THE LIBERATOR.

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TERMS.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

[From the Journal and Luminary, a Colonization paper.]

GREAT ANTI-ABOLITION MEETING IN CINCINNATI.

At an unusually large and respectable Town-meeting, held at the Court house in Cincinnati, on Friday evening, January 22, 1836.

His Honor the Mayor of the city was appointed President.

JUDGE BURNET, MORGAN NEVILLE, Esq. JUDGE BURKE, Rev. O. M. SPENCER, } Vice Presidents.
And
ROBERT BUCHANAN, ARC'D IRWIN, ALLISON OWEN, } Secretaries.

On motion of the Hon. Robert T. Lytle,

Resolved, That a Committee of *sixteen* be appointed to prepare and present to the meeting, a Preamble and Resolutions, for their consideration, expressive of the views of our citizens, against the course now pursuing by those individuals, composing Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies—whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed said Committee.

Robert T. Lytle,	N. G. Pendleton,
John C. Wright,	Geo. W. Neff,
N. Longworth,	David Gwynne,
Nath'l Wright,	J. H. Groesbeck,
Joseph Pierce,	Jos. S. Benham,
Samuel R. Miller,	Robert Punshon,
William Tilt,	Josiah Lawrence,
William Greene,	Levi James.

The committee, after retiring a short time, returned, when Mr. Lytle announced that Judge Wright was prepared to make a report in behalf of the Committee, which was *read and adopted by the meeting without a dissenting voice.*

Whereas, The union of the States, embracing a great variety of soil and climate, could have only been effected in the first instance, by patriotic sacrifice, mutual forbearance, and a decided spirit of compromise. Our fathers, spurning individual considerations, looked mainly to the great object of becoming a Nation, influenced by one common interest, regarding each other as fellow citizens of the same great country. Among the sacrifices made, there were many of feeling, as well as of interest. The South were found in possession of a kind of property which did not exist to any extent in the Middle and Eastern States: after a full and thorough discussion, the compact of union was consummated, leaving to the slave states, the full discretion of settling the momentous question in their own way, and in their own good time; the implied guarantee was thus promulgated, that slave property should be held sacred by the Constitution, and protected by the Laws.

The course pursued by the Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies, of the free States, is calculated not only to render unstable the tenure of this kind of Property, but threatens to spread desolation and murder throughout the peaceful borders of our sister States. The imprudence, the immorality, the wickedness of this course are already affecting our social relations, jeopardizing our internal commerce, and throwing obstacles in the way of those great contemplated schemes of improvement, by which the enlightened men of the different States, are struggling to draw closer the bonds of brotherly feeling, and social intercommunication. The case has become alarming; in this emergency, it behooves the temperate and prudent among us, who appreciate the value of our glorious Union, to take some direct action on the subject, otherwise we may expect some evil spirit to arise, to overcloud our brilliant perspective, by dashing the cup of harmony to pieces. The urgency applies particularly to Cincinnati, inasmuch as a few misguided men have recently made it the theatre for disseminating doctrines and sentiments entirely at variance with the views and feelings of the great mass of our population; therefore,

Resolved, That it is a breach of our highest political contract, and a violation of good faith and common honesty, to disturb the internal condition and domestic arrangements of the slaveholding States.'

Resolved, That this meeting view with distrust and abhorrence, the course pursued by Abolition Societies, which, with professions of mercy and good feeling on their lips, are advocating measures which are pregnant with injury to the political, commercial and friendly relations between the States.

Resolved, That while we cherish, as freemen, the liberty of the Press and of Speech, as among the most sacred provisions of the Constitution, we view them as controlled by the same rules which govern other rights, viz: to be used in such a manner as not to injure the acknowledged rights of others.

Resolved, That the discussions of Anti-Slavery Societies, and the circulation of papers and pamphlets, bearing to each, in any manner, the negroes of the slaveholding States, is a profligate abuse of this boasted right, as immoral and cruel in reference to the Southern States, as it is impolitic and ruinous as regards ourselves.

Resolved, That fully impressed as we are with the magnificence, as regards numbers, of the abolitionists of the West, aware of the excited and provoked feelings of the great mass of our fellow-citizens opposed to their views, we consider it our duty to warn these deluded men, of the odium they are creating, and of the danger they are incurring, in persevering in their weak and vain struggles for an object impracticable and unattainable.

Resolved, That the course pursued by the Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the country, is daily weakening the ties by which the States are united, and must if persisted in, terminate in a dissolution of the Union; we are therefore, constrained to consider the advocates of such institutions, as enemies to the happiness of the people and to the peace and prosperity of the Union.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the course of the advocates of Abolition, is directly calculated to defeat their object; to impose upon the slave and perpetuate additional burthens; and to restrain and interrupt the benevolent exertions of individuals in the slave states to ameliorate their condition.

Resolved, That we coincide fully in the enlightened views taken by the governor of New-York in his late message, on this subject, and believe with him, that if in defiance of the well-known established political sentiment, to sustain in its purity the integrity of the federal compact, these 'misguided men' continue to pursue a course, at war with the same, that we will joint in recommending the prompt and efficient legislation of this state, in conjunction with the other members of the confederacy, to arrest their designs, and thereby sustain the original compact, which made us a *united* people.

Resolved, That the nature and tendency of abolition Societies, and the conduct of certain persons connected with them, are at variance with the federal compact, and the mutual obligation of the States united thereby; and if not treasonable, are highly revolutionary in their tendencies, and ought to be discountenanced by all good and patriotic citizens; and that we will not suffer the inflammatory publications of such institutions, to be introduced into our houses, counting-room or work shops.'

Resolved, That the institution of slavery, as it exists in this country, under the sanction of our Constitution, and happy form of government, is known to all who have sought an asylum in our country; and to whom the benefits of citizenship are extended. We therefore, consider it indecorous for such persons to engage in projects which are calculated to subvert the institutions of our country.

Resolved, That this meeting will exert every lawful effort to suppress the publication of any abolition paper in this city or *neighborhood*. And that they advise, in a spirit of firmness, such as may be concerned in a project of this description, to abandon the attempt.

Resolved, That while we approve and advocate, upon all subjects, the toleration of individual freedom of speech and opinion, yet we feel constrained to deprecate the formation of such Societies as lead manifestly to an infringement, if not the destruction of the *Federal Compact*. And that while every good citizen is obliged to resist confederacies of this description, they do most solemnly condemn the Abolition Association in all its branches, as necessarily conclusive to such results.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, it is not expedient for congress to adopt a course of legislation for Columbia by which the citizens thereof will be deprived of the right of property in their slaves, which right we believe is secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the land.

During the absence of the Committee, the Constitution of the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society was read by the President of the Meeting, at the request of Henry Starr, Esq.

The meeting was ably and eloquently addressed by Judge Wright, Hon. R. T. Lytle, Col. Pendleton, and others, expressing firmly and decidedly their disapprobation of the professed doctrines, and the whole course pursued by the Abolitionists. The speakers were frequently interrupted by the cheering response of the whole meeting.

Mr. Birney requested, and was suffered to be heard in defence of the Abolitionists.

On motion of Col. Pendleton, it was

Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, signed by the officers, together with the preamble and resolutions, be forwarded to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Ohio—to the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Legislature of Ohio from this city and county, and to his Excellency, the Governor of the State, with a request that he will lay the same before the General Assembly.

On motion of Judge Wright,

Resolved, That the publishers of the several papers, in this city, be respectfully requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

SAMUEL W. DAVIES, *President.*

JACOB STRONEY, MORGAN NEVILLE, WILLIAM BURKE, O. M. SPENCER, } *Vice Presidents.*

ROBT. BUCHANAN, ARC'D IRWIN, ALLISON OWEN, } *Secretaries.*

The official account of this meeting, we give in another column. It was well attended, but by no means crowded. Nearly all the Abolitionists in the city were present.

When the officers had been elected, and the committee had retired, Henry Starr, Esq. called for the reading of the Constitution of the Anti-Slavery Society. He thought it right that we should hear before we censure. The proposition was carried by a large majority. The chairman had about half finished the document, when *Mr. Foster* made a motion, that the further reading should be dispensed with. The meeting did not assemble to hear abolition documents. Let the signatures be read.

Mr. Starr objected to this. He had never read the paper—he wished to form and express an intelligent opinion. Shall we read signatures, without reading documents to which they are appended? How could we pass censure upon what we had never heard? It was voted to finish the document.

Dr. Drake then moved, that we hear the paper through, but not the signatures. We came to express our opinion of abolition sentiments, not to hold up any portion of our fellow-citizens to reproach.

Mr. Hale here rose, and contended with great earnestness, that the names should be read. He wished to have the public know who the 'abolitionists were. He went into a history of what he had seen. He saw a white man go into the house of a respectable colored man—he thought all was not right, and he went to the door, and behold, that white man was eating at the table!! That man was Mr. Sayre, of Delhi, an officer of the Abolition Society. We want to know these abolitionists, that we may not allow our families to associate with them. Mr. Hale said, he had called upon Mr. Birney, to tell him not to publish his paper. When he reached the door, he found a colored man there. When Mr. Birney came to the door, he invited the colored man to come in also. And he sat in the parlor, when the speaker came out. Mr. Hale charged Mr. Birney with having sold one story to the Mayor, and another to him. He spoke under great excitement.

A good-looking man, past the meridian of life, with hair somewhat grey, here rose and said, he felt called upon to correct the last speaker. He had never been placed in such circumstances before, and perhaps he might be acting imprudently.

'My name,' said he, 'is BIRNEY. May I be heard?' The meeting voted to hear him, when the document should be finished. The chairman then read the remainder of the Preamble and Constitution. Before it was finished, the committee of fifteen came in, and by their chairman, *Judge Wright*, reported the Resolutions which we insert in the official account.

Judge Wright, late of the Supreme Court, said it was almost unnecessary to make any comment upon the Resolutions. The union of these states is of inestimable value. The Constitution, the child of this Union, recognizes, on the principle of compromise, the right of the people of the South, to hold slaves. If they are disturbed, in the possession and enjoyment, they have the same right to complain, that we should have if our property was invaded. We owe it to the south, to frown upon all attempts to interfere with their institutions. Instead of weakening, we should seek to strengthen the ties which bind us together under our government. He had no doubt the resolutions would pass by a unanimous vote. The remarks of Judge Wright were made with that calmness, perspicuity and dignity, for which he is distinguished. He did not think it necessary, to say anything tending to create an excitement, which should endanger the lives or the property of abolitionists. Nor did he attempt to justify the abstract principle of slavery, nor abuse the negroes.

R. T. Lytle then rose, and proposed that Mr. Birney should now be heard.

Mr. Birney said he was truly grateful for the opportunity offered him of stating his views. He had not expected such a favor. His sentiments had been misunderstood. It was no part of the design of abolitionists, to interfere with the Constitution of the country. They only asked to make their appeals to their fellow citizens who hold slaves, and endeavor to persuade them, that it was wrong to treat in this way their fellow-men. Emancipation was a work that could be carried on and consummated, without touching the Constitution of the country.

He was not indifferent to the safety of his fellow citizens of the South. He was born in the South—he had spent his life there—he had a numerous beloved kindred who held slaves. To their safety he was not indifferent, and he certainly should pursue no course, which he thought likely to put them in peril. He considered that the ultimate safety of the South, was more in danger from perpetuated slavery, than from its abolition. See how the blacks increase upon the whites. This disproportionate increase of blacks will finally bring the very catastrophe which is now dreaded. It may be slow, but it will come, if slavery is perpetuated. He desired to save his fellow citizens of the South and his country, from the horrors of that day.

He had reason to believe, that appeals to his fellow-citizens on this subject, would not be in vain. Such appeals had reached his own conscience, and influenced his conduct. He hoped to produce the same effect on others. [In the course of his remarks, Mr. B. was often interrupted by a few excitable spirits in the gallery. One of these cried, 'what have you done with your slaves—sold them?' Others cried, 'down with him.' One cried, 'kill him.' The majority cried, 'hear him—hear him.' For a time there was confusion worse confounded. The chairman finally said, that he believed it was not expected that Mr. Birney would go at large into his views. Mr. Birney said, 'he would not proceed if he could not have the ear of the assembly. To go under such circumstances would justify the charge of obstinacy which had been laid at the door of abolitionists.

Then many called for the resolutions. Others cried out for 'Lytle, Lytle.' The voice in favor of hearing Lytle seemed to be loudest, he ascended the stairs and said—

He regretted that Mr. Birney was not allowed to go on. He thought it was due to justice to hear a man before he was condemned, but it could hardly be expected that such sentiments should be tolerated. Just at the time when the generous and magnanimous south was seeking to give us her commerce, and unite her destiny with ours, it was not surprising that we should refuse to tolerate the advocates of sentiments so at war with southern interests and institutions as those of abolitionists.

The abolitionists found their arguments upon the sentiment in the declaration of independence, declaring 'that all men are born free and equal.' But they had no right to consider this sentiment as applicable to the present time. The constitution has since been formed, and the states, though sovereign and independent, have entered into a compact, and have surrendered rights, necessary for such a compact.

Mr. Birney must be convinced, by the aspect of this meeting, that it is vain for him to attempt to go against the popular feeling. The abolitionists are contemptible for numbers, though not in respectability. They profess that their religion requires them to seek the freedom of the slaves; but they bear the Bible in one hand, and a torch in the other. That some of them are honest, there is no doubt. No doubt Mr. Birney is sincere, and acts from the purest motives of religion and patriotism; but the tendency of his labors is none the better for that.

As to the negroes, their whole history shows they are incapable of freedom. They have demonstrated this when *colonized* in *Africa*. They must become divested of their beastiality before they can be improved. There is no other way to elevate them but to mingle with their flood ferrigin currents. You must cross the breeds, to make anything of them; or else you must ——the men and —— the women. [The speaker here uttered a sentiment which delicacy forbids us to vend.]

Our colored population in Ohio are under no freedom. They would be better off in slavery. In this city they spend the day in idleness and the night in pillage. Will you trust them with your property to any amount?

The speaker then returned to the doings of the abolitionists. All over the free states, they are instructing the blacks in the knowledge of letters. They are teaching them to read and write. Just so far as they have the means, they mean to promote the instruction of the slaves. Will they not send their negroes when instructed to instruct their brethren, and is there no danger in this?

The speaker then shewed that abolitionists ought not to be tolerated. He appealed to Mr. Birney to pause in his course, and consider the results of his operations. His speech was occasionally cheered by a small portion of the audience. To us, it seemed to present views perfectly corresponding to those lately broached in the message of Gov. McDuffie.

