THE LIBERATOR

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TERMS:

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

[*From the Herrigburg Keystone.*]

GENERAL TOWN MEETING—ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

A very numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens of Reading, convened at the court house in this borough, on Monday evening, the 6th inst., in pursuance of the following call:

GENERAL TOWN MEETING.

The citizens of Reading, of all parties, are particularly and earnestly requested to attend a meeting at the court house, on Monday evening, at 7 o'clock, to take into consideration the abolition of slavery.

MANY CITIZENS.

Mr. Charles Kessler called the meeting to order, and nominated Samuel Beard, as President; Anthony Bicker, Andrew Kepner, Jacob Gehr, and George Kline, as Vice Presidents, and Samuel Myers and Dr. A. H. Witman, Secretaries.

On motion, Messrs. J. H. Spayd, Wm. Betz, George M. Keim, Daniel H. Boas, William Bausall, H. B. Crosse, J. W. Roland, John Homan, Wm. Wonder, Dr. Muhlenberg, Wm. H. Miller, C. K. Saeli, John Goodhart, Wm. Lesh, and J. Boyer, were appointed a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting.

The committee, after retiring for some time, reported the following, which were adopted with but one dissenting voice:

Whereas, the peace and safety of the American Union, is based upon the mutual concessions of the different states, in diversity of interests and reservations of rights and principles, constitutionally established, and inviolably to be sustained. And,

Whereas, existence of slavery from the commencement of the government, has been upon the community before the revolution, as well by legislation as from an unavoidable necessity, and now from force circumstances being conspired to the comfort and happiness of a great portion of the citizens of the United States; and,

Whereas, the country is about being agitated by fanatical objections to a constitutional compact, without reference to the manner, or even the prudent consideration of the consequences of immediate abolition, and

Whereas, it is apparent that the course pursued by the heedless and demented zealots with regard to this slavery of the south, has been arrested, will lead to dreadful results, and perpetual delage the country with bloody warfare and barbarous atrocities, and

Whereas, the attempts of superficial religionists to interfere with the domestic establishments of the south, and array one section of the government against another, is an evil greatly to be deplored and deprecated, and will sooner or latter overthrow and demolish the fair fabric of our Union. Therefore,

Resolved, That we repudiate the wild and fanatical schemes and doctrines disseminated by the Abolitionists, as dangerous in themselves, and fraught with evil, not only to the south and west, but also to the very object whose condition they would alleviate.

Resolved, That we cannot unite with, or countenance those persons who are endeavoring to deprive the south of those solemn rights and privileges which pertain to them, and which were granted to them by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That we regard the question of slavery as a matter wholly and entirely belonging to the slaveholding states, who alone reap the benefits and bear the responsibilities of the institution, and who are themselves capable, without foreign interference, of regulating it.

Resolved, that as citizens of Pennsylvania, we assure our brethren of the south, that we will, on all proper occasions, advocate and aid them in the preservation of their rights guaranteed by the sacred character of the Union.

Resolved, That we have just cause for censure, the conduct of certain individuals residing in this borough, who, under the shadow of authority, presented themselves as delegates from Berks county in the convention held at Harrisburg, thereby deceiving said convention and insulting our citizens, who indignantly disclaim any lot or part in its proceedings.

Resolved, That we heartily applaud the overwhelming majority of our legislature who refused to permit the representative chamber to be sullied by the presence of those who are using their efforts to light the torch of servile war throughout the whole of our now prosperous and happy Union.

Resolved, That the effort now making by several legislators, to extend the trial by jury to persons claiming slaves, is an inroad upon the constitutional compact, which will inundate our commonwealth with perjury, and fill our courts with trials, where only result must be the introduction of a worthless class of beings, only tolerated where they are profitable to others, and not equal to the effort of maintaining themselves.

Resolved, That we view with abhorrence and disgust, the sentiments uttered in the abolition convention at Harrisburg, that "the question is long and extensively cherished against our colored brethren, as a matter of fact, which may and ought to be instantly abandoned," inasmuch as we believe the prejudice, if it be one, wisely implanted by nature, and growing with our growth, and strengthening with our strength.

Resolved, That we believe the originators of abolition to be British emissaries and southern nullifiers, the one the enemies of our popular government, the other the advocates of a dissolution of the Union, both uniting in the infamous object of spreading anarchy and division among a hitherto united people.

Resolved, That we deem the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, at this present time, unwise and inexpedient, and that our representatives in Congress be and is hereby instructed to oppose all attempts to interfere with it.

After the reading of the resolutions, the meeting was ably addressed by Gen. Geo. M. Keim, who advocated the principles assumed in them in a peculiarly forcible and happy manner.

On motion, Resolved, That the proceedings be signed by the officers, and a copy thereof be forwarded to our members of Congress.

On motion, Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the papers in Berks county, in the Globe at Washington city, the daily papers in Philadelphia, and in the Harrisburg papers.

The Surplus Revenue.—The Orleans Americanan proposes that the Surplus Revenue be appropriated in payment to the South for their slaves, according to their valuation and let them go *free*.

There are three difficulties attending this proposition.

1st. The government will not consent to make the appropriation. There are too much slavery and abolitionism in the country for such a measure.

2. If compensation were offered the South for their slaves, they would not accept it. They do not wish every to cease.

3d. If the freedom of the slaves were obtained in this way, they would be trodden down among us, or compelled to leave the country, in spite of prejudice or opposition that has grown up with slavery. Their freedom will be worth but little to them until the country are willing to do them justice and the people treat them as men. When this is the case, no compensation will be required for that which has been obtained and held in insignia.

A Bloody Row. A correspondent of the Boston Spectator writes from Portsmouth, under date of Sunday evening: "I have just returned from witnessing one of the wildest scenes of riot and outrage that I ever witnessed in this country. I have barely time to say that the windows of the church were demolished—pistols, clubs, and sword canes were used—and an uproar ensued, otherwise the sheriff, who was on the subject of Slavery, by Professor Cleaveland, in the religious center of the disturbance, I have never made it a condition of my presenting a petition here, from Beasley, that they should add to it, that I believe, I have presented petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District, from Indiana, as seriously entitled to be called such, as the highest statesmen in the land. Sir, I have been presented these petitions, I have carefully said they were from women, and that, to my heart, is a dearer appellation than feeling.

But, Sir, I rest on a still stronger position—that when you establish the doctrine that a slave shall not petition because he is a slave, that he shall not be permitted to cry out, that he shall not be, in a principle subversive of every foundation of liberty, and you cannot tell where it will stop. The next step will be, that the slaveholder will say that the right of petitions will be the matter to be discussed on this floor, and whenever, as in the case of the gentleman from Berks, (Mr. Patton,) any member lifts a name on a petition which shall be signed by a person whom he says he knows to be of bad character, a motion will be made not to receive the petition, or to return it to the slave-holder, as property. The gentleman from Va. (Mr. Patton) says he knows these women, and that they are infamous. How does the gentleman know it? [A laugh.]

[Mr. Patton. I did not say that I knew the women personally. I knew from others that the character of one of them was notoriously bad.]

Mr. Adams. I am glad the gentleman now says he does not know these women, for it he had not disclaimed that knowledge, I might have asked him if he had made these women infamous,—whether it was those of their own color or their masters. I have understood that there are those among the colored people of slaveholding states, who bear the image of their masters. [Great sensation.]

Mr. Glascock of Georgia here went across the Hall to the seat of Mr. Adams, and amidst cries of order, held up to him the petition of the women of Fredericksburg, and read the first name on it, (the writing endorsed "from ladies of Fredericksburg?"

Mr. Adams—Mr. Speaker, I did not designate these persons as being of color. The question is, what is my hand writing, but when I endorsed it and sent it to the table, I did not know or suspect that the petitioners are colored people.

Here then is another limitation to the right of petition. First it is denied to slaves, then to free persons of color, and then to persons of notoriously bad character. Sir, if you do this, if you bring this right as to slaves, you next limit it as to all persons of color, and then you go into inquiries as to the character of the petitioners before you will receive petitions. There is but one step more, and that is to inquire into the political faith of petitioners. Each one must stand up and express as apparent as being infamous, and what becomes of the right of petition? Where and how will the right of petition exist at all, if you put it on these grounds?

A gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Wm. Stewart) to whose candor and generosity on this occasion I offer my tribute of thanks, as it contrasts with the unfeeling and cruel course of others, though disapproving in the strongest terms the pertinacity of zeal which I have so often manifested in behalf of this right of petition, that I should pass a vote of formal censure upon me, because he sees how manifestly incompatible that would be with any freedom of speech in this House. He says, and he is a dignified statesman, that there can be no right to petition, where there is no power to grant the prayer. This is ingenious and plausible; but that gentleman, with his generous heart, knows more pitiful to me than would be the formal censure of others, might excuse me, if I cannot assert to the correctness of his argument. The right of petition is not dependent on the power of granting the prayer of a petition is a very sufficient reason for rejecting that prayer, but it cannot impair the right of the petitioners to pray.

The question of power applies to the authority to grant the petition, but not to the right of the petitioner to present his petition. The power to grant is in other cases a question of most momentous world. In relation to this very matter of slavery, the power to grant the prayer of those who ask for the abolition of slavery in the District, involves the question that divides this House. Ask the gentleman from slaveholding States, in this House, whether they will grant that power. Not one of them will say they have.

[Mr. Graves of Kentucky, who was sitting near Mr. Adams, and who had declared, in this debate, that he held Congress had that power, reminded him of that fact.]

Mr. Adams—Yes, one gentleman from Kentucky has affirmed that Congress has the power to abolish slavery in this District, but very few from slaveholding states will say so, and I do not know what it may cost that gentleman for having uttered such a sentiment. Sir, I ask, what do all the Representatives from Maine, ask the members from Vermont, from Massachusetts, from Rhode Island, from Connecticut, from New York, and from New Hampshire nor New York, until I see how they vote on the question before the House. Ask the representatives from those states if they will not, or their answer will be that Congress has the power.

The ground of the gentleman from Va. who denies the right of petition without the power to grant, is entirely consistent with his opinion that Congress has no power to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia; but, Sir, that is not the opinion of this House, and this House is anti-abolition, by an overwhelming majority. I am so myself, but upon the single question of the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District, there is a great majority of this House in favor of the power.

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Robertson) believes that Congress has no such power, and he denies the right of petition for the exercise of a power which Congress does not possess. Well, Sir, for the sake of the argument I might grant him that he is insane on this point, but conclusion, I would reduce the right of petition to nothing more than the right of the predominant party, for the time being in this House, to receive and lay all petitions from those who held with a minority in Congress, as to the right to exercise any given power, and that is the right of petition. Sir, I ask, in mail it would be reduced to a mere nullity as to its essential characteristic, a supplication from one man in distinctness to another, who he believes, has the power to relieve him. I wish it was in my power to illustrate this principle further, without taking up more of the time of the House than I is tens to do. I will forbear, Sir, to do it, for fear of my doctrine—that the right of petition cannot be limited, by any act of this House, so as to deny the right to simple petition.

