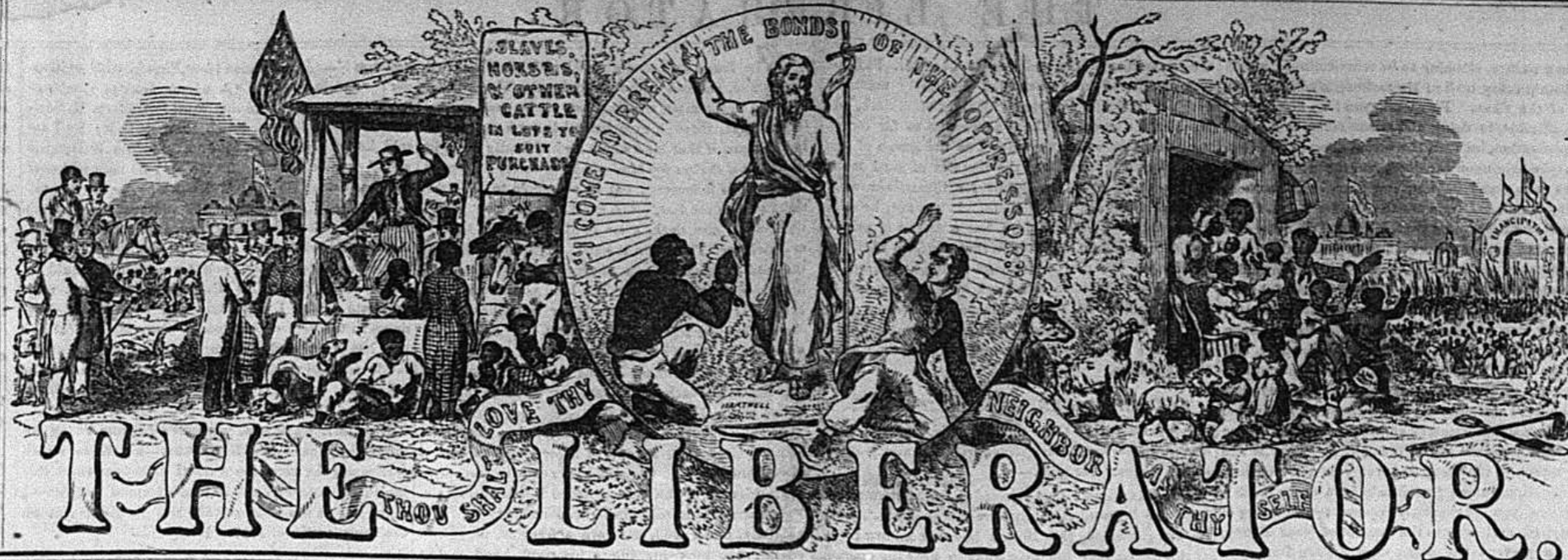


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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the contents of the paper, viz: - FRANCIS JACKSON, EDWARD GIBNEY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



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 essential 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 century, 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 looking 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.
Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1859.
WHOLE NUMBER, 1595.
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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE EXTRAVAGANCES OF ANTI-SLAVERY MEN.
It is evident that the members of the New England Anti-Slavery Society regard themselves as the only men in America fit to represent the cause of freedom. They perch themselves on the highest branches of the tree of liberty, and pelt with stones and brick-bats all others who attempt to climb the same tree in a different way by which they got up. These men appear to regard the federal union and the Christian church as the two great obstacles to the cause of emancipation. No man, not even Phillips himself, ever delivered a more eloquent and effective speech against slavery than did Dr. Cheever, on Tuesday evening, in this city; but because the Dr. will not become a disunionist, and an apostate to the religion in which he believes, they cannot regard him as a well-sighted and efficient friend of the slave. Having thus disposed of Dr. Cheever, the same parties, through the person of Joseph A. Howland, of Worcester, proceed to denounce the Republican party as unworthy the support or countenance of honest men. Who Mr. Howland is, we have not the pleasure of knowing. He may be a very wise man, a very conscientious man; but we regard his resolutions as the crude embodiment of the thoughts of a very bigoted, very foolish, and very weak man. Like an old Irish woman, he cannot make an argument, but he can scold and sell fish. We gather from the reports of this Society (!) that it is lying ground, that its members are becoming low year by year, but this fact appears only to lead those who remain into further extravagances, and the repetition, with additions, of the follies which they have advanced from year to year, until the dry rot is honeycombing the entire organization, and which, in a few years, will entirely decompose the whole mass. It is melancholy to see such a brilliant and excellent citizen as Wendell Phillips frittering away his great gifts upon impracticable schemes. His anti-slavery does not hurt him - that is which redoubles the foolishness of his extravagances. He is not a member of the church, and the Union of the States. After a practical experience of a quarter of a century, he ought to have found out that the opinions he has yearly expressed have not done anything to advance the anti-slavery cause. On the contrary, we believe that they have done much to retard the progress of anti-slavery sentiment. It is as much as anti-slavery men can do to make headway against the power of the slaveholding interest, but when a class of men, comparatively small in numbers and weak in pecuniary resources, undertake at one and the same time a sort of triple contract - to abolish slavery, dissolve the Union, and destroy the church - we may have respect for their courage, but we cannot highly estimate their common sense or their knowledge of mankind.
One can hardly tell from reading the resolutions and speeches of these gentlemen, whether they hate black slavery, or the Constitution, the most ferently. That they are good fathers, no one can doubt, and yet we have high authority for affirming that love and not hate is the best armor for a moral and religious reformer to wear. No man was ever changed from bad to good by scolding and hard words.
Mr. Phillips, Mr. Foster, Mr. Burleigh, and other leading men of the society, denounce every body and thing that does not square with their views. They profess to believe that every man who does not subscribe to their platform, and cry for the dissolution of the Union and the downfall of the church, is false to humanity and the cause of freedom. This is mere lunacy. It is not entitled to serious regard. But what do these gentlemen propose to do after the Union is dissolved, and the church destroyed? How are they to effect the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, when those States have become a foreign nation? They would have neither the right nor the power to interfere with either its domestic or foreign policy.
As an independent nation, it could open the African slave trade, seize Cuba, filibuster, and take possession of the entire Gulf coast, and carve out of it one of the most powerful slave empires the world has ever seen; and yet we would have no more right to interfere with its policy than we have with the plans of England or Russia. The dissolving of the Union would add ten fold to the power of slavery on this continent; and that any man professing to be an anti-slavery man should be laboring to destroy the Union, now at this age of our Republic, when the free States are becoming the repressive power, when they are about to get possession of the government, and change its policy from that of an aggressive and despotic power to one of support and assistance, to encourage the spread of free institutions upon the continent, and to discourage everywhere the barbarous idea that man can hold property in his fellow man, is past our knowledge of either the laws of humanity, morals, or politics. - Boston Atlas and Bee.