Judge Wright rose again, and said he hoped that when the resolutions were passed, all would retire to their homes as good citizens. It has been the praise of Cincinnati, that no tumults like those in other cities have occurred. While careful for the lives and property of our friends of the south, let us not *forget the rights of our citizens* at home. He hoped the meeting would signify their concurrence in these views, and their determination to remain *law abiding men*. The audience gave evidence of their approbation by *universal applause*.

The resolutions were then put and carried, but one voting audibly in the negative.

The *Chairman* rose and said he thanked *Judge Wright* for his suggestions, but that they were hardly necessary. He had no apprehension that any of the persons present would do violence to the persons or property of their fellow-citizens. He explained what had been said of his interview with Mr. Birney. He said that Mr. B. had violated no pledge. He asked Mr. Birney to give his impression of the conversation. Mr. Birney made a short explanation, when the meeting adjourned and all retired in good order. Its results, the future will disclose. We record the whole as matter of history. We regard the doctrine of *immediate abolition* as *visionary*, and have often censured the abolition societies, but we regard with still greater disapprobation those who in a free state, for popular effect, will stand up as advocates of perpetual slavery. In preventing improper interference with southern rights, we do not think it necessary to import southern principles and thus condemn *our own* free institutions.

SLAVERY.

[From the Hampshire (Mass.) Gazette.]

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN OLD HAMPSHIRE.

Pursuant to public notice a very large concourse of citizens from various parts of the Old County assembled at Northampton, on Wednesday, January 20, and held their sitting in the Old Church.

The lower floor of this large building was completely filled with gentlemen, and the galleries to a considerable extent with ladies.

Gen. Howland of Conway was chosen to take the Chair as President of the Convention, and Samuel Williston of Easthampton, and Wm. H. Stoddard of Northampton, appointed Secretaries. The call of the Convention was then read by the Rev. Mr. Hunt of Amherst; when the Convention opened by a few pertinent remarks and an appropriate prayer by Rev. D. Packard of Shelburne.

Mr. Le Row of Boston, was then introduced to the Convention, who in a short address advocated the right of free discussion as a privilege given to us from God and recognized by our Constitution and laws, and that we hold the right by the same tenure we hold our personal liberty, that is, by the concurrent laws of God and man.

He spoke of the *power* and *influence* of discussion on the public mind, and that on the subject of Slavery, upon which a dead apathy had long reigned, it had already raised up *seven State* Anti-Slavery Societies and nearly 500 *Auxiliary* Societies. He said the question was fast becoming not simply, whether the *blacks* should be slaves forever, but whether we shall become slaves *ourselves*. He said that men in *high places* among *ourselves* had shown a disposition to yield to the slaveholder in his demands to stifle free discussion.

Rev. Mr. Wright of Boston next addressed the Convention. He remarked, that for the moment, he would assume, that he himself was a son of Africa, and in that capacity, and relationship would plead the cause of his colored brethren. Said he, you gentlemen are my jury and I appear before you as a Lawyer with my briefs, &c. hear me patiently and decide impartially.

Slavery, said he, is *right* or *wrong*—it is either *against* the law of God or it is *not*. Now I am an immediate abolitionist, not only against the sin of slavery, but against *all* sin in every shape. I maintain that slavery is wrong on your *own acknowledged* principles of religion and government.

First. Because your laws provide for the *intellectual and moral instruction* of the citizens, and your slavery system *denies* it to my brethren. It is the law of the south punish the 'teaching of my brethren with *fine, whipping and imprisonment*, and shuts them out, substantially, by force from the temple of God below and the temple of God above.

Secondly. Your Constitution says all men have the right of *acquiring property*. Your *slave* system will not suffer my black brother to own even a pig!

Thirdly. Your Constitution declares all men are free, but your slave system makes merchandise of my brothers, and sells them in the shambles, body and soul, like cattle or pigs!

Fourthly. Your laws provide for the making of contracts—your slave system denies my brethren the right of *buying* or *buy*, or even to make a *marriage* contract.

Fifthly. 'The laws of God and your laws make sacred the marriage institution on which rests the whole foundation of social order. Your slave system *annihilates* it.

Sixthly. Your laws recognize the rights of the parents to their children. God has given children to me and my colored brethren and your slave system seizes and takes them away.

Seventhly. The laws of God and your constitution recognise my right to myself. Your slave system seizes me and my brethren and barters us for *horses, cattle or pigs*. It is then a system of *piracy, cruelty and sin*. I will not however denounce men, but the *system*; and I call upon you and I call upon the whole *civilized* world, and I call upon my *God* for justice to myself and my enslaved brethren.

Rev. Mr. Packard, Jr. said, That more than *one* advocate ought to be granted in a case of such high moment, and that *he too* appeared to plead the cause of the father, the mother, and the child, who could not come here to plead for *themselves*. He made a short, appropriate and affectionate appeal in behalf of the slaves, basing his arguments on the high authority of God's law and the Constitution of our country. He related several striking instances of the industry, capacity and enterprise of the slave.

Rev. Mr. Scott of Holliston, began, by requesting the patience of the audience, on the ground of the propriety and necessity of discussing the subject. But why discuss the subject *here*? If we may not discuss the subject *here*, where shall we discuss it. The South will not permit us to discuss it *there*, and they will not hear *foreign* discussion. *Where* then shall we discuss it? *Discussion*, said Mr. S. must be had on this subject, or the slaves must be slaves forever. The slaves have already doubled four times in forty-five years, and forty-five years hence they will probably number ten millions. The policy on the subject in the North requires that it should be discussed *here*. But 'you will create an excitement,' says the objector; very well, so will the discussion of *all* subjects of political, moral or religious reform. If you arrest *discussion*, you arrest the progress of *all* reforms. Without discussion where would be our temperance reform? Where would be our revivals? Where would have been our liberties?—And where *will* they be a few years hence? But 'you will divide the church and destroy the Church.' No fears on that ground, it is in safe hands. But 'you will divide the Union.' Who will divide the Union? Not the North. Will the South? Not at all probable, it is not their *interest*. Besides the slaves have rights as well as the Church and the Union. But it is said it will become a political thing. So are all other moral movements connected with political acts. But what do you mean by immediate emancipation, says the objector. Do you mean let the slaves loose upon our community? We mean, said Mr. S. to emancipate them *into* law. As they now are, the white man may murder one of a hundred, and the evidence of the *ninety-nine* remaining cannot convict him. But what will you do with the slaves when they are made free? Let them remain where they are and work for their masters as they do in the West Indies, in some of which islands there are fifteen blacks to one white. Should their masters now emancipate them, nine in ten, probably, for moderate wages, would choose to stay where they are. All their attachments and interest are there, and once placed under *good* instruction and *equal* laws, there would be more inducement for the free black of the North to go there than for them to come here. But you are promoting amalgamation, says the objector. No, there will be vastly less than there is now. 'You will create insurrection.' This objection comes too late in the day; all experience contradicts it. Look at the West Indies; look at South America; look at Mexico and all other places where the experiment has been made, and nothing of the kind has occurred. All experience and the very nature of man contradicts it.

In conclusion, exclaimed Mr. S. *there is a jubilee written for them in high heaven*. The laws of God, the Constitution of your country, all benevolent minds in earth and heaven are engaged in hastening it. Go on then to its accomplishment, do it *kindly*, do it *quickly*, do it *thoroughly*, and God will take care of consequences.

Rev. Mr. Hunt of Amherst, then read the following Resolutions which were very harmoniously adopted:

Resolved, That God hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth; hath made them rational and immortal, placed them under a moral government, and holds them responsible to him for their moral character and conduct.

Resolved, That all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and inalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

Resolved, That it is the law of nature, obligatory upon all men at all times, that men and their liberties are neither purchasable nor saleable, and that therefore, no man has any right of property in his fellow man.

Resolved, That the declaration made by a Congress of all the European nations, and sanctioned by our own government, that the slave trade on the coast of Africa, is piratical and felonious, is founded in justice and humanity, and is equally applicable to that trade in any other portions of the world.

Resolved, That all legislation treating human beings as goods and chattels, attempts to annihilate the distinction between persons and things, a distinction created by God, pronounced as axiom by all human consciousness, and commended to the regard of universal mind by the concurrent testimony of nature, conscience, Providence and revelation, by the mission of Christ, and the sanctions of eternity—and therefore, such legislation should find no place in the statutes of any Christian, enlightened, or civilized governments.

Resolved, That the slavery existing in our country by which more than two millions of our fellow beings are held and treated as property, is a violation of the law of God, and of the fundamental principles of our national government.

Resolved, That the claims of natural justice and right, the present condition of our beloved country, and the voice of the gospel forbid our holding our fellow beings in bondage, in a free country, without taking sides against it, and raising the monitory note of disapprobation.

Resolved, That those laws and usages which withhold from the slave the Bible as a book to be read, which prohibit conscientious assemblies among them for the worship of God, which impede their intellectual illumination, which deny to them the sanctions of marriage, and which allow the forcible separation of parents and children, husbands and wives, are totally inconsistent with the principle of benevolence and the spirit of Christianity.

Resolved, That slave hereditary slavery exists in the district of Columbia and the Territories over which Congress has the entire legislation in all cases, therefore, this nation is chargeable with the injustice and sin of slavery.

Resolved, That the doctrine of immediate emancipation teaches that all claim of property and all trafficking in human beings ought to instantly cease, all laws infringing the inalienable rights of man be abrogated at once, and other laws enacted protecting the rights and providing for the intellectual illumination of all, and therefore that this doctrine is in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, with reason and scripture, is practicable, safe and just, and we believe will be triumphant.

Resolved, That as citizens of our common republic, it is our constitutional right freely to examine and discuss the subject of slavery, and our bounden duty to use all lawful moral means for its abolition throughout our country and the world.

Resolved, That while it is the province of the several states to abolish slavery within their respective limits, yet a public sentiment may be created through the rational and moral faculties of man, so averse to slavery as to effect its utter extinction.

Resolved, That as under God our principal dependence, for all reform and especially for reform in regard to slavery lies in public sentiment, no consistent friend to his country or to man can oppose the creation of such a public sentiment, but on the contrary, every one is bound to aid it by all the lawful means which he can employ.

Resolved, That the formation of Anti-Slavery Associations is commended to the friends of liberty in all our towns and parishes, as a powerful auxiliary to the cause of freedom.

Resolved, That we sympathise with all the colored race throughout our country and the world, and cordially hail all organizations and measures which are fitted to improve their physical condition and promote their intellectual and moral elevation.

Resolved, That all efforts in this cause should be made in the spirit of benevolence with entire dependence upon the Great Disposer of human hearts and destinies, accompanied by fervent prayer that he would bring slavery to a speedy, a peaceable, and an everlasting termination.

The draft of a constitution for a society to be called the Old Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, prepared by the committee was then read.

The society was organized by the choice of the following officers:

Rev. SAMUEL WARE, of Amherst, President.

Vice Presidents.—William Billings of Conway; Enos Clark of Northampton; Rev. Samuel Bacus of Palmer; Roger Leavitt of Charlemont, and Elijah Paine of Ashfield.

Directors.—Oliver Warner, Sylvester Judd and Elisha Mather, 2d, of Northampton; Samuel Williston of Easthampton; Luther Edwards of Southampton; Samuel D. Partridge of Hatfield; Rev. Dan Huntington of Hadley; Joseph Kirkland of Norwich; Rev. Mason Ball of Amherst; Thomas Longley of Hawley; Daniel Phelps of Belchertown; Joel Hayden of Williamsburgh; and Asa Howland of Conway.

Isaac Clark of Northampton, Secretary.

J. P. Williston of Northampton, Treasurer.

The following resolutions were then proposed and adopted.

Voted, That the thanks of this convention be presented to the first parish in Northampton, for the use of their meeting house this day.

Voted, That the proceedings of this convention be signed by the chairman and secretary and published in the several newspapers in the counties of Franklin, Hampshire and Hampden.

The doings of the Convention were closed by a short and very solemn prayer from the Rev. Mr. Tileston, when they adjourned.

[From the Hampshire Republican.]

I was not a member of the Anti-Slavery Society and had some doubts with regard to attending the convention held in Northampton on Wednesday last, as I had been told that efforts were making to get up a mob. Reasoning however, from the well known character of Hampshire people for their love of order and their sound moral qualities, I made up my mind, that there were not spirits of darkness and rummies sufficient to create any just apprehension of such an issue; and I therefore attended, though I confess, not without some little misgivings, so much had I heard of late of those disgraceful scenes on such occasions.

In justice to the citizens of Hampshire, I must say that I never attended a meeting where so many were congregated, and held so long, where such perfect order, propriety and attention reigned.

But one single censurable occurrence came under my observation. Who is that gentleman, said a stranger, who made those *carping* objections to one of the resolutions, and who *sneered* and *laughed* all the time of the last prayer? Is he a *southerner? No*, answered our neighbor. He is a *clergyman*. A *clergyman!* Yes, an *Orthodox (!)* clergyman of a neighboring town! *Shame!*

AN EYE WITNESS.

The Rev. Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, having been invited to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention at Northampton, sent the following note to the Committee in reply:—

HARTFORD, Jan. 8, 1836.

DEAR SIR—Yours of the 4th inst. inviting me in the name of your committee to attend the Anti-Slavery meeting to be held in your place next week, has just come to hand. I deeply regret that I am so situated that I shall be obliged to deny myself the pleasure of attending that meeting. It will be an occasion of great interest, and did circumstances permit, I should rejoice to be present, to give what measure of influence I possess to the promotion of the great cause for which the convention has been called. My prayer is, that the Father of lights will endue with heavenly wisdom those who may take a part in the duties of the occasion, and guide to the adoption of such measures as will greatly advance the cause of African emancipation.

Affectionately yours,

J. HAWES.

RESTRICTION OF THE U. S. MAIL.

IN SENATE, THURSDAY, February 4.

INCENDIARY PUBLICATIONS.

Mr. Calhoun, from the select committee to whom that part of the message of the President was referred, made a report at much length, accompanied by the following bill, which was read and ordered to a second reading.

