine.

Then welcome to thy home once more,
Oh, chosen of the free!
While we with swelling hearts unite
To greet and honor thee.

LOUISE.

From the Boston Atlas.

CHARLES SUMNER.

Blest is the man whose trust is founded deep
Within the calmness of a righteous mind,
Like the tossed ship, whose unken anchors feel
The living rock the dashing waves conceal.
But with unyielding grasp the treasure bind,
While fearful tempests o'er the ocean sweep!
The onward eye may fill with sorrow's tears,
The shaded brow some secret pain confess,
And e'en the heart seem tremulous with fears,
Or pine beneath a sense of loneliness.
Conspiring foes may struggle to oppress
The overburdened spirit—but despair
Shall never gain a habitation there!
Oppression guards and fortifies her wrongs
With iron manacles and clanking chains,
The torturing screw, and the tormenting tongue,
And every dark invention that belongs
To her infernal policy of pains.
But warring with eternal hatred, might,
Though clad in triple armor, and obeyed
By all the harassed slaves his power hath made,
Shall never gain a poon over Right,
Till Impotence subdues the Infinite!
And he who battles in a righteous cause,
Though smitten early in the holy strife,
Dies nobler than the Spartan for his law,
Or all the slain of Greek or Punic wars—
For daring thus to love, he findeth Life!
Plymouth, (Ind.) Nov., 1856. J. B. L. S.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

A WALK BY BUNKER HILL.

I walked abroad in a still night,
There was no star or moon in sight—
A breeze from the South came rushing by,
As the South wind will.

My thoughts were filled with the patriot dead,
And musing slowly my steps I led
To where the monument stands so high,
Upon Bunker Hill.

Oh, where, said I, do the patriots sleep?
And where does freedom her vigils keep?
And then I heard, (if not, may I die),
Quite audibly, 'Here.'

How solemn to hear dead heroes sigh!
I said, for I saw the keeper night,
He stared for a moment, and then he said,
'That's a little too good.'

'You thought it was Liberty's buried bones—
When it was Toombs calling his slaves,
Here in the Monument's solemn shade,
As he said he would.'

'Twas Benj. F. Hallett that answered so loud,
And Colonel Pease, and all that crowd,
And the solemn 'Here' that last went by,
That was Rufus Choate.

'They are no relation to this dead,
They are answering 'Here' because they must;
The only freedom for which they sigh
Is to turn their coat.' C.

ON THE LIBRARY AT CAMBRIDGE.

In that great mass of books I sighed and said:
It is a graveyard, and each tome a tomb;
Shrouded in hempen rags, behold the dead
Coffined and ranged in crypts of dismal gloom;
Food for the worm, and redolent of mold,
Trailed with brief epitaph in tarnished gold.
Ah, golden-lettered book! ah, dolorous gloom!
Yet 'mid the common death, where all is cold,
And moldered pride in desolation dwells,
A few great immortals of old
Stand brightly forth—not tomb, but living shrines
Wherefrom high salute or martyr virtue wells;
Which on the living yet work miracles,
Spreading a relic wealth richer than golden mines.
J. M., 1827.

THE LIBERATOR.

NON-RESISTANCE CONVENTION.

Agreeably to the notice given through the columns of the Liberator, Practical Christian, and otherwise, a Non-Resistance Convention was held in Horticultural Hall, Worcester, on Saturday and Sunday, the 29th and 30th ult. It was organized by the choice of the following officers, to wit:—

President—ADIN BALLOU.

Vice Presidents—EYINGHAM L. CAPRON, BENJAMIN D. DRAPEY.

Secretary—WM. S. HATWOOD.
Business Committee—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Stephen S. Foster, Adin Ballou, Sarah H. Earle, Anna T. Draper.

Finance Committee—Abby K. Foster, Darius M. Allen, Warren W. Dutcher.

