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int I The Agints of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-girania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are attended to receive subscriptions for The Lineharon. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial formitiee, but are not responsible for any debts of the piper viz :--Francis Jackson, Ednund Quincy, Ednund Jackson, and Wendell Phillips.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. /



ith death, and an agreement with hell."

The United States Constitution is "a

in the chair of the Senate, and in the Freddentist manient. This investment of power in the content of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities, of the nation, and discominated in the highest authorities, of the nation, and discominated in the highest authorities, of the nation, and discominated in the highest and corder of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more persidents to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insuit the understanding of mankind. . It is doubtly tainted with the infection of richest and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurispresione that can define the no model in the records of ancient bistory, or in the political theories of Aristotic, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution or the United States by an equivosation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Prec States inagine or forcess what a service to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—Jours QUECT ABAMS.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 5.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1572.

# The Liberator.

ANUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHU-SETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

phic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. YERRINTO On Thursday, January 24th, at 10 A. M., according

appointment, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Socie-pact at the Tremont Temple. At this hour, the some was nearly full with as quiet and orderly an audence as could be desired, very many of whom wer lates. There was scarcely an indication of the riot redings which followed. But at 114 o'clock liery at the rear of the hall had become presed in at the corner doors beneath the gallery, to the great inconvenience of those sitting there. . They nerrapted the speaker by groans and howls from time stime, giving occasionally three cheers for the Union exay of variety.

FRINCIS JACKSON, the President, called the meeting Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., from the Committhe of Arrangements, then proposed, as assistant Secre-tures—Charles K. Wasspree, Wendell P. Garuiox, and JAMES M. W. THERINTON; and also the fol

os, and James M. W. TERRINTON; and also the fol-bring Committees:—
Committee to Nominate the Society's Officers for 1861:—
Elausd Quincy, Dedhara; William Ashby, Newburyport;
William Whiting, Concord: Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchler; George Draper, Milford; Elias Richards, Weymuth; James M. Aldrich, Fall River; Joseph Ricketson,
Kre Bedford; Josiah Hayward, Salem; Thomas J. Hunt,
Abigton; J. B. Swasey, Boston; Charles E. Hodges, Dor-chafte; Joseph A. Howland, Worcester; Lemuel Stevens,
Hymouth; Jacob Leonard, Boston; William I. Bowditch,
Brooklife.

Benness Committee:—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell

Buriness Committee :- William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Paintes Committee:—William Loyu Garrison, wender Phillips, Maris M. Chapman, L. Maria Child, Mary M. Erocks, Sarah E. Wall, John T. Sargent, Charles C. Bursigh, David Lee Child, Adin Ballou, T. W. Higginson, Anferw T. Foss, Henry C. Wright, Frederick Fretchingtam, E. H. Heywood, John H. Stephenson, H. Ford Douglass, Fannec Committee:—Sanauel May, Jr., Jamies N. Buffwan Elements D. Darges, Mytholad B. Scanger, Filledton Fanne Communic Communication of the Communication of

Rev. SAMURE MAY, Jr., then read the 94th Psalm explaining that it was selected at the request of Mr. Gannson, who had not yet recovered from his illness. Prayer was then offered by Rev: Robbit C. Wa-

The Treasurer, EDMUND JACKSON, read his Annual

TREASURER'S REPORT. i-Slavery Society, in account with Edmuni Jackbon, Treasurer. 1860. ) Dn. Jan. 1, To cash paid expenses annual meeting, \$ 188 75 paid Francis Jackson, Treasurer American A. S. Society, 5842 95 expenses 4th July at Franingham, 34 95 paid J. M. W. Yerrinton for remoting. politics, donation to Wm. Nuis, donation to Wm. Nuis, 50 copies Liberator sent to members of Congress, moving to and fitting new office, H. F. Walleut, one year's salary, S. May, Jr. Gen. Agent, five mos., E. H. Heywood, ties. Agent protein, seven mos. and expenses, C. C. Burleigh, lecturing and excesses, porting, lonation to Wm. Still, 0 copies Liberator sent to mem-56 00 239 3 445 0 295 0

penses,
A. T. Foss, do. do.
C. L. Remond, do. do.
Sallie Holley, do. do. 198 7 55 54 1234 2

\$11,200 53 1800. } Jun 1. } By balance in Tre By balance in Tressury, \$91 31
Contributions at annual meeting, 527 14
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Proceeds of Fair at Lynn, 1858, 47
Collections at New England A. S. Conv'n, 299 19
Collections at New England A. S. Conv'n, 84
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Collections 14 August at Abington, 89
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Sent of office in Cornhill 167 the marvaice.

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J<sub>10.</sub> 1, 1861.—By balance to new account, EDMUND JACKSON, Tre

Jan. 16, 1861.—I have examined the foregoing account, and she'the whole amounts received and paid, and the balance now in the Treasurer's hands, correctly stated, in the two www. I. BOWDITCH, Audity.

The report was accepted. EDNUND QUINCY, Esq., then read the following

LETTER OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

My Dear Coadjuron: Boston, January 24th, 1861.

For the last eighteen days, I have been a prisoner home, eafeebled by a fever of a low, typhoidal tendency and though I am mending slowly, I am still not sufficient tions. s justify me, as a matter of common prudence, in spirit is willing," and restless for liberation, "but the flesh is wak." I betiere this will be the first of the long series of anniverairs held by the Massachinesties Anti-Slavery Seitty, which I have failed to attend—beld "through will report" and "much tribulation"—in storm and sunsiste—in the midst of impending violence, or with undistrated bemposure—but always held hopefully, serenely, thinghantly. It is a great cross to me to break the conscious at this cruis; especially as, judging from "the fary of the Adversary" the meeting, to-day, will be the fast convarigning and the most potential ever held by the Society, whether broken up by lawless violence, or permitted to precord without molestation. The cause we advected being not ours, but Golfs—not ours, but himms mainty—appealing to all that is just, humane, noble and illing," and restless for liberation, "but the fl ire, and uphel by an omnipotent arm. it is beyond all deat, noncongerable and immortal; "therefore will not we fast, though the carried into the midst of the see."

mentalina be carried into the midst of the sea."

May a Divine patience, firmness, and spirit of peace be
vacainafed to all the friends of impartial freedom who may
be present at the meeting to-day, not returning railing for
railing, but looking salmly and joyfully to the end of this
issuesdans conflict with the powers of darkness—married,
the liberation of every bondman on the American soil, and

seforward the commen ent of an era of universal transcorrespondences and prosperity, such as the world has never yet witnessed.

Yours, to break every yoke,

Yours, to break every yoke, Yours, to break every yoke,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON. EDMUND QUINCY, Esq.
On motion of Mr. QUINCY, it was voted that this etter be printed with the proceedings of the meeting.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., made a partial report in behalf of the Business Committee, presenting, from

them, the following resolutions:-1. Resolved, That (to quote the language of Da Medister, the Anti-Slavery question has not only at-tracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper chord. It has arrested the religious feeling of the country; it has taken strong hold of the consciences of men. He is a rash man indeed, little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous esti-

human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous esti-mate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with or despised. It will assuredly cause itself to be respected. It may be reasoned with; ... but, to cospec it into silence— to endeavor to restrain its free expression—to seek to com-press and confine it, warm as it is, and more heated as such endeavors would inevitably render; it—should all this be attempted, there is nothing in the Constitution, or in the Union itself, which would not be endangered by the explo-

Union itself, which would not be endangered by the explosion which might follow."

2. Resolved, That (to quote the language of William Ellery Channing) "whoever injures a man, binds all men to remonstrate, especially when the injured is too weak to speak in his own behalf. The great bond of hummity is the last to be dissolved. . It is important that we should, each of us, bear our conscientious testimony against slavery, net only to swell that tide of public opinion which is to sweep it away, but that we may save ourselves from sinking into silent, unsuspected acquiescence in the evil."

3. Resolved, That (again to quote the language of the lamented Channing) "communities are without excuse in

S. Resolved, Intelligent to quote the magnage of the in-mented Channing) "communities are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in framing the Consti-tution, swerved from the right. We, their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it... The Free States ought than they, and must walk in it. . The Free States ought to say to the South, 'On you the whole responsibility of slavery must fall. We wash our hands of it wholly. We cannot, directly or indirectly, become accessories to this wrong. We cannot become jailerer, or a patrol, or a watch, to keep your slaves under the yoke. You must guard them yourselves. If they escape, we cannot send them back, Our soil makes whoever touches it free. You must guard your own frontier. In case of insurrection, we cannot come to you, save as friends alike of bond and free. of this point you are foreign communities. You have often said that you need not our protection, and we must take you at your word."

take you at your word."

4. Resolved, That to quote the language of the Representatives of the District of Darien, Georgia, in the first American Congress," to show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for ALL MAKEND, of whatever elimate, language, or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and shorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America, (however the uncultivated state of our stavety in America, (lowever toe uncutivated state of our country, or other specious arguments, may plead for it)—
a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dengrous to our liberies, as well as lices—debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest, and is laying the basis of that liberty

morals of the rest, and is laying the basis of that liberty we contend for, (and which we pray the Almighty to sentinue to the latest posterity,) upon a very wrong foundatien."

5. Resolved, That (to quote the language of Henry (Lay) 'those who would repress all tendencies towards liberty and ultimate emancipation, must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this Society. They must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and mustle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave trade, with all its train o ties. They must blow out the moral lights are atrocities. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish the greatest toreto foll, which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. They must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, where son and use love or interty. Inea, and not uit uses, wene universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathies and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portions of our race who are doomed to bondage."

Whereas, it is the list Article of the Constitution of Mas-

etts, that "ALL MEN ARE BORN PREE AND EQUAL

cial and other public servants, to make sole

orate or and puscess and other pointer servant, to make scream oath or affirmation; thus virtually binding themselves by the same adjuration, and to the same end; and
Whereas, all the absilitionism ever advocated by the
American Anti-Slavery Scolety, or any of its auxiliaries, is comprehensively embodied in this 1st Article of the Con-

comprehensively embodied in this list Article of the Constitution of Massechusetts; therefore,
6. Resolved, That the people of this Commonwealth cannot reject or awall the Anti-Slavery movement, with reference either to its principles or aims, without repudiating their own Bill of Rights, cubrerting the foundations of their own Estate government, trampling upon their own heaven-attented doctrines, and covering themselves with the

he was in his best estate. I am glad to hear Henry Clay speak here to defend slavery as the Abolitionists have been to oppose it.

They are to he faithful to their ideas. What is life worth, what is it good for, if it is not to see to truth, and to uphold some principle of truth, justice and honor?

The value of the gallery here set up a shout of "All up!" and gave three cheers for the Union, for worth, what is it good for, if it is not to see to truth, and to uphold some principle of truth, justice and honor?

We come here to day, friends, because the times, friends of freedom keep their seats. Don't stir from are dark, and because, in these dark times, men are your seats at any rate." This request was complied rily imported at this time, deal only in general principles, relating to the cause. At a subsequent session, what quieted, Mr. Clarke proceeded.] e.) Because they would substitute for these ev-ing lights of justice to all and freedom for all some base, earth-born, swamp-created meteors of mere expediency—which is not expediency, even for the present hour. (Applause.) I have come here to-day, not hoping to be able to add a word to what all of you, o'd veterans in the cause of freedom, know already; but I come to give my simple witness in defence of these evertasting principles. I do not want to hear any thing new here to-day. I want to hear the same great truths, which you have been uttering now for twenty-dive years, uttered over again to day in this hall. (Applause.)

When I was asked, some time since, to attend th when I was saced, some time since, to attend the meeting in commemoration of the work of John Brown, (applause and hisses), though I reverenced John Brown (renewed cheers and hisses)—though I believed him to be, perhaps, the noblest man which this country has produced, (vehement hisses and loud applause,) a man in whom truth and justice were incarnated, (a voice—"Anen "—anolause and hisses)—carnated, (a voice—"Anen "—anolause and hisses) carnated, (a voice—" Amen"—applause and hisses)— so that we beheld them in visible form before on eyes, yet I did not come, and I did not wish to come.
I did not think it well to hold that meeting. (Applause.) I did not think it desirable at that time. I said "No; I had rather not attend;" and I did not

saud "No; I had rather not attend;" and I did not come. But if I had known what was to happen here that day, I certainly would not have stayed away.— (Loud applause and some hissing.) If I had supposed for a moment, that an attempt was to be made, here in Boston, to put down any honest expression of opinion, Boston, to put down any honest expression of opinion, upon that or upon any other subject, in a meeting of that kind, certainly I never would have hesitated, for a moment, to come here, and stand with those mer on this platform. (Cheers and hisses.) Whateve else we can spare here in New England, we cannot de without free speech. (Loud applause.) That lies a use foundation of all our rights—of every thing that is worth having in the land. He who strikes a blow at Wendell Phillips, strikes a blow at the State of Massachusetts.

Massachusetts.

[Tremendous applause, with some hissing, was the response to this declaration. Some one here called for three cheers for Mr. Phillips, which were given with great heartiness, the opposition in the gallery ing with a few feeble groans.]

Mr. Clarke continued-Whoever attempts to inter fere with freedom of speech here in Massachusetts, spits in the face of the mother who bore him.— Whence comes all your prosperity, but from that di-vine principle which has been won for us all by the struggles and the martyrdoms of the ages? [The distribunce in the gallery here becoming uproarious, Mr. Clarke paused for a moment; and then said]—Don't mind them. If they want to make a noise, let them! It reminds me of a story I have heard of a woman who was beating her husband, and when some-body asked him if he was not ashamed to let his wife beat him, the man said—"O no! it amuses her, and it to the time, the man sade—'O no! It amuses ner, and it on't hurt me." (Laughter.) So, if they want to make a noise, let them do so, till they are tired. Freedom of speech, we all believe in, except when somebody wants to speak who has something to say which is not popular, and then we don't want to hear it. But what is freedom of speech worth when what I have to say is popular, when everybody is willing that I should speak? The only time that we are bound to stand up for freedom of speech is when those who want t for freedom of speech is when those who want to speak are unpopular. Then noble-hearted men say, "They shall speak; they must speak; our rights are sinvolved in their speaking;" (Applause and hisses, The only real difference between Massachusetts and Austria, is that in Massachusetts we can open our mouths and speak, and in Austria they cannot. That is the real forderment of difference has is the real, fur damental difference between Massachu setts and Austria. I remember that when I was or the Lago di Maggiore, I was talking with the boat sachusetts, taa." ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights; among which may be reckened the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, pessesing and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness"; and

Whereas, in support of this declaration, the people of Massachusetts require of their Senators and Representatives, and inclination of the seeking the seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness"; and

That is the difference. When you pass out of those the seeking the see cause," said he, with his natural Italian language of illustration, "because there in Sardinia my mouth is in Lomband, ne. When you pass out. the newspapers are not allowed to utter their convic-tions, where there is no freedom of speech, and cross the line into Belgium or into Sardinia, you find a once an entirely different state of things—everything once an entirely different state of things—everything then is presperous and progressive. Why, John Mil, ton, and Locke, and Algerion Sidney, have built up the prosperity of Massachusetts by putting the foundations under her cotton mills—have made all her little villages ring with the joy of triumphal and successful industry and the conquests of man over nature, because they convinced the Anglo-Saxon race that the month of a man over the total the month of a man over the total conductions. their own State government, traupling upon their own heaven-attested dectrines, and covering themselves with the guilt of moral perjury.