A BILL prohibiting deputy postmasters from receiving or transmitting through the mail, to any state, territory, or district, certain papers therein mentioned, the circulation of which, by the laws of said state, territory, or district, may be prohibited, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, &c., That it shall not be lawful for any deputy postmaster, in any state, territory, or district, knowingly to receive and put into the mail any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation, touching the subject of slavery, addressed to any person or post-office in any state, territory, or district, where, by the laws of said state, territory, or district their circulation is prohibited. Nor shall it be lawful for any deputy postmaster in said state, territory, or district, knowingly to deliver to any person any such pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation, to any person whatever, except to such persons as are duly authorised by the proper authority of such state, territory, or district, to receive the same.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall be the duty of the Postmaster General to dismiss from office any deputy postmaster offending in the premises, and such deputy postmaster shall, on conviction thereof, in any court having competent jurisdiction, be fined in any sum not less than —— dollars, and not more than —— dollars, according to the aggravation of the offence, at the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That it shall be the duty of deputy postmasters, mail carriers, and other officers and agents of the Post Office Department, to co-operate, as far as may be, to prevent the circulation of any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation as aforesaid, in any state, territory, or district, where, by the laws of said state, territory, or district, the same are prohibited, and that nothing in the acts of Congress to establish and regulate the Post Office Department shall be construed to protect any deputy postmaster, mail carrier, or other officer or agent of said Department, convicted of knowingly circulating in any state, territory, or district as aforesaid, any such pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation, forbidden by the laws of such state, territory, or district.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the Postmaster General to furnish to the deputy postmasters, and the agents and officers of the Department, copies of the laws of the several states, territories, and districts, prohibiting the publication or circulation of any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation, within the limits of said states, territories, or districts, for their government in the premises; and make such regulations, and give such instructions in carrying this act into effect, as may not be contrary to law.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the deputy postmasters of the offices where pamphlets, newspapers, handbills, or other papers, printed or written, or pictorial representations aforesaid, may be deposited, shall, under the instructions of the Postmaster General, from time to time, give notice of the same, so that they may be withdrawn by the person depositing them; and, if not withdrawn in the space of one month thereafter, shall be burnt or otherwise destroyed.

Mr. Mangum moved the printing of the report and bill, and that 5000 extra copies be printed.

Mr. Davis said this paper which had just been read, purported to be the report of a committee. The gentleman from North Carolina had moved for the printing of that paper, and for the printing of an extra number. He had no objection to the printing or to the extra number; but as this paper was to go abroad, he was desirous that his views, as a member of the committee, should not be misunderstood. There were some portions of this paper which met with his approbation, but other portions there were in which he did not concur. He made this statement lest his views might be misunderstood. There are parts of the report from which he had dissented, but he supposed they had been supported by a majority of the Senate. He knew that he might have placed his views on the subject in writing before the world, but he had not deemed them of sufficient importance—he did not think the world thought them of sufficient importance.

Mr. Calhoun stated that three members of the committee had agreed to the report and bill; two others dissented from some of the views and from the bill in its present shape, but assented to report it rather than to have none, and the gentleman from Massachusetts objected to it altogether.

Mr. Linn stated that he had assented to the report of the bill, although he did not concur in all the views in the report.

Mr. King of Georgia made a statement of similar import.

Mr. Clay said it was sufficient if three of the committee had concurred in reporting the bill, which was the only part in which the action of the Senate was involved. It did not require a majority to report an argument.

The motion was then agreed to.

From the Journal of Commerce of Wednesday, 10th inst.

IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

Special message announcing the acceptance of the mediation—termination of the abolition debate—defeat of the Indians near Camp King.

Our Express arrived at 10 o'clock last night, bringing us, with the proceedings of Congress on Monday, *a special message* of the President announcing the proffer of a mediation by England, for the settlement of the dispute between the United States and France, and *its acceptance by the American Government*. In consequence of this proffer and acceptance, the President recommends a suspension of any action by Congress on the part of his Special Message of 15th January, proposing a partial non-intercourse with France, but, at the same time, advises that the preparations for defence should not be abandoned.

The House of Representatives on Monday, adopted the resolution * offered by Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, referring all the memorials, praying for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, to a Select Committee, *with instructions to report* that Congress ought not to interfere, in any way, with the subject of slavery in that District, as such an interference would be a 'violation of the public faith, unwise, impolitic, and dangerous to the Union.' This is understood to be a *compromise;* and with it, we presume, will terminate the discussion of the subject on the floor of Congress, at least for the present session.

Our Express also brings us late and important intelligence from Florida. A battle took place on the 12 ult., near Camp King, between the forces of Gen. Clinch, stationed there, and about 600 Indians, which resulted in the defeat of the latter, with the loss of their chief, (Powell,) and 60 warriors left dead on the field.

* See Congressional proceedings, February 4, last page.

[From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce of Feb. 10.]

SLAVING FROM THE PORT OF NEW YORK.

If any persons have up to the present time, doubted the accuracy of our declarations respecting the fitting out of slavers from this port, these doubts will probably be removed by the report below, of proceedings which occurred yesterday.

SEIZURE OF A SLAVE VESSEL.

The United States District Attorney, Mr. Price, lately obtained information that a brig called the St. Nicholas, was lying at the Screw Dock, ready for sea, and so equipped as to leave little doubt that she was intended for a slaver. In consequence of this information, Mr. Price, accompanied by Mr. Hamilton, the Deputy District Attorney, a Custom House inspector and several other persons, went on board the brig on Monday afternoon, and found that she was armed, provided with water tanks, irons, gratings for the hatches, and equipped with all the other usual requisites for a slave ship. On ascertaining these facts, Mr. Price had five persons, whom he found on board her, taken into custody, named Ange Calsaniilia, a Spaniard, who was the captain, John Battiste, Jos. Wishart, Andreas Gehioine, Jacomo Popo, and Francis Moses, three of whom are Italians, one a Frenchman, and one a Columbian. The house of Chastelain and Ponvert immediately gave bail in the sum of $5000 for the appearance of the Capt. yesterday, and he was liberated. The remainder of the crew were detained, and yesterday morning the captain surrendered himself; and the prisoners, who had engaged some of the most able counsel to defend them, were examined before Judge Betts.

The following is the evidence which was brought forward by Mr. Price:

Capt. Beeby—Has seen the brig St. Nicholas. Witness is a measurer of tonnage; measured the St. Nicholas; she is between 200 and 300 tons burden. When Witness went on board her, her general appearance was that of a slaver. Such was witness' impression, and he has no doubt of it. Her guns were below, and she had her permanent tanks for holding water, which is not usual for merchant vessels. Witness visited her when she arrived here, and when she was being dismantled. Each tank would hold 120 gallons or more, of water, and she had a number of these tanks which were six feet long. The hatchways were prepared for gratings. She came here some weeks back.

George Davis, an inspector of Customs, went on board the St. Nicholas, accompanied by several others—her general appearance left no doubt on witness' mind that she was a slaver. Found in her, below, a large chest containing muskets, thirty or forty pistols, and another chest of similar size, which was not opened. The tanks were intended to be permanent; examined the main hatchway, and it was prepared for gratings, such as are generally found in slave ships. There were indentations cut in the hatchways for to fit in the gratings. Some of the gratings were there. This is never done in vessels fitted only for carrying merchandize. Has no doubt of her having been a slave vessel, whatever she is now. When vessels are taken out of that trade they seldom keep such things, or are armed as this vessel is. The tanks would take up too much room in a merchant vessel. Her general appearance was that of a slaver, and her manifest confirmed that impression, from which it appeared that her cargo was dry goods, arms and ammunition.

The manifest was here produced, and amongst the items in it were 25 cases muskets, 500 kegs of gun powder; the remainder was dry goods and provisions.

Witness—The Captain of the brig told witness that his destination was St. Thomas, and also told witness that the arms which were in the hold of the vessel were not in the manifest; witness asked the Captain if he had cannon, and he replied yes, and that they were stowed below. Witness understands that the assortment of goods which the brig had, are such as are usually sent to the Coast of Africa.

Joseph Hopkins, is an Inspector of Customs. Went to examine the vessel at the request of the Collector; he is only acquainted with ships since he became a Custom House Officer. This vessel was different from any he was ever on board of that carried merchandize; found several chests on board her, which, when opened, were found to contain muskets, cutlasses and pistols; did not see any cannon, but saw sacks in which cannon cartridges are carried. The general appearance of the vessel was not that of a merchant vessel.

Mr. Davis, recalled. From her manifest, it appears that she arrived here in ballast the 23d of Nov. last, from Trinidad, Cuba.

Doctor Thomas Ritter, does business at 96 Catharine street; is a Druggist and Physician—had a conversation with Andreas Gehioini and Battiste, (two of the persons found on board,) in witness's store; one of them spoke English, and told witness that he was going to St. Thomas, and from that to the Coast of Africa. Witness asked him was it after slaves, and he said yes, we are going after the niggers—he told witness that his wages was $15 a month from here to St. Thomas, and $40 or 50 a month after. He told witness that he had been on two such voyages before, but not in this vessel. Witness asked him if the St. Nicholas was a Baltimore schooner, and he replied that she was a brig which had been fixed up or built at Baltimore. Asked her capacity as to holding slaves, and one of the two men answered five hundred. Andreas told witness that her guns were below in the ballast, and told witness that she was built like a man-of-war. He told witness that they had a doctor on board, and also that they had a large chest of medicine, which surprised witness, on account of the vessel being so small. He told witness that slaves brought $800 each. He told witness they were not to land them at Cuba, but at Porto Rico; witness understood him to say that the vessel had, on her last voyage, taken 500 slaves from the Coast of Africa, and that they were obliged to be left standing in the hold and rice and water thrown down to them. A friend of witness was present at the conversation; and took down what they said. Andreas boarded next door to witness, and was often in his store before the time this conversation took place. Andreas was the principal speaker during the conversation.

Doctor Charles Sherwood corroborated the last witness, and stated that Andreas said the vessel was to be manned with 15 men from this port, and to have 50 when she arrived at Saint Thomas, and that they had no fear of cruisers, as they had plenty of arms to protect themselves. Witness thinks it was to the Isle of Cuba Andreas said the vessel was to bring the slaves. One of these two prisoners said that the vessel carried 5 to 600 slaves the last voyage, and also said that she was so well fixed that she could not be found out.

Wm. O. Farsin; was on board on Monday, and examined the brig, saw captain and crew, (all of whom he identified.) Has often seen slave ships on the coast of Africa; has seen Portuguese vessels fitted up exactly as this is. Was an officer of a vessel that took slaves as passengers from one part of the coast to another. They received $10 or $12 a head for transporting them. Has seen many slave vessels, and this corresponds with them. Saw on board this brig a good many arms, water tanks, &c.

Mr. Ogden, counsel for the accused, admitted that the vessel was bound for the coast of Africa, but contended that she was going merely on a trading voyage.

Mr. Price, the District Attorney, said there could be no doubt of the moral guilt of all the parties, and that if they were not detained for a future examination, he should despair of ever having persons convicted under the Act of Congress, (of April 20th, 1813.) He had produced evidence that the vessel was in every respect adapted for the unlawful traffic, and two of the crew had avowed that they were concerned in the illegal enterprize; it had been also shown that the others were acting with them in common, and unless such evidence was admitted, it would be impossible to administer the law. It would be a deplorable thing indeed, if the least guilty should be punished, whilst the captain and owners escaped and pursued their voyage.

A suggestion was privately made to Mr. Price to examine on oath a person who was present, and who, though not legally implicated in the transaction, must have been cognisant of the facts connected with it. Mr. Price replied, that any man who could be concerned in such a traffic, would swear to any thing.

Judge Betts said, that he felt no hesitation in detaining the two men who had avowed that they were concerned in a slave voyage, and he would accordingly commit them to prison to await their trial. But he did not perceive that sufficient proof had been adduced to implicate the others.

Mr. Price remarked, that he expected to produce further evidence against the prisoners.

Judge Betts then adjourned the enquiry to Thursday, (to-morrow.) In the mean time, the two first mentioned prisoners were committed for trial; the captain liberated on bail in $5000, to appear to-morrow; and the remainder, until then, remanded to prison.

The Spanish Consul attended the investigation.

The conduct of Mr. Price in this affair has been that of a faithful, efficient public officer, anxious to sustain the majesty of the laws, and in so doing, to check as far as in him lies, the most abominable traffic that ever disgraced the annals of mankind.

This case presents a remarkable coincidence, in the name and alledged crime of one of the prisoners. John Battiste, with a trial which took place in the United States Court, held at Boston early in December last, when a man named John Battiste pleaded guilty to an indictment for serving on board an American vessel which carried slaves from San Filipe de Benguela to Loando in Africa. In consequence of some mitigating circumstances which appeared in his case, he was only fined $100 and imprisoned thirty days in the jail of New Bedford. If it turns out that the John Battiste now under accusation, is the same person who was tried at Boston, it will doubtless be regarded as a material aggravation of his offence,—should he again be found guilty.

PEACE PUBLICATIONS.

MR. GARRISON:—Every anti-slavery man is a peace man: or at least, I have known but two or three exceptions. I have often been asked, by the friends of anti-slavery, where they could get the peace publications. In order to inform them, I beg the indulgence of a few lines in your widely circulated paper.

I have lately imported from England, on account of the American Peace Society, a considerable number of the tracts of the London Peace Society, both of the larger and smaller kinds. One entitled '*Solemn Appeal* of the Custom of War,' has been stereotyped by the American Peace Society, who have stereotyped another tract, entitled '*A Solemn Appeal* to Christians of all denominations in favor of the cause of Permanent and Universal Peace.' They have also just published a large edition of a tract 'On the duty of Females to promote the cause of Peace.' The American Tract Society have, also, lately published a very excellent tract on *War*. All the above mentioned tracts may be found at the Depository of the American Tract Society, No. 5 Cornhill.

All who are favorable to the cause of Peace should *show* their devotedness to the cause by *buying* and circulating these tracts. It has cost the American Peace Society much money to import and publish them, and unless the society be supported, its operations must cease. While some are devoting their lives and their property to this holy cause, is it right, for those who believe that war is inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, to look on, as idle spectators, and care for none of these things? Ought they not to let their light shine before men, and endeavor to spread the principles which they acknowledge to be agreeable to the spirit of the gospel? How can they expect the blessing which the Prince of Peace pronounced on the peacemaker, if they do nothing to promote his cause?

There are also some Sunday School books, intended to imbue the minds of the rising generation with the principles of Peace. These are entitled '*Charles Ashton*, or the boy who would be a soldier,' which may be found at Simpkin's bookstore, corner of Court and Brattle-streets; 'The Sword, or Christmas Presents,' and '*Howard* and *Napoleon* contrasted,' which may be found at the Sunday School Depositories at No. 22 Court-street, and at No. 25 Cornhill; and also the 'French Soldier,' and the 'Hero of Macedon,' which may be had at James Loring's bookstore, No. 132 Washington-street.

WM. LADD, *Gen. Agent of the A. P. S.*

STATE OF THINGS IN VIRGINIA.