The Liberator.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.
The New England Anti-Slavery Convention of 1859 assembled on Wednesday morning, May 25th, in Mercantile Hall, Summer St. Francis Jackson, Esq., President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, called the meeting to order.
On motion, the following persons were chosen a committee to nominate a suitable organization for the Convention:
E. D. Draper, Hopedale; Elias Richards, Weymouth; Geo. W. Stacy, Milford; Jacob Leonard, East Bridgewater; Samuel May, Jr., Boston; Moses Wilmarth, Attleboro; Frances H. Drake, Leominster. Daniel S. Whitney recited some original verses on slavery.
The Committee on nominations reported the following list of officers, who were unanimously elected:
For President - JOHN T. SARGENT, of Boston.
Vice Presidents - Francis Jackson, Boston; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; John Bailey, Lynn; Edgingham L. Capron, Worcester; Ellis Allen, Medfield; Joshua Perry, Hanson; Andrew T. Foss, Manchester, N. H.; Leonard Chase, Milford, do.; James B. Whitcomb, Brooklyn, Ct.; Alphonso R. Jones, Providence, R. I.; Mahlon B. Linton, Bucks Co., Penn.
Secretaries - SAMUEL MAY, JR., CHAS. K. WHITFIELD, JOS. A. HOWLAND.
Finance Committee - Eben D. Draper, Sallie Holley, Frances H. Drake, Sarah E. Wall, Reuben H. Ober, Caroline F. Putnam, Elbridge Sprague.
Business Committee - Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Boston; Wendell Phillips, do.; Charles C. Burleigh, Plainfield, Conn.; Maria W. Chapman, Weymouth; Eliza Lee Follen, Brookline; Lydia Maria Child, Weyland; Abby Kelley Foster, Worcester; Parker Pillsbury, Concord, N. H.; Charles L. Remond, Salem; Stephen S. Foster, Worcester; Andrew T. Foss, Manchester, N. H.
Mr. SARGENT, on taking the chair, said that he did so in conformity with his desire that all gentlemen of his profession should put themselves inside of this movement, and not stand outside of it. He did not admire the invasions position taken by those who announced themselves as Christians anti-slavery men. He was satisfied with such anti-slavery as that of Mr. Garrison, such orthodoxy as that of Wendell Phillips, and such Christianity as that of Theodore Parker. (Applause.)
He closed by announcing Mr. Remond as the first speaker.
CHARLES LEXOX REMOND said he hoped there would be little said in this meeting of slavery in general, but rather of slaveholders in particular. He differed from Mr. Garrison and other friends of the cause in regard to the satisfaction which should be felt relative to the position of Massachusetts towards anti-slavery and towards slavery. As a colored man, he had nothing but detestation and execrations for the spirit prevailing, even now, in Massachusetts and throughout the North, against the colored man. The position of influence and popularity held by Dr. Nehemiah Adams in the city of Boston shows that the slave can have no hope from the religion of this city; and the position held by James Buchanan in the country at large shows that the slave can expect neither favor nor justice from the government.
WENDELL PHILLIPS offered the following Resolution:
Resolved, That cordially as we welcome, and profoundly as we appreciate the eloquent and hearty protest Dr. Cheever is making against our great national sin - though feeling as we do that no lips are more nearly inspired than his, in rebuking the sin of slaveholding, we still deem his position as connected with the American Church as disastrous - tending to neutralize every word he utters - that we cannot regard him as a clear-sighted and efficient friend of the slave; and we take this occasion to express our hope, that no dollar of foreign or domestic aid will be given him until he cuts loose from all connection with a Church which is a brotherhood of thieves, and the bulwark of the slave system.
Mr. Phillips spoke at some length in support of this resolution, adding arguments to show that the Church had lost its only favorable opportunity to relieve what humanity required of it, and that no adhesion to it was traitorous, and inimical to anti-slavery principles. The man, he said, who had been truly impressed with the divinity and goodness and love of God, will just as surely respond to the cause of temperance and humanity and justice and anti-slavery, as the infant child in its mother's lap will recognize and respond to the smile which it sees upon her face.
[We hope that a more extended report of Mr. Phillips' remarks on this important resolution will appear hereafter.]
MR. GARRISON, explaining that his voice would not allow him to make a speech, introduced to the audience one who had just made the inquiry of him whether there was opportunity and permission on this platform to state the other side.
The President said that was the very object and purpose of the Convention.
MR. HUTCHINS, of Danielsonville, Conn., said - History tells us that Alexander was passing by Diogenes in his tub, and that the cynic philosopher being asked if he had any request to make of the king, and answering that he only wished him to get out of his sunshine, the conqueror of the world said - 'If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.'
I would say, if I were not a friend of the Constitution and the religion of my country, I would be a Garrisonian abolitionist. The greatest fault I find with you is, that you tell such an everlasting quantity of everlasting truth. But I cannot quit you with you. I wish more particularly to speak of Dr. Cheever, and his present position to the Anti-Slavery question.
It is true that Dr. Cheever will soon approximate to the position of this platform, or not believing in the religion of this country? I cannot believe it.

If I believed the religion of this country was so vile, I would take a bee-line for the wilderness; I would turn hermit - I would turn misanthrope. But I do not believe it; and I see at present the best prospect of usefulness in praying with the Orthodox Church, and voting with the Republican party; - at the same time, I must confess that there is far too much in both which warrants the severe denunciations of your Convention.
JOS. A. HOWLAND said -
Mr. Hutchins objects that our view of the Constitution is wrong; that we hold it to be pro-slavery, while he holds it to be anti-slavery. Now, where does Mr. Hutchins act, and where is his demonstration of his view of the Constitution? Why, he acts with a pro-slavery party, a party who believes the Constitution to be pro-slavery, and who avow their determination to execute it as such, whenever and wherever they get possession of the power so to do. And now he comes to us, and asks us to join with him in the support of the same party, in order that all abolitionists may work harmoniously together. Mr. President, we cannot do it! We must, in fidelity to the slave, withdraw our support from all pro-slavery governments and parties, and we call on our friend to join with us in seeking the overthrow of the government and the parties who hold the slave in his chains. Our friend stands as he does, we charge upon him greater guilt than that of those who, believing in a pro-slavery Constitution, execute it in accordance with their belief, while our friend does the same wickedness in violation of his avowed belief. And so, too, our friend professes to be a friend of the slave, while he continues in membership with and support of the American Church, which is the bulwark of American slavery. He asks us to join him. We beg to be excused. We do not like their course or their company.
He says, that if he believed with us, he must take a bee-line for the wilderness, in order to be clear of complicity with the Church and government. We do not accept that view. We hold the right and duty to stay here, as honest men, trying to make the rest true to humanity; but if our friend cannot stay as an honest man, he had better flee to the wilderness than to retain his wicked complicity. We do not need or choose to go.
STEPHEN S. FOSTER said - My friend Mr. Phillips, in the resolution he just now read, has given the major key to this Convention. I like it much. I wish to give the minor key in the following resolutions:
Resolved, That any political party which, like the Republican party, avows the purpose to tolerate slavery wherever it exists under State jurisdiction, is essentially and radically pro-slavery, and, as such, deserves and will receive the heart-felt execrations of every true and intelligent lover of liberty.
Resolved, That we have neither respect for the judgment nor confidence in the integrity of those pro-slavery abolitionists who, at this late date, continue to give their countenance and support to such a party, knowing, as every intelligent man must, that to support a party which sustains slavery is to make himself a participant in its crimes.
The merchant, on New Year's day, takes an account of his stock, and balances his books. This is our New Year's day, and it is our business now to ascertain whether we have been advancing or retrograding.
Mr. Foster spoke at length, and with great energy, in regard to anti-slavery principles, methods and prospects. He admitted the general diffusion and spread of anti-slavery sentiment in the community, but argued that the number was not increasing, but, on the other hand, diminishing, of men who refused to have no connection or complicity with slavery in any way, either in Church or in State. He thought the whole philosophy of the anti-slavery movement was wrong, and proceeded to expound what he deemed a truer and better philosophy.
MR. PHILLIPS replied:
I am glad that Mr. Foster has made this speech, with a large part of which I agree. With one exception of his, however, I differ, and that is where he speaks of these differences of opinion as quarrelling. I do not so regard it. Differ we must, and it is the life of our cause that this perfect freedom of thought should exist. You may as well expect our faces all to look alike, as our minds and our speech precisely to agree.
Charles V. occupied himself, in the monastery to which he retired after his abjuration, in trying to make fifty clocks keep uniform time. He failed, of course; and this failure set him to thinking how much more impossible the task would be to establish uniformity among the thoughts and actions of men.
These differences of opinion show that we are alive. They will always continue. They are neither to be feared nor deprecated.
Mr. Foster says that no new abolitionists are made. How does he know it? He cannot know this. No man can know it.
Mr. Abbott Lawrence, some years since, when he was a candidate for Congress from this city, and on the high road to the United States Senate, was waited on by Francis Jackson and others of the anti-slavery men of this city, with a request to present the anti-slavery petitions. So little progress had anti-slavery then made, that Mr. Lawrence could afford to slight the men and their request.
To-day, the Senator of Massachusetts sits among you in this audience. Why does he come here? and what does his presence indicate, that the mighty onward strides which this cause has taken?
Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER rose to explain that Mr. Phillips was not correctly representing Mr. Foster's argument, who had not by any means said that no anti-slavery progress had been made, but that converts to our cause were not now made as in former years.
MR. PHILLIPS proceeded: I had not forgotten the positions of Mr. Foster, and am considering them, in turn. Now I must say that our friend Stephen S. Foster is too orthodox for me. He believes not only in instantaneous conversion, but in a man being 21 years old as soon as he is born. I believe in a different process - first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.