The reading of the resolutions elicited frequent cheers.

The President, Francis Jackson, said that the question was now on the adoption of these resolutions, and that the platform was open to any one who desired to speak, for or against them. The rule of the Society was free discussion, and he requested any one who wished to speak to come forward to the platform.

SPEECH OF REV. J. F. CLARKE.

Rev. James Firkman Clarke, pastor of the Church of the Disciples, was the first speaker. He said:—

They, being dead, yet speak! I am glad to hear a speech from Dr. Channing here this morning. I am glad to hear Daniel Webster speak, as he spoke when in the was in his best estate. I am glad to hear Henry Clay speak here to-day, as Henry Clay speak when in the youth, when he loved freedom, and when his hear to poose it.

friends of freedom keep their seats. Don't stir from your seats at any rate." This request was complied with, and when the noisy rabble had become some what quieted, Mr. Clarke proceeded.]

If there is any man in this assembly to-day who thinks that slavery is a good hing, he ought to be the man to protect the right of free speech here; for the man to protect the right of free speech here; for the man to protect the right of free speech here; for the man to protect the right of free speech here; for the place where, for twenty-five years, his opinion has had a chance to be attered and defended. I come here to day for that—because this is the place where freedom of speech in Massachusetts is to be defended; and I say, as I once heard Mr. Manning of the Old South Church say, when he went to a meeting of this sort, to which, he said, his friends had advised him not to go, "Xes," he said, "I will go; for though my gun is a small one, and doen't make much noise, I don't want to have it spiked." (Laughter your affect for the speaker. Of course, anynoise, I don't want to have it spiked." (Laughter Then, again, I come here because this is the only

place where any thing is said in behalf of four millions

of my countrymen who are in bondage. [Cries in the gallery, "Down with the niggers," and groans for John A. Andrew.] This is the only place where any thought is given to God's children who are marked with a darker color than ours. We hear everything else tliscussed—all other rights considered. Everything that belongs to the intereste of the white man is talked of every where else; but where, except on this platform, does any one remember the four millions of laves! Why, if you ask me what is to be the result of the present state of things in this country, I will give you the answer I heard the other night. "It depends upon who God cares for the most at the present time; whether God is thinking most of the white man or the negro." If God is caring to-day for the negro in the United States more than for the white man, then I believe that disunion is to be the result, because dis-union is to be the emancipation of the slave. (Loud applause and hisses.) But I believe the South are right in a good many things that they say. I do not come here as one who hates the South, or who hates liberty, therefore we hate the slaveholder. (Noise in the gallery.) We do not hate the slaveholder. Be-cause we hate the evil that a man is doing, does it folte the evil that a man is doing, does it follow that we hate him? Because we hate the wicked-ness of a man, does it follow that we hate the man? I know very well that if Northern men had been placed under the same circumstances that Southerners are, they would have been very much the same kind of people, and done very much the same kind of things. If you or I had been born in South Carolina. we should, very likely, have been mad to-day for se-cession, in order to prevent slavery being put down We do not, therefore, hate them, because they are made what they are by the circumstances around them we pity them. But I say that we at the North, who have been educated under other circumstances, and taught to love freedom and justice for all, are bound, for the sake of the slaveholders themselves, never to give up those principles of justice and freedom, but to maintain them, and maintain them more and more to the end. (Applause.) It is not inerely for our own sakes, or for the sake of the slave, that we are holding these meetings, but it is for the sake of the slavehold-er too. He is a man who is crushed down by his iniquitous system, and in order to help him, we must stand up for justice and liberty. (Cheers.) There are tens of thousands of Southern men, born and raised in the South, educated in the South, slaveholders, perhaps, themselves, who do not love slavery who know its evils, and know them better than we the because they have felt them longer and more close When the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the North is low ered one jot, they mourn. They say, "Stand up firm to your principles at the North, for your principles are our only reliance." They feel the need of us, they feel the need of the Anti-Slavery sentiment; and it is for the sake of those thousands and tens of thousands of men and women at the South, who feel the need of protecting, increasing, magnetic sentiment of om, that we hold these meetings, as well as for the slaves themselves. (Applause.)

Friends, we are looking forward to a probable sepa ration, or secession, of the South from the North The time seems to be hurrying on that result for which this Society has contended for many years— Disunion. When that result comes, when it shall be war may come; but it seems to me that these fifteen magnificent free States, this grand new Union, which is to rise as the eagle soars from the earth toward the rs from the earth toward the sky—this Union, composed of fifteen States, on whose soil there is not the foot of a slave, united together by common convictions, common principles, and common interests—it seems to me that it will be so strong that no nation will venture to attack it, and so just that it will not attack any other. (Applause and hissing.) will not attack any other. (Applause and hissing.) I see no danger, except from concession—except from yielding up our principles. I, for one, am ready to say to the Southern States, "Go in peace!" I am ready to say, "Take, if you choose, all the national property in your domain; take the forts; take the arsenals; take Washington, too, if you choose—take all; but let us stand together, a united, free nation of independent States, without slavery. (Hisses.) We can give you everything but our freedom and our rights."

I have said all I intended to say, and I will not detain this meeting any longer this morning. (Loud spice)

youd a few feet from the speaker. Of course, any thing like a connected speech was impossible, under such circumstances. We give the sentences as they

fell from his lips.] Mr. President, we stand to-day with the country itself, as far down as Mason and Dixon's line, one-half converted to the maxims of this Society. [After a long pause.] The devil always goes out of a man in great wrath. (Laughter.) I remember once, ten years ago, in Faneuil Hall, when we stood on the platforn ago, in Faneuil Hall, when we stood on the platform for two hours, and did not utter a word—and it was the best meeting we ever held. (Applause by those who could hear.) Conceited as we are thought to be, no man on this platform can make a speech equal to that—[pointing to the gallery.] (Applause.) But there is a better speech even than that to-day. South Carolina speaks for us (applause); and our argument on this question is poor and vspid, in comparison with hers. For, after all, the question is not free speech. You and I shall live and outlive that many years. My free speech will take care of itself; or I will take care free speech will take care of itself, or I will take care of it. (Applause.) We come here to-day to let Washington see what Boston thinks of this crisis, and we want her to declare that, Constitution or no Conwe want her to declare that, Constitution or no Con-stitution, Union or no Union, against the law or with it, the Southern States, so long as they be slave States, shall be shovelled out of this Union. (Loud applanes and hisses.) We not only accept the crisis, but thank God that it has come so soon. (Applause and hisses.) I am sorry for every merchant whose ledger balances on the wrong side. I am sorry for every laborer who has lost a week's or worth, we want with the laboration. on the wrong side. I am sorry for every laborer who has lost a week's or a month's wages; and if his Daniel Webster, and his Caleb Cushing, and his Edward Everett, had listened to us thirty years ago, this trouble never had come on the country. [A voice—"Never!" and applause. Then the gallery screamed itself hoarse for Webster and Everett, and other idols of their worship.] State Street may thank her own idol, if she is bunkrupt to-day. [More cheering for Webster for the University of "mat his out." Webster, for the Union, and cries of "put him out interspersed with whistling and singing.] O, Mr. Chairman, we have plenty of time! We have this session, this afternoon and evening, and three tomorrow. No occasion to hurry, in the least 1 South Carolina is waiting to hear from us. (Cheèrs for South Carolina.) The Southern States say that when they Carolina.) The Southern States say that when the have organized their confederacy, they mean to leave New England out in the cold. Well, we shall be glad to the cold. I am only sorry that my friends there (pointing to the rioters) are out in the cold. Now ladies and gentlemen, this is a very momentous ques

[Here the reprobates in the gallery struck up the

"We are going home, We are going home, We are going home, To die no more"—

which gratifying declaration they repeated, again an again, but did not go. Instead of that, they struck again, but did not go. Instead of that, they struck up another equally interesting lyric, which, as near as we could make out, ran in this wise—

"Tell John Andrew, Tell John Andrew, Tell John Andrew, John Brown's dend."

then mese model patriors and novers of the Union gave three grosus for General Scott, and amused them-selves with imitating the sounds of the barn-yard, and the cries of the street. At length, Mr. Phillips was enabled to speak again.]

This is the largest anti-slavery meeting, said he, at

ten o'clock in the morning, that I ever saw Diamion. When that result comes, when it shall be settled that the slaveholding States are to go by themselves, and the fifteen free States of the North, with the addition of our sister Kansas, another free State, our seats. To-day, at least, we have possession of are to go by themselves, what is to be the consequence? You say, "Civil war." Civil war. Civil war. Civil war. Civil war. Civil war. il tion is between you and the men on the outside which a shall represent the Capital of Massachusetts. I have a little pride in Boston. I would rather that we he should keep in our own hands the appointment of our own police. I hope we shall behave ourselves well to day, and show that we are worthy of it; for if we do y not, there is a parcel of country folks up there on the hill who will make us behave ourselves. (Applause.) the Although I love Boston very well, I love Massachusts etts better—because she is bigger (laughter and applause); and therefore I mean to stand here to-day, and endeavor, so far as in me lies, to show the press on and the Commonwealth that the majority is on our wide (Analans). That is self-commonwealth that the majority is on our and endeavor, so far as in me lies, to show the press and the Commonwealth that the majority is on our side. (Applause.) That, in spite of a few boys, Bos-ton is a decorous and well-behaved community. I think we shall prove it in the end. (Cheers by the rowdles, and general uproar smoon them.) I think that our twenty-seven, eight or nine annual meetings have been wonderfully successful in remediling the public mind, and my proof of it is this very meeting to-day. We are thus assailed, not because we are few, not because independent States, without slavery. (Hisses.) We can give you everything but our freedom and our rights."

I have said all I intended to say, and I will not detain this meeting any longer this morning. (Loud applanse.)

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. PHILLIPS then took the platform, and was greeted with a prolonged and enthusiastic shout of welcome, which testified not alone to the hearty sympathy of the audience, but to the fact, that an overwhelming majority of those present were loyal to the right. The rowdies in the gallery cried out, "All up!" and hissed and greaned to the extent of their power, but the feeble noise was speedily drowned in another storm of applanses. Mr. P. said:—

Mr. CARINMAR, —I had hoped to address this meeting at a later hour, and that some other friends would have taken the centre of the morning; but in considered the compation elsewhere, I shall trouble you now, and leave them the latter part of the session.

Mr. Phillips here took off his overcoat, amid the value of their compation elsewhere, I shall trouble you now, and leave them the latter part of the session.

Mr. Phillips here took off his overcoat, amid the value of the compation elsewhere, I shall trouble you now, and leave them the latter part of the session.

cheers of his friends, and laid it one side, remarking—
"I may have to stand here a good while, so I will
take my coat off."]
"We want to teach some doubting souls which way
the vanes set here in Massechusetts. Mr. Adams
does not seem to know whether they point North or
South;—we want to show him that we are not only
unwilling that Massachusetts should be a slare to State Street, but that we won't give up one inch of territory, five hundred miles west of the Mississippi, to the demands of the South. I would not give shato the demands of the South. I would not give sharery a spoonful of earth to stay in the Union—no one; not a blade of grass, nor relinquish a single principle. (Uproarious singing.) That is the death-knell of slavery—don't you hear it! (Applause.) [The volunteer choir in the gallery again struck up, "We are going home," &c.] That is the maniac, singing in his shains. (Loud applause.) It is necessary we should understand the state of things among different classes of neonly. I don't feel years moved, if thous remembers. inderstand the state of things among different classes f people. I don't feel very proud of those representatives of Boston up there; still, I think things are of near so bad as they were on the 3d of December. Then Mr. Fay and Mr. Howe came here fit person; they only send their boys here today. (Loud laugher, the "boys" yelling and accaming to the imminent danger of their lungs.) O, I forget, continued fr. P.; P beg your pardon. We should have had sem here to-day, but they started for Washington yes, rilay with the petition, and so the mob has lost its addent, and don't know where to go. (Laughter.)
Mr. Chairman, I have something to say, when I

aders, and don't know where to go. (Laughter.)
Mr. Chairman, I have something to say, when I in get out more than one sentence at a time; but a isconnected speech cannot have much argument in. I do not know but we may as well resolve our elves into a Quaker meeting, and sit here in silence, a the representatives of Massachusetts. For, friends, will tell you a secret;—we are going to decide to sy whether this penissula is still to be called Bosm, or had better be named. Wightmannile, (Laughter nd applause, the "roughs" in the back part of t

Mr. Quincy, (to whom Mr. Jackson had resigned Art. Quiker, (to whom an Jacken and reagment the chair). The orderly portions and members of the Society are requested to take their quats, as a measure of order. These lade in the gallery have come here to cnjop a holiday. No doubt, they are glad to be repleased, after sweeping out their masters' stores, to come here and make a notice. They are harminess had: and Limbe while we are varieties for the green. come here and make a noise. They are harmless lads; and I think, while we are waiting for the "good time coming," the friends had better take their

nme coming, the triends had better take their scale, and romain patiently and quietly, and by and by, we shall hear the end of Mr. Phillips's speech.

Mr. Phillips paused for some time, the riotous perion of the assembly keeping up their soley demon strations, cheering for the Union, for Crittenden, and others, and calling out "Go ahead," "Sit down," "Bloss remarking "So. the.