Extracts from a letter received from Virginia.

'The slave trade has been carried on amongst us the present year, to a far greater extent than ever. Great numbers of our wealthiest citizens are also emigrating with their slaves—and these drains of our population will probably continue, and increase in numbers. If this should be the case, we shall not long have slaves to be excited about; for it is estimated that between 60 and 80,000 have left the State this year! After having given thee the foregoing account, I must not omit telling thee, that cases of manumission continue to occur. Within the last month, 15 have been liberated by an old lady, living near our meeting-house, ond about 45 by others not far distant.'

In another part of the letter it is observed, 'that while the people of Virginia are unanimous in condemning the conduct of the Abolitionists, thou must not conclude that the body of the people have united in the extravagant measures which have been adopted by the advocates of Slavery. These violent measures have generally emanated from a few persons, and *principally large slaveholders*—the advocates of justice, and the more moderate slaveholders thinking it best not to participate with them, during the prevalence of the high excitement.'

BOSTON,

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1836.

WHERE ARE OUR LIBERTIES!

So insolent and outrageous are the demands of southern oppressors and their representatives in Congress, upon the people of the north, that even some of our 'dough-faces' are beginning to be smartly indignant, and to stand quite valiantly on the defensive! The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, with all his baseness of heart, ventures to denounce Mr. Calhoun's proposition to the Senate, to reject the petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the following language:

'The right of petition secured by *Magna Charta*, and ever since held sacred, is thus to be stricken down at a blow. What is demanded next? Look at the debates. The surrender of the right of free discussion, of the freedom of speech—and the press. Grant one half of the exactions made on the floor of Congress at the present session by Southern members, and the liberties of the North would not be worth a straw,—not worth talking about or defending. The question recurs,—shall the North wear the badge and bonds of slavery, in order that the South shall be secured in what is acknowledged to be her just, constitutional, and reserved rights? Whoever raises the question, doubts whether the Union can exist, as long as the answer will be in coming to him,—and, from every quarter of the North, will not the indignant answer be, 'We will surrender not one jot or tittle of the rights acquired by the toil and blood of our fathers,—and if you cannot secure your independence, without enslaving us, then let us separate.' Two months ago, I would not have said thus much to the South. Who could or would? It was not required. Now it is required. The peace, the welfare of the country, require that the South should understand that their disappointed politicians will not attain their ends by seeking a quarrel with the North on this subject.

It is useless to pause for the purpose of asking how this question was brought upon us. Here it is, and meet it we must. But it is essential to know what is required, and who are those by whom the subserviency of the North is demanded. We are asked to muzzle the press. What next! To interdict all conversation on the subject. So says Gov. Tazewell, in his late message,—and I well recollect that he contended, many years ago, before the present question was raised, for the same thing. What next! To prevent the publication of pamphlets or newspapers, containing principles unpalatable to the South. Who are to be the judges of the tendency of the principles advanced in the thousands of publications with which the Northern press teems? The Northern people, or the Southern? If the Southern are to be the judges, here is at once a real question of State rights. Shall not each State judge and determine in regard to the legality of all publications made within it? How shall the jurisdiction of the offence be transferred to another State? That being out of the question, shall the United States take up the matter, and enact another Sedition Law?

The only course which we can take, is to expound to the Southern Members, through some one of the several profound constitutional lawyers whom we have in Congress, the great principles of liberty, of old English liberty,—for the sake of which our fathers exchanged the land of their birth for the savage wilds of New-England, a country which, to this day, is rich only in the energies of freedom, and whose highest glory will ever be the principles of civil and political liberty established by its pilgrim founders. The South must understand, that for no temporary convenience or party purpose, nor even on account of some attendant evils, can these principles be modified, or in any way compromised.'

☞ The same writer, who speaks thus jealously of the rights of northern *white* (pro-slavery) men, alters his tone at once when he comes to consider the rights of the slave population and their advocates! He thinks that our petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District are 'neither constitutional nor expedient'! and that 'an *Alien* Law, so far as *abolition emissaries* are concerned, might stand'! Of the great multitude of patriotic, benevolent and religious men and women who espouse the cause of the perishing slaves, he remarks:

'Can we appeal to those of the North, the abolitionists, who have created this disturbance? Can they be moved from their purpose by any consideration of public welfare, or individual suffering? To them it would be vain to look for any conciliatory action. *Fanaticism* never reasons, and those who ally themselves to it, have good cause *to shelter themselves*, under its broad cover, *from truth and justice*. These people ought, however, to understand,—if they have not already learned it from the spontaneous, and hitherto *half suppressed* ebullitions of popular feeling against them,—that their acts are *tolerated* in deference to the great principles of liberty under which we are protected, any invasion of which would equally affect us all. Let them take all the benefit they can from the consideration that they are '*rogues within the law*,' and let them exult, as well they may, that they have it thus in their power to agitate, and perhaps *to overwhelm in ruin*, the only system of government which ever secured to man *the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty*.'

Let it be remembered against whom such insulting language is uttered. Think of such men as Gerrit Smith, William Jay, Alvan Stewart, N. S. Beman, S. H. Cox, Arthur Tappan, J. G. Birney, &c. being branded as 'rogues within the law,' whose acts are mercifully '*tolerated*,' first, because 'they shelter themselves from truth and justice under the broad cover of fanaticism,' and secondly, 'in *deference* to the great principles of liberty under which we [such creatures as the writer aforesaid] are protected, *any invasion of which would equally affect us all*.' It is, doubtless, quite fortunate for the abolitionists, that the same act which shall abridge their rights, will also abridge the rights of the nation. If it were not so, they would soon be sacrificed upon the altar of despotism, along with a hecatomb of sable victims. The writer impudently boasts, that this is 'the only system of government which ever secured to man the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty,' with a full knowledge of the fact that there are MILLIONS in our midst, who are not merely tramelled in the exercise of civil and religious liberty, but deprived of every right which God has entrusted to man. It seems abolitionists must understand, 'from the half suppressed ebullitions of *popular* feeling against them,' i. e. from the present supremacy of lynch law and mobocratic violence, 'that their acts are *tolerated (!)* in deference to the great principles of liberty'!! They must be fanatics, indeed,—quite apt to learn, withal, —if they can understand any such thing. He further says:

'The South must be informed that *every thing valued for worth or intelligence at the North, is as hostile to abolitionism as it is to the radicalism and infidelity which associates with and strengthens it;* and that, if public opinion can be a check to their measures, *their schemes against the peace of the country* will be baffled.'

Who is this anonymous defamer of virtuous and upright men? 'For worth and intelligence,' abolitionists need not shrink from comparison with any body of men, at the North or the South, or in any part of the world; and he who accuses them of conspiring 'against the peace of the country,' or of being strengthened by infidelity, is fit to be associated with those who branded the apostles as pestilent fellows, and our Saviour as a wine-bibber and gluttonous.

Again—this friend of tyrants says:

'As to the rest, the South has means to protect itself. It can, when necessary, *prevent the mail from traversing its territory;* it can stop the circulation of all seditious publications within its limits; *it can punish with death, without benefit of clergy, every abolition emissary;* and finally, it can, and probably will, resort to *non-intercourse* and *secession*, should all other means of self protection fail. But they will not fail; *penal laws at the South*, and the force of public opinion at the North, must have the effect to disarm the abolitionists, and palsy their efforts.'

We beg the reader to peruse the above paragraph, sentence by sentence, repeatedly, that he may be fully aware of the unconstitutional and outrageous admissions which are made by the writer. 1st. 'The South can prevent the mail from traversing its territory'! Just as constitutionally as it can exclude the citizens of New-England from its dominions. 2d. 'It can punish with death, without benefit of clergy, every abolition emissary'—i. e. every northern visitor who shall venture to assert at the South, that slavery is hateful in the sight of God, and ought therefore to be immediately abolished! Yet this sanguinary monster is forced to confess, that abolitionists are 'rogues within the law'—i. e. they have done nothing unlawfully; and because they are thus observers of the law, he argues they may lawfully be put to death, without benefit of clergy!! This, too, he says, is 'the only system of government which ever secured to man the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty'! 3d. 'It can resort to non-intercourse and secession'!—i. e. if the south cannot succeed by any other means in gagging the freemen of the North, preventing free discussion, it may *constitutionally* dissolve the Union! We should like to see that article of the compact which authorises secession upon such ground, and which makes the exercise of freedom of speech a treasonable act. As to the prediction, that the 'penal laws at the South, and the force of public opinion at the North, must have the effects to palsy the efforts of the abolitionists,' we shall merely remark, that it remains to be fulfilled: so far, those penal laws have only served to make converts to our holy cause, and public opinion itself is rapidly becoming abolitionised.

One other remark, and we have done. The N. Y. Journal of Commerce, which employs this correspondent, and publishes the foregoing sentiments approvingly, is *a colonization paper*. The query, however, 'why cannot abolitionists and colonizationists move on harmoniously together?' is now so evidently ridiculous, that there is scarcely any one so foolish as to make it. The mask is torn off, and it cannot be replaced.

GERRIT SMITH.

In the last number of the Liberator, we published a letter from this gentleman to R. R. GURLEY, in which he withdraws his support from the American Colonization Society. What will the Boston Recorder and Vermont Chronicle say now? It is thus that one pillar after another of that great fabric of PREJUDICE is falling, leaving it desolate like some old castle of feudal times, whose ruins are now occupied by bats and reptiles. As soon as Mr. SMITH sent in his adhesion to the American Anti-Slavery Society, we expected to see him abandon the Colonization Society, as a matter of course; for the principles and measures of these societies are radically, totally, irreconcilably contrarient. We know of but one man in the United States who has joined an anti-slavery society, and yet clings as tenaciously to its opponent; for it is like attempting to serve God and Mammon, Christ and Belial. His name is CHESTER WRIGHT of Montpelier, Vt. This individual has lately connected himself with the Vermont State Anti-Slavery Society, yet is now, and has been for sixteen years, the Secretary of the Vermont Colonization Society!—Anxious to be on the popular, it may be on the right, certainly on the *safe* side, and bewildered or alarmed by the present excitement, he seems to be in the condition of the skeptical mariner, who, in the midst of a hurricane, cried out, 'Good Lord! Good Devil!' hoping thereby to propitiate him whose power over the elements might prove to be the strongest. Mr. WRIGHT exclaims, 'Good Colonization Society! Good Anti-Slavery Society!' This conduct is a burlesque upon human consistency. Mr. WRIGHT is altogether too accommodating to live in a world of controversy like ours. He means, if he can, to please two hostile societies, by helping them both to carry on a war of extermination against each other. This is the way to evince impartiality and fair play. In case of a war with France, we must fight, first on one side, then on the other, or rather on both sides at once, if we would imitate the intelligent conduct and consistent co-operation of CHESTER WRIGHT.

It is exceedingly pleasing to know that GERRIT SMITH will no longer associate with the old handmaid of slavery. But, in taking leave of her, he acts quite inconsistently, and in a manner that calls for reprehension. His letter is not ingenuous. At its commencement, he assures Mr. GURLEY, (the chairman of a New York mob,) that it would give him 'great pleasure' to meet with his 'beloved fellow laborers in the cause of African Colonization,' at Washington,—that is, with those 'beloved' men who are much more active in seeking 'the demolition of the Anti-Slavery Society, than in the building up of the Colony'! who were the original instigators of the pro-slavery mobs in our country, and who are still hostile to the rights and liberties of our colored population at home! Mr. Smith goes on to say, that he should rejoice if he could gain over the Society to the views which he has so *long*, but in vain, pressed upon its adoption. This *long time* extends only to a term of two years. He speaks of 'the present circumstances and *complexion* of the Society,' as having a new aspect. He says he has written much 'to *bring back* the Society to its Constitutional and neutral ground, respecting the subject of slavery.' He declares, that 'were a stranger to form his opinions by the last few numbers of the Society's periodical, it would be, that the Society issuing them was quite as much an Anti-Abolition, as Colonization Society.' He says—'No more than a year ago, and I was still confident, that the Society would *retrace* its errors, and be AGAIN *simply a Colonization Society*—and then how soon a harmonious, successful and glorious Society!' If 'a stranger were to form his opinions by' Mr. Smith's insinuations, it would be, that Mr. S. has always been a consistent colonizationist, and that the Society has, within two or three years, altered its original course entirely—neither of which statements is true. The Society may justly accuse him of slandering it, and of changing his opinions without having the magnanimity to confess that he been has in error. We feel surprised in view of such behaviour. His charges against the Colonization Society are not true. That Society has been consistent in its proscription of the free colored population, in its denunciation of abolitionists, and in its hostility to the doctrine of immediate emancipation, *from its origin*. It has not swerved even 'the breadth of a hair.' We call upon Mr. SMITH to sustain his allegations, *by evidence drawn from the documents of the Society*. We think he bears false witness against it. Hence, for him to assign as a reason, why he cannot support it, *that it is not what it once was*, is to do injustice to the Society, without justifying his present course. In the 14th report of the Society, Mr. SMITH

is reported as saying in a speech at the annual meeting, that the free blacks are 'incapable of freedom on our soil'—that 'they cannot rise in our esteem above the level of the moral state of the land of their origin'—that Africa 'is their appropriate, their *only* home'—that 'we should hasten to clear our land of our black population'—that colonization opens a channel, 'in which the public feeling and public action can flow on, without doing violence to the *rights* [i. e. without rebuking the robbery and oppression] of the slaveholder'—that 'the closing of this channel might be calamitous to him beyond his conception; for the stream of benevolence that now flows so *innocently* in it, might then break out in forms even more *disastrous* than ABOLITION SOCIETIES, *and all their kindred and ill-judged measures*'—that *he will not say*, 'that under all circumstances, the legislation of the slave States, which DRIVES their emancipated blacks into the free States, and scatters the *nuisance* there, is *too severe*'—and that the present condition of the slave population he will not deny is '*necessary*' in our land. Nothing worse than the foregoing has appeared in the Reports of the Society since that time. Mr. SMITH tells Mr. GURLEY, '*From its organization* to the present time, I have looked to the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY as, under God, *the best hope of the slave and of my country*.' That Society was organized in the month of December, 1833. In January, 1834, Mr. SMITH attended the seventeenth annual meeting of the Colonization Society, and made a speech on the occasion, in which he said—'He should continue to aid the cause, as far as his ability extended'—'Let us now only give the Society a lovely aspect of pure and unmixed benevolence [i. e. neutrality] and we need not fear the army of its foes. *The Northern abolitionists will melt away*, and the GOOD men among them will DESERT THEIR CAUSE, and cleave to *this better way*—and we shall ARREST THE STRONG TIDE *that is now setting in favor of Abolition Societies*.' Be it observed, that 'this better way,' this 'lovely aspect,' is simply to let slavery and slaveholders alone—neither to praise nor blame them! For Mr. SMITH's sole aim, at that time, was to make the Colonization Society neutral upon the subject of abolition. He declared—'We are not an Anti-Slavery Society: we have literally nothing to do with slaves: our constitution confines us to another class of persons entirely.' So that, by pursuing a *neutral* course, he predicted that the Society would cause the Northern abolitionists to melt away, and the strong tide that was setting in their favor to be arrested! Yes, *at the very moment* he was trying to get the '*good* men' among the abolitionists to '*desert their cause*,' he now assures Mr. Gurley, that he then 'looked to the Anti-Slavery Society as, under God, the best hope of the slave and of his country!! What confusion of mind, what inconsistency of principle, is this! In the same speech, he refers to the Anti-Slavery Society, 'the best hope of the slave,' as follows:

'Among its publications, are some admirable vindications of the rights of man, which cannot be scattered too widely and thickly; but *no small proportion* of them are *ill-judged, rash, uncharitable* and *slanderous*; and some of them [specify which of them] cannot, in truth, be called less than INCENDIARY'!

