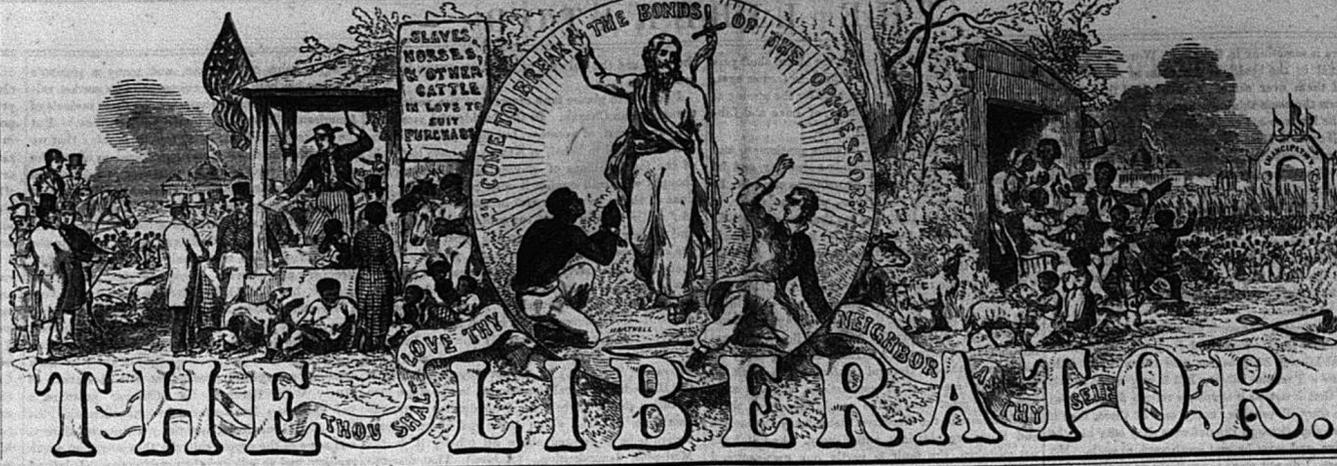


THE LIBERATOR
— IS PUBLISHED —
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
— AT THE —
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.
TERMS — Two dollars and fifty cents per an-
num in advance.
Five copies will be sent to one address for the
month, if payment be made in advance.
All remittances are to be made, and all letters
relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to
be directed, (POST PAID), to the General Agent.
Advertisements making less than one square in-
clude three times for 75 cents — one square for \$1.00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery So-
cieties are authorized to receive subscriptions for this
Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-
cial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the
does of the paper, viz: — FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS
GAY LANSING, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS,
and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.
The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with
death, and an agreement with hell.'
The free States are the guardians and essen-
tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and
constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse
for communities, when, under a generous impulse,
they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States,
and by force restore their rights; but they are without
excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an
unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN
FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE
RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-
tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,
and must walk in it. To this point the public mind
has long been tending, and the time has come for look-
ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and
Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union
can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving
of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be
perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it
can only continue through our participation in wrong
doing. — TO THIS CONVICTION THE FREE STATES ARE TENDING.
— WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.
VOL. XXVII. NO. 21.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1857.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.
WHOLE NUMBER, 1376.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Richmond Enquirer.
SLAVERY—ITS DESTINY.
American politics having become to be considered
with reference to the subject of slavery, as the principal
of interest and importance in the adminis-
tration of internal affairs of our country, it may
not be inappropriate to inquire why it is so. Ac-
cording to the original agreement between the mem-
bers of the confederacy, the object of the Union
was the protection of each State in its sovereign
rights, and a common benefit arising from a com-
pact delegation of authorities sufficient to advance
the interests accruing from the reciprocal relations
of one to the other.
The institution of slavery was then recognized as
a domestic matter, belonging exclusively to the con-
stitution of those States in which it existed; and regard-
less of its affecting their interests only. But in more
modern days it is attempted by the non-slavehold-
ing States to obtain such pre-eminence in the coun-
cils of the country, as will enable them, by one
process or another, to abolish slavery in the other
States altogether. That they have not the right, if
they had the power, is admitted by all reasonable
men. And why should they be desperately
hastening to a gross violation of justice and law, is
not explained by moral philanthropy nor a
desire of injury to their own interests by a connection
with States, cursed, as they affect to believe,
with negro slavery.
That no humane motive actuates them is evi-
denced by innumerable instances of flagrant con-
duct upon every elevating instinct of humanity and
equity among themselves. They are the inimi-
cal of moral enmity. They are the inimi-
cal of the institutions because they conceive that their
property is impeded by them, is contradictory to
the status of Yankee character, as well as to the
laws of industrial economy; or they have the sense
to discover, and the cupidty to consider, that if the
South is retarded, clogged and oppressed by slavery,
it is all the better for them to be in competition
with such a people that if the incubus was removed,
and additional advantages enjoyed.
The anti-slavery man, however, is the result of envy and
malice. The masses of the North are imposed upon
by the abolition leaders, who use them as
stepping-stones to political place and power; who
appeal to their sympathies by holding up hand-cuffs
and dilating upon the inhuman tyranny of the
Southern master toward his slave, harrowing their
souls with tales of cruelty that were never told
before, and representing our institutions as un-
just, and to God and to all mankind, and
Seward and Greeley, and all that standing staff
of the abolition leader, whoever he may be, have
all in sympathy with the Southern slave as an al-
ligate has with a grizzly bear.
The proportion of violators of the Constitution
and defenders of Southern rights is so small in the
North, that the abolitionists in all the States, with
two or three exceptions, are the only party. And
consequently in their avidity for office, they are con-
stantly coming into collision with the other party.
Of things, it may be hoped, will ultimately
lead to the adoption of some other issue, by a portion
of that party, as a more expeditious means of ad-
vancement in political life. As yet, they are united
in solid phalanx. But if the Union can survive the
shock of 1860, the masses of the North may begin
to be undecided, and the ambitious party leaders
may perceive that the hobby they are now riding is
incapable of carrying them all into office.
There is some such revulsion in the Northern mind,
such a division of Northern strength, a dissolu-
tion of the Union will be witnessed within the next
ten years.
But is the fate of the institution of slavery de-
pendent on that of the Union? As long as our
rights are regarded, there is no danger of a secession
of the South. And when the powers of the Federal
Government are so abused as to trample upon the
compact between the States, and to turn our own
weapons against us, there will be a Southern republic
or no slavery. So, with each of the Union em-
phases, slavery will be left to the accomplish-
ment of its own destiny. Less than forty years ago,
public sentiment in the slaveholding States them-
selves would have justified the prophecy of its ulti-
mate extinction. Its perpetuity may now be pre-
dicted, and upon data, gathered from political
philosophy, considerations of interest and reflections
of philanthropy. Dialecticians, sages and states-
men have convinced themselves, and are convincing
the world, that universal liberty, in its latitudinarian
sense, is a chimera, more dangerous, if attempted,
than despotism; as it would destroy society and
bring back barbarism, with all the evils and none
of the virtues of civilization. Political freedom with-
out conservative checks and guards, soon runs riot,
and anarchy is succeeded by the sovereignty of the
sword. If this be not true, then there should be no
law relative to the exercise of the elective franchise,
no such restraining influences as qualification for
office, no constitutional provisions tolling the people
and the representatives of the people what they shall
and what they shall not do.
The institution of slavery is as essential to the ex-
istence of a legitimate republic, as are the laws of
gravitation to the control of the elements of the ma-
terial world.
It is, therefore, inseparable from our system of
government. If white men are to enjoy their
natural rights, negroes must be slaves. As our
country extends its territory and the popular power is
increased, so it is still more necessary that slavery
should be expanded, as a conservative counterpoise to
the dangerous tendencies of an improper exercise of
the elective franchise.
This view of the subject is obtaining more and
more as there is a disposition to discard all artificial
inequalities among men of the same race, and allow
the power of the people of America fall scope in
the control of the country.
If slave labor is more profitable in Louisiana than
in Maryland, it is, of course, much more likely to be
perpetuated in the one than in the other. But
peculiarly more desirable or not, the day is not far
distant, when it will be considered an
indispensable element in our government, and insepar-
able from Southern soil. The North is already
threatened with the evils of Red Republicanism.
Let slavery be extinguished in the South, and the
United States would fly from their orbit, amid
shouts and jeers of the enemies of liberty throughout
the world. The very fact that the slave population
of Virginia is being absorbed by the more Southern
States is an evidence of the durability of the institu-
tion. While negroes are high here, they are still
higher there. And though from this constant ab-
sorption they may not multiply with sufficient rapid-
ity to convince the abolitionists that slavery is not
on the wane with the extension of right and
principles, it is more firmly fixed now than it has ever
been in the hearts and minds of the people of Vir-
ginia. It is as idle to expect to exterminate negro
slavery in the Southern States, as to attempt to turn
the tides with human hands, or arrest the ocean in
its course. Its destiny is to exist as long as civil-
ization and self-government lasts.

PROFESSOR TOTTEN THREATENED BY THE FIRE-EATERS.

The Richmond paper of the 28th ult. concludes
a long article on the new project of Virginia
colonization with the following pleasing remarks on the
learned Professor in William and Mary College,
whose letter has been recently published:—
"The folly of inviting an emigration of Yankee
adventurers into Virginia, especially when they en-
tertain the views avowed by Thayer's colony, is so
obvious and flagrant, that one is at a loss to under-
stand how any individual, who really regards the
interest of the State, can for a moment approve so
injudicious a measure. Yet, Professor Silas Totten,
of William and Mary College, whose position implies
that he is a person of at least ordinary intelligence
and sagacity, employs this language in a letter
which is inserted in the New York Evening Post:—
"I have no sympathy with the article quoted from
the Richmond paper by the Evening Post. It does
not speak the sentiment of the sober, thinking part
of our people. They do not fear the effect of North-
ern emigration. It is a great gain that the people of
the two sections of the country should be cited
against each other by such misrepresentations."
"Are not Eli and Silas of the same section?"
"Perhaps the inquiry does great injustice to the
Reverend Professor; but his name certainly has an
anti-slavery sound. Will some good friend in
Williamsburg inform us touching the nativity of
Professor Silas Totten? Not for the world would
we inflict the least injustice upon Professor Silas
Totten; but, somehow, we cannot resist the conclu-
sion that Professor Silas Totten is a born Yankee.
No other hypothesis will explain his Northern cor-
respondence, and his obvious approval of Eli's en-
terprise. On no other proposition can we account
for his energetic protest against the "misrepresen-
tations" of the Richmond paper, (which paper?)
and his high appreciation of the virtues of "North-
ern emigration." At the hazard, then, of being
convicted for a libel on Professor Silas Totten, we
will assume that he is no son of Virginia, and is
without any warrant to speak the "sentiment" of
"our people."
"We will venture the still more dangerous con-
jecture that he is a Yankee by blood and birth—
a Yankee, too, of that very class from whose pro-
pensity the South has more to apprehend—a Yankee
who conceals an inveterate hatred of our institu-
tions under the cloak of hypocritical moderation—a
Yankee after an individual of this sort should presume
to rebuke the "misrepresentations" of the Richmond
press"—since there is no height of impudence to
which such a Yankee is incapable of attaining. No
wonder that an individual of this sort should volun-
tarily assume an assurance of sympathy and support to
Thayer's anti-slavery colony. But it is not possi-
ble that any native-born Virginian, or any loyal
citizen even of Northern birth, could involve him-
self in so disreputable correspondence. Why, then,
the Reverend Professor Silas Totten even ventured this
significant invitation to the patriotic Eli Thayer?
"Free white labor finds immediate employment
of war wages, and we on wish that we had more
of it, and of a better quality."
"William and Mary College has been in a lan-
guishing condition for many years. Its fate is
neither unjust nor inexplicable. An institution
which takes to its bosom such individuals as the
Reverend Professor Silas Totten does not deserve
and cannot expect the support of Southern men."

The Liberator.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY WM. H. BURR.