We did not get the Liberty bill passed this year; but it is no small indication of the progress of our cause, that, with such opposition as is encountered, with such treachery and desertion of those who should have been its friends, it was defeated in the House of Representatives by a majority of three votes only.
If there has been this great change in the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, is it not proof of a growth, in the general mind and conscience of the nation, which not only should keep us from anything like despair, but animate us with the highest encouragement for the future? It has been charged against Dr. Cheever and Henry Ward Beecher that they will not stand upon our platform, nor unite with us in any anti-slavery effort whatever. But it is a noticeable thing, in our late meetings in New York, that there came upon our platform there, to express their respect and hearty sympathy for our movement, two young men, one a near friend of Henry Ward Beecher, a son of his pulpit, the other, a right hand supporter and friend of the Pastor of the Church of the Puritans, Dr. Cheever. I refer to Mr. THEODORE TILTON, now of the New York Independent, and Mr. EDWARD GILBERT.
We cannot expect to make converts to our ideas immediately. With the tremendous weight of influence brought to bear against them, on every hand, it is impossible that we should have it. But, on all sides, we see evidence that there is a marked change in public opinion on slavery.
Why do I except to Henry Ward Beecher? Because he stands in his pulpit, afraid or unwilling to apply to the sin of slavery the same measure that he applies to other sins.
MR. GARRISON said, I do not rise to reply to my friend Foster, but only to say that I totally dissent from the opinion he has expressed in regard to the retrogression of our cause. All the signs of the times indicate that 'now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer.' Our cause is now forced upon public attention in every department of business, politics, literature and religion; now the slave is seen by everybody, and cannot be put down. Banquo's ghost sits in the Tract Society, sits in the Bible Society, sits in the Sunday School Union, sits in the Missionary Board, sits in the Representatives hall and in the Senate chamber. Encouragement, not discouragement, is seen on every hand, and all the aspects of society show a movement of advance towards the position we hold.
Remember that there must be degrees of light, degrees of progress, degrees of position. We ourselves advanced by steps, and we cannot expect others to do otherwise. However far short of our ground Dr. Cheever or Henry Ward Beecher may stand, if they should go to the South, we know very well that they would be regarded and treated as enemies by the slaveholders, and their lives imperilled.
MR. MAY gave notice of succeeding sessions, - and the Convention adjourned to 2 1/2 o'clock, P. M.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.
The meeting was called to order by the President, and was opened by singing a hymn, commencing
"Come from your farms, ye yeomen brave."
The Nominating Committee made a further report, which was accepted and adopted.
MR. REMOND and Mr. Foster made some remarks upon the discussions of the forenoon, and in explanation thereof.
A. T. Foss said that he had been very much impressed with seeing a colored man collecting money in the audience to buy the body and soul of his own son, and he inquired of himself, 'In what age of the world do I live? and what is the religion of this age?'
A religion that allows men to be bought and sold, to be articles of property, cannot be the Christian religion, and is not a religion that I love, or wish to fraternize with, even if it merely looks on passively to see this wickedness done.
Something has been said of Dr. Cheever and Mr. Beecher. Well, where do they stand? They talk well upon this question, but in act or position they are with the American Church, sustaining a religion that deals in the bodies and souls of men - a religion whose priests tell us falsely, every Sunday, that this is a land where every man sits under his own vine and fig-tree, while they know that four millions of people in this land are not allowed to have vines and fig-trees. And these men who sustain such a false and wicked religion, and are in a position of antagonism to the cause and interests of the slave, whatever their professions and claims, the more they appear to be anti-slavery, while in this false position, the more dangerous is their influence, and the greater the obstacle they present to the onward progress of the cause of the slave.
And here I agree heartily and fully with our friend Foster; but in the position that he took, that we are losing ground, I do not agree with him at all. I do not believe it. He says that we are losing in numbers. I do not believe that either. Many joined us ostensibly in the outset, who, appearing to receive the word gladly, showed in the end that the seed had fallen on stony ground, or by the way side, or among thorns, and so had been apparently lost, but not really, for they were never fully with us - they were but the chaff which a good agriculturist always blows out from the wheat, and has a larger pile of chaff than of wheat; but it is no loss, but a gain, to be rid of it. We need sifting, and I am glad that we get it. When we started, we had of necessity a large amount of apparent grain, but now we are sifted, and have blown off a great deal of chaff, and have but a small pile of wheat. We ought to be glad of it, and not to repine, for what we have is wheat, sound and plump. And we have never lost or shall lose any kernels of that, but shall always gain.
S. MITCHELL, of Maine, offered a resolution denouncing all sects, parties, constitutions and governments on the face of the earth, and was proceeding to make a speech in favor of the same, when he was called to order, and suspended his remarks.
REV. R. S. HASKELL, of Haverhill, said he liked the criticism of the Anti-Slavery platform, though at times he thought it too severe and quite unjust, and he did not like to have such men as Cheever and Beecher classed with the slaveholders. They had

