



From the New-York Tribune.

Slavery—The Evil—The Remedy.

To the Editors:

And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? ... His justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is contrary to safety, and that it may become practicable among possible evils; that it may become practicable by superior wisdom; that the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. —Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

Thomas Jefferson never thought of the absurdity of debating the question whether slavery be an evil, nor was he indulgent to the delusive idea that it would be perpetual. He reduced the subject to its certain elements: the master must liberate the slave, or the slave will exterminate the master. This conclusion is not weakened by the history of the past. The same color in the ancient republics enabled the state to use emancipation as a safety-valve; yet notwithstanding the thorough emancipation of the free born, senile, and nearly extinguished by violence the noblest nations of antiquity; while no man dare say that slavery was not the secret cause of their ultimate ruin. But if 'his justice should' sleep never, and the tragedy so awfully predicted should never occur, still we must regard slavery as the greatest evil that ever cursed a nation.

Slavery is an evil to the slave, by depriving nearly three millions of men of the best gift God has ever bestowed on man—liberty. I stop here—this is enough of itself to give us a full anticipation of the long catalogue of human woe, and physical, intellectual and moral abasement which follow in the wake of slavery. Slavery is an evil to the master. It is utterly subversive of the Christian religion. It violates the great law upon which that religion is based, and on account of which it waxes its pre-eminence. It corrupts by necessary association every man with an abandoned and degraded race, ingrafting in the young mind and heart all the vices and none of the virtues.

It is the source of idleness, and destructive of all industry, which in times past among the wise has ever been regarded as the first friend of religion, morality and happiness. The poor despised labor, because slavery is degrading. The mass of slaveholders are idlers. It is the mother of ignorance. The system of Common Schools has not succeeded in a single slave State. Slavery and Education are natural enemies. In the free States, one in 33, over 21 years, is unable to read and write. In the slave States, one in 33 is unable to write and read!

It is opposed to literature even in the educated classes. No proficiency and no glory depends upon virtue and good to man. The constant injustice of slavery hangs as a millstone about the necks of the sons of genius, and will not let them up! It is destructive of all mechanical excellence. The free States build ships and steam cars for the nations of the world—the slave States import the handles of their axes—these primitive tools of the architect. The educated population will not work at all—the uneducated must work without science, and of course without skill. If there be a given amount of mechanical genius among a people, it is of necessity developed in proportion as a whole or part of the population are educated. In the slave States, the small portion educated is inert.

It is antagonistic to the Fine Arts. Creations of beauty and sublimity are embodiments of the soul's imaginings: the fountain must surely be pure and placid whence these glorious and immortal and lovely images are reflected. Liberty has ever been the mother of the arts.

It retards Population and Wealth. Compare New-York and Virginia, Tennessee and Ohio—States of equal natural advantages and equal ages. The wealth of the free States is in a much greater ratio, even superior to that of the slave States, than the population of the free is greater than that of the slave States. The manufactures of the slave are compared with those of the free States, are 1 to 4, nearly, as is shown by statistics. I consider the accumulation of wealth in a less ratio.

It impoverishes the soil and defaces the loveliest features of nature. Washington advises a friend to remove from Pennsylvania to Virginia—saying that cheap lands in Virginia were as good as the dear lands in Pennsylvania, and anticipating the abolition of slavery would be more productive. His anticipations have perished—slavery still exists—land would be richer and the red fox are now there the field growth and the inhabitants!

It induces national poverty. Slaves consume more and produce less than freemen. Hence illusive wealth, prodigality and bankruptcy, without the capability of having adversity or recovering from its influence: then come despair, dishonor and crime.

It is an evil to the free laborer, by forcing him by the laws of competition—supply and demand—to work for the wages of the slave, food and shelter. The poor, in the slave States, are the most destitute native population in the United States.

It sustains the public sentiment in favor of the deadly affray and the duel—those relics of a barbarous age. It is the mother and the nurse of Lynch law, which regard as the most horrid of all crimes, not even excepting parricide, which ancient legislators thought too impossible to be ever supposed in the legal code. If all the blood thus shed in the South could be gathered together, the horrid image which Emmett drew of the cruelty of his judges, would grow pale in view of this gross crime.