The Twenty-Fourth Anniversary of the American
Anti-Slavery Society commenced at the Assembly
Rooms, in the City of New York, Tuesday morning,
May 12. Some two thousand people were present—
earnest looking men and women.
On the platform were William Lloyd Garrison,
Wendell Phillips, Rev. Thomas W. Higginson, Oliver
Johnson, Robert Purvis, C. L. Remond, Parker
 Pillsbury, Francis Jackson, Rev. Samuel May, Jr.,
and Thomas Garrett. The latter gentleman is a
Quaker doing business at Wilmington, Delaware,
from which place he has forwarded, according to his
books, 2,059 slaves over the Underground Railroad.
Mr. GARRISON read a selection from the Scriptures.
The Rev. A. D. MATO, of Albany, offered an ap-
propriate prayer.
Mr. GARRISON said that he had been instructed by
a preliminary meeting of the Society held last eve-
ning to present the following resolutions:—
1. Resolved, That the only Abolitionism we pro-
mote, and call upon the nation to reduce to prac-
tice, and call upon the nation to reduce to prac-
tice, is embodied in the self-evident truths of the
Declaration of Independence, and in the Golden Rule
of the Gospel—nothing more, nothing less.
2. Resolved, That we have but one object in view
—the immediate liberation of the slave; but one test
of statesmanship—the slave; but one proof of patri-
otism—the slave; but one standard of piety—the slave;
in other words, we pronounce that statesmanship
to be folly which leaves the freedom of the slave out
of sight; that patriotism to be hollow which does not
break his fetters; and that piety to be spurious which
does not hail him as a man and a brother.
3. Resolved, That he who was before all institu-
tions, and is to survive them all, is greater than them
all; hence, that he is never to be sacrificed that they
may be preserved; and whenever they come in con-
flict with his God-given rights, they are to be modified
or abolished, and he is to stand crowned with glory
and honor, as one created but a little lower than the
angels.
4. Resolved, That we shall allow nothing to stand
between the slave and his emancipation—neither po-
litical party nor religious sect, neither parchment nor
compact, neither Constitution nor Union; but we
shall press through them all, or over them all, di-
verted by no side issue, intimidated by no menace,
appalled by no danger, till we break his yoke, and
place him, redeemed and disenthralled, upon the
world-wide platform of a common humanity.
5. Resolved, That if to make human liberty para-
mount to all other considerations be fanaticism, then
we glory in being fanatics; that if to be in deadly an-
tagonism to a pro-slavery religion be infidelity, then
we are infidels; and if to declare that a slaveholding
Union ought to be dashed in pieces be treason, then
we are proud of the title of traitors; for 'the head
and front of our offending hath this extent—no more.'
6. Resolved, That all the features of the late deci-
sion of Judge Taney, and his four slaveholding asso-
ciates, of the United States Supreme Court, in the
Dred Scott case, are marked by a brutality of spirit,
a daring disregard of all historical verity, a defiant
contempt of State sovereignty, a wanton perversion of
the Constitution of the United States in regard to the
rights of American citizens, and an audacious denial
of all the principles of justice and humanity, that
justify call for the sternest condemnation, and its in-
dignant rejection as a decision binding upon the con-
science or conduct of any man, or any part of the
country.
7. Resolved, That while the armed invasion and
bloody conquest of Kansas, by Southern 'Border
Ruffians,' and the recent decision of the United
States Supreme Court in regard to the citizenship of
the colored population of the country, are atrocities of
the most fiendish character; and while no language
of indignation and horror is too strong to be uttered
in view of their perpetration, still these are not excesses
of the slave system, but its very nature and bent—
effects of the same cause—fruits of the same poison
tree; hence, to dwell upon these superadded crimes,
and to leave the source of them untouched—nay, to
keep it in full operation by constitutional protection—
is not only a lamentable waste of time, but a gross
moral absurdity.
8. Resolved, That the South has simply been true
to her necessities—taking no unnecessary step, resort-
ing to no extraneous measures, seeking no superfluous
safeguards, in order to give security to her slave sys-
tem; that she could do no less, and will be contin-
ually constrained to do more and more in the same di-
rection—trampling upon all agreements, guarantees,
and compacts, and making fresh aggressions upon the
rights and liberties of the people of the North, until
the very forms of republican government are over-
thrown, and a military dictatorship established over
the entire country.
9. Resolved, That while the North gives its sanc-
tion and support to slavery in fifteen States of the
Union, it can make no consistent moral resistance to
its extension in the Territories; that we tell the Re-
publican party that if it would be a curse and crime
to plant it in Kansas, it is no less criminal and dis-
tasteful to perpetuate it in Carolina; that it is equally
absurd and immoral to make it a question of soil, cli-
mate, of latitude and longitude, or of bargain and
compromise; that if it be compatible with Christiani-
ty and Republicanism to hold four millions of slaves
as property, it is no less so to hold four hundred mil-
lions in the same condition; that to license oppres-
sion is to lose the power to limit it; and that any
other issue with slavery in this country, except that of
its immediate and total abolition, is wild and delusive.
10. Whereas, (in the language of John Quincy Ad-
ams,) 'It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of
the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to
the Constitution, three separate provisions to secure
the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves:—
The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of pur-

using the African slave trade; the second was the
stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engage-
ment positively prohibited by the laws of God deliv-
ered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the
principles of popular representation, of a representa-
tion for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the
name of persons—thus constituting a privileged order
of men in the community, more adverse to the rights
of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the
whole, than any order of nobility ever known, and
making the preservation, propagation and perpetua-
tion of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the
National Government'; and
Whereas, this view of the design and character of
the Constitution is sustained by all the historical facts
in regard to its formation, by its uniform interpreta-
tion by all the Courts and all the Legislatures of all
the States, and by the spirit and action of the Ameri-
can people under it from 1789 to the present time,
thus placing it beyond all reasonable doubt or denial;
and
Whereas, a Constitution so formed and administered
is nothing better than a 'covenant with death and an
agreement with hell,' to uphold which is morally
wrong and politically vicious—making responsible,
as it does, the whole country for the safety and perpetu-
ity of the slave system, therefore,
Resolved, That it becomes a high moral duty to dis-
solve the present National Compact; to raise the
banner of secession; to join in the cry of 'No Union
with Slaveholders'; to separate the North from the
South; that the awful responsibilities growing out of
the existence of slavery may be placed upon the heads
of those who proclaim their determination to perpetu-
ate their nefarious institution—the resources of the
Slave Power, whereby it is enabled to extend and
strengthen itself, cut off—the slaves permitted to stand
erect, and look their lordly masters in the face, and
settle the question of their liberty, without any extrane-
ous influence—the slaveholders deprived of all auxil-
iary aid, and put in a situation in which it will be a
physical and geographical impossibility for them to
retain a single victim in bondage.
11. Resolved, That we do not, cannot, dare not,
will not recognize as churches of Christ those churches
which sanction slavery; which justify, excuse, or
apologize for slaveholding under any circumstances,
or which admit slaveholders to their communion and
fellowship; that it is blasphemy against God,
and treason to Jesus Christ, to admit that such churches
are His; that, on the other hand, we regard them as
the actual atheists and infidels of this country—un-
dermining the foundations of society, subverting
genuine Christianity, filling the land with impurity
and unrighteousness, and poisoning by their pernicious
doctrines and example the moral well-springs through-
out the land.
Mr. GARRISON—I have now the pleasure of in-
troducing to the audience THOMAS WESTWORTH HIGGIN-
SON, of Worcester, Mass., a tried and true friend of
freedom, who needs no eulogy on this occasion.
SPEECH OF REV. T. W. HIGGINSON.
MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:
I heard, until within a few moments, that it was to
follow Mr. Garrison in speaking. It is the next most
honorable thing to that to follow at his word of com-
mand. There is an old Greek proverb which says, 'It
is an honor to be a patriot; it is an honor even to
come when a patriot calls. A patriot has called me,
and I have come.' It is not without meaning or con-
sideration that I select that word for our great leader.
It is not merely because, in the words of the resolu-
tions—the slave. But I have high authority for the
epithet which I choose; because it was the leader of
the Republican party in this nation, its great manager,
its most skillful wire-puller, who, in the best speech he
ever made—it is Henry Wilson of whom I am speak-
ing—at THE LIBERATOR festival, six years ago, after
boasting of having read THE LIBERATOR for twelve
years, and attributing to its teachings the greater part
of his own love of freedom, ended by choosing out of
Mr. Garrison's virtues to extol, not his truthfulness,
not his courage, not his zeal, but 'the patriotism of
the disunionist, Mr. Garrison.' I have, therefore,
high political authority for what I say.
I stand here upon this platform with pleasure, for
two reasons. The first is this: We hear it said every-
day that the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Sla-
very Society are stern, narrow, sectarian, illiberal, in-
tolerant of any man or of any opinion which does not
fully coincide with them or theirs. I stand here
a living witness of the falsehood of the charge. From
the moment when first, in an obscure country parish
of New England, I ventured to peep and mutter upon
the subject of American slavery, the support, the un-
failing friendship of the Abolitionists around me
has been mine. Never agreeing with them wholly,
never asked to agree with them wholly, never
accepting that special dogma of the interpreta-
tion of the Constitution, which is supposed to be the
narrow standard by which they try all virtues, I have
found ever from them a sympathy more than my de-
serts, a friendliness which I never earned. I could
not in words, perhaps, refute the charge of illiber-
ality against them; but it is refuted by my standing
here.
I have another reason for standing here. I look
in through the nation for another place to stand
and find men and women who see slavery as it is, and
in its full strength. I have co-operated with poli-
tical Abolitionists all my life; I may still co-operate
with them, if they will be kind enough to pass by my
door. I have co-operated all my life with anti-sla-
very clergymen also. But I have lived in vain for a
body of men who understand slavery in its depth, ex-
cept the Abolitionists of the Anti-Slavery Society.
With all others, it is a superficial thing. Every man
who has been in Republican meetings knows it, if he
knows slavery as it is. Every man who has been in
the habit of talking anti-slavery with those who talk
it loudly and habitually, in the streets and the can-
cans, knows the shallowness of their perception of
this giant evil. A young New Yorker whom I met,
not long since, in a foreign country, told me he was
an Abolitionist. 'I am from America; I am from
New York; of course I am an Abolitionist,' says he;
'but then, I am not an ultra Abolitionist, like Seward
and Greeley.' (Laughter.) Well, we have come here

among a class of men also not ultra Abolitionists, like
Seward and Greeley; of quite a different stamp; but
Seward and Greeley are ultra Abolitionists in their
manner, in their earnestness, in their fidelity; ultra
Abolitionists compared with the mass of the Republi-
can party. The mass of the Republican party have
only begun to open their eyes to the grasp that sla-
very has taken upon the nation. The great number
of Republican speakers see slavery, after all, as a tri-
vial evil compared with its reality. Of course they
see, for he must be blind who does not see, that it is
the first political question before the nation, because
there is no other political question before the nation.
It needs no insight to see that slavery is more impor-
tant than the bank or the tariff, because the tariff is
settled, and so is the bank. They are no questions at
all. They await slavery, therefore, as the first ques-
tion before the nation; they await the Slave Power
as something strong indeed, but not colossal; power-
ful indeed, but not frightful. They think it is a de-
mon, but that it is a kind of demon that goes out,
after all, very easily by prayer and fasting,—the prayer
of three thousand Yankee clergymen, and the fasting
of the loaves and fishes of the Republican party for
four years more. (Laughter.)
They do not see it, they never have seen it, as it is.
This very morning, I read in an able Republican jour-
nal the statement that, after all, however it may have
seemed in times past, the Slave Power is 'a weak
thing,' when you come broadly to look it in the face.
'A weak thing,' Mr. Chairman? If the power that
has controlled this nation since its formation, that has
for half a century elected every President, dictated
every Cabinet, controlled every Congress, the power
that has demoralized the religion of the nation, and
emasculated its literature, the power that outwitted
Clay and stultified Webster, the power that has ruled
as easily its Northern creditors as its Northern debtors,
the power that at this moment stands with all the
patronage of the greatest nation in the world in its
clutches, and upon the firmest financial basis in
the world—so George Peabody says—of cotton be-
neath its feet—if this power be weak, where in the
wide universe will you look for any thing strong?
Weakness? Why, slavery is king; king de facto.
It is as strong now as it was before the hundreds of
thousands of freemen rallied to the support of John
C. Fremont. It is as strong now as it was when
Fremont was only known as the explorer of the Rocky
Mountains and the millionaire of California. It is ab-
solute in its strength before us to-day. It knows the
folly of those that think it weak, and it laughs at
them. What does it fear? It has forgotten God,
and there are only two things in the universe that it
does fear, and those are the devil and William Lloyd
Garrison. Out in Kansas, my brilliant friend, James
H. Lane, was making one of his characteristic spee-
ches to the people, and he wanted words to describe the
position of the two leaders of Kansas; for Kansas,
like Rome of old, has two consuls, one for war, and
one for peace. He characterized the position of the
Border Ruffians towards Charles Robinson and him-
self by saying, 'The Missourians hate Jim Lane as
they hate the devil; Charles Robinson they hate'—
and he paused to think of something that the Missourians
hated worse than the devil, and said—'Charles
Robinson they hate as they hate virtue'; and every
body agreed that it was the best description of the
men ever given. The Missourians of Washington,
the Missourians of the South, have the same twin
hostility, and it is equally well deserved. They know
what they have to fear.
Mr. Chairman, I began by saying that I never had
accepted the opinion which prevails on this platform
of the character of the Constitution. A few words
only upon that. I never have held, and I hope I never
shall hold, that the Constitution or any thing else is
to be interpreted in a pro-slavery manner. I can
possibly find any other sense in it. I never have held,
and I trust I never shall hold, that it is to be inter-
preted by what its framers meant to put in it, but only
like all other legal instruments, by what they succeeded
in getting into it. Some regard it as strongly pro-
slavery, and others as strongly anti-slavery, and oth-
ers as Talleyrand regarded the French Constitution,
when he said it meant nothing, and never would mean
anything, because he made it himself on purpose.
(Laughter.) I think that hits the nail upon the head.
There is one rule in the interpretation of documents
where liberty is concerned, and that is, to put in li-
berty wherever there is a loophole to cram it in by.
The authority best adapted to our purpose, so far as I
know, is the very memorable decision rendered in the
case where Shylock was the plaintiff, Portia the
judge, and William Shakespeare the reporter of the
court. If there be in that Constitution any space left,
if there be an ounce of flesh or a drop of blood, if there
be the drachm of a scruple or a scruple itself, where
you can force an anti-slavery meaning into it, you
have a right to put that meaning in, and every hon-
est man will justify you in the effort. The mightiest
intellect and the profoundest moral sense, for such
a purpose as that, may narrow itself down to micro-
scopic investigation. It may pass through as delicate
a fissure as that which held Ariel in the cloven pine,
if by so doing it can transform one slave into a free-
man.
It is only a question of will, whether it shall be done
or not. No instrument, framed as the Constitution
is, is without the opportunities which that gives. I
do not care where the loophole is found; there may be
one in the word 'law'; there may be another in
the word 'due.' I do not care how small it is; give
us a Supreme Court that is favorable to liberty, and
the Constitution is an anti-slavery document to-mor-
row. (Applause.) It is not a question of the meaning of
words as yet. I do not know of any question that this
nation can discuss so utterly unimportant for all hu-
man purposes as the question of the meaning of the
Constitution of the United States. It is a dead let-
ter. It is a piece of parchment riddled through and
through. Where is the man that obeys it? Where is
the Southerner that obeys it? Where is the North-
ern Republican who obeys it, if the fugitive
slave takes refuge in his house? Nobody means to
obey it. I see no difference of practical importance
between Wendell Phillips and Gerrit Smith. One
thinks the Constitution is pro-slavery; the other thinks
the existing interpretation of the Constitution is pro-
slavery. Each of them admits that it will cost a