"Blow your horn," &c., &c.
Mr. PHILLIPS. I just now heard three cheers for
the Union. I think the dead ought to be allowed to
rest. (Hisses and howls from the gallery.) I have
always found that the best abolitionists were shose who come as boys to break up an anti-slavery meeting. I expect to live five years, and to be cheered to the echo by those very boys, when they have grown older and wher. (Apphaine, blees and groans.) Why, they will carry enough away, from the anti-slavery meeting to day to convert them. Yes, even the scene in yonder gallery will convert them. Massachusetts has not got in her besom the materials for mois. This is nothing but the spasm of a momentary irri-tation—it will not last. Our fathers left us common

Doodle," and the musical entertainment was extended by one more singing of the already familiar words, "We are going home," &c.]

We are going home," &c.]
Mr. PHILLIPS. This is the "irrep betwirt the floor and the gallery. I wish Mr. Everetts, had taken his mob with him. (Cheers for the Union.) Poor Union! (Three greans for Phillips.) It does not what mobe may endeavor to do; they cannot kill-ideas. So long as honest men think, so long will the ideas we have attered pervade eastern Massachusetts. It is no matter whether we number two hundred, one hundred, or fifty. The very meeting of this body, in defiance of all the wealth of the city, is a victory. The mob cannot shut us out of this hall, though they may be able to conquer our voices. If we cannot live by law, we cannot live at all. This question is not one of argument, or eloquence, or words; with State Street, it is a worse meeting of words; with State Street, it is a worse meeting of words;

one of argument, or eloquence, or words; with State Street, it is a mere question of dollars. But South Carolina knows that, in the long run, dollars do not rule in this country, but ideas rule. You know very will that Daniel Webster represented the dollars of Massachusetts. Edward Everett, to-day, represents the dollars of Massachusetts. He can be endorsed by every bank president and by every manufacturing corporation in Massachusetts; but they are not able to turn Charles Sumner out of his seat. (Applause.) They may make money, but they cannot make public opinion; wealth is not the fountain of public thought. [Here Mr. Phillips addressed himself for some time; in a moderate tone, to the reporters and friends immediately round him.—a proceeding which seemed to provoke the rewdiens at a distance to a curious allence.]

Abolitionists, look here! Friends of the slave, look here! These pencils pointing to the reporters! will do more to create opinion than a hundred thousand mobs. While I speak to these pencils, I speak to a million of men. What, then, are those boys! (Applause.) We have got the press of the country in our hands. Whether they like us or not, they know that our speeches sell their papers. (Applause and laughter.) With five newspapers we may dep five hundred boys. Therefore, just allow me to make my speech to these gentlemen in front of me, and I can spike all those cannon. (Applause.) Why, if I should write out my speech and laugh at youder noises. My voice is beaten by theirs, but they cannot best types. All hall, and glery to Faust, who invented printing. for he maste most impossible! (Applause.) I appeal from the tradies of Boston to the press of the Commonwealth. These boys have got a holisty. Let us be glad their masters gave it to them. They only mistook the place to come to. The Common is the monwealth. These boys have got a holiday. Let us be glad their masters gave it to them. They only mistody the place to come to. The Commen is the place for Riccition Day, not Tremont Temple. But what we want to send out to the country is the fact.

aris came little the galleries of the National Con-ion, they simply resolved that they were in perpe-cession. Well, while newspapers are printed, so we. Now those fellows cannot last but one morn-while the Abolitionists can talk till doomsday. To are an unchding gift of free speech. (Grouns for the boiltfontist.) Those boys have been singing. "We re going home," for some time; and if our speeches re so unpaintable and vituperative, I wonder they do go. The doors are all open. But after all, friends, it us rejoice in this hour. Twenty-five years ago. ice in this hour. Twenty-five years ago, ispers, with bated breath, in halls that two hundred people, we cried Disunton; the Rocky Mountains bring back the eche, and today, the Bocky Mountains bring back the echo, and thirty States are sundered in the effort to free the lave. (Loud cheers.) We debated, thirty years are and thirty States are sundered in the effort to free the slave. (Loud cheers.) We debated, thirty years ago, whether we could raise ten thousand dollars in order to print anti-slavery tracts; now, the Charleston Me-cery and the Louisville Journal print them for us. (Applause.) Poor fellows! [Pointing to the rioters.] they have no organ—we have conquered the New York Hould. they have no

York Head.

They say one man is a majority, when he has right on his side; I have got three thousand on my side.—
[Tumult in the gallery, during which Mr. Phillips paused, and then said]—Do not be impatient, ladies and gentlemen, it is only ten minutes to twelve; there is time enough. Time will de every thing. It will bring South Carolina back into the Union a free State. bring South Carolina back into the Union a free State. (Applause.) We are not going to lose one of the old thirtoen. We are going to conquer them all to freedom. I mean, before I die, to have all the thirteen States in the Union, without a slave. (Applause.)—My disunton means simply to get rid of the slave-holders. I want the son of every black man who fought with Washington inside my Union, and I know that the 384,000 blacks of South Carolina are the sons of the Revolution. The stars and stripes shall yet protect them in liberty. (Applause.) Only walt; we shall worry out these boys. This is Boston; we will appeal to the Commonwealth in a moment or two; that is a very different scene. I understand the State house has begun to move, and got as far as half way house has begun to move, and got as far as half way down Park street; and when the codfish comes, look out, for we shall have quiet. Ene petit placidom sub wietem. That means—Free Speech. (Ap-We will have it yet. Massachusetts is not ed; the Capital is not owned by State street (cheers,) and whoever is Mayor of Boston, Jo Andrew is Governor of the Commonwealth. (Pro-longed cheers.) I do not despair of the Common

wealth.

[Three groans were given for Gov. Andrew, by the crowd in the gallery, which were followed by three cheers for Mayor Wightman. Then some one called out, "Three cheers for Wendell Phillips," which were given with an emphasis.]
Mr. PELLLIES. An Abolitionist is a happy

have such a cheer as that, and a mob besides. (Laugh ter and appliance.) I hope all my blessings won

A VOICE. "Go shead! we've got them where the hair is short." This remark called forth uproarious

laughter from both sides.

Mr. PHILAIPS resumed—0, we have been through a great many such scenes as this. There is always a calm after a storm. You will find after this, that every constant of the storm of the storm. caim after a storm. You was find after this, that ev-ery Representative from Massachusetts on the floor of Congress will stand so straight that he will lean beck-ward. (Applanse and hisses.) I am told that Charles Sumner said, a fortuight ago, that he had more re-liance on South Carolina than on Massachusetts to help us in this crisis. (Appleuse by the mob.) He will rejoice when the Commonwealth comes down like a vulture, and sweeps that gallery where it belongs a vitture, and see equations of the conductive and the conductive states of the conductive states of the conquerors should allow the conquered to complain as much as they please ward Everett was at the top of the ladder. To-day, this Society, after twenty years of argument, send Charles Sunner (hisses) into the Senate, and Edward Everett at the head of a Committee. (Cheers for Everett.) We have turned things upside down, and got them right-side up. [A Voice—"Why didn't you send Burlingame?"] To-day, Sumner represents Massachusetts, and Everett and Winthrop—we have taken them down from that elevation—they represent the Merchants' Exchange. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, allow me to make one exceedingly

one and timely suggestion to you. It is more than y, that within a short time, the civil authority enter this hall; and allow me to suggest, in order that it may be known who are our friends and who are not, that the friends of this platform will, as far as

(Cries of "Good" and applause.)
[This statement and request of Mr. Phillips had an instantaneous effect on the mobocrats, who became almost entirely quiet, and remained so, with only occasional interruption, to the close of Mr. Phillips's

speech. Mr. PHILLIPS. And now, having secured a little temporary quiet, suppose we go back to the consider-ation of the question which assembles this Society this ation of the question which assembles are surely morning, which is, the abolition of American Slavery. There exists, as you know, ladies and gentlemen, in this fragment of the Union,—several States having quitted it,—the Gulf States having almost or entirely parted, and only the border States and the Mississipp parted, and only the border States and the Mississippi States left to us—there exists, at this moment, through-out the North, the question, what mood of mind shall we present ourselves in to our Southern brethren? How shall we let them understand the position of the North? Our delegates in Congress—those from New England certainly—have done their duty like men. It is understood that the speech of Mr. Seward was read to them a week before its delivery, and repud-ated. (Cries of "Good," cheers, and hisses.) New England said—"We wish no compromise—we will allow none. We have walked up to this spot by the toll of a quarter of a century. We are ready to meet the South on the broad question of abolition. We settle the question here. Either lef it be laid out of politics, by the micre territorial settlement, or we setnot for any compromise whatever. Now, what mes aage shall Boston send to that faithful body of men? How shall we, who are not fettered by the responsibilities of party; who represent not party lines but the plastic public opinion outside of them—represent, not the townsers. the temporary moment, but the coming fu shall we ak, at this hour, to the Union ! I say it in celt, but in verity, and from sincere conviction, England does the thinking for one-half of the We have sent our children to the valley of the Mississippi, and they look back to our codes and our great men for their models, for their They look to our press our great men for their models, for their examples. They look to our press, and largely to our pulpits, and entirely to our colleges, to send them the best thought of the age. We hold the magnificent West, with its unlimited wealth add its coming omnipotence, in our right mad. "Westward the star of empire takes its way." How shall it be wielded! Shall the slave rest in allence, hopeful that from the conscience of the silence, hopeful that from the conscience of the orth will come the cause of his jubilee! It is for us at this hour to save the masters from the bloodiest in surrection that ever occurred. It is by standing on the Northern basis, and demanding that this source of weakness and danger, that this national sin, that this element, which threatens to, or has already ed the Union, shall be treated like states ensummered the Union, shall be treated like states-men. I have no word of censure for the great Senator of New York, still less, a word even of doubt for the incoming President of Illinois. (Cheers and hisses.) I believe that, like an honorable man, he means to keep, and has told his friends to say that he means to in effice the promises that were made for him in myes; and while Abraham Lincoln lives,—and, of the rage of the men South of Mason and a's line, he will live to be buried in the gratitude of the North, twenty or forty years hence, (applause)
—while he lives and dictates law to this country from
the White House at Washington—as he will, on the

6th day of March, and if it cannot be done otherwise, illinois will cover every square foot of the District with a living man and Republican (loud applause)—while he lives, I have faith to believe that not one blade of grass, not one atom of the soil of the territories will be poisoned by the footsteps of even the compromise of a slave. So much this Society has gained; and the rock which a third of a century has rolled up the mountain height is not to tumble backat the bidding of a mob. There it stands, anchored on the votes of eighteen hundred thousand froemen, who send Abraham Lincoth to Washington to do their bidding, and it will be done. (Applause.) This is no boy's play. The babies of Carolina are not to speak to the great Northwest. (Cheers.) They are to lie quiet in their cradles, and we will see that they are rocked to sleep; and meantime, Northern care and foresight shall tuck them up nicoly, so that they shall not take cold. (Applause and laughter.)

Our fathers pledged their oficious and hateful caths to their damnable compiracy in 1787, that the slave of the Carolinas should be deprived of the right arm that God gave him in order to defend himself. They glued to the scabbard the sword of insurrection, and thereby they made it fenfold my duty never to let my tongue rest from demanding: justice for the man they had dis-

God gave him in order to defend himself. They glued to the scabbard the sword of insurrection, and thereby they made it tembld my duty never to let my stongue rest from demanding justice for the man they had disarmed. I stand here to-day by the sacrifice of a life, to atone, as far as possible, for the sins of my fither, (applause and hisses,) and every man who loves his father is bound to be here to-day. (Applause.) [A Voice—"Three cheers for his father." Asother—"Three cheers for his father." We are here, frietids, to make those cheers deserved. We are here to make the Union worthy of cheers within hearing to make the Union worthy of cheers within hearing of Fanueti Hall. (Applause and cries of "Good.") We are here to wipe out the three-fifths slave basis, the slave clause of recapture, the pledge against in-surrection, and every black stripe from the parchment of 1789; and when we have some it, we will go down to that old Cradle of Liberty, and invoke Adams, and Otis, and Hancock to come and listen to our repent-ance, and to our jubilee together. (Applause.) But it is here we are to perform the lustration. Every lie bears bitter fruit. No sin can be wiped out in an hour. The mistakes of a generation are not gotten rid of in a night! "Our fathers ate sour grapes, and our teeth are set on edge." State Street managed and in-trigued; she sent her representatives to get John Hancock awathed in flannel, to make it possible Hancock swathed in fiannel, to make it possible for Massachusetts to adopt the Constitution of 1787. The free thought of Massachusetts rejected it. The men from the country spit upon it. What were called the Democrats of that day trod it under their fe State Street—the men who made money by trade went to Hancock, solemn and stately in his Beaco trod it under their feet street mansion, and said to him-"We cannot save this. The conscience of Massachusetts rejects it."

And the old pet of the people put on his flannels, took his crutches, and came down with a compromise (God curse all compromises) and made Massachusetts a member of the Union. (Applause and hisses.

[A voice from the gallery—" God curse the man who said that!"] mid that!"]
Mr. PHILLIPS. Well, it is natural that State Stree

should hang on to her child. It is natural that she should be fond of the pet that she cradled, and has brought up to this manhood. And it is natural, too, that short-sighted wealth, timid, shrinking from ever change, should imagine that if she gets rid of South Carolina, it writes bankruptey on her ledger. But I maintain that Massachusetts does not make money merely because South Carolina whips hegroes. I maintain that the brain of the Yankee can compel the tribute of the world, and the thrift and cunning of our right hands can make us rich, spite of Virginia and the Carolinas too. (Loud applause.) We are bound to prove that honest labor can stand on its own feet, without the help of the aristocracy of the white race, or the slaveholders of the Carolinas. (Renewed cheering.) Graduate of the free schools of Boston as I am, I am bound to prove, in the face of Europe, that "honesty is the best policy," and that America can prove it in the face of the world. (Applause.) I am bound to prove that it is possible to make a man's bread here without stealing it; and I am certain that with that great West, that populous Ohio, that mag-nificent New York, to back us, and welcoming Canada into our lap, we can still, even if the South leaves us, for a time, maintain a power to which the South will gravitate back gladly before you and I are old. Yes, those boys will hardly pass their majcrity, will hardly be entitled to vote, before you will see Carolina com-ing back, to put her star on the national banner, and live again under the stripes. We are not going to be sepa-rated. The Mississippi binds us like a glorious ribbon of gold. We cannot be divided permanently. It is nothing but the poison of slavery that occasions this emporary convulsion. The Sumters and the Marior The Rutledges, the Lees, and the Pinck re are they? Under the feet of some name neys, where are they! Under the feet of some name cas rascals who are undertaking to-day to represen South Carolina. Virginia has gone under, and there is nothing but bubbles on the surface. We will digdown under it, and find the ashes of Patrick Henry, and so call Virginia back to her duty. (Aplause.) If it is necessary, as in the days of th Crusaders, we will take the dust of Washington from s tomb on Mount Vernon, and Everett shall follow it, as we carry it through those fifteen States, ar make them, on their knees, be as good abolitionist as he was. (Applause.) No, we have not lost a country. These

esentatives are not Americans, that run to resentatives are not Americans, that run to washing-ton, and beg South Carolina to see that they kneel in the dirt. (Loud applause.) The history of the past, the grand school of the events of sixty years, have not produced only such men in Massachusetts. Under farmers' frocks, and standing beside spindles, and over the blacksmith's anvil, and smelling the sweet soil of from the canker of her own gold. (Prolonged chee ing.) I believe in the possibility of liberty, and will never be convinced that sixty such years as we have passed can create only a community of cowards. This Society will yet hold its sessions peacefully; every speech will be listened to; and when we go out from this hall on Friday night, we shall go out with

cency! (Loud and prolonged applause.)