Where all these evils exist, how can Liberty, Constitutional Liberty, live? No indeed, it cannot, and has not existed in conjunction with slavery. We are but nominal freemen, for though born to all the privileges known to the Constitution and the laws, written and prescriptive, we have been struck down by the leaden hand of slavery, the most glorious banner that freedom ever bore in the face of man—'Trial by Jury, Liberty of Speech and of the Press.' The North may be liable to censure in Congress for freedom of speech—may lose the privileges of the Post-Office and the Right of Petition—and perhaps yet be free—but we of the land of slavery are ourselves slaves! Alas for the hypocritical cry of liberty and equality which demagogues sound forever in our ears! The Declaration of Independence comes back from all nations, not in notes of triumph and self-glory, but thunders in our ears the everlasting lie—making us infidels in the great world of Freedom—raising up to ourselves idols of wood and stone, inscribed with the name of Deity, where the invisible and true God can never dwell. The blood of the heroes of '76 has been shed in vain. The just expectations of Hamilton and Franklin and Sherman and Morris and Adams of the North, are betrayed by the principles of slavery. The fond anticipations of Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Mason of the South, have not been realized. The great experiment of Republican Government has not been fairly tested. If the Union should not be perpetual, nor the American name be synonymous with that of liberty in all coming time, Slavery is at once the cause, the crime, and the avenger!

Are we indeed of that wretched Saxon blood, which no dangers can appal, no obstacles obstruct, and shall we sit with shivering limbs and dowy feet by the running stream, with innate features and stolid gaze, expecting this flood of evil to flow past, leaving the channel dry? We who can conquer all things else, shall we be here only subdued, ingloriously whispering with white lips, 'There is no remedy? Are the fowls free in the wide heavens, the fishes secure in the forest wilds, and shall man only, man formed in the image of Deity, the heir of immortality, be doomed to hopeless servitude? Yes, there is a remedy.

There is one of four consequences to which slavery inevitably leads: A continuance of the present relative position of the master and the slave, both to numbers, intelligence and physical power; Or an extermination of the blacks; Or an extermination of the whites; Or emancipation and a community of interests between the races.

The present relative position between the blacks and whites (even if undisturbed by external influences, which we cannot hope) cannot long continue. States, the black population show that in the whole slave States, the black population increases on the whole population. The dulled eye can see that the African, by association with the white race, has improved in intellect, and by being transferred to the country, and forced to labor and throw off the indolence of his native land, he is increased in physical power; while the white, by the same reverse of laws, is retrograding in the same respects. Slavery, then, cannot remain for ever as it is. That the black race will be exterminated seems hardly probable from the above objections, and because the great mass of human passions will be in favor of the in-

crease of the slaves and infirmity. Pride, love of power, blind avarice, and many other passions are for it, and against it only fear in the opposite scale. We are forced, therefore, to believe that the black slave population must increase till there is no retreat, but in the extermination of the whites. Athens, Sparta, Sicily, and Rome nearly, shone in modern times, did fall by servile wars. I have shown elsewhere, that the slavery of the blacks in the modern, is more dangerous than the slavery of the whites in the ancient system; then, the intelligent slave was incorporated into the high caste of quondam masters, an object of safety, which yet did not save from emotions, eminently disastrous.

The negative of the second proposition, then, establishes the third, unless we avail ourselves of the last—emancipation. If my reasoning and facts be correct, there is not a same mind in all the South who would not agree with me, that if we can be saved from the first named evils, by all means emancipate. Emancipation is entirely safe. Sparta and Athens turned the slaves by thousands into freedom and safety, who fought bravely for their common country. During the rebellion, many emancipated slaves did good service in the army, and military. We learn from Mr. Gurney and other sources to be relied upon, that British West India emancipation has been entirely successful, and productive of none of those evils which were so pertinaciously foretold by interested pro-slavery men. The British have regiments of black men, who make fine soldiers—protectors, not enemies of the empire. But above all rely not upon sound *pro* reasoning only, but rather upon actual experience, as obtained in the United States, by the last census, 386,365 free blacks; 170,758 of whom are in the free, the remainder in the slave States. There are also 2,485,145 slaves—so that in fact about one sixth of the whole black race in America are already free! No danger or evil consequence has ensued from the residence of these 386,365 freedmen among us. Who then will be so absurd as to contend that the liberation of the other five-sixths will endanger the safety or happiness of the whites? *Resolved, then, that emancipation is entirely safe.*