olution to get either the Constitution or its interpreta-
tion set aside. Both of them believe in carrying that
revolution to the point of the bayonet, if necessary.
Where is the difference as a question of fact? Nothing.
All the intellect, all the genius, all the learning ever
expended upon the point of Constitutional interpreta-
tion, are not worth, in the practical solution of the slave-
ry question, a millionth part so much as the poorest sort
that ever a fugitive slave fired at his master—not worth
the thrust of the dagger that made Margaret Garner's
child a free being in heaven, instead of a slave upon
earth. The one is a word; the other is a fact. The
one is a theory; the other is one of those stern reali-
ties that revolutionize nations, and upon which Con-
stitutions only wait.
The question of slavery is a stern and practical one.
Give us the power, and we can make a new Constitu-
tion, or we can re-interpret the old one. How is that
power to be obtained? By politics? Never. By
revolution, and that alone. There is the issue, Mr.
Chairman. That is what makes men Disunionists,
Constitution or no Constitution. It is a question of
fact. I cannot bear to waste time in debating the
Constitution, because I see that while the Constitu-
tion is being talked about, there is a crack in the na-
tion, that is growing wider, and wider, and wider
apart. When I look at this fact, I do not care for the
theory. We talk about a Constitution and a nation;
we are not a nation; we are two nations, whom this
frail paper bond has vainly tried to weld together into
one. We are diverging more and more every day.
Every thing separates us. Birth, tradition, laws, edu-
cation, social habits, institutions—every thing sepa-
rates us, nothing brings us nearer together. The re-
ason why Free State men and Slave State men hate
each other in Kansas is because all the institutions of
their respective nations have been for years training
them to hate each other. When they come face to
face, it is only the old hostility breaking out again.
It is not only the difference in birth, although still
the Puritan stock remains upon the one side, and the
Cavalier stock still upon the other. It is not that in
Kansas you see on the one side the traces of the Puritan,
only softened and improved, and upon the other the
traces of the Cavaliers, only degraded and deterior-
ated; it is not that even now in Kansas, as during
the English civil wars, you may know one side from
the other because the one side wears long hair and
the other does not; because when you meet a party
there with long hair you may know they are Missourians,
and when you meet a party with short hair you may
know that they are Round-heads, Puritans, Yan-
kees; it is not that alone, strange though that coin-
cidence is after the lapse of centuries; but it is be-
cause something stronger than parties is separating them.
Slaveholders and Freemen are always two nations.
There is no power or force that can unite them. There
are no two nations in Europe so absolutely antagonistic
as the Free State and the Slave State men of this
Union. All that any town in Massachusetts or New
York asserts by its institutions, every settlement in
South Carolina, every plantation in Virginia denies.
How are you to unite these two antagonisms? By a
Union and a Constitution? Read Olmstead's admi-
rable book on Texas, and you will find that the young
New Yorker, travelling among the American settle-
ments of Texas, felt himself a stranger, with native
citizens about him; but, coming into a German settle-
ment, he felt himself among kindred and friends.
Germany, far off, dreamy, visionary, poetical Ger-
many, was nearer in national sympathy to the young
New Yorker, than the Texans and the Missourians,
who called themselves his brothers. I know a young
man born in South Carolina and educated in Massa-
chusetts. He travelled abroad and visited half the
nations of Europe. When he came back, he entered,
for the first time in eight years, his own birth-place,
Charleston, S. C.; and he told me that he had not,
at Vienna, or Rome, or Paris, the sense of strange-
ness that he had there. He was a foreigner in his
birth-place, because his birth-place was South Caro-
lina, and Massachusetts trained him. Tell me, if you
can, in the history of the world, of a nation with such
antagonisms as that within its bosom, which has per-
manently held together.
It is not a question of this or that measure. It is a
question of permanent, absolute, irreconcilable dis-
tinctions, growing with the growth of the people,
showing themselves more and more every year, and
every year slavery is more truly slavery, and freedom
is more truly freedom. I ask nothing more than the
evidence I see with my own eyes of that antagonism,
to show me that politicians dream in vain of perma-
nently keeping the Union together. But why should
the Union be kept together? What are the objects,
the arguments, the advantages? I see the weakness
of this Union the moment any man undertakes to de-
fend it, because I see the poverty of the arguments he
uses. He asks how you are going to dissolve the
Union, not seeing that it dissolves itself. Every time
a blow is struck in Kansas or in Washington, it splits
further apart.
They ask whether you are not deserting the slave
by dissolving the Union. The best anti-slavery lec-
turer I know of upon that point is one Thomas H.
Benton, of St. Louis, Mo. If he does not satisfy the
people of the Northern States that it is best for them
to dissolve the Union, I do not know who will. He
came to Worcester the week after we had the Dis-
union Convention there. A great many people had
shaken their heads at that Convention. The argu-
ment had been potent with some uneducated and
hasty persons, that if the Union were dissolved, it
would be the desertion of the slave, and a baseness
unworthy of us. Sir, Mr. Benton settled all that in
about five minutes, before one of the largest audiences
ever collected in Worcester; and he settled it by the
very argument by which he undertook to produce a
different result. He stood before the people of that
city, and tried to startle them by the consequences
that would flow from a separation between these States.
Said he, (his eyes opening wide, and his face growing
longer and longer), 'If you dissolve this Union, friends
and fellow-citizens, twenty slaves will run away from
you one does now; and a general chuckle of satisfaction
ran through the audience. Thinking himself misun-
derstood, and wishing to deepen the impression, he
said, 'If you dissolve the Union, you will bring Can-
sada practically down to the line of Maryland and Vir-

ginia; and the house shook with applause, when he looked for sorrow and mourning.

'She went to the undertaker's to buy him a coffin. And when she got back, the poor dog was laughing.'

Every body agreed that if we had driven the nail of Disunion, he had clinched it. How idle is it for us, standing here at the North—and I use now the argument familiar to the religious press—to suppose that we can be better acquainted with the subject of slavery than Thomas H. Benton.

All the arguments have the same weakness. The real opposition to disunion is a vague, an indeterminate opposition. People shrink from dissolving the Union, because they do not know what the result will be. They see the danger now; they shrink from incurring that which they do not understand. They are about on a level with the old stage coach driver in England, who had his private opinion of the superiority of stages to rail-cars. 'There are many accidents, people being upset, in proportion to the travel, upon the stages as upon the railroads,' it was said to him. 'Yes,' said old Weller, 'but that is not the thing; don't you see the difference; if you are upset in a stage coach, and find yourself flying over a hedge somewhere, there you are; but if the train runs off the track, and smashes to atoms, where are you?' That is about as much idea as most persons have of the effect of dissolving the Union. It is a vague impression, a dim apprehension, and we would rather suffer the actual dangers we have, than fly to others that we know not of.

Others, sheltering themselves behind the same uncertainty, and the same laissez faire doctrine, suppose that as the Union has stood a great while, it will stand a great while longer. No notice has been given, no trumpet sounded; and the Union which has stood a great many shocks will stand a great many more. These men do not know that a revolution is always half finished before the majority of the community have found out that it is begun. They do not know that it is not the conscious action of the people, but their unconscious action, that determines the course of events. It was after the battle of Bunker Hill that Congress met and deliberately voted that they had not taken up arms with the vain and impious purpose of separating themselves from the mother country; and then they went on and separated. That is the way we are doing. We pledge ourselves against Disunion, and still, after all, every earnest anti-slavery man, calling himself Republican, Union-saver, or what you please, keeps in the corner of his heart a little willingness, like Mr. Banks down in Maine, in a certain contingency, to 'let the Union slide.' No matter whether he is even willing to 'let the Union slide' or not, he keeps in one corner of his heart a place for a disunion argument, just as our friends of the Tribune are willing that 'J. S. P.' of Washington, should have his little column to preach a little of the leaven of disunion, although the editors have not got to it yet. In our more earnest moments, when a fugitive slave case is before us, or when Charles Sumner is struck down, or when a new tragedy takes place in Kansas, we are all disunionists. When sober reflection comes, many a man who thinks himself so, finds that he is not quite ready for that yet. He finds that, after all, the danger is not so imminent as he supposed, and he says—'Go along with your old ark; I guess it won't be much of a shower after all.' (Laughter.) It is like the good ferryman out West, of whom I heard the other day. He had taken a great many across in his old canoe, and he wanted mightily to cross once more when he had a profitable job to do. 'You had better not go,' said they. 'Yes,' said he, 'I am going.' 'You had better not go; you will be drowned.' 'Never was drowned in my life,' said the man, as he went into the boat; and he lost the chance to say that again. It is so with every revolution in the world. Just as some leader of the people has the words upon his lips, 'There is to be no revolution,' he turns round and finds himself in the midst of it.

We are in the midst of a revolution. The anti-slavery movement is not a reform; it is a revolution. It is a revolution when Garrison defies the United States Government in Boston, outside the Constitution; or when Gerrit Smith, in New York defies it in his way. So long as the Jerrys are rescued, it is of no consequence whether they are rescued with law or without law; it is equally revolution.

'Treason ne'er prospers; what's the reason? Why, when it prospers, none dare call it treason.'

Let the radical anti-slavery men come to the epoch of success, and the Henry Wilsons will again cease to talk about hanging Disunionists, and will come back to their old opinion of the patriotism of the Garissons. In the meantime, there are two things especially to be done by Abolitionists in the States where they live. It often happens, in the progress of institutions, Mr. Chairman, that the very thing which at one period is a bulwark for freedom, becomes, at a later period, and upon further experience, a check and a hindrance to it. There are two institutions in our free States now, founded with the noblest of purposes, sustained with the bravest energies, but both of them grow antagonistic to freedom, by the progress of things, both destined, I trust, to be abolished.

The first of these institutions, once noble, now outgrown and objectionable, is the Underground Railroad to Canada. God grant that we may see an end to that pretty soon! The Underground Railroad, as I have believed for years, I believe more and more every day, is demoralizing the conscience of our people, accustoming them to think that all their duty to freedom consists, not in making their own soil free, but in pointing the way to some other soil that is free. I want, and you want, if there is any manhood or womanhood in you, to live upon free earth; but the soil which we tread is not free, if, when a man comes to your door and asks for your protection in the dusk of the evening, all you can do for him is to say, 'There is a dollar, and that railroad leads to Canada. That is not freedom. It is not freedom, so long as there is any difference between Canada and Broadway to a single human being who has a right to tread God's earth a freeman. (Applause.) To establish freedom anywhere, begin by establishing it where you stand. If you can't make free the soil upon which your own feet tread, it may be a necessary evil to recognize some freer soil anywhere else; but it is a disgrace to you so long as the fact remains. It is ignoble; it is dishonorable; it is worse than that, because it is demoralizing. The Underground Railroad makes cowards of us all. It makes us think and hesitate and look over our shoulders, and listen, and wonder, and not dare to tell the truth to the man who stands by our side. It may be a necessary evil, but an evil it is. I do not know how it is elsewhere, but I can say that in the city where I live, there has been from year to year a deepening conviction that it is degrading to let any man go out of the city because he came into it upon the Southern track. It is degrading, dishonorable, demoralizing.

There came there some time ago, a black man of heroic proportions, who had earned his right to freedom by brave labors. That man had gone from city to city in the free States, seeking for rest and finding none; because, though he was willing to stand and run the risk himself, the best advice he could get at any of these places was, to push a little further along. He came to Worcester at last. We looked at the man, and took the measure of him. Such sinews I never saw. That man could take a barrel of flour in his arms, lift it easily, and hold it out at arm's length. We looked at those arms, and we said to him, 'These arms are better arguments for staying than your legs are for going.' (Laughter and applause.) So stay where you are.' He stayed. In order that there might be no uncertainty as to the fact that he was there, some of us took pains to allude to it in the Boston papers, for the benefit of any United States official who might feel disposed to come there and make a call upon him;

but there is something in the air of Worcester a little prejudicial to the health of that class of officers, and none of them ever came. I thank God that many have done the same thing since. He was not the first, nor is the latest one, I trust, the last. I hope that the time will come in Massachusetts, if nowhere else, when we can call every fugitive slave within her borders to meet in Convention under his own proper name, and hold deliberation in the light of day; yes, to advertise the Convention in the pro-slavery issues of the widest circulation, in the New York papers, in its well-named Journal of Commerce, and the ill-named Journal of Criticism, to advertise in them all; and, Mr. Chairman, in the name of the citizens of Worcester, I demand that that Convention shall be held in our City Hall. (Applause.)