During the year 1834, Mr. SMITH addressed a series of letters to Mr. LEONARD BACON, upon the subject of slavery and colonization, which were slightly reviewed in the columns of the Liberator. In them he says—'I do solemnly affirm that the Colonization Society never meddles with the question of slavery, without violating its Constitution,'—and yet he declares that he 'joined the Society in the *spirit* and with the *objects* of AN ABOLITIONIST: in that spirit, and with those objects, he continued his connection with it.' To let slavery alone is an abolitionism *sui generis*. Almost miraculous, certainly the most opposite effects, have followed in the train of the Society, according to Mr. SMITH. He boasts that 'the Anti-Slavery Society is the Colonization Society's *own child*'—that all the leaders in the abolition cause are indebted to it for their abhorrence of slavery—that it has caused 'a strong anti-slavery sentiment to spread over more than half the land.' Yet, while he is desirous to have the Society so reformed, as by its harmless neutrality the abolitionists shall be induced to 'desert their cause,' and disband their association, he proceeds to say, that 'the friends of immediate emancipation, all over the land, should form themselves into societies for the furtherance of the doctrine'! He says that 'the American Anti-Slavery Society is *truly*, as well as professedly, a *christian* institution'—yet he accuses its most distinguished members of making '*seditious* and *incendiary* appeals to the public mind'! Speaking of the munificent and disinterested offer of five thousand dollars of that Society to the Bible Society, towards having every slave family supplied with a copy of the holy scriptures, he says it 'shows very strikingly their *fanatical and headlong zeal*,' and that 'their object in pressing the measure was probably to furnish themselves, in the refusal of the Bible Society, with an occasion for arousing against it that *clamorous bigotry*, which they are so industrious and impatient to arouse against every individual, who refuses to yield up his brow to be stamped with their peculiar type of anti-slavery'! He denounces the abolitionists for their indiscriminate censure of the South, yet says, 'the North is as properly the theatre on which to begin operations for the destruction of southern slavery, *as the sober are the subjects, among whom the work of reforming the drunken is to be commenced*.'

We have felt it a matter of duty to refer, thus briefly, to the whole course pursued by Mr. SMITH, in order to vindicate both the Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies from his charges, and to show into what inconsistencies he has himself fallen. We refer again to his recent letter to Mr. GURLEY, to comment upon an act which is truly generous, but which we cannot reconcile with benevolence, according to his present views of the Colonization Society. He says—'I sympathize with the Society in its embarrassments.' He accordingly encloses in his letter a check for $3,000, to complete his subscriptions to the funds of the Society, and adds—'It is true that the conditions on which these subscriptions were made, *have not been fulfilled, and that it is now too late to fulfill them*.' How he can reconcile it to his mind, to give so large a sum to a Society, which, instead of having any claim upon him for it, owes him $7,000, and which he tells Mr. GURLEY is 'hostile' to the best hope of the slave and of his country, i. e. to the American Anti-Slavery Society, is inexplicable to us. We must regard the act as more munificent than praiseworthy or consistent.

The inconsistency of Mr. SMITH is at least equalled by the effrontery of Mr. GURLEY, who, in commenting upon letter, says—'All that can now be done is to oppose to the charges of Mr. S. a denial, as general as are the charges themselves, and to *call for the proof*.' The proof is furnished most abundantly by the very number of the African Repository which contains the charges! Mr. GURLEY concludes with the following ridiculous assertion—'The *self-sustaining* energy of the cause of African Colonization has hitherto, *under the blessing of Providence*, preserved it unhurt amid the assaults of enemies, and that still harder trial, the *desertion of friends*'!!

'RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON.'

Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society; with a concise Statement of Events, previous and subsequent to the Annual Meeting of 1835. Boston: published by the Society. 1836. pp. 108, 18mo.

The appearance of this Report has been delayed, on the part of the printer, for more than six weeks, contrary to the intention of the Society. While this delay has not diminished the thrilling interest that must be felt in its perusal, it has afforded a longer opportunity for the public mind to become tranquillized, and for causeless wrath to be followed by deeper shame. The Boston Riot of October, 1835, must ever rank among the most disgraceful events of modern times, and faithfully and ably has the account of it been chronicled in the pages of this Report—a work which ought to be in the hands not only of every adult female, but of every *man*, in our land—to rouse up all the nobler feelings of the soul—a work which will, unquestionably, be speedily republished in England, and scattered over the whole kingdom. It is one of the best efforts of the female mind, on the score of intellect, and worthy the literature of an enlightened age. It combines the loftiness of christian heroism with the charm of christian humility—the most unfaltering trust in God with the least possible dread of man. There is almost moral excellence enough in such a production to atone for the brutality of a whole city. It will do much to redeem the tarnished character of Boston,—as ten righteous persons would have saved Sodom from destruction. The riot has already enhanced the strength and popularity of the anti-slavery cause; but this Report, we have faith to believe, will make more converts than there were persons engaged in the tumult—even though they numbered as many as three or four thousand 'gentlemen of wealth and standing from all parts of the city.' Let those who wish to know, whether it is the spirit of fanaticism or benevolence which actuates the Female Anti-Slavery Society,—whether its members are moved by the impulse of novelty, or animated by pure, disinterested, and holy motives,—whether they possess their souls in patience under grievous persecutions, or indulge the hope of a swift retaliation,—let all such read this truthful narrative, and, if they are capable of appreciating 'the mountain majesty of worth,' the grandeur of that faith which overcomes the world, the fervency of a sympathy and zeal for the oppressed which the peril of martyrdom cannot abate, they will be filled with admiration for those who met the assaults of ruffianism with such unruffled composure, and find it in their hearts to exalt WOMAN to the height of human dignity and importance.

This brief notice of the Report will suffice to call the attention of at least all anti-slavery men and women to it. Besides the account of the riot, it contains admirably written letters addressed 'To the Women of Great Britain,' and 'To Her Grace, the Duchess de Broglie.' There is also an excellent letter addressed 'To the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Boston,' from the Ladies' New-York City Anti-Slavery Society, and another from Mrs. CHILD, worthy of that distinguished woman. The letter of Mr. MAY to FRANCIS JACKSON, Esq. and the reply of the latter gentleman, respecting the granting of his house to the ladies, are also inserted. Mr. JACKSON's reply deserves to be perpetuated with the Declaration of Independence.

The following extracts furnish a specimen of the Report:

'Dozens of the opposition remarked to us, 'you are not surely going on, after what the morning papers say. Why, there has been a petition handed in at the Mayor's office, that you may be stopped. You will be killed as sure as fate, if you show your heads at their hall.' And then these compassionate ones hastened to be in at the death.

We caused the mayor to be informed, that we had reason to think the meeting would be attacked. 'You give us a great deal of trouble,' observed the city marshal to the friend, who bore our message. The time appointed was 3 o'clock; and at ten minutes past 2, about twenty-five ladies, believing that if they delayed, they should find the building pre-occupied, were on their way to the hall. They found no peace officers on the spot. Two little boys were on the watch at the door, who smiled significantly at each other as we entered, and ran off in different directions. We entered the hall, which is at the head of two flights of stairs. In less than ten minutes, the staircase, and the passage leading from it to the hall, were thronged. We feared that persons below might suppose our rooms also filled by the crowd. We therefore requested a lad, who stood foremost, to station himself at the street door and inform the ladies, that we were on the spot; with which request he readily complied. Five more succeeded in ascending the stairs. They reported an immense crowd, and the staircase thronged to suffocation. After this, we have since learned from our members, that upwards of one hundred of them were refused admission. The tumult continually increased, with horrible execrations, howling, stamping, and finally shrieking with rage.

They seemed not to dare to enter notwithstanding their fury, but mounted on each others' shoulders so that a row of hostile heads appeared over the slight partition of half the height of the wall, which divides the society's room from the landing place. We requested them to allow the door to be shut; but they could not decide as to whether the request should be granted, and the door was opened and shut with violence, till it hung useless from the upper hinge. Mr. Garrison had, previous to the tremendous uproar we now describe, entered the room. 'That's Garrison! that's Garrison!' said they to each other. He offered to address us, if we would allow him, as he has so many times done at the request of the society. The President refused, fearing for his safety, and he retired at her urgent request. His main purpose was fulfilled, in establishing the precedent, that our friends may be seen at our meetings, popular opinion to the contrary, notwithstanding. He addressed the crowd as he passed out, requesting them for their own sakes, as gentlemen, not to remain in a position so unbecoming that character. He passed out, and we thought he penetrated through the crowd to the street. We remained perfectly quiet until 3 o'clock, amid a deafening uproar. When the hour arrived, we desired one of our number to ask them to interrupt us as little as possible, as the meeting was about to be opened.—'Is Mr. Thompson here in petticoats?' said ONE* in a disguised voice. We consider the prompt assurances of his absence so constantly given by city authorities to such illegal interrogatories, ill-judged and cowardly—and we made no reply.

The President called the meeting to order, and read some appropriate passages of scripture. 'Training's begun! Hurra! here comes Judge Lynch!' shouted the rioters, and the words were passed down the stairs to the crowd in the street. We knelt and united with the President in prayer. During the few moment's so employed, we felt as did Schiller on his death-bed: 'Many things now are clear.' Our souls were strengthened and borne above the violence and insult with which we were surrounded. Our hopes, our faith, our fortitude, were increased. We felt grateful that we were accounted worthy thus to express our devotion to TRUTH. We rejoiced that it was our privilege to live in times calling for the exercise of the noblest power with which God has endowed his creatures; the power to suffer for his righteousness' sake. It was given us to comprehend the minds held forth as examples by the fervent apostle;—even 'women, not accepting deliverance, that they might receive a better resurrection.' We saw the very process by which out of the mouth of the weak, 'God ordains strength, to still the enemy and the avenger.' Our prayer was for those in bonds, as bound with them. Our thanksgiving, that though there were many to molest, there were none that could make us afraid. There was a composure imparted to us, which, for a time, extended to the multitude, by the untremulous voice which rose clear, and calm above the tumult. But we prayed for our friends, and brethren in a neighboring state, whom that hour had gathered together, perhaps to die; for the success of the common cause; for all throughout the earth who had laid fortune, fame, or life upon its altar. Here the clamor increased, so that nothing further could be heard. The slight partition began to yield. The mob hurled missiles at the lady presiding. The secretary rose and began to read her report, utterly inaudible from the confusion. At this moment Mr. Lyman entered.†

We record no 'imaginary conversation.' The following is, word for word, what passed between him, the President and other ladies.

Mr. Lyman. Go home ladies, go home.

President. What renders it necessary we should go home?

Mr. Lyman. I am the mayor of the city, and I cannot now explain; but will call upon you this evening.

President. If the ladies will be seated, we will take the sense of the meeting.

Mr. Lyman. Don't stop ladies, go home.

President. Will the ladies listen to a letter addressed to the Society, by Francis Jackson, Esq.*

Mr. Lyman. Ladies, do you wish to see a scene of bloodshed, and confusion? If you do not, go home.

One of the ladies. Mr. Lyman, your personal friends are the instigators of this mob; have you ever used your personal influence with them?

Mr. Lyman. I know no personal friends; I am merely an official. Indeed ladies you must retire. It is dangerous to remain.

Lady. If this is the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here, as any where.

Mr. Lyman. Do you wish to prolong this scene of confusion?

President. Can we pass out safely?

Mr. Lyman. If you will go *now*, I will protect you, but cannot unless you do.'

A motion was then made to adjourn, which was carried. We passed down the staircase, amid the manifestations of a revengeful brutality. If the worst enemies of *some* we saw, had told us that such inhumanly and shameful ideas as they openly expressed, lurked in the most hidden recesses of their minds, we should have disbelieved it. The way was darkened by the crowd that blocked up the windows, so that we could but just discern faces, *but there was no mistake*. We could identify *those faces*, even if we had never seen them before. When we emerged into the open daylight, there went up a roar of rage and contempt which increased when they saw that we did not intend to separate, but walked in regular procession. They slowly gave way as we came out. As far as we could look either way the crowd extended—evidently of the so called 'wealthy and respectable;' 'the moral worth,' the 'influence and standing.' We saw the faces of those we had, till now, thought friends;—men whom we never before met without giving the hand in friendly salutation;—men whom till now we should have called upon for condemnation of ruffianism, with confidence that the appeal would be answered; men who have repeatedly said they were 'as much anti-slavery as we were,' that 'our principles were righteous,' and they only objected to the rashness of upholding them. Yet they did not, 'like the Priest and the Levite, pass by on the other side;' but waited with looks of satisfaction and approval to see the result. The South is more to be justified than these. There, men cannot be generally aware of the real sentiments and purposes of the Abolitionists. Strong efforts have been made, and a league formed between the ultra-slavites of both the North and South to perpetuate their system 'at ALL events.' They openly tell us, that they consider ALL means justifiable. They *know* how false is the witness they bear against the abolitionists; but falsehood answers their purpose. They are enabled by it, to lead on to disgrace many who would shudder if they knew the truth; who would rebel against their dictators, if they knew that the abolitionists never propose to take a step beyond making known their opinions, and the reasons of them. But it is not a crime to be deceived by *others*; and the subjects of this deception, are innocent, compared to the slaveholding spirits of the North. They rely on those near the scene of action for a report, and they receive one containing allegations of all manner of evil against us. If many of our own townsmen and townswomen receive error from the same sources, which might be rectified, if they would go a quarter of a mile to an abolition meeting, ought we not to excuse those whom 'committees of vigilance,' and 'inspectors of post offices, will not permit one ray of light to reach? If our own townsmen, who say their whole souls revolt from 'slavery in the abstract,' and who 'thank God that New-England is free from the curse,' can rush, with this language on their lips, to perpetrate murderous outrages against those whose only crime is saying the same things *so as to make an impression*;—if our own townswomen cry 'tar and feather,' and 'they ought to be mobbed,' can we not find in our hearts an apology for those who see us only through the discolored medium, that northern slaveholding spirits hold up to them?