In the course of the argument on the right of petition, I should say *debate*. Sir, during three days, the abolitionists in the House have been charged to an almost countless series of resolutions, bearing down upon me, all intended, directly or indirectly, to censure me for asking a question of the Speaker, which the Speaker of this House, of which the House has not yet answered. I will not go through a detail of all these resolutions, with which I have been charged, but I cannot pass by one which like so many eagles upon a dove. I make no account of the cries heard all around, when I asked my Harry P. Cagle, I said, I ask, Sir, if I ought, I am not in the Resolutions. The first resolution to censure me, came from the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Glascock,) and it was a very strong one and was followed by one more bitter, from the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Waddy Thompson,) the latter, I thought too cold for my offence, and was followed by a *modification* from the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Lewis) which the gentleman from South Carolina accepted. I will not enumerate the other, but I will call your attention upon me in quick succession, all reminding me of the exclamation of Dame Quickley,

'O! day and night, but these are bitter words!

But in the midst of the exultation of the gentlemen, for they seemed to be all of two thirds of the House to carry any thing they chose to propose, I was under the necessity of rising, as soon as I could get the floor, and asking the gentleman before they brought me to the reproof to the bar to be censured to amend their resolution, and make it conform to the facts, about which they had no knowledge, and to which in their very great zeal to put me down, to inquire at all. Well, instead of admitting their error into which they had run, without a word from me, I, Sir, I, Sir, I, Sir, I, Sir, took advantage of my explanation of the nature of the paper purporting to come from slaves, and pounced upon me with another resolution charging me with the high crime and misdemeanor, of their own false construction of the contents of the paper, which they assumed to be a petition from slaves for abolition, and that I had *permitted* the House to believe it was true! So I was to be gravely censured for my gentlemen believing, that they had a right to believe, what they did, and that I had never said one word to justify them in believing! But it was soon found that this would not do, and another proposition came from the gentleman from Georgia, which answered the purpose no better, and which he was obliged to withdraw. There came another from the gentleman from Kentucky, (Mr. Graves,) charging a new crime of my part, that I had *permitted* the House to believe that the paper purporting to be from slaves, was a petition from slaves, and that I had not, in the course of the discussion, been at pains to undeceive them. I have never made it a condition of my presenting a petition here, from Beasley, that they should add to it, that I believe, I have presented petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District, from Indiana, as seriously entitled to be called such, as the highest statesmen in the land. Sir, I have presented these petitions, I have carefully said they were from women, and that, to my heart, is a dearer appellation than feeling.

But, Sir, I rest on a still stronger position—that when you establish the doctrine that a slave shall not petition because he is a slave, that he shall not be permitted to cry out, that he shall not, in a principle subversive of every foundation of liberty, and you cannot tell where it will stop. The next step will be, that the slaveholder will say that the right of petitions will be the matter to be discussed on this floor, and whenever, as in the case of the gentleman from Berks, (Mr. Patton,) any member lifts a name on a petition which shall be signed by a person whom he says he knows to be of bad character, a motion will be made not to receive the petition, or to return it to the slave-holder, as property. The gentleman from Va. (Mr. Patton) says he knows these women, and that they are infamous. How does the gentleman know it? [A laugh.]

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loor to an idea.' (Laugh.) I will not say a word upon that charge in the indictment against me. The gentleman from Maine, (Mr. Evans) has so keenly exposed the injustice it deserves, that those who introduced it cannot desire to hear anything more said upon that subject.

Sir, there was, for once in this House, a remarkable unanimity between gentlemen found in opposition to each other on all other questions. A gentleman, whose speeches on this floor have not caused him to be regarded as the most devoted friend of this Administration, (Mr. Waddy Thompson of S. C.) proposed his resolution for censure. A devoted friend of the Administration (Mr. Dromgoole, of Va.) proposed an amendment which the gentleman from S. Carolina accepted at once, and that was to censure the Editor of the Telegraph. What! sir, it was in vain that I rose, and gave the gentlemen the sober advice to attend a little more to their facts. The member I attempted to explain, desired aside all their assumed facts, while! there came another resolution of censure, charging me with trifling with the House. It was not what I did, but what I did *not* do.

I did not get up soon enough, it seems, to show these gentlemen the best way to censure me, and enable them to correct their resolutions which they had brought forward with such zeal and in such rapid succession, but in which, unfortunately for them, there was not one word of truth.

When I say there was not one word of truth in the resolutions of the gentlemen from S. Carolina and Alabama, I do not call in question their veracity. There are no men in whose veracity I would sooner trust my whole life; but I tell them that when they undertake to charge a member of this House, who *never gave* them the slightest cause of offence, with crimes that should draw down upon him the censure of this body, without first ascertaining the facts, they have stepped beyond the bounds of discretion and propriety; and I will give them one of sober advice, that when they come up resolutions to censure me, they should first be careful to pay a little attention to facts.

[This allusion brought Mr. *Lewis* and Mr. *Thompson* on their feet. Mr. *Lewis* of Alabama, said that he came into the House in the midst of the excitement, and on inquiry was told that the gentlemen from Massachusetts, Mr. Adams, had interrupted, to present a petition from slaves. He took it for granted it was a petition for abolition, and it was the first he ever knew he understood that it was a different character. Had he known the object of the petition, he should not have offered the resolution.]

Mr. *Adams*—Sir I very readily admit the explanation of the gentleman. He took for granted what he thought, and he was true. But I do not intend the slightest disrespect to the gentleman. I only take the occasion to give them a little advice, the advice of an old man to ardent young men, to govern their future conduct in this House when they undertake to censure their colleagues. But I want another explanation from the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Waddy Thompson), and I want it now, if the language I find here reported in the Intelligencer as his, is really the expression of his deliberate opinions? [Mr. *Thompson* was on his feet.]

Mr. *Adams*—I shall want an explanation of another matter from the gentleman, and he may explain both when I have stated it fully. I read from the report of that gentleman's remarks in the National Intelligencer:

"Does the gentleman, even in the latitude which he gives to the right of petition, think that it includes slaves? If he does not, he has wilfully violated the rules of the House, and the feelings of its members."

[Mr. Thompson was on his feet again to explain.]

Mr. *Adams*—I have not done yet. There is more of it to come. He then continued reading—]

"Does the gentleman know that there are laws in all the States, and here, for the punishment of those who excite insurrection? I can tell him that there are *other things in Grand Jurisdiction*, and, Sir, the jurors of this District have, as I doubt not they have, proper intelligence and spirit, he may yet be made amenable to *another tribunal*, and we may yet see an incendiary brought to condign punishment."

[Mr. *Waddy Thompson* was now permitted to explain. I knew, he had thought there was no human being who believed that slaves had a right to petition, until he heard with astonishment, that gentlemen on this floor had contended that slaves had a right to petition. As to the other portion of what the gentlemen had read, at the time the remark was made, he (Mr. T.) understood that the paper the gentleman called for contained a petition, or, was a petition from slaves for the abolition of slavery. I did not know the character of the petition. I certainly should not have made those remarks. I take the responsibility, personally and direct, of every one of those expressions so far as they apply to a petition from slaves for the abolition of slavery. I do not now apply it to the gentleman from Massachusetts.]

Mr. *Adams*—The House may take the explanation of the gentleman as they please. There, Sir, stands the sentiment, there is the printed language in which the gentleman threatened me with punishment by a Grand Jury of the District, as a felon and an incendiary, *for words spoken in this House!* I do not remember his language word for word, but I know that if the petition had been for abolition, and I had presented it, he would not only have brought me to the bar to be censured by this House, or have voted to expel me, but he would have called upon my head the vengeance of the Grand Jury of the District! Yes, Sir, he would make a member of this House, for words spoken in this House, amenable to the grand and petit Juries of the District of Columbia! Sir, the only answer I make to such a threat from the gentleman is to invite him, when he returns home to his constituents, *to study a little the first principles of civil liberty!* That gentleman appears here the representative of slaveholders, and I should like to be informed, how many there are of such Representatives on this floor who endorse that sentiment? [I do not, exclaimed Mr. *Underwood* of Kentucky. 'I do not,' was heard from several other voices.] Is it to be tolerated that for any thing a member says or does on this floor, though it were blasphemy or treason, he is to be held accountable and punished by a grand and petit jury of the District, and not by this House? If that is the doctrine of the slaveholding Representatives on this floor, let it in God's name go forth, and let us see what the people of this nation think of such a sentiment and of those who make such an avowal.

Mr. *Wise* of Virginia rose—Does any man say he will endorse that sentiment for the South?

Mr. *Adams*—I only ask the members of the South who will endorse it, now it. I want the country should know who they are.

Mr. *Wise*—I will not endorse it. If I believed that the members of this House were amenable in any way as such, to the Juries of this District, I would not hold a seat here for one moment. Sir, this petty tribunal of the District, to which it is suggested the people of the United States, in the persons of their representatives, are to be held amenable, is instituted under the dictatorship of the President, and is selected by an officer of his appointment, have we not seen the Executive dictating to the Senate, and to this House, and calling upon members to purge themselves of contempt?

Mr. Waddy Thompson was brought up again. He referred, he said, to the laws of S. Carolina, and by those laws, if any member of the Legislature should present a petition from slaves he would be liable to indictment by a Grand Jury.

Mr. *Adams*—That only go for a slaveholding Legislature, to help out the gentleman, and if it is the law of South Carolina that the members of her Legislature are held responsible to petit and grand juries for words spoken in debate, God Almighty receive my thanks that I am not a citizen of South Carolina. [I does not, exclaimed Mr. Wise of Carolina rose, apparently to explain this subject.]

Mr. *Adams*—waiving his hand. I cannot yield the floor to that gentleman. Sir, in Great Britain, which we call a monarchy, the legislative body corresponding to this House, the Commons, cannot elect their Speaker without the approbation of the King. Suppose, Sir, a member of this House should propose to send a message to the President for his approval of our choice of a Speaker? What would be the result? Sir, we should be laughed by Representatives themselves? Then would be the time, if ever, to send the member who should make such a proposition, to the Grand Jury.

Well, Sir, the first act of the Speaker chosen by the British Commons, subject to the approval of the King, is to demand of the King freedom of speech, for the Commons, and that the King should submit to the Grand Juries of Westminster to settle it.

I will not take up the time of the House on this point, but I cannot express the astonishment with which such a doctrine, such a threat, will be regarded when it shall go forth in this debate, to all the non-slaveholding states—amazement that the moment it was uttered, it was instantaneously rebuked by the Speaker from the Chair; Sir, if I ever could bring my mind to censure a member of this House for any language spoken in debate, I should conceive of nothing more deserving it, than such a real, gross contempt of the House as this. What! sir, the members of this House, the Representatives of this whole nation, amenable to a Grand Jury of this District for words spoken in this House! Representatives from New England, from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the free western States, amenable to Grand Juries of the District of Columbia for their acts as Representatives! liable to be tried as felons and punished as incendiaries, for presenting or *giving color to the idea!* that they may present petitions not exactly agreeable to certain gentlemen from the South! Sir, if that is the condition upon which we hold our seats here, and exercise our functions as the representatives of our constituents, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Wise) has anticipated me in what I had to say; and that is, that if Grand Juries, constituted as they are, will be here; if they are to be made the avengers of whatever may be said or done in this House, how long will it be before the gentlemen from South Carolina (Mr. Waddy Thompson) will have to answer before a Grand and Petit Jury of the District, as an incendiary, for words spoken here against slaveholding? And I ask him with what firmness or freedom he could resist Executive power, if for every word he uttered, he was liable to be made amenable to a Grand Jury, selected by the Marshal, an officer appointed by the President? Let that gentleman, let every member of this House, ask his own heart, with what confidence he could, in the face of the world, freedom, with what firmness, he would give utterance to his opinions on this floor if for every word, for a mere expression, he was liable to be indicted for a question belonging to human freedom, to the rights of man, he was liable to be tried as a felon and an incendiary, and sent to the Penitentiary. And this jury, selected by an officer of the President, are to be the supreme Judges of the sovereign American people, the guardians of their Representatives? Such is the avowed doctrine of the gentleman from South Carolina; such are his notions of freedom of speech and of civil liberty!