So far, so good. There is something else to be abolished besides the Underground Railroad, and that is Personal Liberty Bills, as we pass them now. I do not know a Personal Liberty Bill in any State in this Union, that is not, as it stands, a refuge for cowards; because they all provide, every one of them, that if the slave slips through the defenses they offer him, he is a slave, and must be sent southward as such. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to see the fugitive slaves that come into Massachusetts protected only at the cost of perjury on the jury trial. I do not want to see any jury trial for fugitive slaves. Slavery and juries are two things irreconcilable. They have nothing in common. If a man is to be sent back as a slave, I would rather have only one man's conscience darkened by the guilt of it, though it be dark as Loring's, than have twelve men in the community put into the dilemma either of perjuring themselves upon their oath to try the case according to the law and the evidence, or of sending the man back into slavery. I do not want to see Personal Liberty Bills based upon any narrower ground than the absolute right of every man to freedom, law or no law, slavery or no slavery, Constitution or no Constitution. (Applause.) There is waking up, I rejoice to say, in Massachusetts, in New York, in Wisconsin, a protest against these laws. The only true law is the law which makes the difference between the criminal and the slave, not in favor of the criminal, but in favor of the slave. What we want to see is a law which makes escape from slavery not the proof of crime, but the crowning fact of virtue. I want a law in the spirit of the old Quaker who was sheltering a colored man under the Fugitive Slave Law, but not knowing that he was a fugitive slave. His neighbors were frightened at last, and came and remonstrated with him. 'Why,' said they, 'that man has broken the law.' 'O,' said the Quaker, 'I think not; he seems a good man.' 'But,' said they, 'if you did but know it, he is actually a thief.' 'O no,' said the Quaker, 'I cannot believe that, he seems such a good man.' 'Why, yes he is,' said they, 'he is a fugitive slave; he has stolen himself from his master.' 'Well,' said the Quaker, 'it seems that he is a better man than I thought he was.' I want such a law that the key-note is struck, I rejoice to say, in the State in which we stand now. I must go back, Mr. Phillips must go back, and tell Massachusetts to look to her laurels. We have not even had proposed in the Massachusetts Legislature any point so high and so honorable as the resolution proposed, but not passed yet, in New York—

'Resolved, That this State will not allow slavery within her borders, in any form, under any pretence, for any time, however short.' (Great applause.)

There is a Personal Liberty Bill, indeed! Give a man such a State as that to live in, and the soil he treads upon, though part of a Republic, is as free as if it were ruled by a Queen. It is as free as Canada itself. God speed the time when the Littlejohns of New York shall be the great men of the State.—Speaker Littlejohn, like his namesake in old England, may be an outlaw temporarily. No matter; his arrow has cleft the wound, and he has Gerrit Smith for his Robin Hood, and shall say it—Henry Ward Beecher for his Friar Tuck. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. GARRISON—Our friend Mr. Higginson has simply done justice to the American Anti-Slavery Society in regard to the freedom and catholicity of its platform and its action. I wish simply to say that, in reference to the Constitution, he has made a verbal mistake which might seem to require correction on the spot. He refers to our interpretation of the Constitution. Not our interpretation, for that would make it very limited, would make it simply the interpretation of the American A. S. Society, as an organization; but the interpretation of the nation ever since the adoption of the Constitution, in regard to slaveholding clauses about which people have never disputed, and in regard to which they have shown the most entire unanimity of feeling; the interpretation of Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Marshall, and Franklin, and Jay, and Hamilton, and Ames, and all those who grew up with the Constitution, and so not the interpretation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but the interpretation of the nation itself. If any man chooses singly to outface the nation, and say it does not know what the Constitution is, we leave it to that man to settle it with the nation, and the nation to settle it with him; and if it be like the parchment drawn up by Talleyrand, and means nothing, it shows good reason why we should have a parchment which means something, declaring that every man is created by God for freedom, and not slavery.

Mr. HIGGINSON—I beg leave to state that the reason why I spoke of that opinion as the opinion of Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips, and not as the opinion of the American people and of the Supreme Court, was simply because I wished to present that opinion in a respectable point of view (laughter); I wished to give the very highest authority I knew for it. It is a fact of no great importance, in my estimation, what the opinion of the Supreme Court is, but when I find that Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips entertain that opinion, I think it is a fact of some importance. (Laughter.)

Mr. GARRISON—I think the nation knows what it says, and understands what it says.

Mr. HIGGINSON—You don't think it understands anything else, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GARRISON then introduced PARKER PILLSBURY, after reading, at the request of Mr. Pillsbury, the last resolution of the series.

SPEECH OF MR. PILLSBURY.

I shall not consume much of the time of the audience, and probably cannot do the Anti-Slavery cause any better service than to append to the resolution which has just been read, two or three resolutions which I have drawn up, to elaborate somewhat the sentiment of that resolution. They may be considered as part of my remarks, or they may be regarded as additional to the series of resolutions before the Society, just as the meeting thinks proper.

12. Resolved, That in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible and Tract Societies, the Methodist General Conferences, Baptist Unions and Presbyterian General Assemblies, we have full and fair exponents and representatives of the religion of the country.

13. Resolved, That as all these bodies are composed of denominations claiming the prerogative of making terms of communion and church fellowship, and as not one of them has ever included non-slaveholding among those conditions, even while, in some instances, expelling members for differences upon modes of baptism, it becomes necessary, in fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause, to declare that no person who intelligently supports any of these organizations, or the churches composing them, either by countenance or contribution, is worthy to be regarded as a Christian or an Abolitionist.

14. Resolved, That we shall hail the day with hope and joy, when all these associations, so long the shield of a tyrant and the scourge of the slave, shall pass away, and have many others like them in former ages, and thus leave a more open entrance for the coming of the Kingdom of Peace and Purity, of Love and Liberty, in this as well as in other lands.

I was once in the presence of some gentlemen, and one was introducing to his friends a stranger, and he introduced him, calling him by name, as one who, he said, always had the misfortune, when he spoke, of being understood. It strikes me that the grand difficulty in our time is, that though we have much excellent speaking, very little of it is understood. I admire very much the resolutions read by the President, but when they were read after another, I felt afraid that in nearly every one of them there was some loophole out of which almost the entire community would be creeping. We have the American Board of Commissioners, we have the American Bible Society, we have the Methodist General Conferences, and I do not know how many other associations, and by some means the great mass of the people supporting those organizations in the Northern States fancy themselves and those organizations anti-slavery. And if I am not mistaken, the fault is partly our own—ours, I mean, who profess to be the exponents of the Anti-Slavery Gospel to this nation. I wish that I might deserve the appellation and description given by my friend to whom I referred, and that I may always have the same misfortune of being understood whenever and wherever I speak. What the country needs at this time is speech as well as action, but it should be speech understood, as well as action understood, and action in the right direction.

The great religious bodies to which I refer, all of them profess to be anti-slavery; so do the political parties of our country. The religious bodies have their apostles or representative men, exponents of their doctrine and position; the political parties have theirs. The Democratic party claims to be, here in the North, the friend, in some sense, of the slave, because it professes to believe in the doctrine of universal liberty, and it has, or used to have, a great horror and dread of the more conservative party—the Whig or Federal party, as it used to be denominated. But the Democratic party, as every one now believes who understands its true position, especially after the revelations and demonstrations that have been made of it for the last quarter of a century, is to be regarded as one of the bulwarks of the slave system; and if I do not misapprehend its position, it rather exceeds in atrocity and in willingness to subvert the interests of slavery and an exemption of the United States itself. Judge Taney's decision was fully interpreted by nearly all the editors of the Democratic presses of the country running in advance of the doctrines as declared by the Supreme Court, will cover the whole ground, but the editors are certainly in advance of the decision itself in proclaiming their readiness to abide by it when it shall cover all the ground which it professes to cover, viz., that of not only dehumanizing as well as denationalizing and bestializing the entire African race, but turning them into slaves, and every Northern State into slave territory. Up in New Hampshire, where I have the calamity to reside, (laughter,) a near neighbor to Gen. Pierce, (renewed laughter,) our Democratic editors have already cast up in figures and published to the world how much they are going to make by the rise of real estate in consequence of New Hampshire having become a slave State; and they calculate that our White Mountain valleys are to echo with the slave-driver's lash, and that the banks of our beautiful lakes are to be the scenes where slavery is to work out all its terrible realities; and that out of all this, New Hampshire Democracy is to coin dollars and cents as never before. And what is true in New Hampshire is equally true in Boston. The Democratic party, speaking through its journals, outruns the Supreme Court in its devotion to slavery, and I believe the Calvinistic ministers in New England are beginning to prove the doctrine of total depravity now by the position of the Democratic party (laughter); certainly, if they cannot prove it by that, I know not what argument will be sufficient. (Renewed laughter.)

And when we come to the next political party, the Republican—I believe there is no longer any organized Whig, or even Know-Nothing or American party—the same may be said of it as of the Democratic party. Its leaders have misled the people in precisely the same manner that the leaders of the Democratic party have misled them in the late Presidential campaign. Not long ago, John P. Hale, in his place in the Senate of the United States, assured the Slave Power that they had made a mistake in the election of James Buchanan. He said, 'The Democratic party who have elected him will sell you out when it comes to be for their interest to do so; but if you had elected John C. Fremont, the candidate and champion of the Free Soil party and of the party of State Rights, your peculiar institution would have been secure.' Now, I have travelled somewhat extensively in New England and in the West, and I have found that in nine cases out of ten, the supporters of John C. Fremont and of the Republican cause at the late Presidential election professed to believe that the view of their candidate and of their party in regard to the Constitution of the United States was precisely like that laid down just now by our friend from Massachusetts, Mr. Higginson, and the same as that maintained by Gerrit Smith. And I believe it is not too much to say, that the Democrats of the North were inveigled into the support of James Buchanan by the cry of 'Buchanan and free Kansas.' I am sure I was in Philadelphia on the day of the State election last autumn, and that was the cry there then, and I know it was the cry wherever I went in the West among the Democracy; and in that way, undoubtedly, the vote of Pennsylvania was secured to Buchanan, as well as the vote of every other Northern State that gave him its support. But while the leaders of the Democracy were raising this cry of 'Buchanan and free Kansas,' what were the leaders of the Republican party crying? I stand here and affirm that they were all deceivers together, and that one was as much a deceiver as the other, and those who deceived in the name of Anti-Slavery were the most dangerous deceivers of the two. All over this country, the great mass of the Republican party, so-called, actually believed that the position of that party was precisely that of Gerrit Smith and of the 'Radical Abolitionists,' as they term themselves, in the central portion of the State of New York. Now, one of two things is true. Either those men have misunderstood designedly, or they have misunderstood unwittingly, and therefore it is that I have to belong to a different description of men, a class which shall have the misfortune when they speak of being understood. The Democrats were led into the support of James Buchanan by the cry of 'Buchanan and free Kansas,' the Republicans were led into the support of John C. Fremont by a cry equally deceptive. Let the Republican party deny it if they can.

But I do not propose to speak on the political aspects of the cause. I only wish to illustrate my idea, that there is much false speaking that is not apprehended on the part of the people, and there probably is great obtuseness of conscience or blindness of perception on the part of the great multitude of the American people. I do not doubt, I never did doubt, the honesty and the purity of purpose on the part of a large majority of the members and supporters of the Republican party. I do not doubt, I never have doubted, the purity and the piety, in the best sense of the word, of large numbers of the members of the American Church. And yet I stand here to affirm, that the position of those parties and this Church, as held and defended by the leaders and exponents of those organizations, is an entirely false and wicked pro-slavery position, and in the name of Anti-Slavery, and in the name of religion, they make themselves

the head and the bulwark of the slave system in this country.

I propose to glance for a moment at the position of the American Church. In the Presidential campaign we have almost, of necessity, lost sight of the Church, and in our zeal in behalf of Kansas, we have lost sight of the four millions of slaves; and I have often thought what cold comfort it must be to the four millions of slaves to see our zeal in behalf of 'free Kansas,' while we turn a deaf ear entirely to their claims and to their cries. And when the great majority of the churches of the Northern States profess and call themselves anti-slavery, they have deceived the people—I mean, of course, those who have spoken in behalf of the Northern churches. There is but one really anti-slavery denomination in this land, and that is so inconsiderable that it is scarcely known. I refer to the little band known as the Old School Scotch Covenanters. (Applause.) I do not forget the action of the Methodist General Conference, but I stand here to affirm, that if there is one denomination more characteristic in this land whose course and whose character are to be deprecated above all others, it is the Methodist denomination. (A hiss.) That denomination stands before the country in the North professing to be anti-slavery. All over New England, all over the West, where I have travelled, I have been told that they have separated from the South, and separated on account of slavery. Neither of these positions is true; both those declarations are false, no matter by whom made. They have not separated from the South—they are not free from actual contamination in their guilt. Last year, the General Conference of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church was held in Indianapolis. They began their sessions on the first day of May, and they rose from their deliberations on the first day of June. A good deal of their time was spent on the subject of slavery. Propositions were introduced for discussion, and were discussed. Men suppose that it was really an attempt at anti-slavery, but it was no such thing; it was an attempt to silence agitation, an attempt to preserve the position, not to increase the purity, of the Church. But what I was going to say was this: in one month from the time that session had closed in Indianapolis, it was proclaimed in New Hampshire, in certain towns where I went, that there was a final triumph over the existence in the Methodist Church North. And not three months ago, in your own State of New York, not a hundred miles from where we now are, a Methodist minister declared that it was shown in that General Conference, at which he was a delegate, that there was but one single slaveholder in the whole Baltimore Conference. Now, I stand here to affirm that a man who will make a declaration like that before an intelligent audience, is either an insane man, and therefore a fit subject for the asylum of lunatics, or else he has schooled himself in the science of lying until he has fairly outrun the great father of falsehood, and I should think would drive him to despair by outdoing him. (Laughter.) Only one slaveholder in the whole Baltimore Conference! And yet, since that time, that same Conference has had the subject of slavery up for discussion, and they have passed these resolutions:

'Resolved, by the Baltimore Conference, in Conference assembled, That we highly deprecate the agitation of the slavery question, which has already resulted to the detriment of the political and religious interests of this country.'

'Resolved, That, as heretofore, we will oppose with zeal any aggressions which shall be attempted by the abolition agitation of the country.'

And how do you suppose these resolutions passed? Do you think there was a tie, and that they were only passed by the casting vote of the President, and he that one slaveholder to whom reference was made? Those resolutions were passed by yeas and nays,—220 in the affirmative, and only 14 in the negative. And now we are called upon to regard the Northern General Conference as an anti-slavery association, an anti-slavery body, with facts like that before our eyes!