In conversing with persons from the South, we have found more openness, more candor, more toleration, than in northern opposers; and the reason is evident, thus:—the McDuffie school, knowing that Abolition truth is mighty, and likely to prevail, send Northward to the Faneuil Hall school, for falsehood, with which to counteract it. When they have inflamed the South with it sufficiently for their purpose, they send orders that Lynch law be administered against the Abolitionists. The Northern partisan receives no discretionary powers;—he is but a tool in the hands of his employers; rewarded for his exertions, it is true, by a share of the plunder, (and therefore is it he yields them so heartily) but with no power, if he would, to relent. He is pledged to persecute, 'come what will,' and 'let the consequences be what they may.' There are in the Abolition ranks, men who have passed out of this state of deadly opposition. They know how it is with those they left behind; but how can such comprehend the self-renunciation of Abolitionists? To use the language of another 'the butterfly knows the grub—the grub cannot know the butterfly.'

A host of such thoughts filled our minds, as we walked rapidly to the house of one of our members. Our numbers increased as we walked, to fifty. Here, after giving thanks to God for his protecting providence, we were proceeding in our usual manner with our customary business, when a friend entered, pale and breathless with haste and excitement, to say that if Mr. Thompson were with us, he must go instantly out of town; and to tell us that Mr. Garrison was in the hands of the mob:‡ and that he saw him dragged in the midst, and so hot a contest going on around him, and such violent blows aimed at his uncovered head, that if he escaped, it would be wonderful. Mr. Garrison is regarded as a brother by every one of us; and we could only find relief and composure under this shock, in fervent prayer for his life. At that awful moment, we were enabled to devote ALL, even our dearest friends, if God's providence so ordered it, to His cause.

The question was asked, 'under the solemnity of recent communing with our maker, DO WE REPENT of what we have done, in view of its immediate consequences; should they be death to ourselves and our friends?' 'No! No!' was the unhesitating answer of Christian faith;—'It is a righteous deed, we have done this day.' And we spoke one to another of him 'who gave us an example that we should follow his steps, while he knew that they would lead through the strife of infuriated multitudes to ignominious death.' It was not for the slave and his master only that we did it;—the right of association, the right of freely speaking, the right of occupying our own buildings, and walking our own streets,—was denied to ourselves. We might not even meet, to agree, on earth, touching what we should ask in heaven, lest Christ should be 'in the midst' as a deliverer! It was for our CHILDREN we did it; and we need not now turn conscience-stricken from their trusting gaze; for we have done what lies with us, to preserve them 'an inheritance pure and undefiled, and that fadeth not away.'

One by one, that we might not attract the popular fury to the house we quitted, we sought our respective homes. Several members had been added to our Society. We rejoiced over them, more than over the sixty that joined our ranks in more favorable times; for those who come 'so as by fire,' come purified. Those who in order to join us, are obliged to cast away pride, prejudice, self-interest, coolness, timidity and aristocracy, are fitted for the work; and no others can undertake it. We are thus spared the responsibility of electing our members. Such only will be with us, as are able to bear the baptism of suffering that we are baptised with.'

* Well known.

† At the foot of the stairs he said to one who urged him to try to disperse the mob, 'this is NO MOB.'

* This letter offering us his dwelling house for our meetings, was received too late for this occasion.

† Ladies of the 'higher circles,' often use this language of their lords.

‡ This was an unexpected blow. We thought he left the Anti-Slavery rooms before our meeting commenced; but it appears that he would not leave us in peril, having determined, in case of extremity, to secure our safety by taking the fury of the mob on himself Had we been aware of this, we should not have obeyed the orders of the Mayor.

The Female Anti-Slavery Society, who were so chivalrously mobbed last fall, have published a book entitled 'Right and Wrong in Boston,' which cuts up the 'gentlemen of property and standing' who were engaged in that most disgraceful scene, (and some of whom are now prominent whig members of the Legislature,) in a style which will cause them to rue the time they ever attempted such an outrage upon law, order, and female delicacy. If they have the feelings of MEN, they will feel the rebuke most keenly. The ladies of this Society appear to be as firm as Roman matrons in the maintenance of their principles. Whether 'fanatics' or not, their moral courage is entitled to respect. The book in question is reputed to be from the pen of Mrs. Chapman, a lady of high standing and respectability, and rare mental endowments.—*Boston Reformer.*

RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON. This is a volume of a hundred pages, published by the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, purporting to give a concise statement of events, previous and subsequent to the annual meeting of 1835. This work will be read with considerable interest, particularly by the Boston editors, some of whom, *ourself* among the number, are handled without gloves by the author. The outrage, of which an animated sketch is given, will long tarnish the fair fame of Boston.—*Mer. Journal.*

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

The mate of a vessel just arrived from New-Orleans says, while at that port, he was offered $50, per month, if he would ship in a Guinea-man, then about to sail. There were thirteen vessels fitting out, all to be fully manned, and to be armed. *No secrecy was observed.*

We commend the above to the special attention of all those, who are determined to believe, that the African Slave Trade is abolished. There can be no doubt that thousands of the victims of this traffic are annually imported into this country, most of them via. Cuba—but not a few direct from the coast of that blighted continent. ☞

A FALSE ACCUSATION REBUTTED.

Among other things which the Saviour told his early disciples, he declared that they should be hated of all men for his name's sake. 'If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?' But, under these trying circumstances, he told them in patience to possess their souls, and ever to rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great was their reward in heaven. The weapons most actively wielded against the abolitionists by their enemies are falsehood and calumny. How shamefully was the character of GEORGE THOMPSON aspersed! How constantly are the friends of emancipation represented as base and sanguinary men! But a striking instance of the wickedness of our accusers, and of the prompt exposure of their wickedness, is seen in the following resolutions of the Town Council of Harrisburg, and the letter of Messrs. Wier and Cross, gentlemen who sustain a high reputation for integrity and uprightness. Mr. Gould is well known in New England, as an uncommonly amiable, pure-minded and pious young man—an ornament to society and the christian church. It is but a few months since he left Brown University. Now read the following:

IN COUNCIL, (Harrisburg,) Jan. 1, 1836.

On motion the following preamble and resolutions were read andadopted.

'Whereas the town council of the borough of Harrisburg, have learnt with deep concern, through petitions of the citizens, that the Rev. Mr. Gould has been delivering addresses *calculated to excite the colored population of this borough on the subject of slavery*, and as they have also been solicited to take orders on the subject, for the prevention of the mischiefs apprehended and which are so likely to ensue as the consequence. In order to exercise the powers of this borough in a mild form towards Mr. Gould, and in the hope of effecting by that means the safety and tranquillity of our citizens.

Resolved, That the Rev. Mr. Gould be requested to desist from his efforts in relation to the subject of slavery, which in this quarter can result in no benefit to the cause in which he is engaged, but may and most probably will produce consequences which he, in common with our citizens would have cause deeply to deplore.'

Extract from the minutes,

Signed, J. MONTGOMERY, *Clerk.*

To the foregoing tirade, Mr. Gould sent a reply, couched in a spirit of christian independence, denying the allegations of the Council, and protesting against his condemnation before he was heard in self-defence. He said, moreover—

'If I should "desist from my anti-slavery efforts," in obedience to the council, I should, by that act, become guilty of a base surrender of one of my dearest rights as a man, and one of my most sacred privileges as an American citizen. I mean the right of "Free Discussion."'

After challenging 'the most rigid investigation of the character of his addresses,' he appends to his defence the following letter:

Harrisburg, Jan. 8, 1836.

DEAR SIR—

We attended a meeting in the African church of this place, on the evening of the 1st inst. in the expectation of hearing you deliver an address for the moral improvement of the colored people. We were not disappointed in it, and we hereby give our testimony, that we considered it at the time, when our impressions of the whole discourse were fresh upon our minds, as an eloquent and successful effort to interest the feelings of that people in behalf of cleanliness, industry, education, benevolence and good morals, and against the vices which are opposed to these virtues. We did not understand nor suspect you as intending or endeavoring to inflame the prejudices of the colored people; but, on the contrary, you made distinct efforts to allay them, and inculcated in the strongest terms, a peaceable and submissive demeanor, even in the endurance of injury and persecution.

We are surprised and grieved, that any impression has gone abroad that you were endeavoring to excite the bad passions of the blacks, as we supposed, your address was calculated to produce some of the best fruits of the social condition.

The first of the undersigned was also present (with Mr. Alex. Grayton) at a meeting of colored men, a few evenings before the occasion referred to above, when you spoke to them for five or ten minutes, almost exclusively against the vices that prevail among their race. The only 'inflammatory' result that this was calculated to have, was that which was directed against yourself—some of them having been offended at your plainness. Our own motives for attending these meetings, were those of philanthropy, and we never suspected that yours had any other object.

Yours, &c.
JAMES W. WIER,
SAMUEL CROSS.

To Mr. SAMUEL L. GOULD.

PEACE.

On Sunday evening last we listened with extreme pleasure to an address on Peace, at the Odeon, by Mr. R. P. Stebbins of Cambridge, before the 'Bowdoin Street Young Men's Peace Society.'

He was listened to with great attention, by a crowded house, for over an hour. Defensive, as also, offensive war, were the subjects of his unyielding opposition. Christian principles forbid fighting in any case whatever. If we may fight against oppression, what is the amount of oppression we must endure to authorize us to fight against it?

Must it be a 'three-penny tax on tea'—the denial of the right to participate in our own government;—or an entire robbery of all liberty, and of the privilege of pursuing our own means of happiness?

Washington, who with our fathers, purchased our freedom by blood and violence, are lauded as patterns of patriotism and christianity. Nat Turner, and his associates, who endeavored to work out their own salvation from an oppression incomparably more grevious and unjust than our fathers endured, were treated as rebels and murderous assassins, and were ruthlessly hung, or shot like wolves, and their memory is corrupt.

The case is, '*might makes right*,' and if the 'rebels' succeed in their efforts, they are rewarded with marble statues, history and song are burdened with their praises;—but if, perchance, they are defeated, they are branded as traitors and murderers.

We considered some parts of the address—according to the vocabulary of the southern slavites—as 'incendiary in the highest degree,' and during the vivid painting of similar characters, the comparison between the oppressions of our fathers, and those of the slaves of our land, we were verily fearful that the spirit which hung the unoffending Quakers, banished the Baptists and sympathized so much with southern oppressors on the 21st of Oct. last, would rouse in rage and evince their hatred of christian principles by geese's arguments and an appeal to the floor.

But we were exceedingly gratified to see the feelings of our friends otherwise manifested, and trust a new era is commencing, when all will be allowed to speak their own thoughts without being accountable to a mob.

The address expressed our sentiments as far as it went; and if they are the principles of the Society the lecturer represented, we would recommend it as an excellent example to the American Peace Society, and would only add, that they will never accomplish anything, not even to make people generally think seriously of it, until they are ready to say that ALL WAR is not only wrong, but that it is A SIN in the sight of God.

The principles contained in the address were such as Abolitionists generally maintain; and we doubt not that the speaker will boldly carry out his principles, not only on war, but on every other sin. L.

THE 'AMERICAN UNION,'

For the relief and improvement of the colored race, held its anniversary meeting in the Common Council room, old Court House; in this city on Thursday evening last.

The President, Hon. Wm. Reed of Marblehead in the chair, *the Secretary and seven members present!*

The chairman of the executive committee reported that they had not been able during the year to procure a suitable person to act as Agent for the Society. Prof. Andrews had been employed by them for a while at the South, what he had done we all knew.

Quite a variety of business was accomplished, some resolutions were offered and very animated and eloquent speeches were delivered, which were listened to, by the *vast concourse* assembled, with profound attention.

A report of the speeches together with a more extended notice may be expected in our next. L.

The meeting of the Conference of Church Members on Wednesday evening last, exhibited an increasing interest. The debate was conducted by Messrs. Thatcher, May, Wright and Cowles. Although the debate was continued later than usual, the interest continually increased and the subject was postponed for farther consideration at the meeting next week, at the same place.

The subject was put into a definite form by a vote of the Conference, to consider the following Resolution: 'That all who claim the right of holding property in man, or treat them as such, ought to be excluded from the christian church.

The members of the churches in the city are earnestly invited to attend.

The meeting will be at the Anti-Slavery Rooms, No. 46, Washington-street, on Wednesday Evening next, at 1-2 past 6 o'clock.

[From the Greensborough (N. C.) Patriot.]

It has become necessary to perform a painful and solemn duty, in announcing to the patrons of this paper, the death of WILLIAM SWAIN, *Editor of the Patriot.*—He died at 4 o'clock on Thursday morning, the 31st December, in the 34th year of his age. He has left an affectionate wife and an infant daughter, besides numerous relatives and personal friends to know and to regret his loss.

His decease has left a chasm in society which will probably never again be filled with the like spirit and ability. He composed with amazing facility, and has probably written more than any man of his age, in the state. And all his patrons know, without comment here, the character of the pages that came from under his hand—for his genius burned in every line. The columns of the Patriot are a faithful mirror to the character, genius, and temper of its editor, for nothing was concealed—his whole soul was poured out.

There is something peculiarly touching and mournful in contemplating the sad and unexpected fate of one so gifted; one who was comparatively young, and promised a longer career of usefulness to society. His fearless and daring independence will no longer delight the heart of the patriot; his burning touch will no more wither the soul of the hypocrite! The eye that flashed the fires of intellect and fancy, is sealed in eternal darkness,—and the soul that kindled in every line of the glowing page is fled forever!

NOTICE.

The Board of officers of the Old Colony (Plymouth Co.) Anti-Slavery Society, are hereby notified that a meeting of the Board will be held, on Monday, the 22nd inst., (WASHINGTON'S birth-day) at the house of Geo. Russell, in Kingston, at 2 o'clock P. M. It is expected that a public meeting will also be held in the evening, in the meeting-house of the Evangelical Cong. Society. A punctual attendance is requested. An invitation is also extended to those friends who have taken, and continue to feel a deep interest in the cause of bleeding humanity, to be present on the occasion.