DAVID LEE CHILD. "I propose three the conqueror." They were given.

SPEECH OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

The President then announced RALPH WALDO cheers by the audience, followed by thre rs for the Un on from the mob, and a st of disturbing groans and outcries. Toward the close of Mr. Phillips's speech, several policemen had entered the gallery, and their glazed caps were conspicuous among the rioters. Rev. Mr. Waterston, in the midst of the tumult, rose and asked—"Will not the police do their duty?" The appeal had no effect, however, and Mr. Emerson was obliged to wait some time before his voice could be heard. At length, when comparative silence was obtained, he said:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—It is little I have to say; but to fill up the interval between the gentleman who is about to follow me, and the organ of thought and opinion who has just spoken, I will say, that I am very happy to see this Society, through its organs here, asserting those principles which belong to this soil, which belong to every person who now hears me (hisses); and I am glad that a Boston boy, educated here in our schools, here in our colleges, all his life spent among you, has learned to find in your hearts an answer to every burning word he speaks. Why, ladies and gentlemen, I feel that really the Boston boys are all right. I am a little proud of this village. Let me say to those young foreigners, to those young strangers, that I was born ou the spot where the post-office now stands; that all my education has been in her town schools here, here in her college, and all the best of my life spent here. That is true, stoo, of the gentleman who presides here, and of Mr. Phillips, who has just addressed as II. England, who said, when he knew he had held his who has just spoken, I will say, that I am very

have to say, that one thing a the new history of the country They say that the Asiatic cho plain, in the new history of the country, as well as in the old. They say that the Asiatic cholera takes the vital principle out of the air by decomposing the air. I think it is the same with the moral pestilence under which the country has suffered so long; it actually decomposes mankind. This institution of slavery is hased on a crime of that fatal character that it decomposes men. The burshaim which has lately appeared wherever that question has been touched, and in the action of the States where it prevails, seems to stapily the moral sense. The moral injury of slavery is infinitely greater than its pecuniary and political injury. I really do not think the pecuniary mischief of slavery, which is always shown by statists, worthy to be named in comparison with this power to subvert the reason of men, so that those who speak for it, who defined it, who act in its behalf, seem to have lost the moral sense. Here are young men from the Southern country, whom we have always supposed were in the minority, who had not spoken, but who would yet asve their country—they also have been educated here in our institutions, have been educated in Europe, and when they have gone back, they have suffered from this opthalmia, this blindness, which hides from them the great facts of right and wrong. They do not perseve the political; concounieal and moral mischief done by the institution. I chanced, within a few days, to be reading the travels in Alabama of the English naturalist, Gosse, who has set all our boys making aquariums, is to see the set all our boys making aquariums. ading the travels in Alabama of the English n ist, Gosse, who has set all our boys making aquariums, and he recites precisely those facts which are denied by our Southern friends—the burning of books and the like, the utter suppression of all freedom of thought and conversation sensor these in the contractions. and conversation among friends. [Noise in the gal-lery, which obliged the speaker to pause.] I was going to say, that I hope that, in the great action now pending, all the forbearance, all the discre-

action now pending, all the forbearance, all the discre-tion possible, and yet all the firmness, shall be used by the representatives of the North, and by the people at home. Gentlemen, friends, no man of patriotism, no man of natural sentiment, can undervalue the sacred Union which we possess; but if it is sundered, it will be because it had already ceased to have a vital to The action of to-day is only the ultimatum of what had The action of to-day is only the ultimatum of what and already occurred. The bonds had ceased to exist, because of this vital defect of slavery at the South actually separating them in sympathy, in thought, in character, from the people of the North; and then, if the separation had gone thus far, what is the use of a pretended tie? As to concessions, we have none to make. The monstrous concession made at the formation of the continuities of t tion of the Constitution is all that can ever be asked it has blocked the civilization and humanity of the times up to this day. I cannot belp thinking just now in connection with some facts that were men in connection with some facts that were mentioned, or a story of Mr. Wilson. You all know Prof. Wilson, the author of the "Noctes"—the wit of Edinboro' and London. When some gentlemen, strangers at the lake—[Noise in the gallery, hisses, groans, calls of "put him out," "dry up," "unbutton your coat," &c.]

"put him out," "dry up," "unbutton your coat,"
Mr. EMERSON. I know you will hear my sto is very good. One of Prof. Wilson's family had been insulted in a boat upon the lake. The fact was brought to his knowledge, and he immediately prepared to horse-whip the offenders. They learned to whose family the offended person belonged, and got a mutual friend to go with them to the Professor's house, to propitiate him. He introduced them, and said, "These are the gentlemen who have, by some mistake, inter-fered with your friend." Prof. Wilson heard their apology coldly, and allowed them to depart. When they had gone, his friend said, "Why, Professor, you should have more magnanimity than to read to the should have more magnanimity than to receive their apology with such coolness." "Magnanimity!" said he; "was ever magnanimity more enormous than mine? There they sat, and I did not pitch them out of the window!" (Laughter.) It seems to me that s really a fair illustration of the immense concessions that have already been made, and we do not need any

But I will not detain the company longer.

SPEECH OF THOMAS W. HIGGINSON. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, of WO

the next speaker, was received with cheers, (with hisses from the gallery intermingled, and spoke with less interruption than his predec

Mr. CHAIRMAN-We are debtors to the disturber of this meeting for several things. If it were possible to add to the rhetorical triumphs of Wendell Phillips they have given him an additional one this morni (applause); and if it were possible to show to Massa chusetts the calm, recluse philosopher, Ralph Walde Emerson, in a still more noble aspect, this setting of riot has completed the picture. (Renewed applause.) Even the bare threat of disturbance has promoted this Society out of the little Mercantile Hall, where it has met for the last few years, into Tremont Temple; and f the mere rumor of trifling danger has so much, what would the appeal of actual danger do among the anti-slavery men of Massachusetts ! (Cheers.) It has done more than this. The Personal Liberty Bill is pending in the State House. How many additional votes our friends in the galley have salled up for any 1 April 2 and 1 rolled up for us! (Applause and hisses.) How many more will our opponents (whom the gods have m mad)—how many more will they give us, before Convention has concluded its sessions? And other measure—the Metropolitan Police Bill for Bor ents (whom the gods have mad (load cheers, the rioters in the gallery revealing, in characteristic manner, the terrors the bill has for them) —a measure which no one would have dared to suggest, and which I, for one, would have voted again under ordinary circumstances,—there are a hundred men in that gallery, to-day, who are working with all their heart and soul to pass that Metropolita Police Bill. (Loud cheers.) As Shakspeare says:

"Tis you that do it, not we. You do the deeds, And your unworthy deeds find us the words."

Here are we, anti-slavery speakers, tired of speak-ing. We had fallen away from the work. We had been grossly remiss—I know Juad, for one—in these last anti-slavery meetings in Boston, for a few years, the thanks of Boston, for having redeemed it to de- the had been won that our voices, at least, might be the had been won that our voices, at least, might be spared. Your silence [pointing to the gallery] had silenced us; your noise calls us forth again. (Cheers.)

It is one of the strongest objections I have to this state of things, that it has brought me here to-day, for one, to make a speech against my will. If speaking to the put down by the chaos of quadrupedal noises we have heard this childwest by these sooner we all begin to talk, the better (Applause.)
Mr. Chairman, we are not here to-day to dig in the

ashes of the past; we are not here to-day even to con-tend for the slave. The slave to-day must take care of himself, for the moment, while we are defending the right of the white men of Massachusetts to be the right of the white men or Massachasets to to heard in Boston. (Loud applause.) I thank these rioters, who have placed us in a position so logically irresistible that we are sure of the verdict at last. Slavery or anti-slavery may be right or wrong; FREE SPEECH is right always and everywhere. (Prolonged cheering.) We have come back to a position which is impregnable. They have driven us out, it may be, is impregnable. They have driven us out, it ma for a moment, of the questionable Fort Moulton

ten years, only we won't acknowledge it."
The thing that all the wealth and power trative energy of Boston tried to do, wh again this morning, and it can never aga again this morning, and it can never aga under such disadvantages to us. (Chee not last long, and then we can fall back up mate work, which is, our own rights see mate work, which is our own rights secured, as occa-after the rights of others; to seek, not to defend the rights of the wealthy and influential, who can take care of themselves, but of the poor and the outcast. Is there any man who is trampled on by the whole whole community! There is the man for us to dewhose community in the state of the fellow-citizens seek to persecute,—who, in the night time, when defeated in their efforts to disturb peaceatime, when defeated in their efforts to disturb peacea-ble assemblages of other men, unite in little compa-nies, and go into corners, and down cellars, and into horse-railroad cars, to drag out and glory in perse-cuting the negro, because they do not dare to meet a white man,—is there any class of men in Boston so degraded as that, and any such more decreded a white man, is there any cass of men in boston so degraded as that, and any such more degraded class who wish to persecute them, it is for them that we must labor, and make their cause our own. It is be-cause this Society has labored for them that all this cause this Society has labored for the day. It is because this Society has done its work in calling forth not only the men who believe in Mr. Garrison's dogmas wholly, but men like those who have spoken here this morning, who are not identified with him in his views of the Constitution, or with Mr. Phillips in his views of the Constitution, or with Mr. Phillips in his this morning, who are not identified with him in his views of the Constitution, or with Mr. Phillips in his— —it is because the Anti-Slavery Society, by the noble liberality of its platform, has called such men upon it, that it is opposed and resisted; and, by the same token, it is for doing that, for fighting the great battle of liberty for Massachusetts men, that this Anti-Slavery Society will become a blessed memory in Massachusetts and this day a second day of triumph asetts, and this day a sacred day of triumpl

plause.) On motion of Henry C. Wright, the meeting ad-ourned to 8 o'clock, P. M.

The noise in the galleries then ceased, the disturb-ers leaving the house with the others. A very large number of these disorderly persons, however, re-mained in the street before the Temple, using pro-fane, boisterous and threatening language as the auli-ence disnersed, especially manifesting their hate ence dispersed, especially man oward Mr. Phillips, against whom threats were freely made. A hearse happening to go by at this time, one brutal ruffian called out—"Hold on, and take Wendell Phillips." Mr. Phillips, however, left the building by a private way, and the mob was thus deprived of an opportunity to vent their malice in any other way than by threats.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The hall was crowded to overflowing before th hour for calling the meeting to order, and it soon be-came manifest that the disturbing element had re-ceived large accessions to its force. The Traveller describes the mixed character of the gathering in this wise:—

"As soon as the doors were thrown open, the erowd, comprehending every grade of pollites, morality, and religious belief in its ranks,—"Breckinridgers, negroes, Douglas men, Garrisonians, Bell men, North streeters, Beacon streeters, John Brown's men, ministers of the Gospel, pick-pockets, reporters, teamsters, dry goods jobbers, loafers, prokers, runn-seilers, Iadies, thieves, gentlemen, State officers, boys, polico-men—it is impossible to enumerate the elements of which this promisenous throng was composed." "Outside, a number of people," continues the Trauslier, "as if too insy to enter, and too curiout to go away, howered about the door of the Temple, inspecting all who entered with as much particularity as if they had been all veritable Nadgets, in the employ of genuine Anglo-Bengalee Life Insurance Companies.

"One gentleman seemed anxious to enter, and still very reloctant to run the gauntlet of the curious eyes. At last, he spasmedically passed the threshold, and, turning round, took off his hat, and said—"Gentlemen—I wish my presence here may not be misconstrued. I am neither an abolithouist, a ricter, nor a pickpocket. I'm going in to see a man." (Silence, broken by a slight tittering.)

Just before three o'clock, a number of nolicemen en-"As soon as the doors were thrown open, the ere

Just before three o'clock, a number of p red the galleries, and were greeted with the rowdies, who then gave three cheers for Mayor

The meeting was called to order at 3 o'clock by Mr Quincy, who read a letter from Francis Jackson, President of the Society, declining a re-election. On motion of Rev. Mr. Hodges, the letter was referred to the Committee on the nomination of officers.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH was then introduced as th CHARLES C. BURLETON was then introduced as ine-first speaker in the afternoon, and proceeded to ad-dress the assembly, speaking nearly an hour, in the midst of the wildest uproar, to which he paid no more attention than if he were on the other side of the globe, but spoke right on, with a logic as clear, a spirit as uncompromising, and illustrations as perti-nent and forcible, as if he were addressing the most quiet and attentive audience ever assembled beforehim. We are obliged to defer the report of his speed till next week.

By the time Mr. Burleigh had concluded, the lowe part of the hall under the gallery was completely pack ed with the mob, who cheered and hissed in one cor ner, and were lustily answered by cheers from the op-

ner, and were lustily answered by cheers from the op-posite corner, which drowned the voice of the speak-er. He sat down amidst applanse and hisses. The President said he observed men in the audi-ence with badges on their breasts. (Loud and long-continued uproar, and repetition of singing for several minutes, followed by clapping of hands and "tigers," during which the President, stood in silence, or conent stood in silence, or con ulted with those about him.)

The President again attempted to call upon the po lice, but his voice was fairly drowned by the noise. The audience arose upon their feet, some trying to escape in their fright. Cushions were taken from the friends of the Scotley to be readed to be a continued. seats in the gallery, and tumbled down upon the heads below in rapid succession, and were tossed about from place to place. The confusion and uproar were indescribable. First, the mob would sing, then cheer, then his; then sway one way, and then the other; cushions and hats were thrown in the air, dogs barking, cats mewing, &c. &c., were imitated, and up-roar reigned supreme. After a while, there was a lull, and the Chairman then introduced Mr. Gro. H. HOYE, of Athol, as one of John Brown's counsel.