their peculiar theology, and they were sincere in holding to it, however mistaken they might be in it. And we are not to expect them to lay aside at once their views on these to them essential points, in order to labor with us, whom they esteem as infidels. If they will work for the slave at all, let them work in their own way, and let us not criticize them uncharitably. We want to convert men, and to do it thoroughly and completely; but it is a progressive work. Let us labor faithfully, and take what courage we can from the hopeful appearance of the cause, and the gain that shows itself in the position of these men.
PARKER PILLSBURY said he mainly agreed with S. S. Foster in his criticisms, and did not think with Mr. Haskell that our criticisms are too harsh or uncharitable. He thought Dr. Cheever open to all that had been said of him. He (Dr. C.) denounced the sin of slavery, and the Church that sustained it, blistering his tongue with the bitterness of his maledictions; but still he denounced and cursed our policy, while he fraternized with the men who, by his own showing, were the slaves' worst enemies. Dr. Nehemiah Adams never did the Anti-Slavery cause any harm; he cannot do it any; he may do it good; he is just in the position where the wrath of man shall praise God. But Dr. Cheever can and does do the cause much harm, and is in the most harmful position of any man with whom we must cope; and yet our Standard commends Dr. Cheever as a sound abolitionist, worthy the confidence and support of the friends of the slave. I do not agree with Mr. Foster in his belief that we are not progressing, and as to the number of converts or accessions, Mr. Foss has disposed of that matter satisfactorily - and I need not enter upon that point.
We are asked to be friendly to the Republican party, and yet what is that but the white man's party? When have they extended the right of suffrage to the colored man? On the other hand, they have, in many States where they had a preponderance, by deliberate action denied the right of suffrage to the colored man, and enacted fully the Dred Scott decision.
MR. PILLSBURY then went farther into criticism of the position of the Republican party and some of its most prominent advocates and friends.
REV. MR. AMES, of Minnesota, made an amusing speech, saying that we ought to love the black man, and the white man too, but especially the green man, who wanted to be right, but didn't know how. There ought to be charity towards such, and not too much severe and uncharitable criticism towards those who did not stand on this platform.
C. C. BURLEIGH spoke of the cheering signs of the cause in all its various aspects, and in reply to the position of Mr. Foster that we were losing ground, and also in reply to some of Mr. Foster's and Mr. Pillsbury's, as he thought, too severe criticism of the Republican party, saying that he did not believe that the success of that party was the success of the Anti-Slavery cause, but he believed its triumph would promote the final triumph of freedom.
After a brief discussion, whether the question should be taken, or not, at this time, upon the resolutions now before the Convention, without coming to any decision, the Convention adjourned to meet at half-past 7 o'clock, in Music Hall.

EVENING SESSION.
The evening session of the Convention was held at the Music Hall. One of the most magnificent gatherings ever assembled together in the city, for any object, filled the hall to overflowing. It was certainly the largest audience ever collected in response to a call from the Massachusetts or New England Anti-Slavery Society, and, in view of the many other meetings held on the same evening, evinced a degree of interest in the cause, on the part of the public, as unexpected as it was gratifying.
The meeting was called to order by the President, Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, at twenty minutes before eight o'clock, and the exercises opened with the singing of the familiar anti-slavery hymn commencing -
"Hark! a voice from Heaven proclaiming
Comfort to the mourning slave."
MR. GARRISON, whose appearance was greeted with applause, then read the following resolutions:
Resolved, That we renew our testimony against the American Union, as a sinful alliance with oppressors, which gives strength to the slave system, implicates the North in the guilt of slaveholding, has already induced deep moral, religious, and political corruption, and almost measureless servility to the slave power among the Northern people; and, as it has made the sin of slavery national, threatens to involve the whole nation in the retributive ruin which must come upon all who persist in its perpetuation, as sure as God is just, and His justice will not sleep forever.
Resolved, That in the words of the late lamented Judge Jay, the Union is 'a most grievous moral curse to the American people; to the people of the South, by fostering, strengthening, and extending an iniquitous and baneful institution; to the millions among us, of African descent, by riveting the chains of the bondman and deepening the degradation of the freeman; to the people of the Free States, by tempting them to trample under foot the obligations of truth, justice, and humanity, for those wages of iniquity with which the Federal Government rewards apostates to liberty and righteousness.'
Resolved, therefore, That in the name of freedom, of justice, of humanity, of manly self-respect, of duty to man and to God, we call upon all who value these sacred names, to repudiate at once the accused compact and wrong, and, as the essential means of washing their own hands clean from the blood of the slave, to adopt in word and deed the motto, 'No Union with Slaveholders.'
The resolutions were received with loud applause.
SPEECH OF C. L. REMOND.
CHARLES LEXOX REMOND was the first speaker. He was warmly cheered as he took his place upon the platform. He said he felt some pride in coming upon that platform, before that large and intelligent assembly, because his appearance, under such circumstances, was the exception, and not the general rule, because he was happy to be recognized among the number who dare regard man as a man, irrespective of accidental or incidental circumstances, and because he could point to black men who had done and dared

speaking here: so I shall simply close by repeating, what he and I many times, when together, have read with great delight, from his favorite poet Burns—

The bridegroom may forget the bride
Was made a wedding wife yestern,
The monarch may forget the crown
That on his head an hour hath been,
The mother may forget the babe
That smiled so sweetly on her knee;
But I'll remember thee, my friend,
And all that thou hast done for me.

Mr. PHILLIPS continued, enlarging on the energy, frankness and independence of Mr. Hovey's character, the great loss his death was to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and to the circle of devoted friends who gather round it.

HENRY C. WRIGHT bore a feeling testimony, after a long and intimate acquaintance, to the rare merits of his deceased friend.

Mr. GARRISON rose and said:—Every one of us feels his heart strongly pulsate in favor of the resolutions that have been submitted to us as a tribute to the memory of our departed friend. The bereavement is felt to be universal. Having elsewhere borne my testimony, it is not necessary for me to occupy any length of time in speaking of the worth of one so dear to us.

Briefly, then, let me say, he possessed certain traits of character that were remarkable, and worthy of being held up to the imitation and admiration of all.

There was nothing, I think, he liked so well as a manly and brave spirit. He went for free thought and free speech to any extent. No matter what the meeting might be, or what its object, his only inquiry was, "Does it allow all sides to be fairly heard?"

If he was ready to contribute generously to defray its expenses. Last summer, for instance—as you will recollect—a Convention was called at Rutland, Vermont, for the purpose of discussing the various reformatory movements of the age—the largest liberty of speech being guaranteed to all who should attend. It was called chiefly, if not exclusively, by those who are interested in modern Spiritualism,—for which our friend Hovey had no taste, and towards which he cherished some repugnance; never having seen any of its phenomena that led him to believe in their spiritual origin. Though he had no reason to doubt that the Convention would naturally be mainly controlled by Spiritualists, and perhaps most of the speeches made by them, yet, inasmuch as they invited all persons to come to it, bringing their own ideas with them, and an unfettered tongue to advocate what they pleased, he not only attended the Convention, but employed at his own expense the best reporter to record all that might be said or done, faithfully and impartially, on that occasion—the proceedings making a large and handsomely printed pamphlet of nearly two hundred pages. I doubt if there be one man in a million to be found, whose love of free discussion in general is so strong as to induce him to make such an expenditure in its behalf, under similar circumstances.

What always impressed me was his moral courage. I think if there was ever a man delivered from 'the fear of man' it was CHARLES F. HOVEY. If there was ever a man who did not stop to ask whether the cause was popular or not, before he espoused it, it was our lamented friend. Believing it to be right and true, he gave himself to it with a whole heart and a generous will.

My friend, Mr. PHILLIPS, has spoken of the benevolent request Mr. Hovey has made to the Anti-Slavery cause. That request, I think, was truly characteristic, and especially noticeable, for this reason: Our glorious cause has been before this nation for thirty years, challenging the sympathy and aid of all classes. Many rich men have died during that time,—men of property are dying every day, and are making liberal bequests for charitable purposes. But, mark you! always for those purposes which will be sure to receive the approbation of every body, but never to promote an unpopular movement. So calculating, timid and conservative is wealth. CHARLES F. HOVEY is the very first man of property who has died, and left a large portion of his means, or any considerable amount, to the Anti-Slavery cause, or to any other kindred enterprise. May he not be the last!