And at the last General Conference, one year ago, in Indianapolis, the Bishops issued their address in Indiana, and in that address they declare that they have among their congregations, in slaveholding territory, more than 150,000 colored people, and more than 8000 of those colored people members of their churches. They do not say what proportion of the 8000 are slaves, but they do say that a portion of them are slaves.

And yet, with facts like these before us, we are continually told that the Methodist General Conference North is an anti-slavery body. Why, at that same General Conference, a proposition was introduced, by some one more anti-slavery than the rest, that they should change the Discipline in the answer that is made to the question, 'What shall be done for the extinction of the evil of slavery?' so as to make it read, 'We believe that all men, by nature, have an equal right to freedom, and that no man has a moral right to hold a fellow-being as property; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to membership hereafter, where emancipation can be effected without injury to the slave.' Now, that is not very extreme anti-slavery; it is not anti-slavery at all; it provides for slaveholding to any extent whatever; and yet the vote was a large one against so amending the Book of Discipline. That body is not ready to adopt that sentiment; it is not ready to adopt the sentiment contained in the Declaration of Independence; and the Methodist Conference to-day is behind, in that matter, the framers of that memorable instrument, in their not adopting into their Constitution the language of a slaveholder, Thomas Jefferson, that all men have an equal right to be free.

Now, I say it is time that these pretensions and professions be unmasked. I find, in looking at the last edition of the Methodist Book of Discipline, that there are five Conferences, nearly the whole of whose territory is in slaveholding States. The Bishops have told us that they have 4000 colored church members, a portion of whom are slaves. Now, I believe there are multitudes of the members of the Methodist Church who would be anti-slavery both by principle and practice, as well as by profession. Why are they not? Because they have these deceivers at their head, who blind their eyes as to the real facts of the case, and lead them blindfold into the support of an institution which, from the depths of their souls, they hate. How do you suppose it comes to pass that it is so? I think we ourselves have not told the truth, we have not unmasked this hypocrisy, as we should have done; we have not unmasked it in the political arena as we should have done; we have not unmasked it in the Church as we should have done.

But I will not dwell any longer on the Methodist Church. I had filled this table pretty full of its own documents, its own reports, its own resolutions, and its own declarations on the subject, so that, if any statement of mine were called in question, the evidence should be ready, as furnished by the authority of the body itself.

I think the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, New School, is another whose members are more deceived than almost any other. And there is one remarkable fact which I have considered a great deal of late, and that is, that among the revivals of religion which have taken place in that body, and its kindred organization, the Congregational Church, during the past winter—for it is a little remarkable that these showers of grace only descend during the winter, (laughter,)—among the many revivals which they boast, and converts which they number, I have never heard from the South one single groan or one single shriek of alarm or apprehension that their institution was being endangered by the up-building of the Churches of the North! I did not expect to hear that there would be any emancipation of slaves by these revivals, because I have too many times heard that slaveholders are fond of revivals among their slaves, inasmuch as 'religion' always increases some-

what the value of the slave, and many a planter's property has been greatly enhanced in its market value, if not in its moral character, by these revivals of the American religion. (Laughter and applause.) But the fact to which I was going to refer is this: that we hear in the South continual apprehensions about the orthodoxy of such ministers as Henry Ward Beecher and Dr. Cheever, and some others whose course in regard to slavery has been a great deal exercised in regard to their ecclesiastical brethren; and the Northern ministers have been a great deal exercised in regard to the same. Now, I do not myself think much of Mr. Beecher's anti-slavery. I think he hates slavery bad enough, but I think he hates genuine anti-slavery a little more than he should. Nevertheless, his position is so distinct from the great body of the Northern clergy, that his clerical brethren are a great deal disturbed about him. The piety and sanctity of the New York Observer are greatly shocked at the aberrations of Henry Ward Beecher. Dr. Cheever preached a few discourses last autumn, in connection with the Presidential canvass, against the extension of slavery, and some of the people thought they might be worth reading, and so solicited their publication. I believe he went through the city of New York, among all the publishers, to find a man who dared to append his name to those sermons as publisher. Dr. Cheever had made himself quite conspicuous by the delivery of those three or four discourses. He did publish them; he had to go to some obscure or less popular office, and assume the publication of them himself. Well, the ministers all around, as well as the New York Observer, and New York book-publishers, are a great deal disturbed at Mr. Beecher and Dr. Cheever. I believe they have thought seriously of sending Dr. Cheever to the madhouse, and I don't know but they may have to send Mr. Beecher there to take care of him. (Laughter.) But what I was going to say is this: their orthodoxy is called in question, their fidelity to the denomination is called in question, their loyalty to the sect is called in question.

A little while ago, I went into a town in New Hampshire, where there was an orthodox minister. I don't think he is very widely known, so I will not name him here. I rather thought from his appearance that the pedantry and pomposity with which he seemed to abound constituted the greater part of his piety, unless it may be, perhaps, the addition of a little potato starch. (Laughter.) I was talking with him about Henry Ward Beecher, and he drew himself up, elongated his face, and said, 'Yes, but we are losing our confidence in Henry Ward Beecher.' Said I, 'Who are we?' 'O, we ministers,' said he; 'we think he is getting entirely over the track.' Well, I do not suppose Mr. Beecher will ever feel materially the loss of that man's confidence. (Laughter.) But yet I think it is a very significant fact. These two men have made themselves conspicuous, and the Church, the ministry, the New York Observer, and even the New York Evangelist, think they are a little wide of the mark, that they are a little latitudinarian, and that the sect is likely to suffer by their aberrations. But here is a fact which has not yet at all attracted the notice of the N. Y. Observer or Congregational ministry, or any of the great conservatives of the ecclesiastical faith: on the other side of the question of slavery, men take pretty broad ground, and yet by no means alarm their brethren in the clerical profession, or in the editorial chairs of the religious press.

I have here one of the letters of the Rev. Dr. Ross, of Tennessee, well known as a prominent member of the New School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the same who, when that body met year before last in Buffalo, and somebody got a resolution before the Assembly proposing to inquire how many slaveholders there were, in the Presbyterian Church, and how many slaves there were and what was their condition, moved an amendment proposing to strike out all after the word 'inquire,' and insert, 'how many Northern Abolitionists have wives who attend Women's Rights Conventions, and wear Bloomer dresses, how many wives of Presbyterians of the North have heepped husbands (laughter), how many Presbyterians get rich by the manufacture of slave-whips for the use of the Simon Legrees.' I mention this in order that you may understand the character of the gentleman I am going to introduce to you. He is one of those, I think, who have the misfortune, when they speak, to be understood.

The Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, another member of the New School Presbyterian Church, has recently written a book, in which he first beseeches one divinity and then the other, until I believe, both sides claim him; the North claim him as anti-slavery, and the South as pro-slavery. I think his book, with a very little alteration, will answer, like almanacs, for any American meridian. (Laughter.) Dr. Ross has written Mr. Barnes some letters in regard to this book, in which the Dr. declares, that in the discussions in the General Assembly, through the weight of the arguments and most of the feeling may have been on the side of the North, the power and practice of the General Assembly are entirely on the side of slavery. In one of these letters, he asks Mr. Barnes several questions, and then goes on to state several propositions, one or two of which I will read—

'God has thus given to the Southern planter an absolute monopoly—a monopoly so great that he, the Southern planter, sits now upon his throne of cotton, and wields the commercial sceptre of the world. Yes, it is the Southern planter who, to-day, to-morrow, to-morrow, is to be king of the world, by the help of England, God so will, if you do not say, "No, we will sit on the throne of the cotton-bag, has triumphed at last over him who sits on the throne of the wool-sack." England is prostrate at his feet, as well as the Abolitionists.'

'God has permitted the anti-slavery men of the North, in England, in France, and everywhere, so to blind themselves in hypocrisy as to give to the Southern slaveholder his last perfect triumph over them. For God tells the planter to say to the North, to England, to France, to all who buy cotton: "Ye men of Boston, New York, London, Paris—ye hypocrites—ye brande name as a pirate, a kidnapper, a murderer, a demon, fit only for hell—and yet you dare buy my stained cotton. O! ye hypocrites. Ye Boston hypocrites—why don't you throw the cotton into the sea, as your fathers did the tea? Ye Boston hypocrites—ye say if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the slain of slavery; and then how down to me, and buy and spin cotton—and then work for me as truly as my slaves. O! ye fools and blind—fill ye up the measure of your folly, and blindness, and shame." (Laughter and applause.)

Now, the piety of the New York Observer has been shocked at the aberrations of Mr. Beecher and Dr. Cheever, but have any cold chills gone over its iron frame at reading such language as that? Have you ever thought of it, that while all these so-called anti-slavery denominations of the North have been expressing their strongest disapproval of the language of their most violent anti-slavery men, not one of them has borne any testimony against such outrageous language as that? Now, I judge men not by one phrase or resolution, or one series of resolutions, but by a long course of action, and I find this fact standing out in bold relief, that with all the anti-slavery pretension and profession of these religious bodies, it is the Beechers and the Cheevers that cause the alarm, and not the Dr. Rosses, who come up from the South. (Applause.)

Dr. McLane, of Mississippi, another prominent member of the New School General Assembly, at Buffalo, year before last, said, 'If you ask me how many members of my church hold slaves, I answer, as many of them as are able to hold slaves. If you ask me how many slaves they hold, I answer, as many as they find convenient or profitable.' Now, that does not cause any apprehension or alarm on the part of the Northern members of the body, nor has it led to any threats of sending such men to the insane asylum.

It is from such facts as these that I elicit my conclusions that the mass of the people at the North who profess to be anti-slavery are deceived, at least in their position, and that the men who represent them, either in the Republican party or in these great denominations, are either knowingly deceivers, liars, hypocrites, or else they are themselves deceived; and the reason why we have such indifference, such apathy and such obtuseness, is owing to the fact that there are a few underdogs.

I did not propose to occupy much of the time; I cannot occupy much in a room so large as this; but I am very glad of an opportunity now again, after seven years' absence from the city of New York, of once more making my voice heard within it. The last time I was in your city was at an anniversary in 1850, when we were honored with a mob, headed by the illustrious Captain Rynders, backed up by the concert, or, at least, the Mayor of the city. I fancy some change has come over the spirit of your dream in this city since then (applause), and that although Isaiah Rynders is now a Marshal of the United States, and announces himself a ready to catch runaway slaves, he would much rather catch an American slave, he would much rather way out of the harbor of New York. (Applause.) I tell you, friends, that God himself authorizes us to believe that publishers and harlots are nearer the kingdom of heaven than many of the professed friends and ministers of religion (applause), and I think there is more to hope from such men as Rynders, than from the editors of the New York Observer, and men of kindred sentiment. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF ROBERT PURVIS.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In allowing my name to be published as one of the speakers for this morning, which I have consented to do, at the earnest request of the Committee, it is due to myself to say that I am not deeply interested in this cause, nor that I have not deep convictions and strong feelings on the subject. On the contrary, my interest is too intense for expression, and my convictions and feelings are so vivid and overpowering that I cannot trust myself in attempting to give them utterance. Sir, I envy those who, with order, blood or more mental self-command, can rise before an audience like me, and deliberately choose their words and speak their thoughts in calm, measured phrase. This is a task, sir, to which I am not adequate. I must either say too much or too little. I'll let my heart play freely, and speak out what I think and feel. I am extravagant, as people call it. If I put a curb on my feelings, and try to imitate the cool and unimpassioned manner of others, I cannot speak at all. Sir, how can any man with blood in his veins, and a heart pulsating in his bosom, and especially how can any colored man, think of the oppression of this country and the wrongs of his race, and then express himself with calmness and without passion? (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, look at the facts—here, in a country with a sublimity of impudence that knows no parallel, setting itself up before the world as a free country, a land of liberty! 'The land of the free, and the home of the brave,' 'the freest country in all the world.' Gracious God! and here are millions of men and women groaning under a bondage the like of which the world has never seen—bought and sold, whipped, manacled, killed all the day long. Yet this is a free country! The people have the assurance to talk of their free institutions. How can I speak of such a country and use language of moderation? How can I, who, every day, feel the grinding hoof of this despotism, and who am myself identified with its victims? Sir, let others, who can, speak coolly on this subject; I cannot, and I will not. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, that I may make sure of expressing the precise sentiment which I wish to present to this meeting, I will offer a resolution. It is one which I had the honor of presenting at a meeting lately held in the city of Philadelphia, but to which I did not speak as I could have desired, for the reasons already stated. The resolution is as follows:

'Resolved, That to attempt, as some do to profess that there is no support given to slavery in the Constitution and essential structure of the American Government, is to argue against reason and common sense, to ignore history, and shut our eyes against palpable facts; and while it may suit white men, who do not feel the iron heel, to please themselves with such theories, it will become the man of color, whose daily experience refutes the absurdity, to indulge in any idle fantasies.'