This was the signal for a renewed outbreak of calls and cheers, and hisses, which completely drowned

Mr. Quincy. I observe in the hall, scattered about in various conspicuous places, men with badges on their breasts. If the police have not been instructed by the Mayor to stand by and assist this mob by their silence and inactivity, they will do their duty. (Hisses, groans, derisive laughter, &c.)

feet from where he stood. The reporter was close to his elbow, but the confusion was so great, that the closest attention was required to understand

Mr. Horr. You have been "going hon

reached its culminating point. Scarcely a word could be heard that was uttered on the platform. Just then, a movement was noticed in one of the sizes, and presently it was seen that the Mayor, with the Chief of Police, and a large posse of officers, was alowly forcing his way to the platform. Arrived there, he stepped to the centre, in front of the President, and said—

SPEECH OF MAYOR WIGHTMAN. SPEECH OF MAYOR WIGHTMAN.

Silence! SILENCE, in the gallery!
Fellow-citizens—fellow-citizens—I am sure that you,
who are the citizens of Boston, will listen to the voice
of its Chief Magistrate. [Gallery—" Good "—" good ";
"three cheers for Mayor Wightman."] Fellow-citizens, I can only say, that you will testify that respect
for the Chief Magistrate whom you have elected, by
keeping silence, and listening to that which I shall
say. [Gallery—"We'll do it!" "Three cheers for
Mayor Wightman."]

say. [Gallery-Mayor Wightman."]

THE MAYOR (in the imperative mood.) Silence!

SILENCE! I am requested, inasmuch as this meeting has been disturbed by tumultuous and riotous promoting.—I am requested by the Trustees of this meeting. [The rowdies] ceedings—I am requested by the Trustees of this building to disperse the meeting. [The rowdles screamed, "Good,"—"good," and cheered at the top

of their lungs.]

Dea. Gilbert, one of the Trustees, pre

ward, and exclaimed, "It isn't so. Will you let me see the letter?" The Mayor declined. Mr. Qursor. Will you allow the agent of the building, Mr. Hayes, to see it? We doubt its authen-THE MAYOR. I will not, sir. I will settle that to

morrow, not now. [Turning to the audience]—Fellow-citizens, having thus announced my purpose, under the written order of the Trustees, [Voices uer the written order of the Trustees, [Foices—"False!"] I have now simply to say to you, that I am sure you will respect me enough to leave this place quiedly and peaceably. ["No,"—"Yes,"—"Read the letter."]

The confusion, at this time, was indescribable—that

of the platform rivaling the gallery, for everybody crowded forward to the desk, amid excited cries of— "It's false!"—"It's a lie!"—"Read it!" &c. At tength the Mayor was forced, by the storm of dispute to read the letter, which he did, first remarking—"I am requested to read the document which has been am requested to read the document which has been placed in my hands, and I regard it as sufficiently uthentic for this purpose." Th letter was as follows " Boston, Jan. 24, 1861.

Hon, J. M. Wightman, Mayor of the City of Bos Hox. J. M. Wightham, Mayor of the City of Beston; We hereby notify you that a tumuluous and rictous a sembly of more than thirty persons is now engaged in the control of t

Shouts of derisive laughter were heard on all sides at the conclusion of the letter, for everybody saw that the request was one totally different from that stated

At this point, Mr. Quincy inquired if Suerm on At this point, Mr. Quincy inquired if Suerm was in the hall, stating that there was a letter of importance for him from the Governor. It was generally supposed that the letter had reference to the preservation of order, but its real character did not transpire.

Having read the letter of the Trustees, the Maye turned to Mr. Quincy, the acting President, and asket "What do you want me to do?" Mr. Quincy replied that he wished the galleries cleared, and the Mayor that he wished the gatteries cleared, and the shayor instructed the officers to perform that duty, and they entered upon it immediately, and in about fifteen minutes, the galleries were cleared, no resistance being offered. Many of the rioters, however, as they came onered. Many or the rioters, however, as they came down stairs, entered the doors at the end of the hall until that portion was densely crowded with an uproarious crowd, enraged at the aspect of things, and excitedly yelling, "Clear the platform!" Wightman! we want you to clear the platform!" With this modest demand, however, the Mayor did not see fit to comply.

omply.

The work of clearing the galleries was fluished at

4:35, and then the President said :—
Mr. QUINCY. The members of the Anti-Slavery
Society, and those who desire to participate with them, will be seated.

will be seated.

It was found impossible to seat the numbers who had crowded upon the platform, and the President inquired of the Mayor if the orderly portion of the audience on the platform could occupy the galleries; to which the Mayor replied in the affirmative, and s

comparative order was restored.

THE MAYOR. Gentlemen, (I shall not say ladies and gentlemen, because that is always unnecessary,) the meeting is now in a quiet state; it is for you maintain it so. As long as there is no disturbance by any one, it will go on with its proceedings. If there is any disturbance, the police are authorized to sup any demonstration ny demonstrations of that kind. (Applause ee cheers for free speech.)

Mr. Quincy. If the gentlemen on the edges of the meeting are contented to remain and assist in the further proceedings, they can do so; if not, the police will forthwith clear the hall of all disturbers. The Mayor then called two of the Lieutena

The Mayor then called two of the Lieutenants of Police to the platform, and gave them instructions with regard to the disposition of their men, and that they were to be under the direction of the President of the meeting. Then, turning to Mr. Quincy, the Mayor said—"Mr. President, I now give the meeting into your hands, and take my leave."

There were no more chosen for Mayor Wighten the plant of the property o

There were no more cheers for Mayor Wigh but the rabble that still remained in the rear of the but the rabble that still remained in the rear of the hall cheered for the Union, and one of their number put the question, "All those in favor of adjourning the Union meeting will say "Aye," and declared it "a voto "-but still the crowd of unruly spirits re-mained, though their demonstrations were not so vio-

If there is any disturbance in the further proceedings of the meeting, I shall direct the further part of the hall to be cleared. Let that be understood, before-If there is any dist hand to be cleared. Let that be understood, beforehand. We want all to stay and hear what is to be said; we do not want to turn a man of you out. If you have anything to say against any of the sentiments that have been expressed here, the platform is just as free for you to oppose as for the previous ers to advocate them. Mr. Hoyt will now po se as for the previous speak ers to advocate with his speech. SPEECH OF GEORGE H. HOYT, ESO.

Mr. CHAIRMAN,—When the proceedings of the Convention were interrupted, our friends in the rear of the hall had just concluded that familiar psalm tune, to which our ears have become so accustomed, "We are going home." After a great deal of "going," and "goings on," some of our friends have actually left, and for that we are extinity obliged. (Appliance).

ilence and inactivity, they will do their duty. (Hisss, groans, deriaire laughter, &c.)

SPEECH OF GEO, H. HOYT, ESQ.
At length Mr. Hoyt attempted to speak, though
ais voice must have been utterly inaudible six
eter from where he stood. The reporter was
lose to his elbow, but the confusion was so great,
that the closest attention was required to understand
what he said.

I think, said Mr. Hoyt, that Mr. Garrison spoke the
ruth when, a quarter of a century ago, he said, "I what he said.

I think, said Mr. Hoyt, that Mr. Garrison spoke the truth when, a quarter of a century ago, he said, "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not retreat a single inch." Before the face of a Massachus setts mob, the Anti-Slavery Society says, "We are in earnest; we will not equivocate; we will not retreat a single inch." (Tremendoes sproar.)

After a pause, Mr. Hoyt said—"It seems to be a question whether your voices or my legs will first kick the beam." (The mob again sung, "We are going home, '&c.)

the mob, and, in the name of law, liberty, and American civilization, protect the respectable gentlens has engaged in an investigation of the merits of that question. I think it may not be egotian in me to us; the I know well what the sentiment of Manachusun has the contract of the week. think it may not be egotism is me to my, the I know well what the sentiment of Manachama in regard to this matter of free speech. "I'll it has undertake to speak for Middle and Western Manekatts; and it is time that Hoston understood that whole of the Commonwealth of Manachama is no contained in this peninsula, and that, if the Pools of Boston will not vindicate and defend that rich, the people of the Commonwealth, in their serving opacity, will come here and do it for them, to are a pacity, will come here and do it for them, to are a dear old Commonwealth from that reprose. It can applicate, and hisses from the remnant of the sal.) I thank God that at last the City Government of hos has undertaken to defend this right to us. We was maintain it ourselves, and by their aid and assense we shall maintain it throughout the proceeding of the Convention. [A Voice—"I'll bet you don't."]

I suppose there may be some here who would he to know upon what basis a professed Republican of exampaign of 1860 can stand here. I have no the to, understood that there was necessarily no.

Convention. [A Voice—"I'll bet you don't."]

I suppose there may be some here who would he to know upon what basis a professed Republican of the campaign of 1860 can stand here. I have not hide to, understood that there was necessarily lay home aistency between a Republican, believing in policial statements as a remedy for the evils of slavery, and a remedy for the evils of slavery, and a continuous as a remedy for the evils of slavery, and a continuous as a remedy for the evils of slavery. action as a remedy for the evils of slavery, met up

scientious Abolitionist.

A Voice—"Is John A. Andrew an Abolitation."

Mr. Hovr. I hope to heaven he is; and I think can say he is. If he is not, he is no true German of Massachusetts. I do not mean such Republication in the recent Senatorial speech of William H. Seward; I do not mean such Republication. liam H. Seward; I do not mean such Repelikania as is represented by the compromises of Ton Carin: I do not mean such Republicanism as is represented by Charles Francis Adams, who propose to admit New Mexico as a allaw State. [The riston—"Three cheers for Adams."] I do not mean such Republicanism as is represented, for instance, by the Semidate Republican,—a smart journal in the vestern part of the State, which has not, until lately, found dist enough to eat,—which says the Republicans are not opposed to alavery as a sin per se, but because it is a ruison protein, regarded as a question of political econosy. But I mean such Republicanism as would legislate ternal liberty into the Territories. [Here there was not I mean such respublicanism as would legislate send liberty into the Territories. [Here there was rush and surge in the back part of the ball, and every is-dication of a row. The lights were put out under the pallery, and, for a moment, a serious maurance was anticipated; but nothing came of it; the gas wa apa net affame, and Mr. Hoyt proceeded. I mean not be a made of the manner of the man gallery, and, for a moment, a seri those Territories which are the common inheritant the people of the whole country. That is the sorid Republicanism I mean; and as I have hitherto been Republican and a conscientious Abolitionist, so here and now, because my reason and my heart prompto to make the declaration, I declare that I am also favor of Disunion. (Applause, hisses, and crist of 'Put him out.") And, as conscientie hitherto been a Republican and an Abditionist Ide-clare to-day that I believe the Southern States have a right to secode, and will secode, ["Good,"] and I an glad of it. (Applause and hiss

giad of it. (Applause and hisses.) For slavery in the "Thunderer" of the London press dedree, a disgrace to the whole nation;" and when a last he slave States have gone on for the Union by themselve, they will have taken away from the remaining Sans of the Confederacy the disgrace and ignominy of becoming responsible, to any extent, for the inte curse and crime of human bondage. (Hisses.) Sel say the slave States have secoded, and will say that attitude, and I am glad of it, because I see in that condition of affairs a bright ray of hope for the persecuted and oppressed negro. [A Voice-"Why persecuted and oppressed negro. [A Voice-"Wi don't you fight for him!"] In the course of even those States will either abolish slavery as a matter of self-preservation (and God speed that day!) or else the me morning will shine on another St. Do and many and many another Toussist. mingo, and many and many another Toessist.

(Cheers and hisses.)

I stood by the side of John Brown in the hours.

his trial (applause, groans, hisses, and yells); I stood by his side in the scene of his mock trial and his persecution-[A Voice-" Shame on you!"] and I would have remained by him until he was executed. if a Southern meb had not driven me from the place.
("Good"—"good," cried the rowdies.) Mind you I have stood in the face of a Southern mot, and I shall not retreat in the face. shall not retreat in the face of a Boston mob. ("Good"—and applause.) By the side of John ("Good"—and applause.) By the side of John Brown, in the presence of that manly resignation and that heroic fortitude which struck the world dumb with admiration, I registered in my heart a solema vow, that so long as God permits me to live upon this earth, His footstool, I will, with all the powers He gives me, oppose the cursed institution of slavery, even to its utter abolition. (Lord applause and hisses.) Entertaining these continues, I come appares and nieses; cupy any other position than the one I do occupy today. I am here to-day because Boston tells me that upon this platform I shall not declare slavery to be a curse and a crime; because Boston declares that the people of Massachusetts shall not clear themselves of the Infquity of the Institution. I am here to day because I am instructed that it is unpopular to stand here. If that be the case, I thank God for that unpopularity, and I hope to carry a large am apopularity along with me through life. (Applan

and hisses.)

I have said all and more than I intended wha I took this position; but I could not consent that of feeble speech should be broken up by a combined and menacing mob in the city of Boston, where I have lived ten years. I saw in that gallery and in the rer of this hall, many and many a young man with whom I have associated in this city; some with whom I was with whom I in the public schools, and many sociated in other relations; and I should have felt is to be a lasting disgrace if, when their voices were praised to silence me, I had submitted. I trust klorcitizens, ladies and gentlemen, that all men who leve in the crime and wickedness of the institution of and have hitherto declared their belief in the necessity for its utter abolition, in the process of int now that it has become unpopular to express the opinions, will not run the risk of being written for execrable cowards by withholding the truth tody. Let the truth be spoken, be the cens

they may. (Loud applause.)
The meeting then adjourned, to re-assemble at his past 7 o'clock.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EVENING.

Having thus brought down the proceeding the meeting to the adjournment on Thursday at noun, we copy from the Journal the following accounts the second to the second the second to the s of what took place in the evening, and the says sion of the meeting by order of the Mayor:

Some fifty or sixty women remained in the lalf of teet the adjournment of the meeting in the aberea. They, with a few other persons who were able is a carly admission in the hall, were the audience abbreach by the Chief of Police, at half past in olds, when that functionary appeared and read the fallers order from the Mayor's office.

MATOR'S OFFICE, CITY HALL
BOSTON, Jan. 24, 1861, 6 octoch, 7, 22

DAVIEL J. OPPERS, Ed., Chief of Pulice.
Sin: You are hereby ordered to clear the Hall of the mont. Temple from any persons now remaining, and the doors, and take such measures as my be recent to prevent any meeting being held there benight.