Emancipation must either be by the voluntary consent of the masters, or by force of law. Legard voluntary emancipation as the most probable, the most desirable, and the most practicable. For the scheming landlordier, would he be so kind, in consequence, the enhancement of the value of the land would compensate for the loss in slaves. A comparison of the price of lands of equal quality in the free and slave States will prove this conclusively. If, however, by force of law—the law having once sanctioned slaves as property, the great principle which is recognized by all civilized governments, that private property cannot be taken for public use without just compensation, the same principle should not be liberally without the consent of the masters, or without paying an equivalent to the owners. Under the sanction of law, one man invests the proceeds of his labor in slaves, another in land; in the course of time, it becomes necessary to the common weal to buy up the lands for redistribution or culture in common—how should the tax be laid? Of course upon lands, slaves and personal property—in a word, upon the whole property of the whole people, on the other hand, it should nearly concern the safety and happiness of society, both the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder, that slaves should be taken and emancipated, then by the same legitimate course of reasoning, the whole property of the State should be taxed for the purpose. If emancipation shall take place by force of law, shall it be by the laws of the States or by the law of Congress? Let Congress abolish slavery wherever she has jurisdiction. The western slave places, in the territories, and on the great seas, and in the District of Columbia, if the contracts ofcession with Virginia and Maryland allow. I lay down the broad rule, that Congress should do no more for the perpetuation of slavery than she is specially bound to do. The debates in the Federal Convention prove, that the free States did not intend to assume the responsibilities of slavery. In the language of Roger Sherman and others, they could not acknowledge the right of 'property' in man. There is then no moral obligation in the Union to sustain the rights of the South in slaves, except only they are morally bound to regard the contract with the South, and in the construction of that contract, the presumption in all cases of doubt is in favor of Liberty. On the contrary, the United States are morally bound, by all means consistent with the Constitution, to extinguish slavery. The word slave is not used in the Constitution, because the promises of all the southern members of the Convention led to final emancipation, and a public change of hands induced the expulsion of the word from the Charter of Human Liberty. I cannot agree that there is any superior to the moral law of the Constitution. It is the part of Christians to model human laws after the Divine code; but the law in the present state of light from on High, must be paramount to the Bible itself. If any other practice should prevail, the confusion of religious interpretations of the Divine Will would be endless and insupportable. In the country where Jews, Christians and Infidels, and Deists and Catholics and Protestants, and Forerighters and Mormons and Millersites and Shakers, all are concentrated into one nation, it would be subversive of all governmental action, if each sect should set up a Divine code as each 'understands it,' superior to the Constitution itself. If a case ever arises where conscience dictates a different doctrine—from that the penalty of the law is rather to be borne than the prescription obeyed—then also there arises at the same time, case where the sufferer must look to God only for approbation and sustenance—he has passed from all appeal to mankind.

I dissent, then, from the ultra anti-slavery and the ultra pro-slavery men. I cannot join the North in the violation of the Constitution—I cannot stand by the South in asking the moral sanction of the North; nor I regard it as being a higher grade of civilization by using all legal means for the entire extinction of slavery in the United States. Congress having no power over slavery in the States, the States, each one for itself, where its Constitution does not forbid, certainly has and should exercise the power of purchase and emancipation. In Kentucky, the Constitution forbids the Legislature to pass laws for the subject of slavery. We look to the Convention, or that which I most hope, the voluntary emancipation. Enlightened self-interest, humanity and religion, are moving on with slow yet irresistible force to that final result. Let the whole North in mass, in conjunction with the patriotic of the South, withhold the moral sanction and legal power of the Union from the sustenance of slavery; then our existence as a people with undivided interests may be consummated. May the Ruler of all nations, the common Father of all men, who is no respecter of persons, and whose laws are not violated with impunity by individuals nor by States, move us to be just, happy and free. May that spirit which has eternally consecrated in the admiration of men Salamis and Marathon, and Bunker's Hill and Yorktown, inspire our hearts, till the glorious principles of slavery shall be fully vindicated, and throughout the land shall be established, 'Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and for ever.' C. M. CLAY.