Mr. Chairman, this resolution expresses just what I think and feel about this new-fangled doctrine of the anti-slavery character of the American Constitution. Sir, with all due respect to the Hon. Gerrit Smith, who is a noble and a good man, and one whom, from my soul, I honor with all due respect—I say to the noble-minded, large-hearted Gerrit Smith, I trust that the doctrine of the anti-slavery character of the American Constitution seems to me one of the most absurd and preposterous that ever was broached. It is contrary to history and common sense, so opposite to what we and every man, and especially every colored man, feel and know to be the fact, that I have not patience to argue about it. I know it is said that the word 'slave' or 'slavery' is not to be found in the Constitution. Neither are these words to be found in the Fugitive Slave Law. But will any man pretend, on this score, that that infamous statute is an anti-slavery statute, or that it is not one of the most atrocious and damnable laws that ever disgraced the annals of despotism? (Applause.) I know, sir, there are some phrases in the Preamble about 'establishing justice,' and 'securing to us and our posterity the blessings of liberty.' But what does that prove? Does it prove that the Constitution of the United States is an anti-slavery document? Then Mr. Buchanan's late message was an anti-slavery document, and Mr. Buchanan himself is a great abolitionist. Then were all the messages of your contemporary President Pierce anti-slavery documents, and your contemporary President Pierce was not contemptible, but a much more respectable and misrepresented abolitionist. If these things stand and misrepresent abolitionism, then all phrases make the Constitution anti-slavery, the Fourth of July Orations, delivered by pro-slavery demagogues at the North, and Democratic slaveholders at the South, all these are anti-slavery documents. Sir, this talk about the Constitution being anti-slavery seems to me so utterly at variance with common sense, that I would like to be sure, that, as I have already intimated, I have no patience with it. I have no particular objection, Mr. Chairman, to white men who have little to feel on this subject, to assume these phrases and theories; but I must say, that when I see them imitated by colored men, I am disgusted. Sir

ending part, it has taken in this noble work. My heart overflows with gratitude to the self-sacrificing men and women of this Society who have been pioneers in this cause—men and women who, from the beginning till this time, in storm and whatever of adversity they have had, through evil report and good report, have stood by the side of the slave and unfalteringly maintained the rights of free men of color.

Mr. Chairman, I am getting away from the subject of the resolution; and, as I was occupied more time than I intended, I will bring my remarks to a close at once, making way for one who, through following after, is greatly preferred before us.

At the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the President announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the assistance of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-places proffered to them, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be, say about \$500.

At the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the President announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the assistance of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-places proffered to them, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be, say about \$500.

At the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the President announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the assistance of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-places proffered to them, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be, say about \$500.

At the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the President announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the assistance of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-places proffered to them, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be, say about \$500.

At the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the President announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the assistance of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-places proffered to them, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be, say about \$500.

At the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the President announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the assistance of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-places proffered to them, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be, say about \$500.

At the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the President announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the assistance of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-places proffered to them, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be, say about \$500.

At the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the President announced that a collection would be taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the assistance of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-places proffered to them, to be compelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as this, at very great cost, so that the whole expense of holding this anniversary would be, say about \$500.

slightest moment. Governments are not made; they grow—grow like the oak from the seed and the soil, from the dew and the sunshine. Our government has grown up out of the character of the people; what that character is is evinced in the practice of our government, unbroken, unchangeable, not heterogeneous, but all of one color and character from beginning to end—a government which Gov. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, a Democrat, never suspected of being a sentimentalist, nor of being deluded by any overfondness for liberty, within a month described to me, as in his opinion, a conspiracy against justice; and, said he, I do not use the term as poetical, as picturesque, as an exaggerated statement; I use it in literal, sober truth. At Washington, the Federal Government is a conspiracy—and a conspiracy against justice. Against that conspiracy," he went on to say, "the object of every honest man must be to marshal the public opinion of the North. Within twenty years, it will be settled on which side the victory rests—whether the government passes into a despotism, or whether liberty rules in these thirty-one States." Now, if that is the conclusion to which a Democrat, high in office, never suspected of anti-slavery leanings, comes—if that is the character which he gives the government—it certainly will surprise no one that an Abolitionist, with his eye constantly fixed upon the essential tendency of the government, shall be willing to ignore a parchment, and judge only by the fruits. I judge both Church and State by the fruits.

In the brief moment that is left me, let me use this idea, namely, that we are not obliged to fall back on unorganized ideas for something better. When men propose the Disunion question, it is usually to advance it simply as an individual protest against the colossal Federal Government. We are not driven to that issue; we have the sovereignty of the States in which we may take refuge. Do not suppose that when the Federal Government is gone, we are left in anarchy. Do not suppose that when the government at Washington has vanished like a monster dream, we are left without government. If we were, I should not respond. I can face even that problem without fright, for I believe in the capacity of the Yankee race to do without government. It is the proudest moment in the history of Massachusetts—prouder than Bunker Hill, prouder than the Med case, prouder than the hour when Plymouth Rock dropped out a second time in the birth of our people: with the doctrine of Immediate Emancipation (applause)—when, without a kingly government, without any government, Massachusetts, for five months, lived orderly and legally by the simple vigor of the character of her people. She got to that sublime reach of popular education when the perfect man does without laws. I believe that if the dissolution of the Union were the dissolution of the Government, it would not be frightful. Why? Because the blood and bones of the genuine Yankee are constitutionally orderly, and he does not need a government. (Laughter.) Put a Yankee baby of six months old on his feet, and he will begin to say "Mr. Chairman," and call the next cradle to order. (Great applause.) It is in the blood. A genuine Yankee on the prairies carries a school-house, a meeting-house, a town-house and a ballot-box all in him, and they crop out the moment they are needed. (Laughter.)

But you are not left to that alternative. Dissolve the Federal Government, and you have got the town governments,—six thousand of them in the sixteen States,—with selectmen, constables, &c. Over them you have got County governments, Probate Courts, Common Pleas Courts,—thieves caught, dead men's estates settled, marriages solemnized and dissolved. Over that you have State governments, with the inestimable blessings of taxation. (Laughter.) All this remains to you after the Federal Government is gone. All the wheels of society are perfect; there is no anarchy; there is no loosening of the bands of the social system. There is no fear on that side, therefore. On the other side, in the dissolution of the Union, in the recognition of the fact that in these State and town organizations rests the real power of the Anti-Slavery idea, you have this historical idea: The Saxon blood does not decide questions by the bullet; Sharpe's rifles are not a Saxon tool. Thank God, the blood we boast never yet bowed to the sword. We have been ruled, ever since we emerged from the German forests, by thought—thought in the form of law. There is more terror in the writ of a constable to the State of Massachusetts, than there is in the whole State of South Carolina, with a Sharpe's rifle in every hand. I would thank God from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December, if He would allow the Slave Power to be so forgetful as to provoke New England to the sword and musket. (Applause.) When Lexington and Bunker Hill speak a second time, they will be heard. (Applause.) But, bless you, Mr. President, the South never plays her cards so clumsily as that. Do you suppose, with the whole pack in her right hand, she means to be such a fool as to put any thing like that chance in our way? No, indeed. She plays her game more adroitly; she hides herself behind judicial ermine; she attacks the Saxon blood through the bench and through the law-abiding elements; she says—'Have I not got a Constitution? Is not this the opinion of the Supreme Court? Is not this law? Bow!' And the North, that has learned from Daniel Webster, and from all the other leaders, that the Supreme Court is the final interpreter of the Constitution, bows her head, and says "Amen!" When the Supreme Court speaks to South Carolina, she replies, "I am no slave to the Supreme Bench; you are no final interpreter to me; if I like your decision, well; if I do not like it, I shan't obey it."

Now, you see the deficiency; the North with her hands tied by her love of law, the South free by her disregard of her laws. How is such a battle to be fought? The first element of victory is not in cannon, nor muskets; it is in the hearts of the men that fight. (Applause); it is in the purpose with which men fight. The South has her catalogue of institutions; it begins with slavery; the second item is slavery, and the third is slavery; turn over the leaf, and it is slavery all through. As the Latin proverb says, She knows what she wants, and she wants it with a will. The North does not know what she wants. Her catalogue is tariff, bank, internal improvements, and "God bless you, sir, let me make money" (laughter); and the consequence is that, like two neighbors quarrelling, one knows a secret which the other would not have told for the world, and that one is master of the other, for in every stringent point of time, he has to hold up his finger and say, "I'll tell," and the other quails. That is exactly the position of the North and the South for sixty years.

Now, I do not care what idea a man forms of the Constitution; I do not care what his hopes are of Kansas; I do not care what his ideas are of Cuba; I do not care if he is insane enough to believe in the manhood of James Buchanan (laughter); I do not care what his creed is, if I can only fill his mind with the purpose that, over all these obstacles or through them, he will make up his mind to that, and avow it, the battle is half fought. If the Republican will say, 'My object is to take that Carolina slave by the hand, and raise him into freedom; I do not know whether the Constitution will go to pieces in the effort, but if it does, let it—if he will say that, it is all I ask of him. Goethe says, if you plant an oak in a flower-pot, one of two things must happen: either the oak will die, or the flower-pot will break. Now, I go for the oak. There is a set of men who are exceedingly tender of the flower-pot—the Constitution; I want to exercise that timidity.'

I asked Gov. Chase, once, relative to that most touching of all scenes, that most romantic of all hours, that most heroic of all moments, that most Christian of all acts—the heroic love of that mother, Margaret Garner, driven to bay before twenty millions of Christians, and having no shelter for her cradle but by giving back to God the child He had lent her—I asked him why he was not in Cincinnati at such an hour. He said, "I told the sheriff, who had her under charge, 'Shut the door of that jail; lock it and bolt it double; don't you ever open it to a United States officer or a United States writ—never (applause); I will summon the whole militia of Ohio, I will surround that jail with every man in the State that can bear arms, before it shall be opened at the bidding of the United States.'" (Loud applause.) O, if he had known, if he could have but known of the sublime effort that God made him, at such a moment, to write his name higher than any American ever wrote it—if he could have been the instrument of precipitating the Buckeye State in an avalanche of thunderbolts against this conspiracy at Washington! But he forgot. He went up to Columbus, and the hour came—he was not there! That is the hour I want to have come; that is the public opinion that I want to prepare in your hearts, every one of you.

Your State Governments, they are worth little or nothing, except as we can make them garrisons for the anti-slavery idea against the Federal Government. That is the Saxon method of fighting—not with bullets. The French race has bowed to the sword, and the Italian; and so of every race in Europe; we never have. The Dred Scott decision is more dreadful to me than all the Sharpe's rifles that can be made. I must raise you to the level of disobeying what the country says is law. I must make you willing to go behind a parchment and say what is justice. I must raise New York, Massachusetts, Ohio and Wisconsin to the level of being glad of being called traitors.

I know how eloquent Dr. Cheever is. There is only one word that he has not spoken; there is only one, and that anti-slavery Americans dare not speak; millions of them know it, but dare not utter it. It is like that magnificent ball of Yathet, where the spirits were seen in the giant Hall of Eblis, and every man held his hand on the spot in his own heart, and no man dared to show it to his fellow. So it is with the Republican party; every one holds his hand over that hidden consciousness that this is a revolution, and yet he dare not speak it to his fellow. (Applause.) So we must avow it, that it is a revolution; we must avow it, that there is no constitutional allegiance left. . . .

The struggle is half begun, and we want to teach you, in these two days that we are going to weary your patience, the method, the channel into which your efforts should be directed. Don't you fear, don't you dread that the South will ever go off and leave you. There is no such good time as that coming. (Laughter.) As Mrs. Lydia Maria Child says, Who ever heard of the town's poor leaving the town? (Laughter.) You will never hear of the South leaving the Union. . . .

Here closed the proceedings of the morning session, and the meeting adjourned till 7 1/2 o'clock.

And what, they were often asked, would become of the Government? Why, it would fall as an old decayed tree, when its props were taken away, and we should afterwards, under any circumstances, have a better Government, for a worse we could not have. America was regarded by Americans, and by multitudes in the old countries, as the hope of the world. Hope of the world, indeed! It was cruel irony. He did not believe that there was any true Republican in the whole world who turned his eyes towards this country with the idea that there was anything to hope from it. The Constitution, and all the political parties that flourished under it, were rotten at heart. They had been weighed in the scales of Justice and found wanting. The dissolution of the Union was a matter that was becoming familiar to the Northern mind. The fact was, if we did not dissolve the Union, it would dissolve itself. It was a mixture of iron and miry clay. The handwriting was on the wall, and only those were the saviors of the nations who preached deliverance to the captive, and let the oppressed go free.

In that, and that alone, could the Union be preserved. It was proclaimed to them, as its safety, as with the voice of the eternal God, from a thousand cities that were once powerful and prosperous, but which had been trodden into dust by the footsteps of an avenging Deity. As a minister of Christ, he would say to our ecclesiastical organizations, in the words of the Most High: 'If ye will not hearken unto me, I will make your sanctuary a desolation—curse ye, Me-roz,—curse ye the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of God—to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' Let our churches beware of the doom of the Church of Laodicea, which was neither hot nor cold; and because she was neither hot nor cold, 'I will, said the Savior, 'spue thee out of my mouth.' As Christians, as those who hold in abhorrence every theory of men's origin or destiny, that is not in accordance with the word of God, let us use those weapons that are forged in his armory, and are of heavenly mould, and we shall yet see the day when Slavery shall fall, and Liberty be proclaimed throughout this glorious land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

The reverend gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud applause. Mr. Garrison then introduced Rev. Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia. Dr. Furness began by saying that he used to think one of the simplest things in the world was the golden rule—the simple dictate of justice. But even the parable of the good Samaritan is yet a mystery to this nation, for its people are yet in ignorance of its meaning. And this is the ignorance not of the ignorant, but of the wise. Some of the best of men, and some of the strongest champions of freedom (in the extent to which they went) have betrayed an ignorance of the true philosophy of the Anti-Slavery movement, when an occasion came to apply it, impartially. We had heard much of Father Mathew and Kossuth as the advocates of human freedom abroad; but when they came upon our soil, we found that they ignored the question entirely. Kossuth was willing to do anything for Hungary, but not even to raise his voice for humanity; and when that question was presented to them, both suffered a moral collapse, like a balloon rent asunder by the lightning of God. How few there are who are willing to take up with nothing less than the whole truth! But they whose eyes are opened, and who see and serve the truth, find it precious to them evermore.