Mr. Wichbard.

Mr. Wightman also sent the following of tion to the trustees of the building:

tion to the trustees of the building:

Maron's Orrice, Cirr Hatt.
Bestrox, Jan. 24, 1881, 6 olook, P. M.
Trusfoes of the Temont Temple.

GENTLAMER: I have reliable information, recivel is a least imprendent temple.

I left the meeting, which, in my indigment, recivel is a most Temple to night.

I therefore assume the seeponshilly of cloric is the set imprendent imprendent in part of the set is a three of the set in the pattern in the set in the pattern in the set in the set in the pattern in the pattern in the pattern in the set in the set

We understand that the Mayor received information which he considered reliable, that if the meeting as ald in the evening, the outside of the building wall.

nacked by a mob, and in order to prevent a dis-

upon the asset of the Hall constantly found in the street before the Hall constantly found in the street before the passage of rebicles danter of us small difficulty. The Chief of seared the crowd that the Hall would not be laring the evaning, and thereupon three cheers the police of Boston, and three groans, registature of Massaghusetts. Until this time, expisiture of Massaghusetts.

cer deavered his views on the topics of the ession, coercion, metropolitan police, free e-at considerable length, and until he was at his remarks had ceased to be acceptable, had not risen to make any extended remarks, y to propose three cheers for "Hon. Lucius his letter." Finally, a young man, whose announced to be Lee-supposed to be the papears hereinnfter as having been arrested. ice, under another name, mounted sosed that all hands "step up to the then adjourn to Johnny Gallagher" k, and then anount to some and go up ward street, and there organize and go up house, and carve him out." He continued, will go!" About a dozen persons held ands, a few cries of, "Hoe him out!"

ng.
the crowd, with some apparent reluctance, away to something like order.
the Tremont House, a large crowd rushed ement street, booting, hallooing, and urging r on by the call of "Howard street! Howard to be completed balled.

in Tremont rouse, a large devau right of the remont of the Adminustration of the remonth of the Adminustration of the Adminustration

dest at the Tremont Rouse in using a cere not with them. officers proceeded promptly to the discharge of usy and soon the crowd was dispersed. In the usy and soon the crowd was dispersed. In the usy these proceedings, a young man, resembling quitous Harry Lee, while in the act of information is invasical accents, that he would not be a considered accents. e the half-past nine o'clock train for home, and, hyport of his statement, he exhibited a note addressed his wife, informing her that he should not be a he till late, as he was going to the Anti-Slaver, eding at the Tremont Temple. When questioned arknowledged that he had made a speech in the room of the Tremont House, but was innocent cevil intentions. He was retained in custody. Ye was also arrested for taking part in the disturb was also arrested for taking part in the disturb was the properties of the city was as quiet as ever.

#### FRIDAY MORNING.

On Friday morning, the general public-being una-ware that it had been decided by the officers of the Society not to attempt to hold any further meeting, since they had been ejected from their hall by the Mayor, a large number of people assembled at the doors of the Temple, at an early hour, some of them eviently friends, but the majority, as evidently, of th of those who had disturbed the preceding aracter of those who laid disturbed the preceding seeding, if not the same individual rioters. The blice, who were stationed at the doors, informed the wal that no meeting was to be held there that day high satisfied the well-disposed, who left at once; but e table were incredulous, and, regarding the state eat as a "weak invention of the enemy" to deprive eat as a "weak invention for the enemy" to deprive ear of their artificiated for hung about the doors red the side door which leads to the rooms we carried the size of one coor, which reads to the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the offices of other tenants, visiting, without ceremony, any surfument which they chose, and making themselves generally obsoxious by their rowdyish conduct and

Mr. Hayes, the agent of the building, repeatedly clust the officers of the Society had resolved not to bold their meeting by permission of the Mayor,—and requested them to withdraw, but without avail; and not until the hour appointed for the meeting (10 %clock) had long passed, did the crowd evince any disposition to leave. At length, however, the police were able to clear the street, and restore order and minesters.

BUSINESS MEETING AT THE ROOMS OF THE SOCIETY. A large number of the members and friends of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, finding the Temple closed against them, assembled at its Room, 221 Washington street, where the events of the preceding day, the conduct of the city authorities, and incidental matters, were the topics of animated conversation for a masterable time. The reason for the discontinuance of the meeting not being generally understood, the advent of the officers of the Society was looked for with much interest; and when Mr. Quincy and Mr. May entered the room, they were besieged by a best of inquirers, anxious to learn the exact position of affairs. At length, in order to satisfy all present, Mr. Quincy called the meeting to order, and said — A large number of the members and friends of the Mr. Quixey called the meeting to order, and said :-

You all know how our meeting was interfered with reservay, and how it was concluded in comparative good order, by the interference of the Mayor. When he came there, he intended, undoubtedly—I am willing to believe, through a mistaken impression of the request of the Trustees—to clear the hall. When informed or the Trustees—to clear the hall.

quest of the Trustees—to clear the hall. When informed of the error, he cleared the disturbers out, and put us in possession of the hall.

He then came to me, and asked me what I wanted him to do; and from that time forward he took the part of a good magistrate. He left me a force of police to keep order. Mr. Hoyt concluded his epeceh, and good order was kept—at least, he could be heard. The Mayor also said to me that he recognized the legality of our meeting, and could protect us.

a few friends, and we concluded to-day that we would not recognize the right of the Mayor to turn us out last night, by accepting his permission to use the hall

was served on the Trustees; it was the Chief of Police. I was there, and saw him in the hall. It has been stated that the order was served on the Trustees Samuel May, Jr. Both statements are right; an

Mr. WRIGHT.

at the m-eting.

A. T. Foss. The Mayor, I understand, sent orders
to have the Temple closed to-day.

Mr. QUINGY. Well, we got ahead of him there.

SANCEL MAY, Jr., moved that a meeting of the
Society be held in this room at 12 o'clock.

Several persons inquired, "Why not now?" and, tion so that it should read to have the meeting called immediately, and in that shape it passed, without ob-

purpose of ascertaining the correctness of a statement which had been made to them by the city authorities, to the effect that the Society had declined to occupy the hall that day. They were ready, they said, to open the hall, and only wished to be certain as to the wishes of the Society. wishes of the Society.

Mr. QUINCY repeated the statement he had already

made to the meeting upon this subject, and said that he would communicate to the Trustees, in writing, of the officers of the Society, and their res sons for it, and these gentlemen took their lease Mr. May then moved a vote of thanks to the

tees of the Tremont Temple for their firm and manly course, and for their devotion to the interests of liber-ty and free speech, which was passed by acclamation. Λ gentleman here said, "We may thank Mayor Wightman for all this." To which Mr. Quincy replied-"Mayor Wightman is of no con Wightman." (Laughter.)
Mr. Buffum. Mr. Chair

ious to know whether there is such a man as Gover-nor Andrew ! The Chairman. Let us leave these personal mat-

Mr. WRIGHT then moved that the Society pre o the choice of officers for the ensuing year. Carried.
Mr. May moved that the old list be chosen, and that Mr. Jackson's letter of declination be referred to the Managing Committee of the Society, and that they be requested to invite Mr. Jackson to withdraw his declination, and remain as President, Carried.

The question was then put on the adoption of the

resolutions submitted by Mr. Phillips on Thursday norning, and they were carried unanimously.

Mr. May then read the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in the death of the Rev. Dr. CHARLE ork of redeeming our country from the sin and the shame slavery. We mourn his departure, for he was a truly pright, single-minded and Christian man, whose life wa example called us to walk in it; and now that we can see his face no more, we would invoke a double portion of his rit to be with us, in these days of our nation's vacillation

The resolution was adopted unanimously. Rev. ADIN BALLOU, of Hopedale, offered the fol

Resolved, That this Society has aimed at nothing, pr

sed nothing, and done nothing, but what is in strict ac rdance with love to God and all mankind.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of th At a meeting of the board of sanagers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, on Saturday, January 26th, it was voted that the following Preamble and Resolutions be adopted, and published with the proceedings of the Annual Meeting, at which they were intended to be presented:—

Resolved. That this Society cordially adopts, as special

people, above all others, the cause of human freedom; that we are called to the high office of manifesting the power of free institutions to ennoble and bless a people; and that in proving false to this trust, we shall not only cast away our wn happiness, but shall betray the interests of the humar ace, and shall deserve the condemning sentence of all na-ons and of future times.

ently and passively abandon any portion of ou

—"appeal to the State and country."

Mr. Ballov. I think Massachusetts is included in the phrase "civilized world." (Laughter.)

A Voice. I move to amend by making the Mayor alone responsible for the riot. He was the real cause, and the mob were only his tools.

Anornes. I move to make it read "the Mayor and his mob."

Somebody moved to amend by an insertion that "the Mayor has done his duty."

Somebody moved to amend by an insertion that "the Mayor has done his duty."

ANOTHER. I move to make it read "the Mayor and kis mob."

Somebody moved to amend by an insertion that "the Mayor has done his duty."

THE CHAIRMAN. What is your name, sir!

GENTIEMAN. My name is John Davies, of the Boston Museum.

The CHAIRMAN stated that this was a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and that only members of that Society could submit motions or vote, though any one was at liberty to speak.

Mr. Davies thereupon frankly apologized, stating that he had supposed the meeting a public one, or he abould not have offered his amendment.

Mr. Quinor then remarked that it was desirable to conclude their basiness as soon as possible, inasmuch as they could not tell how soon the mob might pay that room a visit, and there were many tenants in the building whose rights should be respected and cared for. He hoped, therefore, the several amendments which had been suggested would not be pressed. No further remarks being offered, the question was put, and the resolution of Mr. Ballou adopted.

It was stated that there were several other resolutions which it was desired to present to the Society, but, in view of the circumstances, it was not thought advisable to occupy time by reading them; is hercupon a motion was made, and carried, that all remaining the resolutions be referred to the Hoard of Managers, to be inserted in the proceedings of the meeting, if they think best.

The meeting then adjourned, size die.

m of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which, revies her "Discipline," (in the quadrennial remos which met at Euffalo, N. Y., in 1800,)

MASS. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, (

# The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1861.

#### SPECIAL NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Delinquent subscribers for the past year,-that is spectfully requested to remember our STANDING RULE by which their papers will be discontinued after February 1, 1801, unless payment for the same be previously sent in. We shall be extremely sorry to lose a single subscriber in this manner, especially at this crisis in our national affairs; but, as our printed terms indicate that payment is to be made in advance, we are sure it, instead of rigidly exacting it, we allow (as we do) a credit of thirtee amounts to delinquents, they can have no cause of complaint when their papers are stopped

#### BOSTON UNDER MOB LAW-MAYOR WIGHT. MAN ENFORGING IT.

that the approaching annual meeting of the Massa-chusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in this city, would be riotously assaulted, in consequence of its official out-lawry in advance by Mayor Wightman, and the malignant efforts of the Courier to sur-up every vile and brutal in opposition to its proceedings, we anticipated was more than realized on The to do their worst, with an assurance that they could do so with impunity, rowdies and rufflans of every gamblers, pickpockets, &c. &c., and during the fore-moon and aftermoon of the first day were allowed to enact scenes to be paralleled only in Pandemonium— bellowing like beasts, hissing like serpents, yelling like fiends, full of whiskey and blasphemy, lost to all sense of decency, and writhing like the demons of old in the Wendell Phillips, Thomas Wentworth Higginsor Charles C. Burleigh, George H. Hoyt, all were hisse and howled at alike; and an audience of two the sand men and women, such as only Massachusetts ca

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the cit ton, would not have been disgraced by an a put down by brute force a legal meeting of Mr. Parker then read the bill as follows:—

A Bill to Ensure and Protect the Freedom of Speech.

SECTION 1. Chapter 164 of the General Statutes, end.

d. "Of Offences against the Public Pence," be and
reby so amended that the Governor of the Commonweal

all, at the request of twelve or more citizens of any of
town of this State, who desire to hold a lawful publ.

stempted to break up the meeting were the representatives of "law and orter," and the champtons of the Christian faith and of "our glorious Union".

Neither M. Richard S. Fay now, M. A. Morray, However was seen among the rioters. They did not darp greatent themselves, but, doubless, were active a surjective patient belonging the property of the seen and the seed and

Mr. Browell, of Westport, had voted to allow the use of the hall to the same parties in 1868, and he was not afraid to do so again.
Mr. Dexx, of Pawtucket, presumed that there was but one opinion in the House upon the subject of free speech. He helicard.

to prevent such a meeting.

Mr. Kinsalt., of Lynn, moved the previous tion, which was ordered, yeas 113, nays 48.

The roll was then called, and the von was rec as follows:—

follows:— Ynas, 69; Navs, 138; Ausuvr, 84. So leave to introduce the Resolve was refused. Journal and Traceller of Saturday.

THE ANNUAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL was held in Music Hall, in this city, on Wednesday evening, last week, and was attended by choice company of more than two thousand pe-ons, drawn from various parts of the Commonwealt In every respect, it was successful beyond the mos sanguine expectations. A full account of it will ap

SYRACUSE, (N. Y.) January 29.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING ITS SYRACUSE. The hawhere the Abolitionists were to hold their Convention was taken possession of by a body of men whose a rangements had been preconcerted. The hall was the rangements had been preconcerted. The hall we seene of confusion all the afternoon, and there riotous crowd about the building to-night. The fr of Anti-Slavery intend to hold a meeting to-no but there is an evident intention to break it up.

Annual New York State Anti-Stavery Convention will 1 held at Albany, in Association Hall, Moullay evening Tucsday and Wednesday afternoon and evening, Feb. 4, 16. Hon, Gerrit Smith, Lucretia Mott, Rev. Beriah Greez Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth Cady Stanlon, Oliver Johnson, Rev. S. J. May, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthon and others will address the Anthon

and others will address the Convention.