It is impossible to praise, sufficiently, his kindness and benevolence. I find it going out in all directions. The other day, in my household, I was speaking of our departed friend, when the young Irish girl, who lives with me, related the following incident:—

'I went into his store, one day, for the purpose of purchasing a dress. I saw a piece of calico that pleased me very much, but I had not money enough with me to buy it. Mr. Hovey was there. I told him I was sorry I could not take it; but if he would trust me, I would certainly bring him the balance. He said he would trust me. When I went to him, a few days after, to offer him the money, he said, 'I hardly expected to see you again; but—like your integrity of character so much, I wish you to keep the money.'

A very trifling incident, indeed—but so thoroughly characteristic of the man!

He was remarkably genial in spirit, as well as firm in purpose. Our friend Mr. Pillsbury has well said, he was the most ultra of the ultra. He stood in the forefront, as far as it was possible for a man to go, and yet keep his balance; yet, while he was uncompromising, he was always magnanimous. What he asked of others was not an exact agreement with all his opinions, but mainly straight-forwardness and consistency in carrying out what they professed to believe. He despised all shuffling and time-serving.

He never looked on the dark side of a question, but was ever buoyant and hopeful. With him there was 'no such word as fail.'

He was a thorough democrat. He espoused the democratic party when a young man, full of zeal and deep sincerity. He supposed that party to be all that was in his own soul, and, as a matter of course, on the side of humanity and freedom. But he soon found that it was a thoroughly rotten and hypocritical party, and he left it in disgust.

As he was just despairing of finding any party to whom he could devote his honest and noble nature, he chanced, one day, as a matter of curiosity, to come into a meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention; and there he heard men and women uttering the noblest sentiments in behalf of the most oppressed and degraded of the human race, and in the face of popular violence and obloquy, with no motive but that of disinterested benevolence; and he said, 'I must know those people better, and see whether they are really actuated by principle, and mean what they say. If so, they are the party for which I have been seeking.' From that moment till the hour of his death, he was one with us.

Mr. President, there has been a remarkable preservation of the Abolitionists through our long and fearful struggle—a struggle which covers an entire generation. How few, especially of the earliest and most prominent actors therein, have been called away! It seems to me that the providence of God has been singularly displayed in this fact. In the course of nature, however, we must soon be taking leave of each other. Every Convention like this is to be regarded as a farewell meeting to some of us. Of one thing I feel sure: whenever 'the inevitable hour' shall come to any of us, we shall never regret any sacrifice we may have made, or labor performed, in behalf of the 'slave in our land.' To whatever sphere of existence we may be translated, we shall never look back with sorrow to what we espoused the cause of a people, 'peopled, meted out, and trodden under foot.' Our time is short: let us work while the day lasts. For one, I would not live always here. I am ready to go at any moment. Nothing in this universe do I cherish with more joy or more gratitude than this change which we call death. Death—what is it? As much a manifestation of the benevolence and

wisdom of God as earthly existence itself. It is an event as natural as the falling of a leaf, or the blossoming of a flower. There is no evil in it. Death—it is, 'Excelsior!' It is ' onward and upward.' It is a better and a higher position—a nobler sphere of life. It is not to be met with resignation, as though it were a calamity or a judgment in itself, but rather with thankfulness and a victorious spirit, in God's good time. Come the last hour when it may, I trust my song shall be—

'I'll praise my Maker with my breath;
And when my voice is lost in death,
Praise shall employ my nobler powers;
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
While life, and thought, and being last,
Or immortality endures.'

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., said:—It can be no violent transition to pass from the consideration of our friend's loss to take up the subject of financial aid to our cause which has been assigned to this hour. I therefore move that the Finance Committee now proceed to ask of the Convention their donations and pledges of aid for the coming year.

While this work was proceeding, Mr. Garrison exhibited a large and fearful whip, manufactured with tens of thousands more such, in Westfield, in this State, for the Southern market, to be used upon the bodies of men and women. Others remarked that Westfield is a very orthodox town, and that no audience could be found there lately for an anti-slavery meeting.

Mrs. ABBY K. FOSTER said she had recently heard that Ohio was now better prepared to welcome and repay the preaching of thorough anti-slavery truth than ever before. She spoke of the fact that thirty or forty citizens of Ohio were now in prison for rescuing a man from the hands of slaveholders, and said that these men, who had long been members of the Republican party, and so supporters of the Union and Government (which exists by agreeing to slavery,) were now having the poisoned chalice commended to their own lips.

Mr. SAUNDERS added to his reminiscences of the commencement of his anti-slavery life, some particulars respecting Wendell Phillips.

Mr. Foss said he went this morning to hear Dr. Cheever before the American Missionary Association, and he had never before heard such magnificent cursing. Dr. C. spoke of the American Board of Missions as a 'dunghill of depravity,' and said that the walls of Zion are sweating and oozing with wickedness, so that one might dip their fingers therein, and write 'Ichabod' there.

I was struck, Mr. Foss, with the appearance of the audience. As the speaker proceeded, the ministers gradually disappeared from the platform.

But, after all this terrible denunciation, Dr. Cheever spoke of the American Board as a body of Christian men! Is not this a marvellous thing? It seems to me that Dr. Cheever and Henry Ward Beecher are melancholy instances of the ruinous effect of a false theology upon characters otherwise noble and manly.

I wish now to speak of the Personal Liberty Bill. Republicans and others, who have expressed good will to the cause of the slave, have asked for something tangible to which to apply themselves in this work. We now give them something tangible. Let them circulate this petition, and get to it the name of every member of their party, every citizen of their town.

Judge Harrington, of Vermont, said he would not surrender a human being as a slave, unless the claimant brought him a bill of sale signed by God Almighty. I would not accept even this. I should assume it undoubtedly to be a forgery.

I rejoice at the progress made in Vermont, but I am now chiefly concerned for Massachusetts. Slaves can now be taken from our soil. I want that to be henceforth rendered impossible. I want hundreds of thousands of names to the petitions, and a large majority for the proposed bill in both houses.

Mr. Garrison said:—The leaders of the people cause them to err.' This bill would have been passed at the last session but for the opposition of Gov. Banks. He had an object which seemed to him more important than this, namely, the purchase, for Massachusetts, of the house once occupied by Governor Hancock! Instead of working the needful righteousness to-day, he is building and whitening the sepulchres of dead prophets.

Mrs. Foster made an earnest appeal, as far as her voice would allow, for active labor to the cause, both by contribution and personal labor.

Adjourned, to meet 4 before three.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The meeting was called to order by the President, at 3 o'clock.

HENRY C. WRIGHT read a series of resolutions, affirming that the Republican party, sustaining the system of slavery in fifteen States, cannot be trusted to prevent the revival of the foreign slave trade, or to effect the abolition of the domestic slave trade; that a Church that can sustain a communion with slaveholders, cannot be recognized by the friends of abolition; that slaveholders and slave-hunters, as such, have no rights which any man, white or black, is bound to respect; that no man can be a hearty or efficient Abolitionist, or true friend to liberty, who esteems any object paramount to the abolition of slavery; that the formation of the American Union is in itself a wrong and outrage which no power in the universe can make right or justify.