MR. BALLOU, upon taking the chair, made some general remarks upon the great question for the consideration of which the Convention had been called, the present aspect of the non-resistance cause, &c. He dwelt at length upon the universality of the principle of Love, and its perpetual obligation—the principle upon which the doctrine of Non-Resistance is based.

S. S. FOSTER remarked that there was a class of persons—most of those who had once been professed Non-Resistance, but who are no longer, belonging to that class—who justified war and violence, in extreme cases, on the ground that love and good will prompted them. As a mother uses a rod upon her child out of regard for his welfare, so may one, out of regard to the welfare of a fellow-creature, under some circumstances, put him to death. Such treatment of a bad man may be prompted by love. 'And,' said Mr. F., 'I do not know how to get along with the argument. I seek information upon that point.'

MR. BALLOU thought no intelligent man would use that argument with a looking-glass before him—it was so puerile and ridiculous. The old ground of war, capital punishment, &c., as urged by all statesmen and writers in its defence was, that there is a point beyond which a wrong-doer forfeits all claims to have a good consulted. That is the only ground upon which the barbarous customs alluded to can be justified. This new idea, that we can take the life of a fellow-creature in love, confounds all moral distinctions.

MR. FOSTER was not satisfied with the answer to the argument stated by him, and proceeded to defend the idea that love may not only cause pain, but even death, in the case of very wicked and dangerous men. The mother whips her child; the physician administers an emetic; Mr. Garrison rebukes slaveholders and their abettors—all give pain, and yet it is for the good of those experiencing it. Why may we not go a little further, and take life for certain reasons upon the same beneficent principle? One who believes in violence, and who takes the life of a fellow-being in certain cases, justifiable to him, may be just as good, just as loving, as another, who accepts the doctrine of Non-Resistance, and who seeks always to save life. Character cannot be determined at all by the use or rejection of deadly weapons. Non-Resistance can be defended, not on principle, on the principle of love, but on the ground of its utility. He deemed it more useful than the opposite idea, and so accepted it. It was determined to be more useful from history, and from the nature of man. Non-Resistance depends upon the activity of the higher or moral and spiritual faculties in our nature, by which the lower instincts and propensities in ourselves and in others may be controlled.

MR. BALLOU, in responding, observed that there were two things in his friend's remarks which seemed to him very strange. First, it was strange that he should make no distinction between beneficent force and murderous force—between that pain which is evidently or possibly necessary to preserve health, life, or morals, and that which destroys one or all of these. A loving mother corrects her child with the rod, supposing it will be benefited thereby. But is that analogous to beating the child to death? A physician gives an emetic which he considers necessary to the relief of his patient, knowing it will first produce pain. Is that like giving prussic acid, which he knows will 'cause death'? Mr. Garrison hurts the feelings of the oppressors of men by an application of wholesome truth. Is that to be compared to slitting their ears, breaking their arms, or blowing out their brains? The common sense of mankind would decide this matter. Second, it was strange that Mr. Foster should be so inconsistent as to say, in the former part of his remarks, that violence and bloodshed may be employed in a most exalted state of the moral faculties, that one may be as good in destroying life as another in saving it, and then declaring, afterwards, that Non-Resistance depends altogether upon the active exercise of the higher nature. It was difficult to understand the reasoning by which it was made to appear that Non-Resistance depended upon the activity of the moral nature, when such activity was alike promotive of both war and peace—of violence and non-violence.

WM. COOK thought a difficulty in carrying forward the cause of Non-Resistance had arisen from too much indulgence in philosophical discussion—in hair-splitting distinctions. He considered Non-Resistance something to be in us—a spirit to be cherished, a feeling to be exercised toward all men, and not altogether a doctrine to be discussed, or a creed to be believed.