By order,
GEO. RUSSELL, *Secretary,*
O. C. (P. C.) A. S. S.

Kingston, Feb. 9th, 1836.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The second Annual Meeting of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society will, with the leave of Providence, be holden at Middlebury, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 16th and 17th days of February inst. It is hoped that every auxiliary Society will be represented by two or more Delegates, and that the friends of the cause in every part of the State will, so far as practicable, attend, as subjects of great importance will come before the meeting.

By order of the Executive Committee,
C. L. KNAPP, *Recording Secretary.*

LIST *of Letters received at the office of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society since our last number was issued.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE—James Newell, Portsmouth; James Milligan, Plymouth. MASSACHUSETTS—Wm. Hopkins, Williamstown; Philander Ware, Franklin; C. W. Macomber, Marshfield. RHODE ISLAND—H. E. Benson, Providence. CONNECTICUT—H. E. Benson, Brooklyn. NEW YORK—Gerrit Smith, Peterboro'; Thos. Powell, Ballston Spa.; John Rankin, N. Y. City; J. R. McDowall, N. Y. PENNSYLVANIA—Arnold Buffum, Philadelphia. OHIO—P. M., New Garden.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JUST PUBLISHED, and for sale at the office, 46, Washington-street, the FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, with some account of the Annual Meeting—the Speeches of Dr. Follen, Wm. Goodell, Orange Scott and C. P. Grosvenor.—72 pages, 8 vo. Price 25 cts. Feb. 13.

BOARDING.

RESPECTABLE persons of color can be accommodated with board in a pleasant and retired part of the city, by applying to the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 46, Washington-street. Feb. 13.

SLAVERY and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States, by Prof. E. A. Andrews, in a series of Letters addressed to the 'American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race,' while travelling in the Slave States. This day published by LIGHT and STEARNS, 1 Cornhill. Feb. 2.—3t.

☞ PHILADELPHIA SUBSCRIBERS—TAKE NOTICE.

THOSE who wish to receive the Liberator the present year must call on one of the subscribers and *pay in advance*. The publisher having adopted this rule, and finding it receives very general approbation, is determined to adhere to it strictly. Old subscribers who have not received any papers this year, will probably find the reason by referring to their last receipt.

JAMES McCRUMMELL,
266, North 3d St.
JOHN P. BURR,
113, South 5th St.
Philadelphia, Feb. 1, 1836.

LITERARY.

[From the Lynn Record.]

THERE WERE SOME LITTLE SOULS.

Boston, January, 1836.

Mr. Editor—The following lines were written shortly after the riot in Boston, in October last; but they have been delayed to give 'gentlemen of wealth and respectability,' who were somewhat excited at that time in the Literary Emporium, an opportunity to become cool; for it is desirable they should read and commit them to memory, so that whenever they shall make another gallant attack upon a meeting of ladies, they may be animated by repeating these truly patriotic stanzas.

Tune.—'*There was a little man, and he woo'd a little maid.*'

There were some little souls, with the optics of moles;
And they said to one another, let us try, try, try,
If we cannot get Judge Lynch to serve at a pinch,
The ends of little you and little I, I, I.

He'll allow us to seize whomsoever we please,
And stretch them, if we will, on the rack, rack, rack:
Then forward let us trudge in pursuit of the judge,
Who sits upon the *cotton* woolsack, sack, sack.

He's prompt and he's bold, and he's sure, *when he's told*,
To bid Northern blood to be shed, shed, shed:
We need but tell him when, and 5,000 Northern men
Will hang by their necks till they're dead, dead, dead.*

There are certain at the North, who shamelessly set forth,
That to buy and sell men is a sin, sin, sin!
We must drum about their town, for a Mob to put them down;
Or the people to believe them will begin, 'gin, 'gin.

The cotton-trading clan will join, to a man:
And the holders of our mortgages, in scores, scores, scores;
And of this sort if we a majority should see,
The clergymen will follow them, *of course, course, course*.

'Twas but the other day, a portly rector did say,
That, though sin 'in the abstract' *might* lurk in a plantation,
He would labor day and night, to prove to ears polite,
That to *say so*, was an insult to a Christian congregation.

Then be very, very merry—we have taken sanctuary,
For as long as we choose, in the church, church, church.
And whenever we've applied, they throw the door so wide,
That *intemperance*† need not stand in the porch, porch, porch.

Like Pilate and Herod, their differences buried,
Dame Harvard and Dame Andover agree in calculation,
That their children shall bow down to *our* idols as their own,
And pass through fire to Moloch for their matriculation.

Then the men of 'moral worth,' who're so rife at the North,
To strengthen our executive, are emulating Haman:
They'll gratify their wish to feast upon our dish,
If our 'Cook' will but call himself a 'Layman, Layman, Layman.'

Nor in marshalling their powers for a contest *like ours*,
Will the 'old respectability' fail, fail, fail.
Whenever we're in doubt, *they'll* be sure to bear us out:
So, shout to their corporal, 'Hale!' 'Hale!' 'Hale!'

The Whigs, young and old, in our cause will be bold—
The 'American Society to urge expatriation'—
The 'Union,' too will creep from the den of its sleep,
'Recorded' and 'Registered' against emancipation.

When our myrmi-*dons* fall short, we always can resort
To these who boast of cousins at the South, South, South;
And those who there have been as strangers *taken in*,
Against us will not open their mouth, mouth, mouth.

We do not count *them* foes, who but *abstractedly* oppose,
Though about their lofty sentiments they tattle, tattle, tattle;
Such trumpeters are found so uncertain in their sound,
That no one can prepare himself for battle, battle, battle.

The Ladies of our party, in their efforts will be hearty;
They may play at tar-and-feathering with very great propriety.
For *once* we will permit, that their 'sphere' they should quit,
To aid in flinging mud at this most pestilent society.

They will throng one and all, as they did to Faneuil Hall,
That plot to keep 'nonentities'‡ out of men's notices:
Then be vigorous and bold,—we are always sure to hold
The hearts of noble fellows like the Fletchers, Spragues and Otises.

Then beat the *base* drum, in concert they'll come,
With *liar*‖ notes low, and the voice of *soft* 'Recorders.'§
This jury of Judge Lynch, come what may, will never flinch
In aiding us of righteousness to purge all our borders.

With the rich and the great, in the State, State, State,
And a priest to preside over every city—steeple,
We surely can contrive, if stoutly we strive,
To blindfold and handcuff the whole New England people.

* 'Depend upon it, the Northern people will never sacrifice their present lucrative trade with the South, *so long as the hanging of a few* THOUSANDS *will prevent it.*'—[Richmond Whig.

† As the church is now going on, a murderer will be eligible to her high places as a penitent and reformed man: on the principle, that if we exclude *one* sinner, we must exclude *all*. See proceedings of Associations of the clergy on this subject, since the Anti-Slavery question has been agitated.

‡ 'The claim of the South to consider their slaves as *cyphers* or *non-entities* is acquiesced in and *confirmed* by the North.'—[Speech of Harrison Gray Otis.

‖ '———— to the sound
Of *Lyre notes low*, the Spartan from its sheath,
Drew his devoted sword, and girt himself for death.'
[Mrs. Hemans.

§ ————'Marched to voice
Of pipes and *soft* recorders.'—[Milton.

[From an English Paper.]

THE SEE.

A PARODY.

The See! the See! the Bishop's See!
That ever-wealthy Bishop's See!
Its wealth and powers without a bound,
It feeds on all the country round,
It grinds the farmers, eats the tithes,
And like an incubus it lies;
I'm in the See! the Bishop's See,
I am where I would ever be,
With the rich above and the poor below,
The farmers sigh where'er I go,
However hard their lot may be,
What matter? I'm in the Bishop's See!

I love, oh how I love the tithe,
To see the Church and clergy thrive,
To loll at ease from morn till noon,
Within the splended drawing room,
Whilst the farmers plough and sow,
To make my coffers overflow;
I never see the starving poor,
But I love my Bishoprick more and more,
And firmly cling to its well lined nest,
As a child would cling to its mother's breast;
For a mother it is and has been to me,
Since I've held the wealthy Bishop's See!

The sky was black, and wet the morn,
In the noisy hour when I was born;
The little pig squealed, the thunder rolled,
The cattle bellowed in the fold;
And never was heard such a hubbub wild,
As welcomed to life the tithe fed child.
I've lived since then, amidst care and strife,
Full fifteen years of a lazy life,
With wealth to spend and power to range,
But never sighed for things to change;
And Death, when'er he comes to me,
Shall come to the wealthy Bishop's See!

ABOLITION DEBATE IN CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, February 1.

The house resumed, as the unfinished business of Monday, the consideration of the motion made by Mr. Cushing that the petition of sundry citizens of Massachusetts for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia presented by him, be received.

Mr. Hammond took the floor, in reply to the remarks made on Monday last by Mr. Cushing. He had, he said, read with much pleasure, the speech of the gentleman, and concurred with him in every word he had uttered in regard to the right of petition. He objected to the reception of the petitions, upon the ground that the House was already in full possession of their contents; that the prayer of the petitioners was inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Constitution; that it was a subject, the agitation of which produced excitement and unfriendly feeling in Congress and in the nation, and might lead to consequences fatal to the Union and the peace of the country; that it harrassed, annoyed, and alarmed the people of the South, without any possible benefit to any section of the country, or class of people, that the reception of the petitions and the continuance of the discussion upon them would encourage, animate and keep alive, the northern abolition associations: and that it would render necessary the adoption, by the South, of a more severe and rigorous system of discipline in regard to the slaves, and thus be injurious to the interests of the very individuals whose condition the petitioners wished to benefit. He went into a full detail of the operations and principles of the abolitionists; exhibiting their numbers, organization, and political and religious influence; and read passages from their different publications, illustrating their objects. He stated that, since the discussion commenced in this House, abolition societies had sprung up like mushrooms, in every part of the northern states, and these societies, he said, were founded upon the most infamous principles, as he showed by reading some of their resolutions, circulars, &c. He asserted that it was now an undisputed and uncontradicted fact that these societies were connected with political objects and parties. He passed in review of some of the leading abolition publications, and, among the rest, Dr. Channing's book, which he pronounced gross, scandalous and false; unworthy of a scholar, unworthy of a christian, and unworthy of a gentleman. He denied that he 'played a second part to O'Connell, in the abolition question, as had been said,—for he did not rise so high;—he played a second part, and the meanest part to Garrison and Thompson. He introduced a letter recently received from the western part of New York, stating that the next election in that state, would be made to turn upon the abolition question, and that in two years more, if Congress did not settle the question, it should be 'settled by the bayonet.' (Mr. Lee and Mr. Granger rose and asked the name of the writer of the letter, and Mr. H. declined giving it, remarking that the writer might be Morganized for the premature disclosure of the plot.)

The allegation of the abolitionists that slavery was dangerous to the peace of society, and that slaveholders lived in a continual state of alarm, he utterly denied, and contended that the South had less trouble with the slaves than the North had with their free laborers, as the records of criminal justice and the newspaper accounts of the Northern mobs, fully showed. Slavery was natural to the Southern soil, and was held there by natural, irresistable, and inevitable destiny. In a country where skill and frugality entered largely into the means of production, free labor was preferable, on the score of economy, to slave labor, but, in an agricultural community, and in a southern climate, slave labor was the cheapest, and was indispensable. The Southern country could not be tilled nor be inhabited without slaves. The abolitionists called slavery an evil; if it was, it was one which the South alone had to bear, but, in his opinion, it was one of the greatest blessings which Providence had bestowed upon the South. The situation of the slaves, too, was, he contended, more happy than that of any other laboring class in the world. They were better fed, better provided for, better clad and found, and more happy and contented than any laborer in the universe. Their toil was light, and was directed by the individual who was most interested in their welfare,—their master. Among no people in the world were the affections of the heart more cherished and more gratified than among the slaves of the South. They were all able to enjoy the greatest of all human comforts, that of a family without restraint from prudential reasons. In old age and in sickness, they were carefully nursed and taken up. The miseries of cold and hunger they were perfect strangers to. In proof of all this, he pointed to the rapid increase of slave population, and the greater comparative longevity of the slaves. A change from slavery to freedom would, he said, be destructive to the slaves: for they had not the intellectual faculties which would qualify them for freedom,—they would become savages and go back to the wretched situation in which they were taken from Africa, or elsewhere. To remove them from this country to Africa, was impossible, and could never be seriously contemplated. It would cost, upon a calculation which he made, thirty-four millions of dollars a year, for one hundred years to remove them and their increase. In fine he argued that slavery was entailed by the South, by inevitable destiny, forever. It never could be nor would be removed in any manner. This could serve no good purpose, therefore, by entertaining the subject. If the House should ever seriously propose to legislate on the subject of slavery, he, for one, would not wait to vote upon it. He would return to his constituents, and, in the words of the gentleman from Va., rally the land. To continue to receive petitions on a subject, which the House did not intend to act upon, was idle, and would produce infinite mischief by keeping alive the present excitement. He could see no difference between abolition in the District and in the States, and argued, at length, to show that Congress had no power to grant the prayer of the petitioners.

When Mr. W. concluded, Mr. Halsey enquired of the Chair, what was the question before the House?

The Chair stated that it was a motion that the petition be received.

Mr. Halsey moved, that the motion be laid on the table, which was agreed to, without a division.

The Chair then proceeded to call the House for petitions.

Mr. Williams, of Ky. remarked that unless the order of calling the States were reversed, the South and West would never be allowed to present petitions, for as soon as Maine or Massachusetts was called, a lot of abolition petitions would be thrown upon the House, and consume the day in debate. He moved to reverse the order, and to begin with Missouri instead of Maine.

The rules were suspended to permit Mr. W. to make this motion, and the motion was agreed to.

Petitions and memorials were then presented till 4 o'clock, when the House adjourned.

Tuesday, February 2.

On motion of Mr. Gideon Lee, the rules were suspended, in order to continue until one o'clock, the roll of the States for petitions commenced yesterday.

Many petitions were, accordingly, received and referred.

Mr. Harper of Pa. presented a petition from 3308 ladies of the city of Philadelphia, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Mr. H. said he would make the single remark, that he knew many of the petitioners to be of respectable standing, and was sure that they were governed by the best motives towards the South and towards the slaves.

Mr. Hammond objected to the reception of the petition.

Mr. Harper moved its reception, and on the motion of Mr. Hammond the motion to receive was laid on the table.