We can never (said he) put the truth under obligation to us. We cannot do a thousandth part as much for truth as truth does for us. Even if we should shed our blood for its sake, it would be found that die for it is gain. He said that he uttered these things from only a humble and limited experience of the truth. He had only touched the hem of its garment, yet he had felt the thrill of the touch on his very soul. He knew that the men around him on the platform were not engaged in any political or selfish movement, but only in the cause of humanity, striving for the freedom of a race enthralled. He referred briefly to the decline of the plan of gradual emancipation, which had been a stumbling-block in the way of abolition. As to going away with slavery by gradual emancipation, he thought a suggestion to a thief to stop stealing gradually would be quite analogous. He also spoke of what he called the prevailing phariseism of the present day on the subject of slavery. The reverence existing in our day for the Constitution and the Union is like that of the ancient Jews for the Temple. The Pharisees watched Jesus to see whether he would do a work of mercy on the Sabbath day. In forty thousand churches of this land it is thought a sacrilege to whisper on the Sabbath day a word against the system of American bondage. How does our modern Phariseism compare with the ancient? There are four millions of men held in oppression, and the abolitionists are crying out, 'Let the oppressed go free!' But the Church and the State are both crying out, 'He shall not go free!' It is vain to say that the slaves, if they were set free, would abuse their freedom. How are we using our liberty, he asked, that we should dare to sit in authority over other men, and say that they are abusing theirs? How are we abusing the sacred gift of freedom, when we say that one man has no rights which another is bound to respect? Abolitionists do not rely upon political power. We want, said he, every slave to be free by the voluntary act of the slaveholder himself, and to this end all that we ask is a fair field for the utterance of the truth, and the whole truth.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND was the next speaker. He spoke in terms of severe reprobation of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Chief Justice, he said, had announced that the black man had no rights which the white man is bound to respect. He (the speaker) stood there as a colored man to say that between himself and Judge Taney, with his whole train of sympathizers and supporters, there is 'no love lost.' (Laughter.) It is a novel idea that a man, be he judge or jurymen, in the United States, in this nineteenth century, within a few miles of Bunker Hill, and Concord, and Lexington, can make a declaration that a man, simply on the ground of complexion, has no rights which other men are bound to respect! Such a man is not to be compared with a barbarian of the Barbary States, or with the most ignorant African in the jungles of Africa. He declared further, in the language of a white man, that 'living or dying, sinking or swimming, surviving or perishing, he trampled the decision and the declaration of Judge Taney under his feet. (Applause.) He did not do this in view of his birth and education in New England. He did not do it in the name of the orthodoxy of the United States. He did not do it in the name of the Constitution, for he spurned it—nor in the name of the American Union, for he hated it—nor in the name of the American Government, because it is spurious; but he did it in the name of a common humanity, and of a common manhood, which allowed to him every right which it allows to Judge Taney himself. (Applause.) He could not discuss the question in the light of a denial to him of his right by such a man; nor would he appeal merely to the sympathies of the audience for his vindication; he would demand for himself his every right as a man and a citizen.

The speaker regretted that his grandfather, a colored man, had fought at Lexington and Concord, when, eighty years after, the descendants of white patriots of the Revolution ignored the rights of a small minority of the people of this country. But the meanness of the white people is only exceeded by their cowardice. In Washington, a colored man is not allowed to touch the reins that guide the horses that carry the mails, but he had lately learned that New-fangled dogs are being trained there to assist in conveying the mails? So that the American Government gives to a dog a privilege which it denies to a man! And while it would educate these dogs, it

And what, they were often asked, would become of the Government? Why, it would fall as an old decayed tree, when its props were taken away, and we should afterwards, under any circumstances, have a better Government, for a worse we could not have. America was regarded by Americans, and by multitudes in the old countries, as the hope of the world. Hope of the world, indeed! It was cruel irony. He did not believe that there was any true Republican in the whole world who turned his eyes towards this country with the idea that there was anything to hope from it. The Constitution, and all the political parties that flourished under it, were rotten at heart. They had been weighed in the scales of Justice and found wanting. The dissolution of the Union was a matter that was becoming familiar to the Northern mind. The fact was, if we did not dissolve the Union, it would dissolve itself. It was a mixture of iron and miry clay. The handwriting was on the wall, and only those were the saviors of the nations who preached deliverance to the captive, and let the oppressed go free.

In that, and that alone, could the Union be preserved. It was proclaimed to them, as its safety, as with the voice of the eternal God, from a thousand cities that were once powerful and prosperous, but which had been trodden into dust by the footsteps of an avenging Deity. As a minister of Christ, he would say to our ecclesiastical organizations, in the words of the Most High: 'If ye will not hearken unto me, I will make your sanctuary a desolation—curse ye, Me-roz,—curse ye the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of God—to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' Let our churches beware of the doom of the Church of Laodicea, which was neither hot nor cold; and because she was neither hot nor cold, 'I will, said the Savior, 'spue thee out of my mouth.' As Christians, as those who hold in abhorrence every theory of men's origin or destiny, that is not in accordance with the word of God, let us use those weapons that are forged in his armory, and are of heavenly mould, and we shall yet see the day when Slavery shall fall, and Liberty be proclaimed throughout this glorious land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

The reverend gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud applause. Mr. Garrison then introduced Rev. Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia. Dr. Furness began by saying that he used to think one of the simplest things in the world was the golden rule—the simple dictate of justice. But even the parable of the good Samaritan is yet a mystery to this nation, for its people are yet in ignorance of its meaning. And this is the ignorance not of the ignorant, but of the wise. Some of the best of men, and some of the strongest champions of freedom (in the extent to which they went) have betrayed an ignorance of the true philosophy of the Anti-Slavery movement, when an occasion came to apply it, impartially. We had heard much of Father Mathew and Kossuth as the advocates of human freedom abroad; but when they came upon our soil, we found that they ignored the question entirely. Kossuth was willing to do anything for Hungary, but not even to raise his voice for humanity; and when that question was presented to them, both suffered a moral collapse, like a balloon rent asunder by the lightning of God. How few there are who are willing to take up with nothing less than the whole truth! But they whose eyes are opened, and who see and serve the truth, find it precious to them evermore.

We can never (said he) put the truth under obligation to us. We cannot do a thousandth part as much for truth as truth does for us. Even if we should shed our blood for its sake, it would be found that die for it is gain. He said that he uttered these things from only a humble and limited experience of the truth. He had only touched the hem of its garment, yet he had felt the thrill of the touch on his very soul. He knew that the men around him on the platform were not engaged in any political or selfish movement, but only in the cause of humanity, striving for the freedom of a race enthralled. He referred briefly to the decline of the plan of gradual emancipation, which had been a stumbling-block in the way of abolition. As to going away with slavery by gradual emancipation, he thought a suggestion to a thief to stop stealing gradually would be quite analogous. He also spoke of what he called the prevailing phariseism of the present day on the subject of slavery. The reverence existing in our day for the Constitution and the Union is like that of the ancient Jews for the Temple. The Pharisees watched Jesus to see whether he would do a work of mercy on the Sabbath day. In forty thousand churches of this land it is thought a sacrilege to whisper on the Sabbath day a word against the system of American bondage. How does our modern Phariseism compare with the ancient? There are four millions of men held in oppression, and the abolitionists are crying out, 'Let the oppressed go free!' But the Church and the State are both crying out, 'He shall not go free!' It is vain to say that the slaves, if they were set free, would abuse their freedom. How are we using our liberty, he asked, that we should dare to sit in authority over other men, and say that they are abusing theirs? How are we abusing the sacred gift of freedom, when we say that one man has no rights which another is bound to respect? Abolitionists do not rely upon political power. We want, said he, every slave to be free by the voluntary act of the slaveholder himself, and to this end all that we ask is a fair field for the utterance of the truth, and the whole truth.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND was the next speaker. He spoke in terms of severe reprobation of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Chief Justice, he said, had announced that the black man had no rights which the white man is bound to respect. He (the speaker) stood there as a colored man to say that between himself and Judge Taney, with his whole train of sympathizers and supporters, there is 'no love lost.' (Laughter.) It is a novel idea that a man, be he judge or jurymen, in the United States, in this nineteenth century, within a few miles of Bunker Hill, and Concord, and Lexington, can make a declaration that a man, simply on the ground of complexion, has no rights which other men are bound to respect! Such a man is not to be compared with a barbarian of the Barbary States, or with the most ignorant African in the jungles of Africa. He declared further, in the language of a white man, that 'living or dying, sinking or swimming, surviving or perishing, he trampled the decision and the declaration of Judge Taney under his feet. (Applause.) He did not do this in view of his birth and education in New England. He did not do it in the name of the orthodoxy of the United States. He did not do it in the name of the Constitution, for he spurned it—nor in the name of the American Union, for he hated it—nor in the name of the American Government, because it is spurious; but he did it in the name of a common humanity, and of a common manhood, which allowed to him every right which it allows to Judge Taney himself. (Applause.) He could not discuss the question in the light of a denial to him of his right by such a man; nor would he appeal merely to the sympathies of the audience for his vindication; he would demand for himself his every right as a man and a citizen.

The speaker regretted that his grandfather, a colored man, had fought at Lexington and Concord, when, eighty years after, the descendants of white patriots of the Revolution ignored the rights of a small minority of the people of this country. But the meanness of the white people is only exceeded by their cowardice. In Washington, a colored man is not allowed to touch the reins that guide the horses that carry the mails, but he had lately learned that New-fangled dogs are being trained there to assist in conveying the mails? So that the American Government gives to a dog a privilege which it denies to a man! And while it would educate these dogs, it

And what, they were often asked, would become of the Government? Why, it would fall as an old decayed tree, when its props were taken away, and we should afterwards, under any circumstances, have a better Government, for a worse we could not have. America was regarded by Americans, and by multitudes in the old countries, as the hope of the world. Hope of the world, indeed! It was cruel irony. He did not believe that there was any true Republican in the whole world who turned his eyes towards this country with the idea that there was anything to hope from it. The Constitution, and all the political parties that flourished under it, were rotten at heart. They had been weighed in the scales of Justice and found wanting. The dissolution of the Union was a matter that was becoming familiar to the Northern mind. The fact was, if we did not dissolve the Union, it would dissolve itself. It was a mixture of iron and miry clay. The handwriting was on the wall, and only those were the saviors of the nations who preached deliverance to the captive, and let the oppressed go free.

In that, and that alone, could the Union be preserved. It was proclaimed to them, as its safety, as with the voice of the eternal God, from a thousand cities that were once powerful and prosperous, but which had been trodden into dust by the footsteps of an avenging Deity. As a minister of Christ, he would say to our ecclesiastical organizations, in the words of the Most High: 'If ye will not hearken unto me, I will make your sanctuary a desolation—curse ye, Me-roz,—curse ye the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of God—to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' Let our churches beware of the doom of the Church of Laodicea, which was neither hot nor cold; and because she was neither hot nor cold, 'I will, said the Savior, 'spue thee out of my mouth.' As Christians, as those who hold in abhorrence every theory of men's origin or destiny, that is not in accordance with the word of God, let us use those weapons that are forged in his armory, and are of heavenly mould, and we shall yet see the day when Slavery shall fall, and Liberty be proclaimed throughout this glorious land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

The reverend gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud applause. Mr. Garrison then introduced Rev. Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia. Dr. Furness began by saying that he used to think one of the simplest things in the world was the golden rule—the simple dictate of justice. But even the parable of the good Samaritan is yet a mystery to this nation, for its people are yet in ignorance of its meaning. And this is the ignorance not of the ignorant, but of the wise. Some of the best of men, and some of the strongest champions of freedom (in the extent to which they went) have betrayed an ignorance of the true philosophy of the Anti-Slavery movement, when an occasion came to apply it, impartially. We had heard much of Father Mathew and Kossuth as the advocates of human freedom abroad; but when they came upon our soil, we found that they ignored the question entirely. Kossuth was willing to do anything for Hungary, but not even to raise his voice for humanity; and when that question was presented to them, both suffered a moral collapse, like a balloon rent asunder by the lightning of God. How few there are who are willing to take up with nothing less than the whole truth! But they whose eyes are opened, and who see and serve the truth, find it precious to them evermore.

We can never (said he) put the truth under obligation to us. We cannot do a thousandth part as much for truth as truth does for us. Even if we should shed our blood for its sake, it would be found that die for it is gain. He said that he uttered these things from only a humble and limited experience of the truth. He had only touched the hem of its garment, yet he had felt the thrill of the touch on his very soul. He knew that the men around him on the platform were not engaged in any political or selfish movement, but only in the cause of humanity, striving for the freedom of a race enthralled. He referred briefly to the decline of the plan of gradual emancipation, which had been a stumbling-block in the way of abolition. As to going away with slavery by gradual emancipation, he thought a suggestion to a thief to stop stealing gradually would be quite analogous. He also spoke of what he called the prevailing phariseism of the present day on the subject of slavery. The reverence existing in our day for the Constitution and the Union is like that of the ancient Jews for the Temple. The Pharisees watched Jesus to see whether he would do a work of mercy on the Sabbath day. In forty thousand churches of this land it is thought a sacrilege to whisper on the Sabbath day a word against the system of American bondage. How does our modern Phariseism compare with the ancient? There are four millions of men held in oppression, and the abolitionists are crying out, 'Let the oppressed go free!' But the Church and the State are both crying out, 'He shall not go free!' It is vain to say that the slaves, if they were set free, would abuse their freedom. How are we using our liberty, he asked, that we should dare to sit in authority over other men, and say that they are abusing theirs? How are we abusing the sacred gift of freedom, when we say that one man has no rights which another is bound to respect? Abolitionists do not rely upon political power. We want, said he, every slave to be free by the voluntary act of the slaveholder himself, and to this end all that we ask is a fair field for the utterance of the truth, and the whole truth.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND was the next speaker. He spoke in terms of severe reprobation of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Chief Justice, he said, had announced that the black man had no rights which the white man is bound to respect. He (the speaker) stood there as a colored man to say that between himself and Judge Taney, with his whole train of sympathizers and supporters, there is 'no love lost.' (Laughter.) It is a novel idea that a man, be he judge or jurymen, in the United States, in this nineteenth century, within a few miles of Bunker Hill, and Concord, and Lexington, can make a declaration that a man, simply on the ground of complexion, has no rights which other men are bound to respect! Such a man is not to be compared with a barbarian of the Barbary States, or with the most ignorant African in the jungles of Africa. He declared further, in the language of a white man, that 'living or dying, sinking or swimming, surviving or perishing, he trampled the decision and the declaration of Judge Taney under his feet. (Applause.) He did not do this in view of his birth and education in New England. He did not do it in the name of the orthodoxy of the United States. He did not do it in the name of the Constitution, for he spurned it—nor in the name of the American Union, for he hated it—nor in the name of the American Government, because it is spurious; but he did it in the name of a common humanity, and of a common manhood, which allowed to him every right which it allows to Judge Taney himself. (Applause.) He could not discuss the question in the light of a denial to him of his right by such a man; nor would he appeal merely to the sympathies of the audience for his vindication; he would demand for himself his every right as a man and a citizen.