I have detained the House on this topic, and will abridge what I had to say of other matters brought into this debate. I might, perhaps, have been willing to have had the sentiment I have just taken on this question to censure me, without saying one word; but it was impossible for me to remain silent without calling on the gentlemen to mark and note the sentiment avowed by the gentlemen from South Carolina. I could not pass over such a sentiment utterred on this floor, and say it ought to have been, at once put down by the Speaker.

Sir, I do not know how far the Southern gentlemen will endorse that sentiment. Probably I never shall know. But I have said and now have had time to say, has been called for by an imperative sense of duty, as I regard it, when such a threat as this has been uttered, though by but a single member of this House.

Did the gentleman think he could frighten me from my purpose by his threat of a Grand Jury? If that was his object, let me tell him *he mistook his man*. I am not to be frightened from the discharge of a duty by the indignation of the gentleman from South Carolina, nor by all the Grand Juries in the Universe. The right by which the national Representatives hold his seat here, is of vital importance, and, that it may be maintained, I hope that this debate will go forth and be read by the whole people, and that, among other remarkable things, they will read this *threat* of the gentleman from South Carolina.

Sir, we have heard much of the great superiority of Anglo-Saxon blood. I there was never a drop of that blood in his veins, who will subscribe to this doctrine of the member from South Carolina? Are the principles of freedom by which to regulate the deliberations of a Legislative Assembly? I ask any member of this House what he thinks would be the result if a member of the British House of Commons should rise in his place, and tell another member that for words spoken there he should be held accountable to a Grand Jury of Westminster? Sir, it would be considered too ridiculous for indignation: it would be received with one universal shout of laughter, and from incredulous amazed the author of such a measure to be held up,

> '*Sacred* to ridicule his whole life long,
> And the *sad burden of some merry song.*'"

(Laughter.)

Arraigned, as I have been, Mr. Speaker, on such a variety of charges, bringing their ground in such rapid succession, it has been impossible to make my defence with any system or order. All the charges are unavoidably disjointed. Whenever my accusers presented *the color of an idea*, before I could fix it, it was gone, and other ideas of another character presented in its stead. The gentlemen have performed their parts here like those persons known in theatrical companies by the name of *quick change*. They have assumed many characters in the same play, and changed their dresses so often, that you never know it is the same actor that comes in, in so many different parts, all so unlike. Sir, it has been in the rapid changes of the gentlemen, who, in a variety of characters, have arraigned me as a criminal to be brought to the bar, on the charge of gross contempt, '*for giving color to an idea!*' How can I reply to such a charge, or how defend myself against the allegation of such a crime? Sir, the attempt was made to bring down upon my head, the indignation and censure of this House; a calamity, sir, which I should regard as the heaviest misfortune of a long life, checked as it has been by my unavoidable vicissitudes. Yes, sir! I, even, that if a vote of censure should pass upon my name, for any act of mine in this House, it would be the heaviest of all calamities that have ever befallen me.

Sir, am I guilty, have I ever been guilty of contempt to this House? Have I ever forfeited the honor of this House as a cherished sentiment of my heart? Have I not respected this House as the Representative of the Sovereignty of the American Union? Have I ever been regardless of the great representative principle of the people, here exhibited? Have I ever been wanting, as a member of this body, in a proper *esprit du corps?* Have I not defended the honor of this House on more than one occasion? Have I not, when I felt it my duty so to do, to vindicate members of this House from the charge of being susceptible to bribery and corruption, a charge among the foul crimes to which the majority were most devoted? Have I not defended this House from charges from another quarter, to which I wish no further to allude? And am I now to be arraigned, and held to the bar of this House, or for not doing what I did not do, under pretence of a contempt of this House, in an act which was done from motives of the purest and highest respect to this House? for never, in any act of my life, did I more consult the respect due to this House, than in proposing to the gentleman I put to the Speaker touching that paper from slaves.

Sir, if he be an enemy who shall succeed in bringing down upon me, directly or indirectly, the censure of this House; I say, if he be an enemy who votes for this, let him know he has his revenge, his triumph; for a heavier calamity could never fall upon my head or heart.

And this brings me to the Resolutions before the House. I object to the first Resolution, (offered by Mr. Dromgoole) because it is wrong, and meet and answer my question. Let the question be put, by yeas and nays, and have the yeas and nay recorded, that it is the sense of this House, that it is improper for any member of this House, to receive petitions from slaves, for the abolition of slavery! Let the question be put, and the only question really before the House, not met. We do not know whether it is proper or improper. Can there be any doubt, that it is improper? Now, sir, the question is, shall we, that there is any objection to the first Resolution?

The second Resolution declares neither my question nor any other question, but it declares that 'every member who shall *hereafter* present such petition' ought to be considered an enemy to the Union! Sir, I ask, what is the meaning of this, indirectly made, which the member from South Carolina (Mr. Waddy Thompson) directly made, or intended the man who should present such a petition, to the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia? This Resolution declares that the member who shall hereafter make an attempt to present any such petition, shall be held '*infamous*.' Is this another maxim of the slaveholding representatives, touching the freedom of speech in this House? I ask the gentlemen, I will submit it to it as far as not to present any petitions of slaves, but I shall consider it as a Resolution most disgraceful and degrading to this House. Yes, sir, any member of this House to be pronounced infamous for offering to aid human misery so far as to present a petition from slaves, I will not do it.

But, sir, not only would such a Resolution dishonor this body in the eyes of the whole civilized world, it would place the rights and the liberties of members of this House, so, as, in fact, to surrender them all. If, sir, you can get a vote to pronounce a member infamous who shall hereafter present a petition from slaves, you can take the step further to take, and that will be easy in the rage of the spirit of party,—you will declare that every member, who shall hereafter offer to propose any thing displeasing to the majority.

As to the third Resolution, I ask of the justice of the House to separate it from the Resolutions, and the other Resolutions of censure did directly. It says that no further proceedings shall be had against me, that I have fully disclaimed the tempers, and disavowed an intention which no one had the shadow of a right to impute to me. What is this language? Is it saying that I have disclaimed and disavowed, I should have been censured and punished by an ex post facto law? But that having done so, having in fact pleaded guilty, therefore, out of pure generosity, the House will let me off, forgive me, for what? For violating the rules of this House, for contempt of this House? No, sir! Had I done any thing which was a violation of any rule for me, and rebuked me on the instant. And suppose, sir, for a moment, it was a violation of any rule for me to present a petition, I ask, what I have done, concerning that paper, and this is the offence for which I am to be forgiven, how stands the case of the gentlemen who made the two questions to the House? I don't see but that if I am to be indicted by a Grand Jury, the Speaker must be indicted with me, for aiding and abetting. I did but ask the question of the Speaker, and he aided it of the House, and if there was contempt or crime in either case, which was the greater?

Sir, I cannot suppose that this whole debate should go forth as it has been begun in the National Intelligencer. I am willing that my constituents, the people of the entire world, and all after time, should judge of me and my action on this great moral question. And here I say, that I have not committed any single thing I would not do again, under like circumstances—not one thing have I done the I have not done under the highest and most solemn sense of duty.

I ask, if that that I have trifled with the House? That I deny; I have disclaimed, I again disclaim any such intention. No, sir, I had a higher purpose in view, and I ask, if I have not been indicted such intention, so man has a right to charge me with it. Sir, I never acted under a more solemn sense of duty, and I was once interrupted in an moment of my life. I take it, therefore, that the last resolution, excusing and forgiving me, will not do for me, I have done no wrong, I need no disclaimer and retraction on my part. Sir, I renounce all if yor from this House on the ground of disclaimer or retraction. I have done no wrong, I have done, and said. I have retracted nothing. I have done my duty, and I should do it again, under the same circumstances, if I believe it to be necessary.

Members of this House have accused me of concealing the contents of the House by presenting Abolition petitions. I, of they who have done this. If, Sir, gentlemen who are opposed to these petitions had permitted them to pass to the table under the rule, no time would have been consumed. I ask the Speaker and properly answered my question no time would have been consumed in this debate, I should never have occupied half an hour on a single day in presenting petitions, which I have felt it due to the petitioners generally, to present singly, had not gentlemen risen to thwart my object, and compel me to do it. Sir, I protest against the consummation of the time taken up by debates growing out of objections made by other members being charged to me. I appeal to the House, I appeal to the country, that it is not I who have to object to my doings in the discharge of my duty, who are answerable for this consumption of time.

Sir, I have done. I have only to add that I had hoped that the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Patton) seeing that the House could not be brought to a vote upon the resolutions, would have had the magnanimity to withdraw his resolution to 'effect the object indirectly.' He insists upon having the question taken and the House must decide.

[The effect of this speech on the House has been rarely if ever exceeded by the influence of any speech on any assembly. It was delivered after the commencement of Mr. A. had inflamed themselves, to the highest exacerbation, by most vehement harangues for four days. The speaker had to address a majority strongly prejudiced against him, and a minority who had been threatened with expulsion for his previous course in presenting Abolition petitions. And yet the result of this speech, under all these disadvantages, was, that it was the most powerful ever delivered in this House. I have only to add that I had hoped that the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Patton) seeing that the House could not be brought to a vote upon the resolutions would have had the magnanimity to withdraw his resolution to 'effect the object indirectly.' He insists upon having the question taken and the House must decide.

Southern bravado met! John Quincy Adams and free discussion triumphant!!

The charm of slavery over Congress has been broken, and J. Q. Adams has come off with more than his usual triumph—with immortal honor. The detestable attempts of slaveholders to disgrace and degrade the great statesman, which the world will the present time can produce, has recoiled with vengeance upon their own heads. No words can describe the gratitude with which the great American people to John Quincy Adams, for his undaunted courage, in standing forth boldly and single handed, in the defence of the right of petition, the liberties of our country? Gone forever. Never, never, can such attempts be made to stand against Southern insolence. Well may the free States rejoice and feel an honest pride in the glorious achievements of Mr. Adams. Sir, it is the Abolitionists have gained one hundred per cent. among the people, within the last year, and one hundred per cent. in Congress, within the last month. What member of Congress now recommends submitting to indignity and disgrace, 'to appease the South'—to reconcile the South? Yet such attempts were made, and made in vain. The greatest opponents of Mr. Adams now award him unqualified praise. They admire his lofty courage, and his brilliant talents, and his unsullied fame. Mr. Adams has accomplished since he was President, will add more to his honest fame than he ever did before. Sir, I have seen the Hero of Lexington

SOUTH BROOKFIELD A. S. SOCIETY.

BROTHER GARRISON,

A meeting of the citizens of South Brookfield, Mass., was held at the Methodist Church, Dec. 29, 1836, for the purpose of forming an Anti-Slavery Society. The audience, considering the inclemency of the weather, was respectable as to numbers, and listened with breathless attention and evident satisfaction, for two full hours, to a very able and eloquent lecture from Rev. Wareham Stillwell, of the Methodist Episcopal order. After Campbell of the Lecture, Skelton Felton, Esq. was called to the chair, and O. C. Felton was appointed Secretary.