He said that in this city and in this country, a horse is practically considered of more value than a man, a sheep than a human soul; because, if I steal a horse or a sheep, I am turned out of the ministry and out of the Church; while, if I steal a man, I am a good American church member and Christian,—a teacher of Christianity, a Doctor of Divinity. And, as in Church, so in State. Our friend Henry Wilson, who sits before me, would not sit in Congress beside horse-stealers and sheep-stealers as honorable men, and fit associates and co-legislators; but he does sit with men-stealers. If he was a slave,—and I wish to God he was, for a while,—for if any one should be a slave, it should not be the poor black, who cannot speak for themselves, but the strong white man, who can speak; and I wish the Wilsons, the Sumners and the Giddings could be slaves a while, they would then be willing to speak for the slave. If the Constitution made them slaves, they would crush the Constitution; they would not sit down in Congress with men who stole their wives or children.

I have no confidence in the Republican party. It does not propose to abolish or hinder slavery, but does propose to defend and sustain it. Such a party can do nothing for liberty. No party that does not make man superior to institutions, or to his accidents, can be a friend of freedom.

I do not care to discuss any question of the rightfulness of slavery, or whether the Constitution or the Bible sustains it. It is wrong of itself, and a whole Bible full of denunciation could not make it wrong, neither could a whole Bible full of support of it make it right. And no man would take a Bible endorsement for his own enslavement.

S. S. FOSTER then made a speech at length in further elucidation of his position against the inefficiency of our Society and its movements, and in demonstration of its retrogressive course, as it appeared to him. He complained that, in whatever he said, he was misrepresented; at one time too sanguine, at another not believing in any progress of the anti-slavery cause. He went on at some length, criticising and condemning the course of the Liberator and Standard as lacking in fidelity and impartiality.

The Republican party he conceded to be more elevated, both in intellectual and moral worth, than the Democrats, and therefore he considered them as more criminal in regard to slavery. He did not believe that

slavery could exist one moment in the keeping of the Democrats, if not sustained by the Republicans. As to the Republican party's defending itself on this platform, they dared not do it, for all of its leaders admitted all he had charged.

The trouble all came from dallying with the Republican party, which had played the very devil with the cause. All the Society did with its money and influence was calculated to build up the Republican party, more from this source than from any other.

Mr. Foster gave the Society warning that if they did not do better in future, and still continued to countenance or encourage the Republican party, he must bid them farewell, much as he regretted it, and endeavor to place himself in a position to act with freedom.

Mr. Foster proposed a resolution, with a platform for a new political party, discountenancing in every way all union with slaveholders or slaveholding.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, made a further report:—

Whereas, for seventy years, the people of this Commonwealth have wickedly and ruthlessly consented to the hunting of men, women and children within their borders, by Southern slave-hunters, and have helped to seize, and fetter, and return to slavery, those who have had the heroism to seek their freedom by flight; and

Whereas, they have hitherto attempted to shield themselves behind the plea of acquiescing in a constitutional arrangement, essential to the preservation of the Union; therefore,

Resolved, That it avails nothing to say that, by the Constitution, 'we are delivered to do this thing'—that, if we refuse to carry out the contract, we shall dissolve the Union, and run the risk of the horrors of civil war; for no matter what the Constitution may require—no matter what may be the pledge given to the South—no matter what may be the consequences, if the slave-hunters are not permitted any longer to seize their trembling fugitives on our soil—while the people of this State consent to participate in the re-enslavement of the fleeing slave, they are a Commonwealth of kidnappers.

Resolved, That it is the first religious duty of the people of Massachusetts to put an end to slave-hunting on their soil, without delay, come what may, and at whatever cost; and, therefore, in the performance of this duty, they should promptly sign and circulate the petition to the next Legislature, demanding of their representatives officially to withdraw the sanction of the State so long given to the perpetration of this horrible crime, and to decree that, as soon as any fugitive slave shall enter the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, his chains shall fall asunder, and he stand erect as a man and a brother.

Resolved, That in the refusal of the last Legislature to pass such a decree, though besought to do so by a great multitude of petitioners, representing all classes in society, a great sin was committed; nevertheless, we cannot refrain from warmly commending the large minority composed exclusively of Republicans, in the House of Representatives, who stood their ground so unflinchingly against the leading influences of their party, and voted to abolish slave-hunting in this Commonwealth, independent of all party considerations; nor can we withhold the expression of our earnest hope, that no man who voted in the majority will again be permitted to hold a seat in the Legislature, or any office in the gift of the people, until he proves himself worthy of confidence and respect.

Resolved, That it is with inexpressible delight we have the assurance of the restoration of our beloved friend and eloquent coadjutor, GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., of England, to such a degree of convalescence from a long, distressing, paralyzing illness, as to enable him to participate in the reform meetings now being held in every part of the kingdom, and with characteristic zeal and devotion to exert all his powers in behalf of the cause of freedom and humanity; and with one heart and voice we send our warmest greetings and congratulations to him across the Atlantic, and bestow upon him our heartfelt benediction—assuring him that we vividly and gratefully remember the invaluable services which he rendered to the cause of the slave when heroically perilling his life in this country in the darkest hours of the Anti-Slavery struggle; and that we need no formal assurance on his part, that never will he allow any opportunity to pass, without vindicating the character of American Abolitionists from the foul aspersions cast upon them by those whose bigotry is paramount to their love of humanity, and whose feelings are inclined to the side of the oppressor, rather than to break the fetters of the oppressed.

C. C. BURLINGHE then made a speech, mainly in refutation of Mr. Foster's remarks and position. He denied that the Anti-Slavery Society had fellowshiped the Republican party; on the contrary, they agreed with him that it was in a wrong position, and compromising in spirit. Yet he was free to say that the Republicans were generally sincere in their efforts to prevent the extension of slavery, and to take the government out of the hands of the slave oligarchy; and that the success of the party, to that extent, must advance the anti-slavery cause. Of the progress of the cause, he had no doubt whatever.

S. MITCHELL, of Maine, made a brief speech in an attempt to show that, in order to free the slave, we must free ourselves of all bonds to all governments, sects or societies.

REV. THOMAS H. JONES, formerly a slave in South Carolina, said that slavery was a terrible thing, a gigantic wickedness, that he hated; for he had felt it, and knew it to be what John Wesley had called it, 'The sum of all villainies.' He was devoted to the dissemination of truth on this question, and he meant to live in it, and do for it, till slavery was abolished, or he died a martyr to liberty. This cause would triumph ultimately, for it was of God, and must prevail.

Mr. Garrison he regarded as a true friend of the slave, and for years, and ever since he had known him, he had so recognized him, and he always would, that proclamation wherever he went, as every meeting-house he entered, and he entered a good many. Many told him that he was not safe here, and should go to Canada; but he meant to stay, and hoped to stay safely; but if he perished, he was willing to be a martyr.

Mr. Jones then continued, in a strain of native eloquence, to narrate, with comments, some portions of his experience in 'praying with his legs' in his escape from slavery.

The resolutions before the Convention were then taken up.

The Resolution on Dr. Cheever was passed, with a few dissenting votes.

The series upon Dissolution was then adopted—one voice only being heard in the negative.

The Resolution relating to George Thompson was unanimously adopted.

The series upon Slave-hunting in Massachusetts, and upon the Petition against Slave-hunting, was adopted unanimously.

The resolutions offered by Stephen S. Foster were then adopted, 22 to 17.