Afternoon sessions will commence at half-past 2 o'clock

WORCESTER SOUTH A. S. SOCIETY .- The as

unal meeting of this Society will be held in Washbur hall, Worcester, on Sunday, Feb. 10. A. T. Foss, Sanuel May, Jr., S. S. Fosten, H. Fos Douglass, and others, will be present. The public condially invited. JOSIAH HENSHAW, Presid

H. FORD DOUGLASS, an Agent of the Massetts Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold m

por count read of the count re

THE PRESENT CRISIS

eed is done for Freedom, through the bi

gh the walls of hut and palace sh

neous three,
While the travall of the Ages wrings earth's sy

And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child leaps beneath the

So the Erll's triumph sendeth, with a terror and a chill Under continent to continent, the sense of coming ill; And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels his sympal with God

crawls round unburied, delving in th

mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along, and the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or

In the gain or loss of one race, all the rest have equal

ee to every man and nation comes the moment to de the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or me great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the

bloom or blight,

Parts the goals upon the left hand, and the sheep
the right, the choice goes by forever 'twixt' that darking that light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party th

Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes against our land? Though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth

throng Troops of beautiful tall angels to enshield her fro

That like peeks of some sunk continent jut through Oblivi

na's sea ; Not an ear in court or market for the low, foreboding cry

see Crises, God's stern winnowers, from who earth's chaff must fly; shows the choice momentous till the judgme passed by. Careless seems the great Avenger; History's pages

Cord
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and
the Word;
Truth forever on the seaffold, Wrong forever on the throne—
Yet that seaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim
number of the seaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim

Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his

We see dimly in the Present what is small and what i great; of faith how weak an arm may turn the iron hele

List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphi

"They enslave their children's children who make

Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops, fellest of the giant bi Sons of brutish Force and Darkness, who have dren

the earth with blood, shed in his self-made desert, blinded by our purer day Gropes in yet unblasted regions for his miserable prey :-Shall we guide his gory fingers where our helpless chil-

Then to side with Truth is noble when we also

iched crust, see bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosp be just ; Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stand

Doubting in his abject spirit till his Lord is crucified.

stood alone, While the men they agonized for hurled the cont

ne, and down the future saw the golden

By the light of burning heretics, Christ's bleeding feet I

On the morrow crouches Judas, with the cilver in his ha Far in front the cross stands ready, and the crackling for

While the hosting mob of yesterday in silent awe return To glesn up the mured ashes into History's golden urn.

The as easy to be heroes as to sit the idle slayes Of a legendary virtue carved upon our fathers' graves ; Worthippers of light ancestral make the present light a

ayllower launched by cowards, steered by men Turn those tracks toward Past or Puture, that make Ply-mouth Rock sublime?

They were men of present valor, stalwart old toonoclasts, Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that all virtue was the Pasi's; But we make their truth our fateshood, thinking that hath made us free. Hoarding it in mouldy parchments, while our tender spirite

The rude grasp of that great Impulse which drove them

They have rights who dare maintain them; we are trailers

od sires, ing in their holy ashes Freedom's new-lit alter fires: -- Shall we make their creed our jailor? Shall we in our

haste to slay,

From the tembs of the old prophets steal the funeral lamps eway, To light up the martyr-fagots round the prophets of to-day?

ons teach new duties; Time makes ancient good occasion remiconthi;
must upward sill, and onward, who would keep
abress of Truth!
abress of glass her camp-fires! we ourselves must pilabres us glass her camp-fires!

h our Mapitorer, and reco-persio winter sea, thomps the Putare's perial with the Part's blood runted

The Liberator.

SLAVERY OR ANTI-SLAVERY?

The Methodist Church is one of the chief mem-bers of that group of American churches which are the great bulwark of slavery. But since many Methodists say, in reply to this allegation, first, that it is the Methodist Church South which maintains sla-very, and next, that the Northern division revised its Discipline upon this point only last year, it is necessa-ry to show that though both these allegations are true, neither of them proves what it is assumed to reprery to show that though both these allegations are true, neither of them proves what it is assumed to prove. There is a difference between the church South and the church North upon this subject, and it is this: The former actively upholds slavery, defending and praising it. The latter passedy upholds it, by tolerating it; by letting many slaveholders remain in its clutches, in regular standing; by carefully avoiding the word slaveholding in its prohibitory clauses, substituting for it a circuitous form of words which has always been interpreted so as to allow the continuance of slaveholding; by expressly allowing the odious system of caste to be maintained in regard to "colored preachers and official members"; and by expressly declaring, in the Appendix, that the strongest of its expressions of censure against slavery are not obligatory upon the members, but only "advisory."

not congacry upon the memers, out only more sery."

I will speak, as briefly as possible, of both these matters; the division of the Church, and the revision of the "Discipline."

I. The division of the Methodist Church in this

country into South and North.

This division was not made by the act of the Northern Church, but of the Southern.

This division was not made by the act of the Northern Church, but of the Southern.

The Southern Church seceded, because their Northern brethren would not consent that the Bishops should hold slaves. It was on this question only that the separation was made. Not only did the great body of Northern Methodists never attempt to prevent ordinary church-members from holding slaves, but they allow them to do this now in their own division of the

pline" of the Northern Church and by its actual practice, In the revision of this Discipline, made by the quadrennial "General Conference," which met last year at Buffalo, N. Y., a minority tried to intro condemnation of slaveholding. The Conferen cessfully resisted this attempt, and expressed what they wished to say about slavery in two places, as fol-

1. Among the "General Rules," (p. 30,) Metho

"The buying and selling of men, women and children with an intention to enslave them." 2. The "Chapter on Slavery" (p. 266) reads a

"ILLVIII."

Quest.—What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of alavery?

We declare that we are as much as ever convisions of the great spil of slavery. We believe that the buying acilling or holding of human beings, to be used as chattles, is conting to the laws of God and matter, and inconsistent with the Golden Rules, and with that Role in our Discipline which requires all who desire to continue among us to "do no harm," and to 'avoid evil of every kind." We therefore affectionately admonish all our preschers and people to keep themselves pure from this great evil, and to seek its extirpation by all lawful and Christian means."

These two passages comprise all that is said abous slavery in the body of this book. Two questions now arise: Were these provisions meant to forbid and prevent slaveholding?—and, Do they actually accomplish the exclusion of slaveholders from good and regular standing in the Northern Methodist Church?

As to the first of those americans. As to the first of these questions—

3. In the "Appendix" (p. xvii.) we fine

ing explanation of something that took place in the "General Conference"; an explanation which makes course leaves it to the choice of mem they will follow or disregard the advice.

"Whereas, during the pendency of the Chapter on Slavery, the following amendment was offered as explainatory of the chapter: Provided, that this section is understood to be only advisory.

Resolved, That and amendment was rejected by this body because we regard the chapter in itself so clearly declaratily and advisory as not to require any such explanation."—Journal 1860, p. 261.

Next, as to the question whether slaveholders are nectually kept out of the Northern division of the

Methodist Church—

4. In the "Boundaries of the Annual Conferences," (pp. 245 to 265.) we find the following slaveholding States, and parts of States, in this Northern Division: "Baltimore Conference" (p. 245) includes part of

the State of Maryland. the State of Maryland.

"East Baltimore Conference" (p. 248) includes part
of the State of Maryland.

"Kentucky Conference shall include the State of

Kentucky, excepting so much of that State as is in cluded in the Western Virginia Conference,"—[p. 263 "Missouri and Arkansas Conference shall includ the States of Missouri and Arkansas."—(p. 254.)

"Philadelphia Conference" (p. 258) includes the whole of Delaware, and parts of Maryland and Virginia. "Western Virginia Conference" (pp. 251-2) in-cludes part of Virginia and part of Kentucky. In every one of these Conferences, Methodist thurch-members continue to hold, buy and sell staves. 5. In respect to caste, the daughter and the efficient

"Our Colored Preachers and official members shall have all the privileges which are usual to others in Quarterly Conferences, where the usages of the country do not for-

Where the usages of the country do not forbid it! Is

ward corruption !- that "the light of the world" ad-

"THOMAS A. MORRIS, EDMUND S. JANES, LEVI SCOTT, MATTHEW SIMPSON, OSMON C. BAKER, EDWARD R. AMES."

then provide creed, as here by

Kirke, then pray let all these gentlemen, and the profession they represent, on a subject so momentous

ires us the arguments, pro and con, that we, the led

give us the arguments, pro and con, that we, the taught, the instructed, may be able "to giv son for the faith that is in us."

If "infidel," "rituperative" abolitionists, ated" men and women who trust to the gul their own simple minds and honest hearts, rat to the maxims of politicians and a hard theology beautified to the local tables as a bard the a literal hell, we may now be compelled to acknowledge a literal system of oppression, engineered by god no less complexous for his demoniscal ambitities than the arch-flend himself. If Drs. Palmer and Vandyke are doctors of Southern divinity, the may be that their god and our devil are identical

defined in future.

It is to be hoped that the clergy will feel free to discuss this great subject hereafter, from their point of
view. If they do not, then they must not complain
if "infidel" abolitionists continue to work on in their if "infide!" abolitionists continue to work on in their way, to rid both the American Church and State of the one great obstacle to success. As the breach widens between the two sections of country, thoughting people are beginning to see that a union between freedom and slavery is simply impossible. Every day will strengthen this conviction; and it is time honest men should feel themselves at last compelled to use their influence to induce such action as shall best comport with a truth so plain. It is inexcusable in any class of men whose professional habits fit them investigation, to withhold a candid consideration this great question. Every man who traces our pre-ent divisions to the discussion or "agitation" of the agitation would have taken place if the fact, in all its personal liberty bills are but the remote effects of a cause, which it is a duty to examine, and, if possible to remove. Can any rational man full to see that there is but one cause of present allenation between North and South? Geographical position, commerce climate, race, literature, religion, can furnish no solu-tion of the difficulty. But for slavery, and this alone the mission of this great country would be fulfilled, in a successful demonstration of the theory of self-gov a successful demonstration of the theory of self-gov ernment. Abolitionism has seen this; and when i has uttered the voice of warning, the cry has been 'Crucify it!" The future historian will do this mov-

this great evil, during the last ten years, the car our present troubles would be far better understo our present troubles would be far better understood by all classes of men; and it is possible that, in addition to a hearty conviction of the wrong of slavery, we should now be anxiously considering, in the spirit of amity, a plan for the sholition of alavory which would commend tiself to a distracted country. If it be not too late, let clergymen of all denominations seri-ously consider what they may do, in future, to throw light on this subject, as moral and religious

Whatever disasters may come upon us now, we d not despair of having a Union, not indeed of free an slave States, but such a Union as may well take place when slavery shall have been heartily acknowle as a wrong, and the resources of the country r available to devise and peaceably to execute a which shall do justice to all parties, while it ride ountry of the great cause of all our woes. If "de spotic" Russia can liberate 40,000,000 of serfs, cannot republican America liberate 4,000,000 slaves? Let the wise and the good of all sections of the countr

#### LETTER FROM WILLIAM ROBSON, ESQ

WARRINGTON, (Eug.,) Jan. 5, 1861. My Dear Sir,—Your abolition summer is verily at hand. Your harvest is ripening apace. How amazing the progress of the last (wo years! The Lord in mercy, to save your whole people from a spiritual corruption, without parallel since the days of Noah, has given forth his flat, and America, like the winds has given forth his fait, and America, like the winds and the waves of old, unconsciously obeys. I saw when I was with you, that a separation of the States must be the first fruits of your emancipation labors, and would precede the end. It remains now to be seen how long sheer diabolism can be associated for its own ends. I do not believe in the power of evil to conscious for the property of the first own code. ciate for any harmonic purpose. The kingdom of the devil must end upon the earth; and now, as of old purblind by selfishness, pride and malice, he helps on his own destruction in a separated South.

I believe in a separation of the States as ble, because I feel that if I were a Southerner, go for it myself. In Southern light, separation is seen as a triumph; in Northern light, as a disaster; and yet the end will prove that both South and North, in dreases to thick darkness?

The "Discipline," containing all this evidence of fold emancipation. In the South, it will culminate in the tolerance of slaveholding and costs in the Northern
Methodist Church, is signed with the names of the
Bishops, as follows:—

tearing off the shackles from the body of the slave,
in the North, it will culminate in dissolving the spiritual shackles which bind and cramp the souls of your "THOMAS A MORRIS, EDWAND S. JANES,
LEVI SCOTT. MATTHEW SIMPSON,
OSMON C. BAKER, EDWAND R. AMES."

John Wesley said that slavery is "the sum of all villany."

The Methodist Church South say that slavery is right and good.

If one of three may be called "hot," and the other "cold," then the Northern Methodist Church is "lakewarm," for it takes this mean and evasive in termediate position.—

It refuses to forbid slaveholding, but, instead, and vice its members not to buy and sell men, women and children, with an intention to enslave them.

On the other hand—

It refuses to vote that the "Chapter on Slavery" is only advisory, but, instead, declares that this was refused 'because we regard the chapter in itself so clearly declarative and advisory as not to require any such explanation."—c. x. w.

THE PRESIDENT'S FAST AND THE PULPIT

Whether President Buchanan, when he appointed a public fast, was heathen enough to suppose that the Creater of the universe would make an exception of us, any more than of any other wicked people who run counter to unswerving justice, we cannot tell. We have nothing to do with James Buchanan's theory of piety. If his proclamation was moved by a sincered the content of our coasts." But His mercy is ever over these; and, in the light of African Emancipation, of the American pulpit an ortensible reason for speaking out for once, on the great national size.

That the pulpit has been altogether too silent, on this subject, there can be no doubt. Is there any good in the court of the current year.

The tentance of the Corn Laws. There is could have separated their fortunes from the result is proved to be a gain to all parties. Your slaveholders can separate, and will. It is the inevitable result of their position, and conditions; and the coming of the Lord draweth night are refused, with an intention to enslave them.

On the other hand—

THE PRESIDENT'S FAST AND THE PULPIT

Whether President Buchanan, when he appointed a public fast, well but he does not an other them.

The country to break in freest men. Injustice is always blind. In our Free Trade struggle, our landholders were your South They prophesied and believed in, after a fashion, thei

ignominy. One heroic man guorines an age; ance you have one Nontaman extant amongst you, whether Boston believes it or not. Please to give him, with my kind remembrance, my acknowledgment of the debt I owe him for his noble defence of free speech in the Music Hall in Boston. His burning and scathing the Music Hall in Boston. His ourning and scanning words must have gone, red-hot, into the souls—if they have any—of his puny opponents. He reminds me of those old Homeric warriors, who, single handed, were strong enough to meet and vanquish a host of opposing myrmidons.

opposing myrmidons.

I am already beginning to speculate what the Abo litionists and the American Abolition Society will do when the whole of the South has formed a confede when the whole of the South has formed a consequency on the diabolic principle of slaveholding—and I do not see my way clear to any conclusion. Will you, as our Anti-Corn Law League, dissolve yourselves, as a Society, when you have freed yourselves and your national States from all complicity with the abominable sin !—or, if not, what will you do! W. R.