A Preamble and Constitution, containing fifteen names, were presented, which were read by the Secretary, unanimously accepted by the meeting, and signed by twenty-two other gentlemen. The meeting then adjourned until the 17th of January, 1837, to meet at the Orthodox (Rev. Mr. Wood ruff's) Church. The adjourned meeting was fully attended, and although disappointed of a lecture, was one of great interest to the friends of the poor slave. We were favored with the very judicious remarks of Rev. Messrs. Woodruff, Morse, Heat and Cooper, on the subject of slavery, shewing it exceeding sinfulness, pointing out our duty as christians in regard to it, and urging the importance of immediate action. The audience now withdrew with the exception of the subscribers to the constitution, who proceed to organize, by the choice of the following gentlemen as officers of the society for the present year.

President—Rev. Winthrop Morse.
Vice-President—Rev. Richard Woodruff.
Secretary—O. C. Felton.
Treasurer—Alfred Jenks.
Counsellors—Rev. Samuel Heath, Dea. Henry Reed, Skelton Felton, Esq., Dr. Aaron Green, William D. Olds.

The Society then appointed delegates to the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at Boston on the 25th instant, and adjourned without day.

On the evening of the 19th the board of Managers of the S. B. A. S. held a business meeting, and voted that the proceedings relative to the formation of the society, accompanied by suitable resolutions, (at the sense of the board) be published in the Liberator. A committee was therefore appointed to draft resolutions, who reported the following, which were unanimously accepted:

Resolved, 1. That we hold ourselves solemnly bound to respect and support the Constitution and the laws; and, that we regard any infraction of them, not only as highly reprehensible, but as tending to a dissolution of the Union.

Resolved, 2. That by virtue of the Constitution, we claim, not only for ourselves, but for all our fellow citizens, the freedom of speech, the liberty of the press, the right of petition and trial by jury, as sacred privileges; privileges, which, from various considerations, we are bound to maintain; privileges, which we cannot surrender without degrading ourselves to the condition of slaves; privileges, which we will defend to the utmost of our mental energies—rejecting however, at all times, the use of carnal weapons, and relying solely on God for strength and guidance.

Resolved, 3. That we commiserate the sufferings of two or a half million of our fellow men in bondage; and, that we will use all lawful and proper endeavors to effect their enlargement and elevation to the rights of civilized men.

Resolved, 4. That Congress has the exclusive power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories; and, that it is bound by every principle of justice, humanity and religion, and by the best interests of our common country, immediately to exercise that power in checking that abominable traffic that ever disgraced the world.

Resolved, 5. That we highly appreciate the labors of those editors, who, in their publications, are spreading before the eyes of our nation, the evils of slavery and the cause of human rights; and that we earnestly recommend to their patronage of christians, philanthropists and patriots throughout the land.

Fifty-two have already signed the constitution, and it is expected that a large society will be formed here, as but a small part of the parish have yet had an opportunity of joining us.

Thus far, we have met with very little opposition, most of the gentlemen of 'standing' in this place, being with us, or else decidedly opposed to mobs and gag laws. The stale and senseless question, 'Why dont you go to the South?' is sometimes asked, but the mass of the people appear seriously inclined to seek information; and as fast as they become acquainted with anti-slavery views and principles, they embrace them.

O. C. FELTON,
Secretary of the S. B. A. S. S.

South Brookfield, Mass., Jan. 23, 1837.

EAST RANDOLPH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The first Annual Meeting of the East Randolph Anti-Slavery Society, for the choice of Officers and other business, was held at the Atheneum on Tuesday evening, Jan. 10th, 1837.

Joseph Faxon, first Vice President, in the chair. Meeting opened with prayer by Col. Orsemel White.

After which, it was voted, that Stephen Cheney, F. D. Holbrook and Moses French, be a Committee to nominate a list of persons for officers of this Society the ensuing year.

The chairman reported the following, who were unanimously elected:

Dea. Elisha Holbrook, President.
Allen Merritt, 1st Vice President.
Moses French, 2d Vice President.
F. D. Holbrook, Corresponding Secretary.
W. W. Linfield, Recording Secretary.
Thaddeus Fiske, Treasurer.
Dea. Richard Belcher, } Directors.
Col. Orsemel White, }
Aaron Merritt, }
Allen Merritt, }
Jeremiah Belcher, }

Heard and accepted the report of Treasurer; and after transacting the other ordinary business of the Society, some spirited resolutions were brought forward, and passed unanimously adopted. After which the Society adjourned without date.

ELISHA HOLBROOK, President.
W. W. LINFIELD, Rec. Sec.

THE BOSTON SAMARITAN ASYLUM FOR INDIGENT COLORED CHILDREN.

It may not be known to the friends of the colored people, that there is in this city an Asylum for colored children. It is situated in Poplar street Court, and has twelve children connected with it. Visitors are admitted on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons.

The funds of the society are exceedingly limited. Many children are waiting to be received, who cannot be admitted for want of the *means necessary to their support*.

The annual subscription is one dollar. Life membership ten dollars. Could not those who are favorable to the cause become annual subscribers or life members? Any articles of furniture, bedding, or provisions will be gratefully received. Friends in the country who have any thing to give can send them directed to the Samaritan Asylum, to the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 25, Cornhill. Persons wishing to become subscribers or Life Members, can leave their names and money at the place.

A FRIEND.

The Union.—Interesting and highly exciting intelligence will be found in our columns this day respecting recent transactions at Washington. We have little time to spare, however, (owing to a present press of business,) for comments. One thing is certain, affairs are coming to a crisis, and the day is not far distant, we think, when the South will cut all connection with the Northern Union, let the consequences be what they may. We perceive the Southern Delegations have had a conference, and the result is it is supposed will be a Southern Convention.—*Columbia (S. C.) Times.*

BOSTON:

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1837.

The editor's absence from the city must account for any lack of spirit there may be in the editorial department.

SPIRIT OF FREEDOM.

'Now by our fathers' ashes! where's the spirit,
Of the true-hearted, that should inherit
Sons of old freemen, do we but inherit
Their lands in vain?
Is the old pilgrim-spirit quench'd within us?
Stoops the proud manhood of our souls so low
That Mammon and the party's vile yoke we bow?
To silence now?'

Our readers have not forgotten the gross outrage upon their rights and dignity, which was perpetrated by Congress the 18th of January last, in passing the following resolution:

'*Resolved*, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table; and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.'

Our servants thus kicked the people out of the door of their own capital, and slammed it in their faces. They dared not tell us that however we might think of slavery, they had determined not only not to abolish it, but to abolish every right of freemen, that might interfere with its perpetuity. They thus threw around slavery at the seat of government, a sacredness which has never yet been given to liberty. They saw a conflict arising between liberty and slavery, but instead of standing firmly by the former, they attempted to bind her hand and foot, and throw her into the jaws of her merciless opponent.

How did it become the sons of New England to speak at such a time?

'Loud as a summer thunderbolt should wakes,
SPEAK, LIKE THE VOICE'

And though the time was short, and there was little opportunity to act in concert, the voice of the people was heard. Petitions were poured into the legislature, in large numbers, bearing the names of thousands of the yeomanry of Massachusetts. They asked their representatives to protect, in their name, against this despotic resolution. A committee of the Senate have reported; but instead of assuming an attitude worthy of their constituents, they seem to have set their wits at work, to see how smoothly they could speak to those who were striving to thrust the gag down their throats.

The following are the resolutions they have proposed to the Senate:

Resolved, That Congress does not possess the constitutional power to interfere with slavery within the limits of the respective states.

Resolved, That Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That the foundation of our political institution, the honor of our country, and the peace of all, will demand a solemn constitutional act of Congress, of the wisdom and effects of exercising the power aforesaid.

Resolved, That the right of petition, and of free discussion in regard to all matters within the constitutional powers of Congress ought to be held sacred, and any attempt to impair or abridge it, should be met with devoted firmness.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing Resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

We rejoice to learn however, that Mr. Kimball, who was a member of the committee, refused to speak in a more dignified manner. He has made a report in which he declares his intention to move the following resolutions, instead of the above mass of spiritless nonsense.

Resolved, That the resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States of the 18th of January last, in relation to petitions, resolutions, &c. on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, is wrong in principle and alarming in its tendency, being in our view an entire subversion of the natural and constitutional right of petition.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the independent and patriotic resolutions of our Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth in Congress, in support of the right of petition, which the above resolution has invaded.

Resolved, That Congress, having exclusive jurisdiction over the District of Columbia, possesses the constitutional power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in that District, and that it is expedient to exercise that power in Congress, having due regard to the rights of all, whose interests are involved, would be the dictate of the genius of liberty, and be demanded by justice and expediency.

Resolved, That the freedom of speech and of the press is essential to the security and prosperity of a popular government, and that any attempt, either by Congress or any state government, to limit or restrain the free expression of opinions, or the transmission of such opinions through the medium of the public mail, will be regarded as an attempt to open the constitution of our country, and an infringement of the dearest rights of freemen.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor, be requested to transmit a copy of these resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

We are confident that nothing short of these, will be acceptable to the people, and we have good reason to believe they will pass both Houses. N. S.

PROGRESS OF LIBERTY!! The following resolution, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, was lately *rejected* in the Legislature of New Hampshire by a vote of yeas 27, nays 192!!

Resolved, That error of opinion may be safely tolerated, so long as reason is left free to combat it!

We now present our readers with a sheet of a larger size than we have heretofore given them. The mass of interesting matter which is crowding upon us require a daily sheet of the present size. Our terms continue unchanged, but we hope our friends will see that the number of subscribers is greatly increased. The appearance of the paper is not such as we hope it soon will be. We shall have different paper next week, and we expect to have it worked so that it will be more readable.

VT. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The third Anniversary of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, was held at Brandon on the 11th & 12th of Feb. inst.

The Society convened in the Vestry of the Baptist Church, Rev. JOHN IDE, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair, and CHAUNCEY L. KNAPP, Esq. Secretary.

On motion of Rev. James Milligan, Voted, That a committee be appointed to draft a Memorial to Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and Territories, and between the States. And Messrs. James Milligan, E. D. Barber and O. S. Murray were appointed that committee.

Mr. Lewis, from the committee on resolutions, reported the following, which were adopted, viz.

Resolved, That whereas the evil of slavery commenced in laying aside the Bible, and prostrating the righteous claims to regulate the relations of life; therefore, in endeavoring to elevate the character and ameliate the condition of the slave, we should bear a sacred regard to the authority of God, as expressed in his holy word.

Resolved, That the town and county Anti-Slavery Societies of this State be requested to petition our next Legislature, instructing our Senators and request our Representatives in Congress to use their most strenuous exertions in behalf of the abolition, in effect, the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and in the Territory of Florida, and to suppress the slave trade between the several States, and to oppose the annexation of TEXAS to the Union.

Rev. Alvah Sabin, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, addressed the Society at length.

Chauncy L. Knapp, Esq., introduced the following resolution, which he supported at length, to wit:

Resolved, That in view of the rapid progress of the Anti-slavery enterprise, we have abundant occasion to thank God and take courage—adopted.

Mr. O. L. Shafter introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That we regard emancipation in the British West India Islands, Texas, and South Africa, as an additional step in the demonstration of the problem which asserts, 'that the great principle of *equality of right* may, in all cases, be safely and profitably recognized in the government of men:

Which was seconded by E. D. Barber, Esq., who addressed the meeting in a long speech, together with Doct. J. A. Allen, Mr. B. P. Haskell, and Rev. A. Sabin, and the same was adopted.