EVENING SESSION. The meeting commenced at 7 o'clock, E. L. Capron in the chair. The exercises were introduced by a song—

'How glad was the anthem the bright angels sang.'
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, in behalf of the Business Committee, then presented for the consideration of the Convention the following series of

RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States expressly provides, that 'Congress shall have power to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, to provide for arming, organizing and disciplining the militia, to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal,' and also that 'the President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States'; therefore,

1. Resolved, That those who profess to believe that all war, and all preparations for war, are incompatible with the teachings of Christ, and inherently sinful, are necessarily precluded from the ballot-box on the ground of moral consistency; nor can they vote to sustain the Constitution of the United States, without standing self-condemned before the world, and utterly repudiating the principles of peace.

2. Resolved, That those who are pre-eminently blameworthy, in this particular, are the members of the American Peace Society, and of the 'Religious Society of Friends,' who not only bear no testimony against a course of conduct so utterly inexcusable, but pursue it with alacrity.

3. Resolved, That no friend of peace can justify his vote, on the plea that he is aiming to avert an impending evil, or to crown with success a desirable measure; inasmuch as his vote is not specific and limited, but general and comprehensive as the American Constitution itself; and, therefore, it is stained with blood.

4. Resolved, That the corrupt doctrine, that 'the end sanctifies the means,' and that it is sometimes expedient to do evil that good may come, is not peculiarly characteristic of the British Church, but is no more popular than in the United States, or more frequently resorted to than by American Protestants, whether in a religious or political sense.

5. Resolved, That if war be not intrinsically wrong, then Christ as the Prince of Peace is not worthy of recognition; then the gospel of peace is not worthy of all acceptance; then the God of peace is not deserving of worship, for he cannot be the true God.

6. Resolved, That if it be 'a self-evident truth, that

all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life,' it is equally true that no man, or body of men, can innocently destroy that life, on any pretext; therefore, there can be no justifiable war, no enforcement of capital punishment, without criminality.

7. Resolved, That if it be morally right to kill in self-defence, it must be equally so to lie, cheat, circumvent, oppress, and do any thing else in self-defence; for it is the real or supposed extremity of danger that is urged in vindication of the act; but this is to subvert the foundations of morality, and to destroy all distinctions between right and wrong.

8. Resolved, That non-resistance cannot be anarchical in its tendency, for all anarchists are hostile to the spirit of peace; it cannot be despotic, for it is not a bloody sense, for it repudiates the sword; it cannot be irreligious, for the wicked scold at it, and it is constantly appealing to 'the Higher Law'; it cannot endanger life, liberty, or property, for these are safe in proportion to its prevalence. Therefore,

9. Resolved, That the doctrine which all anarchists, and tyrants, and bloody-minded men scornfully reject as fanatical—which 'the chief priests, and scribes, and pharisees' denounce as irreligious—and which is admitted to be excellent for a millennial state of the world—must be 'of heaven, and not of men,' and therefore as beneficent and glorious as it is divinely obligatory.

10. Resolved, That four millions of chattel slaves are clanking their chains in hopeless servitude in our land, only because neither they nor their masters are non-resistance; for they mutually believe in the right to shed blood and destroy life, as circumstances may render expedient.

11. Resolved, That Calvary and Bunker Hill are irreconcilable in spirit and purpose; that Jesus, 'the Lamb of God,' and Washington, 'the military hero,' do not march under the same banner, nor keep step to the same music; that it is nobler to forgive than to take vengeance on enemies; that it is better to be a sheep in the midst of wolves, than to possess a wolfish disposition; that it is better to be nailed to the cross unresistingly, than to bring fire down from heaven to consume the persecutors.

12. Resolved, That the American Church, in upholding the entire war system,—the militia, the army, the navy, the arsenals and fortifications, with a blood-stained and defiant flag waving over them all,—has long since demonstrated itself to be an anti-Christian organization, to say nothing of its guilty complicity with those who 'traffic in slaves and the souls of men.'

13. Resolved, That those who profess to be servants and ministers of Christ, and to exemplify his spirit and preach his gospel, and yet act in deeds of blood, and advocate the right and duty to give blow for blow, and shot for shot, in a given emergency, know not what spirit they are of, and are not entitled to the Christian name.