[This procedure is in conformity with the decision of the Speaker, which decision was sustained by the House. If any objection be made to the reception of a petition, the member who offers it may move its reception, and that motion may be debated, and is subject to the order of the House.]

Thursday, February 4.

Mr. Pinckney asked leave to introduce a resolution on the abolition question, with a view to move that it be printed and postponed till the resolution on the same subject now before the House should be taken up.

The resolution was then read, as follows:

Resolved, That all the memorials which have been offered, or may hereafter be presented to this House, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and also the resolutions offered by an honorable member from Maine (Mr. Jarvis) with the amendment thereto, proposed by an honorable member from Virginia, (Mr. Wise) and every other paper or proposition that may be submitted, in relation to that subject, be referred to a Select Commiitee, with instructions to report,

That Congress possesses no constitutional authority to interfere, in any way, with the institution of slavery in any of the States of this Confederacy, and that, in the opinion of this House, Congress ought not to interfere, in any way, with Slavery in the District of Columbia, because it would be a violation of the public faith, unwise, impolitic, and dangerous to the Union,—assigning such reasons for those conclusions as, in the judgment of the committee, may be best calculated to enlighted the public mind, to repress agitation, to allay excitement, to sustain and preserve the just rights of the slaveholding States, and of the people of this District, and to establish harmony and tranquility amongst the various sections of the Union.

Mr. Wise rose and objected to the introduction of the resolution.

Mr. Pinckney moved the suspension of the rules, in order to enable him to offer it.

The question was taken by yeas and nays, and there appeared yeas 221 and nays 75.

There not being the requisite vote of two thirds for the motion to suspend the rules, it was lost.

Washington, February 1, 1836.

Well—we have had another abolition day in the House, and another surplus revenue day in the Senate. These topics will hold on 'to the crack of doom,' I fear.

Hammond of South Carolina, has been showing up the Anti-Slavery societies, Anti-Slavery lecturers, Anti-Slavery editors, Anti-Slavery preachers, Anti-Slavery papers, Anti-Slavery Hymn Books, Anti-Slavery pictures, and Anti-Slavery almanacs, of the North, in glaring colors. He has furnished the House with statistical tables of the number of Anti-Slavery societies, their growth, rapid increase and regularly pervading influence. He has been telling the House that the society embraces men reputed to be of the first order, and that Dr. *Channing*, who is accounted generally a great scholar, has written a superficial book, in which he has degraded himself to the level of *Arthur Tappan* and *Murrell*, the famous land-pirate. He has been giving a description of the blessings of slavery, and calling it an institution given in the benignity of a kind providence as a blessed boon to our glorious Union. He has been contending that Congress has no right to legislate on the subject of the petitions offered from the North, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and told the House that if they did assume such a right, he would not stay to record his vote, but would go home, and preach, aye! and *practice* disunion!—*Cor. of the Boston Mer. Journal.*

[Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.]

Washington, February 4.

You will see that the compromise of the abolition question, lately talked of as likely to arise from the southern state-rights' party, was submitted to-day, by Mr. Pinckney. It was read and produced some sensation in the House, and those gentlemen who usually act with Mr. Pinckney manifested great opposition to it. To my surprise, some of the moderators among northern members opposed its introduction. Mr. Cushing voted for the suspension of the rule, with a view to enable Mr. P. to offer the resolution, but he took occasion, before he answered to his name, to say that he did not wish his vote to be considered as expressing an approbation, on his part, of the principles and terms of the proposition. I cannot conceive what objection to the resolution can be urged by any, except the abolitionists, and the nullifiers. The ultras on both sides will, of course, vote against it. The House seem to be sick of the discussion, and, if possible, it will be shunned and avoided, hereafter. I do not believe that a decision will be obtained on Mr. Pinckney's or any other of the resolutions which have been offered.

[From the Philadelphia Evening Star.]

RIGHT OF PETITION.

Who would have believed twenty years ago, that an intelligent member of Congress could rise in his place, and make a proposition directly at variance with *chartered rights!* Had any one predicted this, he would have been laughed to scorn as 'a minion of the Moon.' But this has been done, and done too by one, occupying a conspicuous station in the ranks of the State rights party, and than whom no one has talked more loudly and fiercely about '*Reserved Rights.*'

In the Senate last week, on a petition being presented to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, Mr. Calhoun demanded the reading of the memorial and proposed the question, 'Shall it be received?'

To petition our National Representatives is one of our 'reserved rights'—one which we have never voted away, and never *will* abandon.

We are neither 'hewers of wood nor drawers of water' to any portion of the Union. Now Mr. Calhoun, when he made the disgraceful motion, not only knew that to Congress belongs the exclusive jurisdiction within the 'ten square miles' —but he also knew that Congress had no constitutional right to refuse receiving any memorial from a citizen or citizens, provided it was couched in terms of respect. Nay more—he knew that if a committee of the signers of the petition had been there, they had the constitutional right to demand a hearing at the bar of the House.

If the right of petition be abridged or annuled, we shall have made the first step towards despotism. It cannot be disguised—a link of the chain will be broken, and we shall have no security for constitutional liberty. Let every lover of his country weigh the subject well. There is more in the late attempt to encroach on the right of petition, than at first meets the eye. It is designed to be the stepping stone for further innovations —as the transition from virtue to vice is easy, so is the transition from liberty to despotism. All free institutions have been gradually overturned —a glaring infraction would create alarm. Despots commence by small acts, until they are fully prepared for a combined movement on the citadel itself. The consular government of France was under the external forms of liberty, but a step— and intended to be a step for establishing the imperial dynasty. Circumstances were dexterously employed to carry out the object, and where they did not exist, they were cunningly brought about.

All the slaveholding states are to be alarmed, and rallied on the slave question—the plan was long since matured, and no measures have been left unemployed to compass the end. The nonslaveholding States being brought into submission, the southern despotism is complete. If a free man then dare to discuss the subject of slavery even as an abstract question, his liberty or life would be immediately perilled, under an act specially made and provided. This is no visionary view. Have not requisitions already been made to fetter the press? In more than one instance has the citizen of a northern state been demanded (this is another instance of the ridiculous after the sublime) to be taken south of Mason's and Dixon's line, to be put to death in a state whose soil his foot has never pressed, whose laws he had never recognized, as obligatory on him, or his acts. His own State guaranteed the right of free discussion. He availed himself of this right.— Should either branch of the National Legislature yield the point at issue, the right of petitioning, they will prove recreant to the trusts which have been confided to them, and the first step will have been taken in the onward march to despotism.

'Yet let us ponder boldly—'tis a base
Abandonment of reason, to resign
Our right of thought—our last and only place of refuge.'

Congress, it will be perceived, is thoroughly enlisted in the slavery question, both the Senate and the House. It is not a little curious that the agitation of this agitating subject in Congress is chargeable entirely to the anti-agitators; and the national legislature is in a blaze lighted by the torches of the anti-incendiaries. Yes, strange as it may seem, the discussion has been provoked by those who are crying aloud against discussion; the hotspurs of the south have become enkindled into a rage by an excitement of their own creation; and the poor abolitionists are completely superceded in their agitating and incendiary honors. Every New-England man, indeed every Northern man ought to be ashamed of the truckling sycophancy of Mr. Jarvis, of Maine, for in that light only can his motion be viewed. It is exceeded only by the braggart taunts of Mr. Wise of Virginia.—*Salem Landmark.*

GOV. EVERETT'S MESSAGE.

There is another subject in which Gov. Everett speaks without doubt or evasion, but to the mortification and sorrow of some of his best friends. We allude to the *Slave* question. We had some hope from the manly independence of Mr. Everett formerly on Freemasonry, and from the suspicion cast on his republicanism, from sentiments formerly uttered by him in Congress, respecting slavery, that he would seize on the present opportunity for clearing his sentiments on this last subject from all reproach. But the last end is worse than the first—his message, in this respect, is far more obnoxious than his speech in Congress. Most gladly would we join with other journals in praise of this message—most joyfully would we hail the inauguration of our new Governor, as the commencement of an auspicious reign—of pure liberty, of equality and republican virtues. But truth must not—shall not be sacrificed. We speak in sorrow, not in anger, in confessing that we are greatly disappointed in this important point— that the sentiments of the Governor are wholly unworthy of him.—We wish not to hear the sentiment from *any American*, that 'the patriotism of all classes of citizens must be invoked to abstain from a discussion' of *any* subject *because* 'the genius of our institutions and the character of our people are entirely repugant to laws impairing the liberty of speech and of the press.'— Thanks to 'the genius of our institutions and the character of our people,' that laws *cannot* be passed to stop the liberty of speech and of the press— that free 'discussion' is—no—*has been*, and we trust in God, *will be* again tolerated, in spite of the invocation of 'patriotism,' of mobs, or 'well-dressed gentlemen, of property and standing.' How long the lawless, unrestrained murder of peaceable, unoffending citizens, will be permited to stalk through our land unrebuked, unnoticed, we rejoice to believe, depends on the *Governor of the Universe*, not on the Governor of this, or any other Commonwealth.—*Lynn Record.*

The Salem Landmaark expresses the following manly sentiment in its closing remarks on Gov. Everetts's Address.

'We have no time for remark, but would simply express an opinion that the Address will be satisfactory to the public, with the single exception of his views of the slavery question, which cannot be expected to meet with very general favor. For ourselves we have strong doubts whether any institution of our country ought to stand that shrinks from a full and free exposure to the public eye, or endangers the existence of the Union by a discussion of its merits.

O'CONNELL.

The following is an extract of a speech made not long since, by Daniel O'Connell, before a meeting of 'the Trades Union' in Dublin:

'The humble being who now addresses you is before the world so far as notoriety in the public papers can effect. I am as usual abused by all the enemies of this country. There is an Irish expression which gives the meaning I would convey more powerfully than any other language. 'The truly faithful' are often more exposed than any other; and my principles and conduct were always best proved by the vituperation showered upon me for my advocacy of the rights of man. I am abused in the *Mail*, and *Packet*, and *Warder* at home. The *Times*, which has now arrived at the very acme of literary profligacy, has been also showering its venal filth upon me. But it is falling gradually into utter insignificance, and is like a tumbling sky-rocket, with nothing but a bit of burnt stick to make it formidable, and I am sure my head is sufficiently hard to bear any blow it can inflict. I am abused too in all the papers of Louis Phillippe, the man who was placed on his throne by the people. The American press is also arrayed against me, because I am against slavery in any shape. What do I care whether a man calls himself a democrat or autocrat—whether like the Russian Emperor, he sends forth his edict, ordering the slaughter of thousands by the sword, or like the American, contributes no less to the sanguinary end of his fellow man, through the galling miseries of slavery? The democrat is the worst of the two, because perjury is joined to the tyranny of him who swears that all men are born equal. I tell them from this, that if any American, who is a slaveholder, should come into my presence, and I aware of the fact of his being so, *I would as soon hold intercourse or communication with a pickpocket or a thief as with him.*'

George Thompson and the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.—The above named Society have published an official statement of their connection with *George Thompson*, from which it would appear that he came to this country with the highest testimonials to his honor, integrity and talents, and that in all his intercourse with the Society and others while here, he fully justified the good report which preceded and accompanied him. If the *personal character* of Mr. Thompson be not unimpeachable, there is nothing due to the evidence of grave and learned men in various parts of Great Britain, who concur in the most lavish expressions of praise upon it. Yet here he was published as a fugitive from justice and a felon! Madame *Roland's* apostrophe to Liberty, as she was marched in its name, by the brigands who dishonored it, to the guillotine, might be repeated too often, and with too much justice, among us.—*New-York American.*

An affecting slave case.—A slave case of unusual interest has just been decided at Mount Holly, N. J., before Judge Haywood, after occupying the attention of the court for two weeks. It involved the liberty of Alexander Hempsley, alias Nathan, his wife, and three children. The Burlington Herald says—Hempsley and wife were arrested by warrant on the 24th of October last, and both parties being ready for trial, on Wednesday, the 9th inst., it commenced at 11 o'clock, at the court house. A great concourse attended from day to day. Hempsley was held in high repute by the colored population, to whom he was favorably known as a preacher, and our citizens who knew him, all bore testimony to his exemplary and worthy character. He was claimed as the property of Isaac Baggs, deceased, of Queen Ann county, Maryland, and Goldsborough Price, executor, and son-in-law of Baggs, empowered John Willoughby as his attorney, who appeared in that capacity as plaintiff in the action.

The result of the trial was delivered on Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock, by Judge Haywood, after occupying the court for two weeks. The man was pronounced a slave, but the woman and children was acquitted. A certiorari from the Supreme Court was then presented by defendant's counsel, and so his case will be determined before that tribunal.

Our readers will persue with astonishment the article from the Boston Post in relation to the case of the Rev. Mr Cheever. If our citizen can be dragged from their fire sides into the Courts, and from thence thrust into prison, by order of the Judges, without Constitution law, Statute law, or Common law, it is time to see if their is not some power in the Commonwealth greater than the power of the Supreme Court. For ourselves we dispute the omnipotence of this Court. The Representatives who are to assemble in Boston in a few days, and coming fresh from the People, are the true sovereigns of the land. they have the power to *address* the Governor to remove these Judges from the bench and no Governor dare refuse to disobey the People of Massachusetts.

We hope and trust that Messrs. Robinson and Rantoul will bring this subject before the Legislature—let the questions be on a motion to address the Gov. to remove Judge Shaw from the bench for sentencing Mr. Cheever to Jail without law. The people are competent to decide this question, and they will decide it right.

This is not a party question, and therefore we hope the press will unite. Let their be but one voice—let there be a trial before the Representatives of the People, and let Judge Shaw show by his numerous friends in the Legislature, the law that authorised him to cast Mr. Cheever into Jail.—*Hampshire Republican.*

LIST OF ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS, for sale at the office of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, No. 46, Washington-street, (third story.)

Bound Volumes.

An inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies, by the Hon. Wm. Jay, 2d edition.—Price, 38 cts.

A Reply to Jay's Inquiry, by D. M. Reese, M. D.—38.

The Testimony of God against Slavery, or a collection of passages from the Bible, which show the sin of holding property in man, with notes, by Rev. La Roy Sunderland, of Mass.—38.

The Oasis, by Mrs. D. L. Child of Boston, Author of an Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans.—$1.

Bourne's Picture of slavery in the U. States.— 50cts.

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Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention.—1.20.

Authentic Anecdotes of American Slavery, by Mrs. Child.—37 1-2.

Subscriptions are also received for the Record, Emancipator, Human Rights, and Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine, at the same office.

Jan. 9. HENRY E. BENSON, *Agent.*