Mr. J. Codding, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That American Slavery is *principle* in, under all circumstances, a flagrant sin; and that in practice it is necessarily evil:

Which was seconded by Rev. N. Colver, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, both gentlemen addressing the meeting in its support, and it was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Barber, Voted, That the Society raise the ensuing year, for the support of Anti-Slavery lectures, $1000.

Dr. Allen introduced the following resolution, which was unanimously read and adopted:

Resolved, That we recommend to our friends, to petition their representatives, to use their influence, to prevent the slave trade in the Territory of Florida, and the annexation of Texas.

And, Voted, That the Rev. Messrs. Milligan, G. L. Knapp, J. P. Miller be appointed an agent for the Society.

Resolved, That the late decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts, that a slave cannot be held in that State, even with the permission, is free, is an event of congratulation and encouragement to all lovers of liberty and humanity.

Resolved, That the clause of the constitution of the United States which declares that 'No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law,' justly entitles fugitive slaves to trial by jury; and that the general principle of law, that every person shall be exculpated from criminal evidence in his own case, ought to be extended to these slave cases.

Mr. Lewis, from the committee on resolutions, reported the following, which were read and adopted.

Resolved, That public sentiment can be enlightened or changed only by freedom of inquiry and discussion, and there must be no yielding to the tyrannical public opinion, or the widest scope given to the freedom of speech and of the press.

Resolved, That free discussion is the vital principle in any popular government, without which, public virtue, patriotism and liberty must languish and die.

Resolved, therefore, That to surrender this right at the dictation of the mob, or the menace of the government, would be a virtual surrender of the dearest rights of freemen, and a cowardly submission to the approaches of the most odious despotism.

Resolved, That as abolitionists, we stand pledged to the maintainance of this right upon every subject of public concernment—and that with it we will stand or fall.

Resolved, That slavery, being an utter subversion of every principle of republicanism, as well as a most complicated system of iniquity in all its aspects, demands the strong arm of every republican, philanthropist and Christian, for its speedy and entire abolition.

Mr. Knapp introduced the following resolutions, which were read and unanimously adopted:

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An Address to the Presbyteries of Kentucky, concerning a plan of instruction and emancipation of their slaves, by a Committee of the Synod of Kentucky. 6.

The Substance of Mr. George Thompson's Lecture on Slavery, delivered in the Moravian Chapel, Manchester, Eng., and Price of 24 pages.

Tale of Slavery, and Cure of Slavery, by Mrs. Child, a tract of 20 pages. 4.

Authentic Anecdotes of American Slavery, by Mrs. Child, a tract of 16 pages. 4.

Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. 12 1-2.

A Sermon preached in the Chapel of St. Peter's Church, New-York, on Thursday, December 10th, 1835,—being a day appointed for public Thanksgiving in the State of N. York—by Rev. Thomas Pyne, A. M. 10.

A small Tract of 16 pages, containing an extract from one of Rev. G. G. Finney's Lectures on Revivals; also an extract of a letter from James G. Birney, Esq. of Kentucky, to a gentleman in this city; all relating to the duty of churches in reference to slavery and slaveholders. 2.

Juvenile Poems, ornamented with nine wood engravings, for the use of free American children. 8.

A Tract of 16 pages, containing the Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, together with those parts of the Constitution of the U. S. which are supposed to have any relation to slavery. 4.

Letter to a member of Congress of the U. S. from Rev. Leonard Bacon, including a republication of the tract entitled '*Every man his own property.*' 12 1-2.

Picture of a Slave in chains, with Poetry, by J. G. Whittier, Esq. 1.

Picture of a Slave in chains, with the Negro's Complaint in Poetry. 2.

Second Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society. 18.

The injustice and impolicy of the Slave trade, and of Slavery, illustrated in a Sermon, by Jonathan Edwards, D. D. 8.

The West India Question, by C. Stuart. 12 1-2.

Abrogation of the Seventh Commandment by American churches. 6.

Shield of Slavery, super. paper. 4.

Birney's Letter to the churches. 4.

British opinions of the Am. Col. Soc. 6.

Marriott's Address on the duty of declining the use of the products of slave labor. 6.

Anti-Slavery Medals. 25.

Anti-Slavery Glass Seals, giving a fair impression of a kneeling slave in chains. 25.

Anti-Slavery Watch Seals, giving the same impression. 37 1-2.

Miss Grimke's Appeal to the Christian Women of the South. A pamphlet of 70 pages, by the writer, though a native of South Carolina, fully sustains the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists. There is no work which contains so much valuable matter for so low a price. 4.

Letter of Gerit Smith to Rev. James Smylie, of the state of Mississippi. Large 8vo. 66 pages. This is an able answer to the argument that the Bible sanctions slavery. 12 1-2.

A Pamphlet, containing, 1. Report on the condition of the people of color in the state of Ohio. Full of very important facts. 2. Dr. Nelson's letter to Rev. Thomas Smyth, on the subject of slaves. 3. A. E. Grimke's letter to Wm. L. Garrison. 4. Anecdotes, &c.

Valuable Documents. Containing Birney's Vindication of the Bible, Dr. Nelson's Appeal to such Americans as value their rights. With other documents. qr. pp. 12mo. 12 1-2.

Twenty millions thrown away, and slavery perpetuated. Containing interesting information from the West Indies.

Mede Case. Arguments of the counsel, and opinions of the court, in the case of Commonwealth vs. Avery. This pamphlet is full of very important facts, systematically arranged. It should be in the hands of every abolitionist. 12 1-2.

Birney on Colonization. Mr. Birney was a native of Kentucky, and for many years an agent of the Colonization Society. This pamphlet is an unanswerable exhibition of the rottenness of colonization. 6.

The Nation's Progress. A discourse by John Gunnison. 8.

Does the Bible sanction Slavery? 2.

Immediate not Gradual Abolition. This is the pamphlet which converted Wilberforce to *Immediatism*. 10.

Dr. Channing's Letter to J. G. Birney. Just published, with additions. 8.

War in Texas, instigated by slaveholders, land speculators, &c. Tracing the re-establishment of slavery and the slave trade, in the Republic of Mexico. This is a very interesting pamphlet, written by one who thoroughly understood the subject. 17.

Dr. Crandall's Trial, showing what 'glorious privileges' an American citizen enjoys at the seat of Government. 12 1-2.

Trial of Miss Crandall, for the crime of teaching females to read. 12 1-2.

The Domestic Slave Trade. A pamphlet full of important facts. 4.

The Story of Thomas Cooper. With an engraving. 4.

Ivimey's Lecture. Showing that the utter extinction of slavery is an object of

LITERARY.

[From the Massachusetts Spy.]

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled.

'And, sheen all, to prevent the evil, the spirits who are severally moving the grand machine, from making this Disc the FULCRUM on which to place their lever, by which the Government, (the world's best hope,) may be uprooted and overturned.'—*Ist. Inc. Resentment of Grand Jury of District of Columbia.*

Ay, it will be a *fulcrum*, on which they will place
A LEVER—but not, as is said, to *uproot*
The world's dearest hope, but the Indian's disgrace,
O'er which the Philanthropist o'er passed to mourn.

The world's dearest hope!—The by-word, the scorn
Of our *friends* trans-atlantic, as well as our *foes!*
Oh! how has our Sun of life bright beams been shorn,
Since, in splendor ascriveled, sapphed to a lee.

What strange contradiction! when far o'er the earth
The fame of our Freedom has beautifully gone,
While, with shame be it said, from the hour of their birth,
Its blessings from millions are wholly withdrawn.

You send forth your sympathies far from this land,
To the Heathen benighted, the Greeks, and the Poles;
While, in sight of your eye, and in reach of your hand,
The iron is entering your countrymen's souls.

A practical nullity, too, are our rights
Of petition, while thus their receipt is denied:
Who, then, shall redress us, when Congress unites
Each petition to slight, each remonstrance deride!

In your body august, say, is there but one
That can follow the path which a Wilberforce trod,
Till that one kindling star* on his dying eye shone,
And his spirit, *exalted*, went up to his God.

It will not long be thus—look abroad on our youth,
In whose souls there is kindled a spirit of fire,
Which will keep up the flame on the altar of truth,
And of Slavery light the funeral pyre.

They will soon spring to manhood—the men of their choice
Will be those by no danger from duty deterred;
In the Halls of our Capitol then shall the voice
Of our Pitts and our Foxes, with rapture, be heard.

A Weld and a Whittier yet may be there,
And thither a Stanton and Borleigh may come,
With others whose souls are as light and as *fair*,
From many a hill-side and green mountain home.

You know them by character—oft have you read
Their life-breathing thoughts, and their soul-thrilling words;
With such legislators, there need be no dread,
But each right will be granted which Freedom accords.

But may YOU crush the worm which gnaws at the root
Of our free institutions, before they shall fall;
If the tree is corrupted, how sweet may the fruit,
Although fair to the eye, on the palate will pall!

A worm!—'Tis a Hydra—and yours is the arm
Of Herculean strength—if it dost but one blow,
He gasps, and he dies—you have power to disarm
The monster of strength, and to vanquish the foe.

There need be no blonshed, there need be no war,
If our wise legislators are Christians indeed;
'De justly—love mercy'—send soon, from afar,
Shall the hydra-worm of Liberty bound to the feed.

Though the clouds be portentous—though murky and dark
With the waters of strife, they awhile may increase,
If YOU but act righteously, sons to the Ark
The dove shall return with the emblem of Peace.

And, spanning full wide our political heaven,
When the storm which now threatens has harmlessly passed,
With its key-stone of Truth, a bright arch shall be given,
To show that our Freedom forever shall last.

2nd mo. 11th, 1837. ADA.

* The news of the passage of the Emancipation bill in the English Parliament.

The following beautiful stanzas are from the February number of the Knickerbocker.

THE WRECK OF THE MEXICO.

'Twas a morning warm and cheerless
Scarce a cheerless more—
Keen smote the blast which heralded the day,
When a stout bark, her crew with hardship worn,
Dashed toward the port, with news to gain the way;
Clear streamed aloft her lantern's signal ray,
But brought, alas! no pilot's friendly hail,
The frequent gust a shower of frozen spray
Swept from the shrouds, crackling in icy mail,
And scarce the shivering tars could raise the stiffened sail.

The humble inmates of the crowded berths,
The richer few, who comfier couches prest,
Perchance were dreaming of the cheerful hearths
Where, soon, they hoped for welcome and for rest—
Perchance of home, and those who made it blest:
Long had they seen, with weary eye, the sun
Sink day by day into the western wave,
But now the boon they coveted was won.
The shore they sought was near, and all were glad
The matron murmured softly, in her sleep,
Of prosperous days, and clasped her infant boy;
The maiden dreamed of one who o'er the deep
Went to seek *her* a home, and in her joy
Hung round his neck, too happy to be coy;
The husband dreamed his tall wife smiled on him,
Which tiled power could tithe not, nor destroy:
Aerial Hope all cyclids fluttered round,
And beckoned with her wings to Freedom's hallowed ground.