14. Resolved, That the duty of non-resistance is not an arbitrary command, nor dependent upon any scriptural text, but is based upon the reason of things, upon human relations and obligations, upon the philosophy of mind, upon the nature of good and evil, upon that love which works no ill to any, and is 'the fulfilling of the law.'

15. Resolved, That, in the language of the Non-Resistance Declaration of Sentiments, 'we register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chiefs and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service.'

16. Resolved, That the results of the conflicts at Bunker Hill, Lexington, Concord, and Yorktown, are the expenditure of seven hundred millions of dollars upon the army and navy since that period, (besides a vast amount expended in training the militia of the several States),—the brutal expulsion and rapid extermination of the various Indian tribes,—the increase of the slave population from half a million to four millions,—the extension of chattel slavery over a million of square miles of additional territory,—the multiplication of nine new slaveholding States, and the constant supremacy of the Slave Power over the national government,—the loss of liberty of speech and of the press in one half of the Union,—and the triumph of Border Ruffianism universally.

17. Resolved, That the profane command of Cromwell to his soldiers, 'Trust in the Lord, and keep your powder dry,' is in open derision of the sublime injunction of Jesus, 'Love your enemies, and fear not them who can kill the body,' and of his soul-subduing prayer, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'

18. Resolved, That there has never been a war or a battle for the rights and liberties of mankind, but only for the benefit of a particular tribe, clan or nation, in the spirit of revenge or selfishness;—our boasted revolutionary war forming no exception to the rule, having been waged with express reference to colonial independence of the mother country, whilst the colonists were slaveholders.

The following additional resolutions were presented by ADIN BALLOU:

1. Resolved, That Non-Resistance, in our meaning of the term, is total abstinence from the intentional infliction of injury by man on man under pretext of revenging, suppressing or resisting evil; and, consequently, that it forbids all war, and all resort to the use of deadly weapons, capital punishments, injurious imprisonments, and every kind of treatment of enemies and offenders which is obviously contrary to their true welfare, together with all the preparatives and perpetuatives of such practices.

2. Resolved, That Non-Resistance, in our meaning of the term, forbids the use of no force or means calculated to restrain evil doers, or to protect human beings in the enjoyment of their natural rights, provided such force or means be obviously beneficial in its legitimate effect on all persons concerned.

3. Resolved, That Non-Resistance, in our meaning of the term, is necessarily dictated by the second great commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' also by the Golden Rule, 'All things whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so unto them'; and especially by the precepts, 'Love your enemies,' &c., 'Bless, and curse not.'

4. Resolved, That Non-Resistance, as we define it, is a plain dictate of enlightened reason, as well as of divine revelation, and man's highest spiritual intuitions; being supported alike by the purest religion and the sublimest philosophy.

5. Resolved, That the assumption which lies at the foundation of all systems and practices of intentional injury to offenders, viz., that there is a point beyond which their good is no longer to be sought, and that of the injured party or the public only to be regarded, is false, and on the whole demoralizing to mankind.

6. Resolved, That what cannot be done unobjectionably to all parties concerned, in the way of resisting evil, always makes a bad matter worse.

ADIN BALLOU also, in the same connection, laid before the Convention a 'Suggestive Basis of Political Action,' upon which he invited discussion. It was as follows:—

Know all people whom it may concern, that we the undersigned, in order more effectually to assert, maintain and illustrate the natural rights of man, and to prevent as far as possible all obvious violations thereof, do hereby enter into a sacred league with each other, to be entitled,

The Pacific League of Human Rights.