Adjourned to half-past 7 o'clock.

EVENING.

The President in the chair.

The anti-slavery song was sung—
'Bring from the South your millions.'

The President referred to the fact that Rev. James Freeman (Clarke), a good anti-slavery friend of ours, and often on our platform,—had to-day been chosen the Secretary of the Unitarian Association. This he regarded as one of the straws which show how the current of popular opinion is setting.

The Convention was then addressed by W. L. Garrison, J. A. Howland, E. H. Heywood, S. S. Foster, Wendell Phillips.

Mr. Garrison did not think it necessary to answer the charges made against the Anti-Slavery Society, but would simply say they were all false, unjust, and entirely uncalculated. The Anti-Slavery cause had never gone back, never wavered. The Republican party was not claimed as a party designed to abolish slavery, and no Anti-Slavery man supposed that it was, yet it was true, as a side issue, no person dared at the South avow himself as friendly to it, nor could any Republican find safety or favor there. To compare such a party with one that avowedly sustains slavery and is sustained by the slave power, is manifestly unjust. The Old Bay State was clearly the Republican State, and it contained within it the greatest amount of intelligence and of disunion sentiment. It could not be said that the Anti-Slavery sentiment was due to the Democratic party, but the sentiment had made the Republican party. Under the old Whig party, so long as that party remained intact, North and South, the Anti-Slavery element in it did not cause a ripple at the South.

Then the struggle for the freedom of the territories took place—the Whig party went down, and the Republican party which succeeded it gallantly beat back the invaders of freedom, having divided the North from the South politically—the first instance of the kind since the formation of the government. It had virtually dissolved the Union—at least to that extent—although the party did not acknowledge the fact.

In reference to Dr. Cheever, Mr. Garrison thought he was bearing some highly effective testimonies, and exhibiting a good deal of moral courage and endurance; yet he blamed him for being as consistent and vigilant in anti-slavery matters as he was in heresy hunting. In regard to an abstract theological dogma, he was not only swift to condemn, but also to execute judgment, to enforce discipline, and to withdraw Christian fellowship, while in regard to the sin of all sins, slavery, he resorted neither to exclusion nor secession, but was disposed to hold on, as in the case of the American Tract Society, for the purpose of having 'another try.' To be consistent, he should make the pro-slavery evangelical church and its auxiliaries walk overboard.

On motion of Mr. Holden, of Lynn, seconded by Mr. Garrison, the resolutions of Mr. Foster, adopted this afternoon by a small vote, were reconsidered, 44 to 5.

Mr. PHILLIPS, on taking the platform, after referring to the discussion that had preceded, said:—

Allow one word more in regard to the present condition of things in the Commonwealth. I have the pleasure to say, to any one who has not already heard it, that those two men—at least they have that resemblance to humanity, that temptation makes them rascals, and rum makes them drunk, (laughter)—I mean that captain and mate who sent a negro back to Norfolk on the 8th day of May, were to-day brought before Judge Russell, and put under bonds of \$4000, to appear before the majesty of Massachusetts of law, to show why they kidnapped a man in the blue waters of Massachusetts Bay. (Loud applause.) We shall see how good Massachusetts law is in showing such men that rascality costs more than good conduct. That captain might have had to pay a thousand dollars in Norfolk, Virginia, if he had not carried back that man. Let us cast up the account on the ledger. He paid \$500 to Capt. Bacon, to carry the man back. If he ever gets into the clutches of a Massachusetts jury, he will pay \$1000 fine. Before he reaches that end, however, he must go through the gauntlet of two or three hunker attorneys—I believe the London phrase is—sharks! (Laughter.) They will make him pay some \$1000 or \$1500 more. If he does not pay the fine, he has got to go into the jail of Massachusetts for a year. We must not put that down as a loss; he will get into quite respectable company when he gets there (laughter and applause); and if he does not go there, he will go into the State prison for any time short of ten years. In that case, you will hear our friend, John A. Andrew, moving for a Habeas corpus before Judge Shaw, at the instance of some murderer confined in the prison, on the ground that cruel and unusual punishments are not constitutional, and he has been put into a cell next to that of a brutal kidnapper from Cape Cod. (Loud cheering.) At any rate, we will try what vigor there is in Massachusetts law to appeal to that only muscle which a Cape Cod captain of this stripe has,—his money,—and show him that it would have been a paying business if he had saved that man, instead of sacrificing him. Until we get a Church and a moral sense to create hearts that respond to humanity, we must make this base and lower appeal to the self-interest of certain parties in the Commonwealth. I would rather see that Capt. Crowell, of the brig Roberson, in the State Prison for seven years, for the crime of having sent back a negro from the blue waters of the Bay that laves Cape Cod on its southern side, than forty Wilsons in the Senate, or a hundred Sumners in the Presidential chair; for when Massachusetts shall do that, South Carolina will hush her babies with the name of Massachusetts. I want a better triumph than a Massachusetts Senator; I want a Massachusetts sinner in our State Prison. (Applause.) Yes, I stood here this afternoon, and if I had not been unwilling to interrupt the speaker, I should have moved three cheers for Old England, when that colored man Jones told us that, as he was paddling his craft from the pursuing boatmen, he caught sight of the English jack. 'I knew it,' he said. Of course he knew it; he knew nothing else. He had not learned any thing but the shape of the cross. Is it not worth living and dying for, worth all the Hampdens and Sydneys, Vans and Miltons for a thousand years, to build up a beaming flag that, whenever the eye of the oppressed sees it, in any quarter of the globe, he feels as if binding him to the throne of God, and cleave safe under its folds? (Loud applause.) I want the Massachusetts flag to be just such an one, that every bondman in the Carolinas, if he knew nothing more, shall know the mailed arm of the State, and when he sees it, no matter where, no matter what power there is about it, no matter how threatening the storm on men's faces, he will feel that if a man but places his foot under the broad banner of the old Indian Commonwealth of Massachusetts, he is certain to be safe. (Prolonged cheering.) That will be a country to be loved; that will be a country for another Cowper to sing, in a nobler strain even than he did, the praises of England herself.

Take these men, and teach them the Gospel through the stone walls of the State Prison, and I will make a banner of the red and blue trowsers of Capt. Crowell when he comes out, after seven years in the workshop of that Prison, for the crime of having forgotten that a negro was a man, and it will be a nobler banner than Massachusetts would bear, if she carried the motto of Sydney through the battle and the breeze for a thousand years. We have got the matter into the courts. It is possible we may find a Massachusetts jury who will be able to know its duty in this emergency; it is possible we may find on the bench worthy descendants of the Holts on the other side of the water. We will try what pluck there is in law, as we have found none in the Christianity of this Commonwealth. Cape Cod! Shovel her off into the ocean, rather than have her scene of such outrages as these. Why, had that fugitive slave looked across the sandy Cape, he might have heard the echo of the waves that break on the sad grave of Webster! Whigs of Massachusetts, prove now the claim you make for your memory! He might almost have caught a glimpse of the rising monument at Plymouth. Make it a shelter for fugitives from a dire oppression than the pilgrim ever defied.