From such blest dreams, if such were theirs, they woke
To all that thought can picture of despair;
High o'er the bark the insatiate ocean broke,
And death was in the paralyzing air;
Oh! when the remnant every depended to spare,
Safe from the biting wrek were seen to glide,
What were the pangs of those left helpless there!
Shrieks were there, they thronged the vessel's side,
Shrieking to heaven for aid, while howling seas replied!

They perished, one by one, that pilgrim crowd—
The silver-haired, the beautiful, the young!
Some were found swept as in a crystal shroud
Of wave congealed, that imbed them where they clung;
Some on the strand the sounding breakers flung,
Linked in affection's agonized embrace;
And to the parent's eyes the warm tears sprung,
As they beheld two babes—a group of grace—
Locked in each other's arms, and pillowed face to face!

They rest in earth—the sea's recovered prey—
No tempests now their dreamless sleep assail;
But when to friends and kindred far away
Some quivering lip shall tell the dismal tale,
From many a home will burst the voice of wail;
But when it comes, and the tear shall be shed,
The cheek no more, shall gratitude prevail—
Yearnings of love towards those beyond the waves,
Who been with pilous fires, the exiles to their graves.

New York, January, 1837.

LINES.

BY J. H. BRIGHT.

Should sorrow o'er thy brow
Its cloud shadows fling,
And hopes that cheer thee now,
Die in their early spring;
Should pleasure at its birth
Fade like the heat of dew,
Turn thee away from earth,
There's rest for thee in heaven.

If ever life shall seem
To thee a sullenness way,
And gladness cease to beam
Upon its clouded day;
If, like the wearied dove
O'er shoreless oceans driven,
Raise then thine eye above,
There's rest for thee in heaven.

But O! if, thoughtless, flowers
Thoughtout thy pathway bloom,
And gaily fleet the hours
Unstained by earthly gloom;
Still let not every thought
'Tis this pool world be given,
Not always be forgot
Thy better rest in heaven.

When sickness pens thy cheek,
And dims thy lustrous eye,
And pulses low and weak
Tell of a time to die:
Sweet hope shall whisper then,
'Though thou from earth be riven,
There's bliss beyond thy ken,
There's rest for thee in heaven!'

HOME.

Sing a sweet melodious measure,
Waft sentiments lying around
Home—a theme replete with pleasure,
Home—a grateful theme resound.

Home, sweet Home! an angle fountain!
Home, with every blessing crowned;
Home, perpetual source of pleasure,
Home, a noble strain resound.

SLAVERY.

[From the Boston Courier.]

TO THE REV. WILLIAM E. CHANNING, D. D.

SIR,—In replying to your Letter, addressed to Mr. Birney, upon the subject of the features of the Abolition enterprise, you will not, I hope, impute to me any motive foreign to the merits of this extraordinary transaction. I have no motive, at this time, in the hope that an abler pen might be enlisted in this reply, and should it now seem an act of temerity in me, to put my pen to write in the extreme 'freedom of speech,' which you have so vigorously defended, and to that 'distrust of the authority of great names,' which your writings, more perhaps than those of any other living author, have tended to produce.

Had your Letter upon it the evidences of haste, or of being partially yielded to the force of circumstances, there might be some apology for its errors and injurious opinions; but as it was evidently written and put out, and laid as a voluntary offering on the shrine of Abolitionism, it must be regarded as embracing some of your most sober and deeply considered convictions on the fearful questions which it discusses. Yet candor compels me to say, had this Letter appeared unaccompanied by your powerful name, and without that spell of association, which intellect, genius, and sacred enthusiasm can cast over their occasional aberrations, it would have passed away without awakening more than a momentary sensation. It is not so much the response, as the oracle itself, to which the public ear is turned.

You inform us at the commencement of this communication, that it is written in obedience to the voice of God. Whether this high authority is presented as a relief from personal responsibility, or as a divine sanction, or as imposing a moral necessity, we are not clearly informed. It as a refuge from responsibility, it is at variance with the spirit of every other production that has fallen from your pen; and only evinces that wide contradiction of character, which sometimes disfigures the noble specimens of our nature;—if as a divine sanction, it may be questionable whether the writer has not mistaken the *source* of his credentials, and, if there also, the objects of his mission. Paul verily thought himself doing God's service when he went against the Christians of Damascus, armed with flame and sword, but, we strange that the same high authority should be appealed to, as sanctioning purposes diametrically opposite, and totally destructive of each other! St. Channing received a commission from Heaven to pen a communication, in which the right of speech, as connected with Abolitionism, is to be unconditionally maintained. Ignatius Loyola received, as he supposed, a commission from the same source, to found the Inquisition, in which this right of speech was to perish on the rack!

But if this high authority is introduced as imposing a moral necessity on the writer, then all arguments, prostitutions, and remonstrances are of far, at least, as he is concerned, are alike vain. No force that reason can summon, no terrors that imagination can portray, no persuasive appeals that affection may utter, can prevail with one who considers himself impelled by the supreme will of Heaven. In this respect, he has armed fanaticism, in all ages of the church, with its most terrible weapons; that has lighted the faggot, given the scaffold its victims, and written the history of its blood! It was this same moral necessity, that compelled Calvin to give his consent that Servetus should be burnt! The privilege found in a plea of moral necessity, may, sir, be a sword wielded in your hands, but it may eventually pass to the hands of one, who shall use it in crumbling the monument, that venerable age, grief shall have reared over your grave! As for this whole subject of delegated authority, suffice it to say: the *source* of a moral commission may be anywhere out of this world, must be determined by the spirit it breathes, the nature of the powers it confers, and its practical effects upon the world. If there be ambitious, no solemnity of asseveration can for a moment persuade us that it emanated from above.

The cause of Abolitionism, in your communication, and one which characterizes all the rest, contains a warm encomium on the Abolitionists, as the friends and advocates of the rights of speech. You say of them—'They are sufferers for the liberty of thought, speech, and the press, and in maintaining this liberty amidst insult and violence, they have shown themselves most honored defenders.' You subsequently add: 'When I regard their firm, fearless assertion of the rights of free discussion, I feel that the Abolitionists are sufferers for the liberty of speech, or the *abuse* of that liberty?

Not any one, who has doubts on this subject, look into their publications, and he will constantly meet with epithets like the following, applied indiscriminately to all slaveholders—'natural robbers,' 'kidnappers,' 'barterers in blood'—'inhuman monsters'—'brutal savages'—'blood-stained tyrants' '—'murderers' '—'cut-throats'—'scorpions'—'incarnate fiends;' and all this, will any man in his senses, maintain that they who use such epithets as these, are merely exercising a rational liberty of speech? It is not a question of this liberty. It is it not *licentiousness* of speech, and in its worst form? Were a man to apply such epithets to individuals, instead of communities, the law, established for the protection of character, would visit upon him their severest penalties; although you might, since he suffer for this liberty of speech, find in him 'nothing to blame, and much to admire.'

The terms in which the Abolitionists have spoken of the Colonization Society, show what *they* understand by 'liberty of speech.' These are term of reproach, mockery, denunciation, and vindictive sarcasm, that they have not applied to the potrons and friends of the Indian Institution. What there is in the emancipation of a few poor slaves, and their happy settlement on the coast of Africa, that should so embitter their tempers and tongues, is inconceivable to me. Yet they have, from the commencement, as thousands will bear me witness, poured out an incessant flood of vituperation and gall on this institution. They have hunted it down, and trampled it under their feet, wherever a limb or member of it has come within their power. And, as if to gratify some yet unsated revenge, they have been seen to re-open the graves of their victims, and drag up the pale relics to a fresh exhumation and dissection. And in all this you discover only 'a fearless assertion of the rights of free discussion, of speech and the press;' and exclaim—'In the name of freedom and humanity, I thank them.'

The applause with which the Abolitionists followed Thompson during his tour, shows yet further what they understood by liberty of speech. I would quote largely from some of his public addresses, but I fear, in rendering to polluate this page with the reeking calumnies of this miserable foreigner. Let one expression, often on his lips, suffice as a specimen of the rest.—'The man has a right to cut the throat of his master'!! To this language the Abolitionists listened, and shouted their assent. And they listened to it, when they knew that he who uttered it was a refugee from justice, and that affidavits had been received in this country, showing that he had escaped the infamous sentence of the law, through the chicanery of those whom he had deceived and robbed! Nor has he been disclaimed by them since; far from it. His foul calumnies are still poured out, reaching our shores almost daily, and are eagerly circulated through every channel of the press, by the Abolitionists. I rejoice that public indignation was sufficiently roused to drive out of the country. His Abolition friends, indeed, look upon him as a martyr to virtue and humanity; and you, sir, have given him a high, moral rank, among those who 'suffer for *liberty* of speech.'

But, sir, allow me to quote the testimony of one, whose authority you will not question, Abolitionism on the 'freedom of speech' exercised by the Abolitionists, and for which they have suffered in a form less trying, and more honorable, than liberty's most honored defenders.' In your eloquent remarks on slavery, written only one year since, you say of their publications:—'The tone of these newspapers, as far as I have seen them, has often been *fierce, bitter*, and abusive—the slaveholder has been held up to execration and to scorn of ferocity.' The Abolitionists have sent forth their orators, some of them *transported with fury* said, to rouse the slaves against slavery through the land, to gather together young and old, pupils from schools, females hardly arrived at years of discretion, the ignorant, the excitable, the impulsive, and to organize them into associations for the battle against oppression. Very unhappily, they preached their doctrine to the colored people, and collected their numbers in their association. To this mixed and excitable multitude, minute and heartrending descriptions of slavery were given in the most inflammatory language, calculated to overwhelm by an onslaught of feeling.

'As might be expected, many colored people, who had been long accustomed to hear their condition, and the condition of their brethren, in bitter, fierce forcibly broken up; and because they were thus broken up, and now say, they have been deprived of their rights, and that they now suffered for *liberty* of thought, speech and the press; and in maintaining this liberty amidst insult and violence, they have shown themselves most honored defenders.' Strange liberty of speech that! and stranger still, the lessons which it teaches of liberty. Sir, I repeat it, it is the first time in the history of our race, so far as my knowledge extends, that calumniators, in consequence of their calumnies, have met with violence, or their abuse, have been crowned; and yet what amazes me the more is, that the 'coronation should be voluntarily conferred by one, who has so faithfully recorded their flagrant enormities.

I have now done with the claims of Abolitionists, as connected with the liberty of speech and the press. I have suffered, in the fullness of their sufferings have not taught them a little of that charity which belongs to religion and humanity, I hope they are only in the dark as to the nature of their power. Their other claims, as set forth in your communication to Mr. Birney, shall be considered hereafter; yet, before we proceed, allow me to hope that you will not construe any thing I have said into a spirit of unkindness to yourself—into a disposition to invade, in the slightest degree, your feelings, your reputation, or your influence; for you have not, in this community, a more firm, unflinching friend, than

Your most obedient servant,
ALGERNON SIDNEY.

Boston, January 16.

[From the Boston Courier.]