### LETTER FROM MES. J. S. GRIFFING.

SALEM, (Ind.) Dec. 16th, 1861. SALES, (Ind.) Dec. 16th, 1861.

To THE EDITOR: — My time, for the last three weeks, has been devoted to Lagrange, Noble and Steuben Counties in northern Indiana. This is, I think, more than an average of the Anti-Slavery sentiment of the State, being opposed to all compromises with the South, upon any other ground than the abolition of Slavery. The people here and elsewhere, in these Western States, begin to read the logic of denying the right of property in man, and opposing all constitutional amendments that recognize or protest such property. They understand Slavery to be the cause of the present revolution, and its abolition the only trans of peace. They do not comprehend the necessity or the practicability of coercing the Southnecessity or the practicability of coercing the South-ern States back into the Union to recover the damage that we have suffered from Slavery, and its legitimate robberies, nor to preserve our honor abroad, to which we can never have less just claim than while main-taining a Union whose chief bond is Chattel Slavery. So the people almost unanimously say, Let them go, and don't ask us to throw away money or life to and don't ask us to throw away money or life to bring them back. The loss of all they have taken is much less than the cost of recovery, leaving human life out of the question, and is, periaps, not more than our share of the expenses of abolishing Slavery, which the South tell us is the absolute result of coer-cion.

intelligently opposed to Slavery, and dev pers of the higher Law of Freedom, the immediate emancipation is almost unlimited and uni-versal; and they are instructing their Representatives fit of the doubt expressed heretofore by lovers of Freedom, and now by lovers of Slavery, whether the Constitution gives any guaranty to Slavery that does or can make it secure in the States or the Terridoes or can make it secure in the States or the Terri-tories of the Union. The women also demand to be heard in their remonstrance against the use of their money, their husbands and sons, to coerce South Carolina into the Union, and to desolate the country with a civil war, without a true purpose or principle. If these petitions and remonstrances are disregarded by the agents and the parties inaugurated to express the will of the people, the North will find enough to do at home, to reconcile the people to their perfidious, cowardly compromise of the clearly expressed senti-ment of their constituents, without going to war to

Slavery meetings, and old men and misidens, young men and smothers, come out, and Petitions, Resolu-tions, Remonstrances, overflowing houses, and gen-eral agitation, are the order of the day.

villages and county seats, trembling for their craft, and denying the rights of the slave, are playing the tyrant over the dupes whom they have subjugated; and in the spirit of mob law and ruffian insolence prevent the agitation of the question as far as nossible. went the agitation of the question, as far as possible, throughout their empire.

The people will not always submit to this sickly,

wealth, being denied the use of the Churches, Halls, and Court House, at the County seat, for an Anti-Slavery meeting, threw off his Quaker hat and coat—and, assuming the spirit of resistance, declared that, coat what it might Free Speech should not be dealed cost what it might, Free Speech should not be denied in his County. And after three days the Court House was opened, and the people thoroughly notified of the opposing forces, and their sames, filled the house, and entered fint a defiant legge to maintain Freedom of Speech, and opposition to Slavery.

The existence of Slavery will never cease in this country without this resolute determination on the

My best love and warm sympathy to all old friends, wherever I am not forgotten, and especially to yourself, Mrs. Garrison, and other dear ones at home, in which my wife joins; and believe me, in the bonds of true Christian love.

Very truly yours.

W. ROBSON.

Warnisoron, (Eng.,) January 8, 1861.

I see the work of secession goes on bravely, and rejoice to see it. I only hope there will be enough of manifises in the North to leave the seceding States to go their own way, to their own place, without any attempt at compromise on the one hand, or any blood-shedding on the other. I confess I have not much fear of the fighting, because it is quite clear to me that raising sufficient funds to equip an army of eighty or one hundred thousand men would be impossible, and any smaller force would be sure to be beaten, in an armed contest between the States. As a rule, small invaling forces are prestit meady always heaten.

Lowell, Jan. 23d, 1861.

Translated from the Boston Pionier, [German,] of Jan. 17 A SURE WAY TO SAVE THE UNION.

-(Southern Representative of 'Law').-

Sharp—(Southern Representative of 'Law').—I have come here to settle with you for the outrages you have committed upon my rights.

Stupid.—(Northern Representative of 'Liberty').—Lord fove you! I never meant to violate your rights. I am a friend to the Union and the Constitution.

Sharp.—You have violated the Constitution by bringing in question my right to my property.

Stupid.—Nay, I believe in it in your State.

Sharp.—What is of value in my State must also be in yours, for the Constitution protects property throughout the Union. But you believe in an irre-pressible conflict.

throughout the Union. But you believe an according pressible conflict.

Stapid.—You misrepresent me. Slavery becomes a subject of difference only when it leads to a lust for

a subject of difference only when it leads to be power.

Sharp.—Indeed! You will presently make it out that sickness is an evil only when it deprives us of health. Stay at home with your empty phrases! I will have my right to slavery as well as to power. Here is a revolver,—what offer will you make!

Stapid.—I did mean, to be sure, that the time for compromises was past, but I was n't thinking of recolumns.

O I'm quite ready for a compromise.

volvers. O, I'm quite ready for a compromise Your property shall be protected, and whoever attack it, hanged.

t, hanged.

Skapid.—You shall have a part of the territories.

Skapid.—You shall have a part of the territories.

Skap.—I must have themsall, if I want.

Skapid.—Slavery shall be sacred in your State.

Skap.—It shall be so in yours too.

Skapid.—I will hunt your slaves, if I may only put or toos.

n gloves.

Stupid.—What more, then, shall I do to appour wrath! I only desire to act for peace

anion. Demand what you will.

Sharp.—My black slaves are not enough for me. I will have white ones, and you shall be the first.

Stupid.—If the Union demands it, so be it; for, be

fore the Union, everything else must give way.

"Sharp.—Come here! let me handcuff you, and, that I may see if you have devotion, patience and courage, lay yourself over that bonch, and I will count out to you half a hundred by way of trial. At every stroke do you cry out, enthusiastically! Hurrah for the Union!

#### A MEANS OF DELIVERANCE.

A.—I am weary of life, and should like much to be anged or killed; but I could be hanged or killed; but I could wish first to commit some act worthy of the gallows. What shall I do? At the South here, it is now a difficult matter to earn for one's self a claim to a halter. We have here

ent possible.

A.—Then I should be elevated, not to the galle

but to the captaincy of the militia. B.—Then commit high treason, and surre self to Mr. Buchanan.

A.—In that case, I should run the risk of beir

nade Minister.

B.-Well, then, go to the free cities,-New York or Boston, for example,—and make a speech again blood-thirsty slavery, and you will be sure of beh killed under the protection of the law, because you "thirst after blood."—Ibid.

# Selections.

MR. SEWARD AND THE LIBERATOR.

MR. SEWARD AND THE LIBERATOR.

"Mr. Seward," says the Daily Advertiser, "escapes the dangerous praise of the Liberator by himpatriotic speech." This strikes us as rather a dangerous remark, in connection with the well known fact that Mr. Summer and Gov. Andrew are never manued by the Liberator but with the most generous and unqualified praise. These gentlemen are to be congratulated for a strength of political constitution which enables them to survive these dangerous does of Abolition praise. The Liberator does not praise Mr. Seward, as will be seen by the following liberal extract from their editorial article commenting upon his recent speech.

We ask our readers to ponder carefully these telling and effective sentences, and to ask themselves whether there is not a good deal of truth as well as of force in them. They serve to show the degree of power which a man like Mr. Garrison wields, who plants himself upon an immutable principle, and hrmly stands there, regardless of consequences. And the power which such a man wields is irrespective of the late whether this principle be right or wrong, wise or unwise. Mr. Garrison's principle is opposition to African slavery. For this alone he lives Slavery is to him not only the greatest of evils, but the only evil. Frankly and boldly he is laboring for the dissolution of the Union, on the ground that it is morally wrong to form any political association with a slaveholding community. To him the Constitution is "a covenant with death and an agreement with helt;" all slaveholders are pirates and minof heroes; and all compromises of moral principle are inadmissible. His path of duty lies as clear be-fore him as the travelled highway. He has no temptation to turn to the right hand or the left. He has no doubts, no misgrings, no questionings. On-ward, straight onward, like the flight of an arrow through the size does have opposing forces, and their sermes, filled the house, and entered into a definat leggue to maintain Freedom of Speech, and opposition to Slavery.

The existence of Slavery will never cease in this country without this resolute determination on the part of the North, to deny the right of its recognition any where—and to declare the right of Freedom every without this resolute determination on the part of the North, to deny the right of its recognition any where—and to declare the right of Freedom every with the part of the North, to deny the right of its recognition any where—and to declare the right of Freedom every without the part of the North, to deny the right of its recognition of the North, to deny the right of its recognition of the North, to deny the right of the recognition of the North, to deny the right of the recognition of the North, to deny the right of the recognition of the North, to deny the right of the recognition of the North in the part of the North in the part of the North in the indicate of the

can party must abandon the principles on which as by which they have achieved success, or this list is at end. Kepublican leaders and Republican tors may disclaim and protest, and abuse her opnoents, and glorify themselves, and prattle also constitution as much as they like. ponents, and glorify themselves, and abuse ther op-their love of the Union and their reverses feets. Constitution as much as they like; but here is as the stand. The PROPLE of the warm, the where we stand. The PROPLE of the warm, the guestion before them is just this: which do yet as question before them is just this: which do yet as fer, the triumph of the Republican party on the un-tinuance of this Union?—Boston Course.

# THE ABOLITION CONVENTION WHICH THE

THE ABOLITION CONVENTION WHOR WAS NOT HELD.

The mountain labored, and brought forth a mouse. Utica labored, and brought forth sets. About half-past two o'clock yesterday afterwart crowd of about fifty persons, possibly seventy agathered at the entrance of Mechanics' Hai a few came there to see; but the mjority be an their countenances the evidence of a stern since their countenances the evidence of a stern since their countenances the preventing several to mot ready to sacrifice life, liberty, and happings in the glorious cause of preventing several individual from giving yent to their "dangerous" abox. the corner, while still others stood to watch the progress of events, persons came and inquired where and why it did not go off; but the ominous tone, that the meeting w as the hall had been refused. A and why it did not go off; but they were told, as a cominous tone, that the meeting would not be let as the hall had been refused. At last, M. Gere and Miss Anthony were seen approaching to they came, passed quietly through the party of me assembled about the doors, and fornally danade admittance to the hall, as they had engaged submitted admittance to the hall, as they had engaged submitted admittance to the hall, as they had engaged submitted and the servength of this engagement, they claimed the fit occupy it, and asked that the doors shall to occupy it, and asked that the doors shall to occupy it, and asked that the best to to discover the hall had deemed it best not to discover the hall had deemed it best not to discover the hall had deemed it best not to discover the hall had deemed it best not to discover the hall had deemed it best not to discover the hall had deemed it best not to discover the hall had finished their conference with the Directors of the hall had off nished their conference with the Director turned to go. Mayor Grove was present, and a prevent and up unpleasant scenes, offered to con Miss Anthony, through the crowd, which had has see the celebrities; but after a time they conclude the grown to the dimensions of over a hundred prese. The rabble followed along behind, assiss is as the celebrities; but after a time they conclude the was to be no row, and, exceedingly disposed, they dispersed.

Thus ended the grand demonstration spins the Abolition Convention. Great efforts hal been asked to get up an agi atin n, and trunedus certise put forth to allay the excitence, and preset and. The consequence was, that there was tested the server the name of fanatics, the abolitionists of the who are so rabbilly opposed to them as to lurner dies and roughts to break up their meeting.

There was no attempt made by the a beliance to hold a meeting elsewhere, as they did not wis to have any trouble with those who oppose then. The demonstration is about on a par with the fresher mob which occurred about a

poor tools themselves.

It gives us pleasure to say, that so far as we know, Mayor Grove's course in the matter has been creditable to him as an officer and a man. Stell McKown also had made such preparations after came an officer charged with the enforcement of the laws.—Utica Herald, Jan. 15.

### A BAD PRECEDENT.

It is not to be regretted that the Abditionist fill not hold their Convention here as announced. The cause of regret is, the demonstration of a most spirit; that elects itself censor of what shall and shall not be said. The Directors of the Mechanic shall not be said. The Directors of the Mechanis' Association acted prudently in refusing the use division to their hall, when it became evident that the mode would take possession of it if the Convention were admitted. The Common Connoi certainly usurped a power which they had no more right to exercise than they have to the prerogatives and printleged of Brigham Young, when they assumed to exposite their "disapprobation" of the proposed gathering. Any censorship of speech would be interable; but of all censorships, savé us from that of the Common Council.

Council.

But the secret gathering by which it was resided that this Convention should be presented, as the most dangerous thing as a precedent that coal we be devised. A secret meeting, called by asia headed "confidential" and signed "timos" or headed "confidential" and signed "linon" we vened in a private law-office, to prevent a pube Convention, is a step in despotism that cancil to tolerated. The prominent men, to when the pop le have shown favor, and who have sworn for port the laws, attack by such proceedings the trouble of the laws, attack by such proceedings the trouble of the laws, attack by such proceedings the in comparison with which the fanaticism of the perspectation few is harmless. At that meeting was were taken which led to the special meeting the Council, though the Mayor refused to call it. I was there that we commission was effected for were taken which led to the special meeting of he Council, though the Mayor refused to call b, has there that an organization was effected for seizing the control of the Convention if the seizing the control of the Convention if the seizing the self-though the control of the Convention if the seizing the control of the Convention if the seizing the control of the Convention if the seizing the control of the seizing the seizing the seizing the seizing the control of the seizing the

Sincere regret that men, such as some of thes who sat in that conclave are, should be engaged such a movement, will be generally felt, and they hereafter will join in the feeling. We saare thes their conspiracy in its details, with the names of the actors and the advisers, would be sure to came. Utica Herald, Jan. 15.

This Convention was subsequently held in the parlor of Mr. J. DeLong, at Utica, when the fdissing resolutions, offered by Rev. Beriah Gres, was ted:-

Resolved. That at such an hour as this, when its bearing of American Slavery on the character and destiny of our country has awakened general fact cussion among our fellows, we, who have identified ourselves with human nature, may well be the posted to proclaim and commend the countries which, on a subject so momentous, have factors themselves on our inmost spirits.

Resolved, That we rejoice that this we offered in good faith and sober earnest to attempt in the factor of the state of the second of th Resolved. That at such an hour as this, when the