We hold that all human beings, irrespective of sex, color, nativity, caste or rank, are equally en-

dowed by their Creator with certain natural, inalienable and absolute rights; that these rights, not being derived from man, cannot be violated by man, in any relationship or capacity, without crime; that these rights are always limited by the equally sacred obligation, imposed by their Creator on all mankind, never to infringe the equal rights of others, nor inflict intentional injury on them, nor disregard their true personal welfare; and that among these rights the following are prominent, viz.:

1. The right to life and its proper necessities, all persons being subject to such guardianship, providence and restraint, as, under peculiar circumstances, may be really requisite to their own welfare, the just protection of others, and the public good; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

2. The right always to favorable consideration from others in the ratio of their own weakness, incompetency and defencelessness; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

3. The right, whether in private or public life, to act always in scrupulous accordance with the dictates of their own consciences; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

4. The right freely to exercise reason, inquire after truth, form opinions, and express their minds on all subjects within the range of human thought; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

5. The right to dwell, to sojourn, to go, and to be wherever they may deem it necessary or desirable; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

6. The right to acquire, control and enjoy property in any manner and to any extent; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

7. The right, by mutual agreement or consent of parties, to associate with others in any relationship, for any purpose, to any extent, on any terms; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

8. The right, if personally competent, to exercise equal civil and political rights, representation and privilege with all the recognized members of any civil society or government which assumes compulsory authority over their persons and property; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

9. The right, under any civil government which assumes compulsory authority over them, to solve themselves by explicit public declaration from all implied duty to support or help execute such exceptional particulars of its constitution, laws or requirements as they deem essentially repugnant to the natural rights of man, or to the commandments of God; and thereafter, if allowed to participate in such government, to construe in accordance with such declaration all qualifying oaths, affirmations and engagements imposed on them, unless they expressly include the exceptional particulars; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

10. The right, before voting under any compulsory civil government on any question, with or against any party, to define by explicit public declaration what their vote shall signify, and how far it shall commit them to the decision of the ruling majority; and if allowed to vote notwithstanding such declaration, then to hold themselves wholly irresponsible for results other than those specifically designated; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

11. The right, by all just means and truly unobjectionable forces, to maintain their natural rights, to protect themselves and others from all preventable aggression, to combine with others when practicable for the purpose of disarming and rendering harmless outrageous persons, and to receive all rightful protection from governments which assume compulsory authority over them; (limited only by the obligation aforesaid.)

Furthermore, we the undersigned solemnly declare our profound abhorrence of the following specified practices, now upheld by professedly civilized States and Nations in obvious violation of the natural rights aforesaid, viz.:

1. Chattel Slavery, with all its inductive and supplementary adjuncts.

2. International war, and all frontier resorts to the use of deadly weapons between human beings, whether offensive or defensive, with all their preparatives and perpetuatives.

3. Capital punishment, and vindictive penalties of every kind, with all treatment of offenders which is essentially brutal, cruel, injurious, or neglectful of their true personal welfare.

4. The exclusion of females, and various proscribed classes of males, from equal suffrage, representation and privilege in civil government, which nevertheless assumes compulsory authority over their persons and property.

5. Authoritative government, which persistently tramples on the most sacred rights of their weaker fellow-creatures, and thereby publicly convict themselves of utter unworthiness to exercise governmental power in civilized communities.

And now, to the faithful maintenance of the common cause instituted in this league, by all justifiable and consistent measures of co-operation, we each solemnly pledge our uncompromising devotion and self-sacrificing honor, so long as our respective names shall remain hereunto attached.

After the reading of this document, MR. BALLOU presented some arguments in favor of the same, though without committing himself to the policy which it embodied. A somewhat desultory debate upon the matter was participated in by Messrs. Ballou, Garrison, Foster and others, indicating the general conviction that non-resistance has nothing to do with a government based upon the war principle.

A stranger remarked that he deemed non-resistance a fine idea, but quite impracticable in the present condition of the world. It was divine; it belonged to God; and since men are human and not divine, he thought it could not be always a duty. Still, if it could be practicable, it would be the salvation of the world.

S. S. FOSTER spoke again of the utility of non-resistance, and commended that feature of it to the friend who had preceded him. He then went on to argue against the proposition to participate in politics, on the ground, mainly, that, notwithstanding any protest we might make, we should certainly be practical supporters of the fundamental principles of the government. Voters are known only as sustaining the war feature of the government. He saw nothing wrong in voting for men who would not take the oath of office, but could not understand how we could aid in putting men into places where they were required to violate our ideas of right.