ANCIENT ABOLITIONISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER:

SIR,—A writer who should adopt the signature of BENEDICT ARNOLD, in advocating the cause of liberty,—or that of ROBESPIERRE, in extolling humanity and religion,—would at least be charged with intending to make a mockery of the name assumed the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON, in order to enforce the lawfulness of taxation without representation and the superiority of a monarchy over a republic can form of government,—or subscribe himself WILLIAM PENN in justifying the outrages of Georgia upon the Indians, in violation of a solemn and national wars,—he would excite not merely surprise at his folly, but indignation at the insult offered to the memory of the dead. In what terms, then, shall we speak of the writer who assumes the pretendent in the Courier, who, borrowing the name of the illustrious ALGERNON SIDNEY,—a martyr ever dear to the friends of liberty, and a man of genius and an uncompromising enemy of slavery under every phase and color,—is bold and shameless enough to defend the cause of slavery, at the tried friends of equal freedom, but as the applauder of that worst species of jacobinism, LYNCH LAW? If libels the dead, and he who dares to defame the living, and is an anarchist in the guise of a patriot. What the *spirit of* SIDNEY conjured up to justify the burning of property in the streets, the tumultuous assemblies of fearful outcasts, the slaughter of men and women, for opinion's sake! What! reviving SIDNEY summoned to denounce those who plead for a brother in chains—for woman under lash—for children and babes sold like swine in the market! What! the *patriotism* of SIDNEY invoked to abridge, by violence, the right of free discussion, when for asserting that right he lost his head upon the block! 'An ass will not leave his pasture, and a wolf his prey, though he may be covered with scarlet;' and an apologist for jacobinism and slavery cannot conceal the malignity of his soul, though he assume the character of no less a personage than ALGERNON SIDNEY.

But your lynch-law correspondent, Mr. Editor, complains that Abolitionists abuse the liberty of speech, and that they are guilty of it, still more, he hopes 'they are only in the first stages of their agony,' arising from the mohocratic assaults of violence, they shall soon be. Sir, I have, in connection with comments upon this ferocious declaration, shall show that Abolitionists are only guilty of calling things by their right names—and quote a passage in point from the disquisitions of the *true* SIDNEY, who in his own day was forced to exclaim, 'Is it a sin to speak the *malicious truth pass for treason*?' and who further says:

'If Filmer (his antagonist) might publish to the world his opinion, that all the people (the rabble) are born under a necessity derived from the laws of God and nature, to submit to an absolute kingly (despotic) government, and that it is a sin against God and nature, and that he that has the power, whether he come to it by creation, election, inheritance, usurpation, or any other way, is the king, and ought to be obeyed in all his will, but the persons and estates of his subjects must be indispensably subject unto it, and that it might not have published my opinion to the contrary, *without the breach of any law I have yet known.*' 'If, nevertheless, he (Filmer) mistakes, he might have been refuted by law, reason and scripture; and no man for such matters was ever otherwise punished, than by being in his error confirmed.'

It seems, then, that this great patriot wished to be refuted by 'law, reason and scripture,' if he were in error; but the impostor in the Courier, assumes upon his own infallibility, is for refuting the errors of others with brickbats, rotten eggs, and a coat of tar-and-feathers! This is his method of refuting error! Sir, I fear, if his mode of argumentation, all cavils are to be silenced, all errors exploded, all virulence mitigated, rudeness changed into politeness, and the opposers of the Colonization Society transformed into its warmest friends!

As your correspondent has chosen the English Revolution of 1688, as a model for modern, courteous, rational, profound, well skilled in the use of language—*as I most cordially approve of his selection*, and desire no other advantage over him than to compare the spirit and principles of that with those of the present. Government, in order to show, beyond all contradiction, that ALGERNON SIDNEY was an *Abolitionist* in the full sense of the epithets 'incendiary,' 'denunciatory,' and 'blood-thirsty,' as even GEORGE THOMPSON himself. Let a fair verdict be rendered from the following extracts from the incomparable work alluded to:

'The principle of liberty in which God created us, and which includes the chief advantages of the life we lead in this world, is so inherent in us, that we find that is the end of our hopes in the other, is written in the heart of every one, and *treated by none but such as are degenerated into beasts.*'

'The schoolmen could not but see that which all mankind must see, that there is a power in man, that they *naturally free*; that he cannot justly be deprived of that liberty without cause; and that he doth not resign his power and liberty to any other man, but to the greater good which he proposes to himself.'

'*To depend as the will of a man is slavery.* Liberty solely consists in an independence upon the will of another; and by the name of slave, we understand a person who is subject to another, who possesses goods, but enjoys all at the will of his master.'

'In asserting the right to liberty ourselves, we allow it to others, which is so much of our own consists in the preservation of it. He that opposes the public liberty, whatever he pretends, is guilty of the most brutish of all follies, whilst he arrogates to himself that which he denies to all men.'

'There can be no peace where there is no justice; nor any justice, if the government instituted for the good of a nation, be turned to its ruin.'

'I cannot believe that a civilized man in a state of misery and slavery. It is hard to comprehend how one man, who is not a brute, can come to be equal to himself in right, unless it be by consent or by force. No man can justly impose any thing upon those who owe him nothing. Nor because he pretends his grounds his pretensions of right upon usurpation and tyranny, declares himself to be an usurper and a tyrant, that is, an enemy to God and man, and ought to be hunted as a wolf.'

'All mankind must inherit the right, to which every man, whose power is not in dispute, is entitled. Nor in one, where it is equally divided among all men, is that universal liberty which I assert. No man by birth is born free, but is subjected to his parents, till he arrive by the concession of those who are concerned. The power of parents is not arbitrary, but limited. We are, or we be, a lord amongst us, till we make him so: *by nature we are all brethren.*' 'No obedience can be due to those who, instead of being our equals, commandeer. That government is unreasonable, and shd ored by the laws of God and man, which is not instituted for the good of those that are governed.' 'That power can be for those, who have no other title to the power they exercise, than force, is a thing too absurd to be mentioned. All that is or can be inherited by every one, is that exemption from the dominion of another, which was valid in himself. Nature has made us free, and there is no such institution in the hearts of men, and acknowledged to be by all that have hearkened to the voice of nature, and consulted their own hearts, sufficiently enlightened, sagacity, or learning of mind, which is the foundation of the rights of kings, and the mind and available institutions, sagacity and heart-

of the ability of the people, to govern themselves.' 'The exercise of liberty cannot not offend those who, either through ignorance or fear, are accustomed to be governed by force and fraud, and to be deceived with the shadow of liberty. That which is not just, is not law; and that which is not law, ought not to be obeyed.'

'The observation of the laws of nature is absolutely expected from tyrants, that are accustomed to go against all laws.'

'Property is an appendage to liberty; and it is as impossible for a man to be free, if he be not lord of what he has or liberty, and enjoy the life only at the pleasure of another, as it is to enjoy other, when he is deprived of liberty.'

'Unjust commands are not to be obeyed; and no man is obliged to make himself a prey to the lust of others, or to the weight of chains, number of stripes, hardness of labor, and other effects of a master's cruelty, which are so many and so great, that I conclude, that we be a *slave who serves the best and gentlest man in the world*, as well as he who serves the worst; and his does not make him less a slave, his condition depends upon his will.'

'That which is unjust in the beginning, can never have the effect of justice; and it being manifestly unjust for one, or a few men, to assume a power over those who by nature are equal to them, it can never grow *to be just or beneficial to mankind.* Aristotle proves, that no man is to be entrusted with an absolute power, lest he should be a tyrant, and his subjects, *by such a man as is not to be found.*'

'Till the right of dominion be proved and justified, liberty includes a liberty from the nature and being of a man. The creature having nothing, and being nothing but what he receives from his creator, he is free and nothing to any one from whom he has received nothing. Man, therefore, must be *naturally free*, unless he be created by a power that has no other to be heard of.'

'We have heard of tyrants with a mischief, slavery and bondage with a mischief, and they have been denounced by God against wicked and perverse nations, as a mischief, intolerable, and a plague that is to be abhorred and dreaded in the world. But Filmer informs us that liberty, which all wise and good men have in all ages accounted to be the most valuable, *is the most privilege of mankind*, is a 'mischief.' If he deserve credit, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samson, and Samuel, will appear to be the most wicked and *ignorant* men in depriving the people of the advantages they enjoyed under a tyrant, and conducting the Israelites, Egypt, Jabin and other kings of the neighboring nations, and restoring them to that 'liberty with a mischief,' which he has represented to be so. Nor, indeed, can any man under the power of tyrants, whose proclamation were laws; and they ought to have been thankful to God for that condition, and to the deliverer who came to rescue them from the hands of his servants. Subjection to the will of a man is intolerable, and it is a mischief. But it is *abominably wicked and detestable, that it can deserve no answer.*'

'Nothing can be more absurd than to say, that one man has an absolute power above law, to govern according to his own will, 'for the people's good, and the preservation of property.' Nor can it be, that any stranger, if he be a lover of his country, and of mankind, where there is such a power.'

'They whose fears and interests are the authors of great revolutions, not being so much led by a particular hatred to the man, as by a desire to do good to the public, seldom are to be reproached with malice and revenge; but he is altogether detestable and intolerable, if they do not hope to overthrow the tyranny.'

'I profess, I know not what *treason, sedition*, to throw off the nature of men, because they do unjustly and unreasonably assume to themselves that which spread over the world, and is the source of human nature, and set up an interest in themselves contrary to that of their equals, which they ought to defend and protect. *Such as these are like to them*; and we know of no tyranny that was not set up by the *worst*, nor of any that have been destroyed, but by the *best of men.*'

The foregoing extracts are 'like apples of gold in pictures of silver.' In what light do they place your correspondent, Mr. Editor, but as an arrant impostor—as legal to quote Sidney's so bitter an enemy to mankind, as to be displeased with nothing but that which tends to their good; and so perverse in his judgment, as to wish to make people believe that to be good which most abhors? All that has been written in favor of the rights of man, from the martyrdom of Calvary to the present day, has had a repetition of these great and glorious truths. I challenge the most industrious and subtle opponents of the Abolitionists, to show, in the writings of modern Abolitionists, any opinions, principles, doctrines, or inferences, which conflict with, or are contrary to the sentiments uttered in the foregoing extracts from the pen of that ancient Abolitionist. ALGERNON SIDNEY.

Respectfully yours,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

5 Hayward Place.

LEGISLATURE OF MAINE.

IN THE SENATE.

TUESDAY, Feb. 7.

Mr. Holmes, of Winthrop, presented the petition of Stephen Sewall et als., praying the Legislature to instruct our Senators and request of Representatives in Congress to use their utmost efforts to prevent the extension of slavery in the District of Columbia, came up, referred to a select committee.

Mr. Littlefield called for the reading of the petition and it was read.

Mr Rogers moved that February 8, 1837 (!!) be assigned for the consideration of the petition.

Mr. Benson said, he hoped the motion just made would not prevail. The petition which had been presented by the gentleman from Cumberland, (Mr. Littlefield) was certainly couched in respectful terms, and from personal acquaintance, he could say it was signed by highly respectable citizens. They were his constituents, and he deserved to be treated with the same kind of courtesy usually extended to petitioners upon a matter of interest and importance to themselves, and to the community generally. Mr. B. did not propose to consume the time of the Board in angry discussion, but he did hope that the gentleman from Cumberland should be given to the request of those petitions, and that the Senate should concur with the House in referring the petition to a select committee, would give it due consideration, and make such report as would be satisfactory. He concluded by moving that the question be taken by yeas and nays—which motion prevailed.

The question was then taken, and Mr. Rogers' motion prevailed by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Burr, Carr, Green, Higgins, Littlefield, Manning, Mildram, J. S. Redman, Edward Robinson, Rogers, Smith, South, Staples, Stickland, Swift, Talbot, Whitney, Woodbury, Woodman.

Nays—Messrs. Benson, Magoun, Severance.