The speaker regretted that his grandfather, a colored man, had fought at Lexington and Concord, when, eighty years after, the descendants of white patriots of the Revolution ignored the rights of a small minority of the people of this country. But the meanness of the white people is only exceeded by their cowardice. In Washington, a colored man is not allowed to touch the reins that guide the horses that carry the mails, but he had lately learned that New-fangled dogs are being trained there to assist in conveying the mails? So that the American Government gives to a dog a privilege which it denies to a man! And while it would educate these dogs, it

And what, they were often asked, would become of the Government? Why, it would fall as an old decayed tree, when its props were taken away, and we should afterwards, under any circumstances, have a better Government, for a worse we could not have. America was regarded by Americans, and by multitudes in the old countries, as the hope of the world. Hope of the world, indeed! It was cruel irony. He did not believe that there was any true Republican in the whole world who turned his eyes towards this country with the idea that there was anything to hope from it. The Constitution, and all the political parties that flourished under it, were rotten at heart. They had been weighed in the scales of Justice and found wanting. The dissolution of the Union was a matter that was becoming familiar to the Northern mind. The fact was, if we did not dissolve the Union, it would dissolve itself. It was a mixture of iron and miry clay. The handwriting was on the wall, and only those were the saviors of the nations who preached deliverance to the captive, and let the oppressed go free.

In that, and that alone, could the Union be preserved. It was proclaimed to them, as its safety, as with the voice of the eternal God, from a thousand cities that were once powerful and prosperous, but which had been trodden into dust by the footsteps of an avenging Deity. As a minister of Christ, he would say to our ecclesiastical organizations, in the words of the Most High: 'If ye will not hearken unto me, I will make your sanctuary a desolation—curse ye, Me-roz,—curse ye the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of God—to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' Let our churches beware of the doom of the Church of Laodicea, which was neither hot nor cold; and because she was neither hot nor cold, 'I will, said the Savior, 'spue thee out of my mouth.' As Christians, as those who hold in abhorrence every theory of men's origin or destiny, that is not in accordance with the word of God, let us use those weapons that are forged in his armory, and are of heavenly mould, and we shall yet see the day when Slavery shall fall, and Liberty be proclaimed throughout this glorious land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

The reverend gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud applause. Mr. Garrison then introduced Rev. Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia. Dr. Furness began by saying that he used to think one of the simplest things in the world was the golden rule—the simple dictate of justice. But even the parable of the good Samaritan is yet a mystery to this nation, for its people are yet in ignorance of its meaning. And this is the ignorance not of the ignorant, but of the wise. Some of the best of men, and some of the strongest champions of freedom (in the extent to which they went) have betrayed an ignorance of the true philosophy of the Anti-Slavery movement, when an occasion came to apply it, impartially. We had heard much of Father Mathew and Kossuth as the advocates of human freedom abroad; but when they came upon our soil, we found that they ignored the question entirely. Kossuth was willing to do anything for Hungary, but not even to raise his voice for humanity; and when that question was presented to them, both suffered a moral collapse, like a balloon rent asunder by the lightning of God. How few there are who are willing to take up with nothing less than the whole truth! But they whose eyes are opened, and who see and serve the truth, find it precious to them evermore.

We can never (said he) put the truth under obligation to us. We cannot do a thousandth part as much for truth as truth does for us. Even if we should shed our blood for its sake, it would be found that die for it is gain. He said that he uttered these things from only a humble and limited experience of the truth. He had only touched the hem of its garment, yet he had felt the thrill of the touch on his very soul. He knew that the men around him on the platform were not engaged in any political or selfish movement, but only in the cause of humanity, striving for the freedom of a race enthralled. He referred briefly to the decline of the plan of gradual emancipation, which had been a stumbling-block in the way of abolition. As to going away with slavery by gradual emancipation, he thought a suggestion to a thief to stop stealing gradually would be quite analogous. He also spoke of what he called the prevailing phariseism of the present day on the subject of slavery. The reverence existing in our day for the Constitution and the Union is like that of the ancient Jews for the Temple. The Pharisees watched Jesus to see whether he would do a work of mercy on the Sabbath day. In forty thousand churches of this land it is thought a sacrilege to whisper on the Sabbath day a word against the system of American bondage. How does our modern Phariseism compare with the ancient? There are four millions of men held in oppression, and the abolitionists are crying out, 'Let the oppressed go free!' But the Church and the State are both crying out, 'He shall not go free!' It is vain to say that the slaves, if they were set free, would abuse their freedom. How are we using our liberty, he asked, that we should dare to sit in authority over other men, and say that they are abusing theirs? How are we abusing the sacred gift of freedom, when we say that one man has no rights which another is bound to respect? Abolitionists do not rely upon political power. We want, said he, every slave to be free by the voluntary act of the slaveholder himself, and to this end all that we ask is a fair field for the utterance of the truth, and the whole truth.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND was the next speaker. He spoke in terms of severe reprobation of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. The Chief Justice, he said, had announced that the black man had no rights which the white man is bound to respect. He (the speaker) stood there as a colored man to say that between himself and Judge Taney, with his whole train of sympathizers and supporters, there is 'no love lost.' (Laughter.) It is a novel idea that a man, be he judge or jurymen, in the United States, in this nineteenth century, within a few miles of Bunker Hill, and Concord, and Lexington, can make a declaration that a man, simply on the ground of complexion, has no rights which other men are bound to respect! Such a man is not to be compared with a barbarian of the Barbary States, or with the most ignorant African in the jungles of Africa. He declared further, in the language of a white man, that 'living or dying, sinking or swimming, surviving or perishing, he trampled the decision and the declaration of Judge Taney under his feet. (Applause.) He did not do this in view of his birth and education in New England. He did not do it in the name of the orthodoxy of the United States. He did not do it in the name of the Constitution, for he spurned it—nor in the name of the American Union, for he hated it—nor in the name of the American Government, because it is spurious; but he did it in the name of a common humanity, and of a common manhood, which allowed to him every right which it allows to Judge Taney himself. (Applause.) He could not discuss the question in the light of a denial to him of his right by such a man; nor would he appeal merely to the sympathies of the audience for his vindication; he would demand for himself his every right as a man and a citizen.

The speaker regretted that his grandfather, a colored man, had fought at Lexington and Concord, when, eighty years after, the descendants of white patriots of the Revolution ignored the rights of a small minority of the people of this country. But the meanness of the white people is only exceeded by their cowardice. In Washington, a colored man is not allowed to touch the reins that guide the horses that carry the mails, but he had lately learned that New-fangled dogs are being trained there to assist in conveying the mails? So that the American Government gives to a dog a privilege which it denies to a man! And while it would educate these dogs, it

And what, they were often asked, would become of the Government? Why, it would fall as an old decayed tree, when its props were taken away, and we should afterwards, under any circumstances, have a better Government, for a worse we could not have. America was regarded by Americans, and by multitudes in the old countries, as the hope of the world. Hope of the world, indeed! It was cruel irony. He did not believe that there was any true Republican in the whole world who turned his eyes towards this country with the idea that there was anything to hope from it. The Constitution, and all the political parties that flourished under it, were rotten at heart. They had been weighed in the scales of Justice and found wanting. The dissolution of the Union was a matter that

POETRY.

SUNRISE COMES TO-MORROW. True it is that clouds and mist Blot the clear, blue weather; True that lips that once have kiss'd Come no more together.

MISCELLANY.

FEMALE VANITY AND EXTRAVAGANCE. To the Editor of the New York Tribune.— Sir: Permit me, as a representative of my sex...

two years of age, but looks nearly thirty. He is of middle size, sandy-haired, with a bright, shrewd, energetic face, pleasant expression, and very nervous, restless temperament. He is, however, (except about the doing of the Tulleries,) and talk incessantly. His manners are good, though obviously not those of an educated man.

occupations, so long as I can keep my hold on this. So avoid all opportunities of peering through the blanket of the dark that is hung up between the two, and do not care to hear anything about experiences of those that try to lift up a corner or to pick a hole in it. The accounts I have heard of the revelations, and of the method of conjuration, do not seem to me amusing. I much prefer sitting with a party of good fellows round a table, in a bright light, with every inducement to talk, with our legs under the mahogany, and our tongues with our hands upon it. And this proclivity hath been strengthened by observing the hobnobbing effect of death on the liveliest and cleverest people, who are deplorably worse company after they are dead than they were while living. I dare say it shows a very low state of mind, but I can't help it. I very much prefer to have the spirits I take mixed with a due proportion of clay, instead of having them clear and simple. They agree better with my constitution.

Besides, what a comfort it must be to him to find little oasis in the desert of eternal warfare, on which he can stand as on a common platform, and strike hands, not only with 'the oppressor,' but with all the men and opinions with which he has battled for so many years—to be able to meet the same factious repugnance to the most respectable churchmen made perfect, that the most respectable churchmen possibly could do. And how refreshing, too, to find an innumerable company of sympathizers, with his repugnance to anything that smacks of immortality, or relates in any degree to the life beyond the grave. It being high-toned in the religious world to cut your dearest friends the moment you have piled a block of marble over their cast-off garments, and to value your relatives only for what they leave behind them, Byes, for once in his life, is on the popular side, and with great impunity fling up his heels with the best of them.

But perhaps, the most remarkable case of kicking that history affords, and the one to which we would especially invite the attention of all modern kickers against Spiritualism, is that of Saul of Tarsus. It would seem that Jerusalem and the adjacent country had been for some time infested with a set of enthusiasts, who kept up a perpetual din in the popular ear about 'one Jesus which was dead,' all respectable people said, but whom they affirmed to be alive! Well, exclaimed the whole generation of Byes then extant, suppose I can't see him, he take himself quietly off, without boring us with his company? What shocking bad taste, to be sure! There was this 'one Jesus,' all muggy and comfortably executed, according to the most orthodox and scientific style of the day, with a body of picked men to mount guard over his bones, and yet with all the good manners, as the Byes party said, to sit still, but must needs intrude himself, not alone upon the society of his vulgar friends, who were actually stupid enough to be edified by his visitation, but upon the company of certain very respectable gentlemen, who on a journey of pleasure and piety to a neighboring city...

CATHARTIC PILLS. OPERATE by their powerful influence on the intestinal system, to purify the blood and stimulate it to healthy action. They remove the obstructions in the bowels, bowels, liver, and other organs of the body, and by restoring their secret action to health, remove wherever they exist, such derangements of the system as are the result of a diseased state of the bowels. An extensive trial of these pills by Professors, Physicians, and Patients, has shown them to be the most powerful and safe cathartics ever used. Their effects are published in the following testimonials, which the Agents below named are pleased to furnish free to all inquiring.

Evil comes and evil goes, But it moves me never; For the Good, the Good; it grows, Buds and blossoms ever.

WINTER SUCCEEDS TO SPRING. But fresh Springs are coming; Other birds are on the wing, Other bees are humming.

MIRACULOUS HEALING. The following almost incredible statement is copied from a late number of the New England Spirituist. It seems too authentic to be seriously doubted, and at least challenges denial.

THE LAME MADE TO WALK.—A friend sends us the following extract from a letter received by him, from Dr. J. B. Dods, who has been lecturing on Spiritualism, at Provincetown. The case described seems to have been somewhat remarkable; and the writer lived eight or nine months ago, doubtless the religious world would have pronounced him a 'saint.'

ON KICKING. 'The Tribune has an 'occasional correspondent,' who hails from Boston, and signs himself 'Byes.' In the morning issue of May 2, there is a letter from 'Byes,' devoted to Spiritualism. 'Byes,' it would seem, has been mistaken for some other odd genius, who addresses mankind from the platform of the letter Q, and has something to say to the multitude, which he says he will mix up, and so naturally desires to ally public excitement upon that point. He evidently objects to shouldering all the ultras and fanatics extant, and this 'last gallinipper' of Spiritualism makes him restive.

ON KICKING. 'The Tribune has an 'occasional correspondent,' who hails from Boston, and signs himself 'Byes.' In the morning issue of May 2, there is a letter from 'Byes,' devoted to Spiritualism. 'Byes,' it would seem, has been mistaken for some other odd genius, who addresses mankind from the platform of the letter Q, and has something to say to the multitude, which he says he will mix up, and so naturally desires to ally public excitement upon that point. He evidently objects to shouldering all the ultras and fanatics extant, and this 'last gallinipper' of Spiritualism makes him restive.

J. C. AYER, Practical and Analytical Chemist, LOWELL, MASS., AND SOLD BY THOMPSON METCALF & CO., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, BROWN & PRICE, Salem; H. H. HAY, Portland; J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H.; And by Druggists and Dealers in Medicines everywhere.