ADIN BALLOU stated further arguments that had been or might be urged in favor of the proposition. We have a natural right to express our preferences between two opposing candidates for office, to wit, Fremont and Buchanan. Could any body of men take away that right? Furthermore, could any government or any other policy as to involve one exercising said right, or any natural right, in the responsibility of its own wickedness? He thought there was a point there which admitted of some discussion. It did not seem altogether clear.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON considered the proposition a dangerous one. When we engage voluntarily in the affairs of a state or nation, we sustain its inquiry. The framers of the Constitution, foreseeing the troubles that might arise from the notions, whims, and sciences of men, went to work in such a way as to secure, despite all these, the end they had in view,—the establishment and perpetuation of a pro-war government. Mr. G. examined Mr. Foster's ground of non-resistance. The doctrine was indeed defensible for its utility, but it was useful because it was eternally right.

SUNDAY. The Convention was called to order by ADIN BALLOU, and a song.

'Non-Resistance, raise the standard,' was sung. MR. GARRISON read an appropriate passage of Scripture, which narrated David's treatment of Saul. The resolutions were again read.

THOMAS HASKELL gave some interesting incidents in his experience for the encouragement of others; and expressed great faith in non-resistance as a saving power in the world.

S. S. FOSTER said he had a serious charge to bring against those who believed in the use of violence in self-defence. Not one of the thousands who had been killed by the United States Government had been slain in self-defence. The Mexicans, the Indians were not killed in self-defence. And who are responsible? The

supporters of government. He thought it was our duty to oppose the inconsistency of our opponents, and to show that they were false to their own principles. Again, the government outrage all our rights. He had no rights that had not been invaded by the officers of the city or State. His property had been plundered from him, and devoted to purposes which he abhorred. Members of the government said it was right to smite down highwaymen, and then send highwaymen to rob non-resistance. He went for attacking these respectable robbers. If anybody is to be sent to the gallows, let villains in broadcloth go first, then villains in rags. He loved Anti-Slavery, Woman's Rights, and other reforms, but he gave his warmest sympathies to Non-Resistance.

MR. FLANDERS, of Maine, rose to speak to the proposition for political action. Man is a moral being, made for Love, Freedom, Justice, Right, and Truth, and was therefore out of his place in an organization that outraged all these.

AFTERNOON SESSION. The meeting was opened with a song entitled, 'Night with the right.'

MR. GARRISON said he was embarrassed in attempting to speak upon the question before us, to know which of the numerous points connected with it should be first discussed. We need not be troubled that we are few. Jesus was despised and rejected of men in his own age, but not more so than he is in America to-day. We are opposed as Jesus was, because of the blindness and selfishness of men. It would seem, judging from the treatment reformers receive, as if they were not the friends, but the deadliest enemies of man.

Two things in the Non-Resistance cause are noticeable. 1. The prodigal, the violent, the ambitious and the blood-thirsty, are against it, in all lands. 2. Good men find it so exalted that they cannot embrace it, lest they should do it dishonor. They deem it divine, Christ-like, but feel as if they could not practice it. Gerrit Smith once said that Non-Resistance is true Christianity, but he was not ready to embrace it, through fear of not being able to carry it out. And he had been getting further from it ever since. Until now he can give \$1500 a month to supply the free State men of Kansas with Sharp's rifles, in 'self-defence.' We live in momentous times, when we are called upon to examine and assert the principles of peace as never before. Border-Ruffianism in Kansas had every where roused the war spirit. But we may not help one good cause by tramping upon another.

Advocates for war reason as advocates for slavery do. The slaveholder believes in freedom, but there are exceptional cases. Abolitionists say, 'No, there are no exceptional cases.' Others admit the sanctity of life in the abstract, but there are exceptional cases. We say, 'No, there are no such cases.' God never made a human being to be killed by another. The sacredness of human life is a safe doctrine. Those who hold to the discretionary right to destroy life are not to be trusted with it. If you can make out a reason for taking human life once, you can for taking it a thousand times.