I have not time to say more. (Loud calls of 'go on,' 'go on.') But I think it is a glorious hour. Ten years ago, or more, the same scene was enacted in Boston harbor. You remember that boy. He swam half way to South Boston, then was caught, and John H. Pearson's captain shut him up in the cabin, and

took him back to his master. Pearson told it in State street. We had a meeting in Faneuil Hall. John Quincy Adams presided, Stephen C. Phillips made the opening speech, and said this conduct of the Long wharf merchant was a libel on the merchants of Boston. The next day, Pearson met him on State street, and said, 'Take a vote at high change, and I will have ten merchants to say I did right, to one man that you can get in State street to call it disgraceful.' Charles Francis Adams said then, 'We will have a grand jury indict these men before the Superior Court, and show Carolina the Christianity of Massachusetts.' They called me to the platform to follow him. I was not in the programme. I said, 'I take the liberty to doubt whether you will find in your country a grand jury with hearts brave enough to lay the little finger of their rebuke on the boss merchant of Long wharf. The case went to the grand jury, but you never heard of it afterwards. John H. Pearson walked State street, and gloried in the indorsement State street had given him. John Quincy Adams went home, having left his testimony that justice was a shadow; but there was no echo in the streets of Boston to his eloquence.

Twelve years have passed away. We have had these meetings. The great incubus of Webster, God has taken off of the Commonwealth's heart, and it begins to beat. They have concealed him in a mass of ugly iron, and the Republicans have forgotten self-respect, and given it a place in front of the Capitol. He is dead, and we will ask that his influence may soon die also. Twelve years have passed away, and great hearts have begun to beat. A Cape Cod captain cannot do to-day, I think, (I may be wrong,) what John H. Pearson did twelve years ago. I think a grand jury will find a court for him; I believe a petit jury will find a verdict. I do not know, but I take a yankee's privilege, and guess. I hope if any course shall take the case up to our Supreme Bench, our old chief will hide that ugly chain which was round the court-house, and beneath which he bowed,—hide the shadow which will everlasting rest upon his person, and which history will not fail to save with the green laurel, in the last years of his chief justiceship, of a verdict against a kidnapper, with the utmost penalty of the statute, and so crown his judicial life with the Plaudite of the Roman actor, and go with the gratitude of a million of Massachusetts men. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the cause of Equal School Rights, now being contended for in Rhode Island by the colored citizens and their friends, deserves the concentrated and persevering energies of every friend of freedom and education in that State, and is, we believe, destined to be crowned with success, at an early day, through a regenerated public sentiment.

Whereas, thirty estimable, humane and Christian citizens of Ohio have been arrested, put on trial, and a portion of them convicted and sentenced, and the remainder committed to prison until the July term, of the U. S. Government, on the charge of having succored and saved an alleged fugitive slave illegally arrested; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention expresses its congratulations to those imprisoned martyrs, that they have been found worthy to bear this cross, which shall yet be crowned with glory, and help mightily to redeem the millions pining in bondage.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted.

After which, the Convention adjourned, sine die.

JOHN T. SARGENT, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
CHARLES K. WHEELER,
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Secretaries.

LETTER FROM REV. HENRY BLEBY.

BARBADOS, April 20, 1859.

W. L. GARRISON:

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The Liberator has reached me at irregular intervals since my return from the States, together with the Standard, and I have read with profound interest the information given me in their columns concerning the monster evil of your country, and the efforts of those noble spirits who have courage to brave the reproach and scorn of the multitude, in the attempt to get rid of the national guilt and shame of slavery, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. I luxuriated in the reports of the Soiree in the Music Hall at Boston, and the proceedings of the Annual Meeting in Summer street, and it required but a slight effort of the imagination to bring these scenes before me, as they must have appeared to you who were privileged to look upon and take part in them. May God, the hater of all oppression, and the friend of the oppressed, speed your work of faith and labor of love to an early triumph! The cause you are identified with must be ultimately successful, for it is founded in charity, and truth, and righteousness; and I trust that day is not so far distant but that you, my dear sir, who have suffered so much unmerited obloquy and persecution, will take part in celebrating the final overthrow, in America, of the most atrocious system of cruelty and wrong with which our world has ever been cursed.

I send \$10, as a small contribution to the funds of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

In all my congregations, I have taken an opportunity of speaking upon American slavery; and recently, at a public meeting, with the Governor, Mr. Hinks, in the chair, I spoke of the good service which his letter had done in strengthening the hands of the friends of the colored race, and refuting the false statements of the pro-slavery press concerning the results of emancipation in the West Indies; when Mr. Hinks took the opportunity of re-asserting his conviction, obtained by full and careful investigation of the entire subject, that free labor is immensely more profitable than slavery, both to the master and the laborer; nor is there, I believe, an individual in this island who will venture to call it in question.

Mr. Hinks left Barbados, two or three weeks ago, for Canada and the States. It is possible he will be in Boston, and perhaps you may be able to obtain his personal testimony on the comparative merits of the two kinds of labor. His official position, as Governor-in-Chief of several of these colonies, gives him facilities for obtaining the most perfect information which few persons can possess.

Since my return, Mr. Prescott, an intelligent colored gentleman, connected with the press in this island, has been returned to the Colonial Legislature as one of the representatives of Bridgetown City. Mr. Prescott was once in the Legislature before, where he exercised a considerable amount of influence.

On the 19th of last month, we laid the cornerstone of the 'New England School,' and it is rapidly advancing to completion. I am making arrangements for the early commencement of 'the Canada School.' I am happy to say, I have the prospect of completing my school-extension scheme on a scale somewhat enlarged since my visit to America, although the Legislature here refused to make a grant in aid. Provision will thus be made for the education of four hundred children, chiefly of the colored race, who will be largely indebted to the friends of liberty on your side of the Atlantic for the substantial aid rendered to them by this movement. I have often called to mind, when looking upon the schools and congregations under my charge, the remark you made at Abington concerning the improved physical appearance of the colored people of these islands since emancipation. It is strictly true. The European type of countenance is becoming so prevalent, that the broad African features are seldom met with, except in those elderly persons who passed the meridian of life under the curse of slavery.

I am happy to see that Miss Remond has commenced her labors in England under such favorable circumstances. England wants information on the subject of American slavery; not communicated by

pamphlets or newspapers, for these are not so accessible to the masses as they are in America, but in the form of lectures and public addresses; and I am persuaded that it will not be difficult to awaken the sympathies and enthusiasm of the nation, in opposition to the untold horrors and atrocities of American slavery, as effectually as they were aroused concerning slavery in these colonies twenty-eight years ago.

The assize court for this island closed its quarterly sitting a few days ago, having only twenty-six cases for trial, and none of these of a very serious character. This, for a population of nearly 140,000, seven-eighths of whom are black and colored, does not show a large proportion of crime. I doubt if you would find any English county, or American either, with as large a population, exhibiting a criminal calendar so light. I mention the fact, that if you think it right to do so, you may give it currency, for the information of those who have been deceived into the belief that these emancipated British colonies are rapidly becoming overrun with barbarism and crime.

Please present my kind remembrances to all friends, especially Messrs. Wallcut and Nell. Praying that you may be abundantly sustained and blessed in your philanthropic labors,

I am, my dear sir,
Very truly yours,
HENRY BLEBY.

A SLAVE KIDNAPPING CASE. The Parties held for Trial. Capt. Goddard Crowell, of the brig Roberson, and John Orlando, mate of the same vessel, were arraigned in the Police Court yesterday afternoon, charged with kidnaping a fugitive slave, named Columbus Jones. It appears that the brig sailed from Pensacola, Florida, on the 8th inst., for Boston, Jones having concealed himself in the forecastle without the knowledge of the Captain. On the 10