The petition of Samuel Fessenden et als., for the same purpose came up, with the same reference.

Mr. Littlefield moved that February 8, 1837, be assigned for the consideration of the petition.

On motion of Mr. Benson, the yeas and nays were ordered upon this motion, and after some remarks by gentlemen, Mr. Magoun, the motion prevailed by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Burr, Carr, Green, Higgins, Littlefield, Manning, Mildram, J. S. Redman, Edward Robinson, Rogers, Smith, South, Staples, Stickland, Swift, Talbot, Whitney, Woodbury, Woodman.

Nays—Messrs. Benson, Magoun, Severance.

MONDAY, Feb. 13.

Mr. Ham presented the petition of John S. Gordon et als. for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. H. said he would take this occasion to say that he considered the right of petition on all subjects of a political character, belonging to the people; he therefore hoped that this petition would be received, while at the same time he should vote for the same to be assigned to a distant day.

Mr. Rogers moved that Feb. 8, 1837, be assigned for its further consideration.

Mr. Benson, the gentleman of the gentlemen from York who had presented the petition, whether this disposition of the subject was in conformity with his wishes, and the right petitions, and whether an immediate postponement of it for 100 years, without examination and without assigning any reasons therefor, was not equivalent to a *rejection* of the petition? The motion was, he hoped, to refer all petitions to committees. He saw no difference between the motion now made and a motion to reject.

Mr. Ham replied he he knew of no rule which required that petitions should be referred to committees.

Mr. Benson argued and enforced the argument, that the motion was a virtual rejection of the petition. He could not now say how he should vote on the question of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, when that question was fairly presented. If the petition was referred, it might not appear which would be satisfactory to all. He spoke of the high character of the petitioners, and of the importance of the subject, in support of all argument on the part of the advocates of this motion, we were left entirely in the dark as to the reason, if, as it might be, he should vote against the prayer of petition to Congress, and the Senators in Congress on any subject; this he thought the most tenable ground. Or it might be because gentlemen should not be in opposition to the petition of the District of Columbia. If the Senate of the State were to take the high ground of a virtual rejection of a petition from respectable citizens, and respectable citizens of the State, he thought the reasons for it should be distinctly given.

The question was then taken on the motion, and it was decided in the affirmative, as follows:

YEAS. Messrs. Greene, Ham, Higgins, Manning, Mildram, J. S. Redman, Edward Robinson, Rogers, Swift, Talbot, Whitney, Woodbury, Woodman—14.

NAYS—Messrs. Benson, Elijah Robinson, Severance and Smith—4.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[From the Boston Daily Advocate.]

WASHINGTON, Monday, 6, 1837.
Feb. 13, 1837.

Congress has made out rather a quiet sitting to-day, the weather being so weak. But for fear of waste of combustibles in doors, they just got up a fighting party, this morning, out-doors, before breakfast. I have the particulars from the best possible authority, and will describe the affair, as a specimen of the state of manners in this particular. We of the north can have no conception how a duel is carried on by gentlemen from the south. It is regarded merely as a party of pleasure, and is described with as much gusto as fashion relates a successful touch at some amusing game. The parties are so free from malice at all about it, and look who engage in it, principals and seconds, are often the most polished, courteous and kind of the gentlemen of their state. Yet who would, knowingly, wrong no man for their lives. And yet for a wry word or look, they will coolly go out and shoot each other's brains, and yet up's pay and stand assistants for any of their friends to do the same. A strange perversity, of the moral principle, as it seems to us, and yet nothing but the same principle, which makes us contain the murderous custom, can ever put it down. It is a commonthing for gentlemen to keep their duelling pistols, as a pastime, and to practice with them in-door. I have heard a gentleman named, who has a pair of richly mounted duelling pistols that cost him hundreds of dollars.

But to the duel of this morning. It was fought between two Marylanders, who came here yesterday for the benevolent purpose of blowing out each other's brains. The challenged was Hon. Wm. C. Johnson, of Maryland, member of the 24th Congress. Their quarrel was all about nothing, as usual. Mr. Sleigh had had a political squabble with a friend of Johnson's, and the friend challenged Sleigh, and, like a sensible man, he refused to fight. Subsequently, at the house of a Mr. McPherson, Johnson spoke disparagingly of Sleigh, and said he was a coward. Mr. Sleigh positively took down the language and reported it to Mr. S., who then called upon Johnson to retract or fight. Of course he chose, the latter. They dared not wait, for fear rumored all day yesterday, took place this morning at eight o'clock, a short distance from the city, on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, in Virginia. Here, Mr. Wise of Va., and I believe Hon. Mr. Campbell of South Carolina, acted as the friends of Mr. Johnston, and Mr. Jennifer of Maryland, (who fought the duel with Mr. Bynum, a year ago, and members of Congress) was the second of Mr. Sleigh. The thing was done with infinite coolness. The parties were stationed ten or twelve paces, twenty paces, twenty eight inches to a pace, making the distance twenty-eight feet. The signal were given twice for one, one, two, three, within the pronouncing of which the parties were to wheel round and fire! Both discharged their pistols, nearly simultaneously. The ball of Mr. Johnson's had took effect in the fleshy part of Mr. Sleigh's thigh, a little below the hip, and passed through, making only a flesh wound. The ball of Mr. Sleigh's ball struck Johnson's thigh a little above the knee, and buried itself in the flesh, not touching sphone nor cutting any artery. He fell, and of course both were retired. The surgeon extracted the ball from Johnson's thigh, cutting it out on the opposite side where it was, and left Sleigh's ball, but not dangerously. In twenty five minutes after the parties came on the ground, they were packed in a hack and sent off to Alexandria, and their seconds were all ready to go home and act as calmly as if nothing had happened, in the councils of the nation. All were charmed with the duel. The parties were full of fun and good humor, pleased, and no doubt were delighted at not finding themselves killed. The affair will be talked about a day or two, and then will be forgotten. Such are the strange customs of civilized and highly polished society. Mr. Johnson, who was the worst wounded, was driven to the house of my excellent landlady, Mrs. Mills, and she is one of all kindness to the sick, as I have reason to know by a fortnight's experience of the long fever, she declined the honor of a duel, and the wounded man, I believe, went to Gadsby's.

Mr. Wise of Virginia, is one of the most remarkable men in the country. He is a man of great talents, and the most lofty bearing, 'sudden and quick in quarrel, seeking the bubble reputation, even in the cannon's mouth.' He is, however, most courteous, affectedly dignified and most courteously affable, a most pleasant companion, and strictly gentlemanly in all his deportment. But on the subject of duelling, Sir Lancelot Jenkins, is a trigger to Wise. He will fight a duel himself, or second his friend, of a morning, before breakfast, go into the House to speak the same day, and make the most eloquent speeches, and then set upon two committees of investigation, and examine witnesses till six o'clock in the evening, and then go home to D. C. when I have named, is one of the most agreeable specimens of the polished gentleman, to be found in the country. Yet, when he is on the subject of duelling is fixed, in the most polished circles of the South.

THE WRECK OF THE MEXICO.

The following extract of a letter written by a gentleman in New York, to a friend in the city of Boston, gives an interesting account of the disappearance, after death, of the unfortunate individuals who were lost in the barque Mexico, lately shipwrecked on Long Island Beach:—

'On reaching Hempstead, I concluded to go some what off the road to look at the place where the ship Mexico was cast away. In half an hour a quantity of water from some of the pools, lay a mile this side of the beach where the ship lay—and here, in his barn, had been deposited the bodies of the 'ill-fated passengers, as they had been thrown upon the shore. I went out to the barn. The doors were open, and such a scene as presented itself to my view, I certainly never could have contemplated. It was a sickening sight. Forty-five bodies, of all ages and sexes, were lying promiscuously before me, over the floor, all dripping wet, and with the coolness of a corpse, a few, in the very dresses in which they perished. Some with their hands clenched, as if for warmth, and others with their feet drawn up, crouched, and bent as it would be in clinging to the rigging.

'There were scattered about among the number, four or five beautiful little girls, from six to sixteen years of age, their cheeks still glowing, and as roses, with their calm blue eyes open, looking you in the face, as if they would speak.

'I could hardly believe that they were dead. I touched their cheeks, and they were frozen as hard and as solid as a rock, and not the least indentation would be left by the pressure of the finger. I could perceive a resemblance to each other, and supposed them to be the daughters of a passenger who perished, together with his wife and all the family.

On the arm of some were to be seen the impression of the rope which they had clung to—the mark of the twist deep and sunk into the flesh. I saw one poor negro sailor, a tall man, with his head bent back, his lips parted, and his now slightless eye-balls turned upward, and his arms crossed over his breast, as if imploring Heaven for aid. This poor fellow evidently had frozen, while in the act of fervent prayer.

'One female had a rope tied to her leg, which had bound her to the rigging—and another little fellow had been tied to a small plank, with the remains of the face just as we saw children when crying. There were a brother and sister clasped in each other's arms, the brother's head had been bent back, and the sister had kept her head bent forward, and they had been prevented in the barn. All the men had their lips firmly compressed together, and with the most agonizing expression on their countenances I ever beheld.

'A little child, about two years of age, and as fair as the snow from just in that position, looked awful sight—and such a picture of horror was the result. But it is impossible to describe the feelings of one, and found myself trying to suppress an ordinary breathing, lest I should disturb the repose of those around me. I felt as if I was stealing from the retreat of a king, the jewels of a man's Coronet.

'As I was about to leave, my attention became directed to a girl, about 17, who was leaning, and some little distance from the rest, resting on her sister.—She had went for her to come over from England, and had received intelligence that the ship in which she came into the harbor, and the second body the cast her eyes upon was her sister. She gave way to such a burst of impassioned grief and agony, that I could not but shed tears, while listening in her feelings. She threw herself upon the cold, and icy face and neck of the lifeless body, and sobbing, with her head on her breast, remained waiting, moaning and sobbing, till I came away—and when some distance off, I could hear her calling her by name in the most touching manner.

'Suitable time, it appeared had they to prepare for their fate, that I perceived a bunch of keys and a half sufficient, fell from the bosom of a girl when the 'Decency' was removed from her. It appeared as if part of it had just been taken and thrown into her bosom, and round her neck was wound with a piece of twine, apparently.

'And to observe the stout, rugged sailors, to whose lives frames could endure so much hardship, wept like children—and well they did. Such scenes are indeed how powerless and feeble are all our efforts, when contending against the storms and tempestuous waves, with resistless violence cast in the face of the deep.—And the wreck, so near the shore, that the shrieks and moans of the poor creatures were heard through that fearful night, the cries of the unfortunate, as they died away, and all was hushed in death, and the murmur of the raging billows was all the sound that broke upon the ear.

After the storm, the wreck was approached, and there and there were seen columns, pillars of ice, which had formed on the frozen bodies, as the sea broke over them.'

EXQUISITE.

The editor of the Christian Watchman, speaking of the 'Life of Christian Purity,' by Mr. Cobb, a copy of which had been sent him by the publishers, thus expresses his feelings:—

'In glancing over its pages, we perceive that it contains recitals of impurities, which, in our opinion, whether true or false, no uncorrupted mind should ever read. We therefore refrained from even mentioning the subject in our columns.

Wonderful delicacy! Double refined! We wonder how the man can endure to live in this world of sin and pollution; or how he can bear to read the details of corruption and crime which fill his exchange papers, and how