With reference to government, he had not voted for twenty-two years. He first came out from politics on Non-Resistance grounds; and it was surprising to him how members of the Society of Friends, and of Peace Societies, could vote to support a war-sustaining Constitution. It is not enough to say that we must have government. That is not the question. We must endorse the principles of war. True government is from within. There are those who believe that war will come to an end, and they do not wish to be considered as upholding that system. 'The Gospel,' they say, 'will ultimately abolish it.' But if the Gospel is designed ever to put down war, it is designed to put it down now. If Christ be not the Prince of Peace to-day, he never will be. There is great inconsistency of views in respect to the subject of war. Dr. Channing was singularly inconsistent with himself. [Mr. G. here read extracts from Channing's works, in proof of his statement.] When such a man as Dr. C. discourses so contradictorily on this great question, we may not wonder at the blindness of the masses. The spirit of Non-Resistance was the spirit of Jesus. What gave him his power? It was the lamb-like disposition he exhibited in his treatment of enemies. He went as a lamb led to the slaughter. In that spirit it is to be found the redemption of the world.

ANBY K. FOSTER rose to a point of business. She thought funds should be raised, not only to defray the expenses of this meeting, but to use in the preparation and publication of a Tract, showing how Non-Resistance might be applied to affairs in Kansas. Kansas is now the great argument against us, and we ought to do something to meet that argument. The interests of the slave can be promoted far more efficiently upon Peace principles than upon opposite ones. She therefore suggested that a Committee be appointed by this Convention to prepare a Tract upon the subject mentioned.

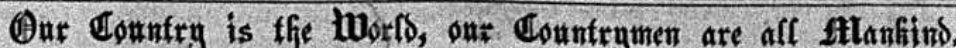
MR. S. MITCHELL, of Maine, had been inquiring how low man could be raised from his present low condition. Up to the present time, man had been a slave; he is now a slave. What has made him so? In his opinion, it was government. Mr. M. indulged in general condemnation of government, as an engine of oppression.

WM. W. COOK thought we ought to urge upon the attention of professing Christians the fact that they were living in open and constant violation of the most vital doctrine of Christianity. The religion of Jesus differed from other religions mainly in its Non-Resistant features; and yet, in this respect, it was every where trampled upon by those who claim the Christian name. He deemed it our duty to make this appear to those around us who profess Christ. He wished there were Christian ministers in all the churches; but there were not. He wished the congregation worshipping in Horticultural Hall had a Christian minister; but he rejected Non-Resistance, and so rejected Christ.

EVENING SESSION. E. L. CAPRON in the chair. A song was sung. 'What might be done, if men were wise.'

In accordance with the suggestion of A. K. FOSTER, at the afternoon meeting, the following persons were appointed a Committee to prepare and publish a Non-Resistance Tract in reference to Kansas, to wit, Abby K. Foster, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Adin Ballou, and William W. Cook.

After brief remarks from sundry persons, ADIN BALLOU proceeded to speak in illustration of the Resolutions which define what the term Non-Resistance signifies. We accept the doctrine as rational, common-sense, practical men and women. We have no vague, uncertain, shadowy notions of life and its duties; no theories which are repulsive to the sound judgment and better intuitions of



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Mr. K. asked—Does the gentleman desire the state of things?

Mr. B. replied, that out of this hall he would forth his whole soul to the gentleman on this question was not legitimate to the people of the country. No member ever heard of a man's freedom a day, and the people of the utmost he had ever said was, that oppression is exercised, the oppressed may be freed at whatever cost. He asked for freedom in all its forms. God and good men.

The Republicans hate it. (Laughter.)

And as soon see Mr. Pierce deprived of his and his wife sold into bondage, as that things should happen to the humblest indi-

SOME OF YOUR FORMER FRIENDS