Lexington, Ky., Nov. 1843.

The Annexation of Texas.

For some time past the papers have alluded, in very confident terms, to a plot, said to be hatching between President Houston of Texas and the British government, which if carried into effect might be highly detrimental to the interests of the United States. It was represented that certain accredited agents of the British government were working with might and main to effect the abolition of slavery in Texas—that a project was on foot that they would be published with the annual message. It is now stated on the authority of a highly respectable journal in New-Orleans which was unwittingly made the instrument of creating the alarm in the first place, that it is satisfied all this clamor has been raised principally for the purpose of creating excitement among the people of the southern States, in order, on one hand, to excite the views of certain disinterested politicians in this country, and on the other hand, to FRIGHTEN THE NORTH INTO AN EFFORT IN FAVOR OF THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS TO THE UNION, FOR THE BENEFIT OF SPECULATORS AND SELLERS IN TEXAS. It regards all the reports respecting the alleged plot, as completely without foundation as can be well imagined. This is not the first instance where Capt. Tyler has been humbugged.

Remarks of J. N. Buffum, of Lynn.

At the next meeting in Faneuil Hall, Nov. 18, 1843.

MR. PRESIDENT:

The gentleman in the gallery (Mr. Tucker) complains that professional men have attempted to force their opinions upon the meeting. I rise to say a word, not as a professional man, nor as a mechanic, (although I belong to the latter class,) but as a man having a deep interest in this question. Nor do I wish to force my opinions upon any farther than they find a ready response in their hearts. Truth is the only principle which it comes from professional men or the bombastic laborer.

My friend Mr. O'Brien charges us with a want of sympathy with the cause of Repeal. I would ask that gentleman, who aided him in getting up the meetings in Lynn? (the town where I belong.) *Were they not abolitionists, to a man? SUCH WAS THE FACT, whether he knows it or not.* The same gentleman complains, and seems to me, that we have attempted to force the opinions of O'Connell down his throat: he scents it with indignation. At the last Repeal meeting held in Lynn, I spoke of some of the reasons why I, being a Repealer, and deeply sympathizing with Ireland and all her peaceable efforts to free herself from the oppressions of English aristocracy, could not have full faith in our Repeal Associations at home. I pointed to the fact, that Robert Tyler and Richard Johnson, and other slaveholders, were in full fellowship in their meetings. 'Why need you care for that?' said Mr. O'Brien; they are not the movement; they are not at the head; I point you to DANIEL O'CONNELL, is he not an abolitionist? Now, if we insulted him and the Repealers, this evening, by calling them together to listen, to their great champion on the question of liberty; then he committed the first offence, by pointing me to O'Connell, as one whose opinions outweighed all the slaveholders in the land. But he was right, I believe he is of more consequence than all of them. We ought to honor and respect him, for his consistent advocacy of universal liberty; and this last address from him, which has just been read, has done much to heighten my admiration of the man. I would give more to see him than any other man now living; but for a slaveholding Repealer, I have no respect. Can I esteem a man sincere, who professes great love for Ireland and her oppressed children, while he is sundering the heart-strings of those around him, and crushing with his iron heel God's suffering poor? No! I have no faith in such men; their conduct proves them liars.

There is Richard M. Johnson, whom the Repealers have recently listened to in this Hall. His soul is keenly alive to the cries of humanity which he hears in the man who, in 1840, went to Syracuse, N. Y., to talk democracy and equal rights, and while he was making a speech in favor of the 'largest liberty,' a man whom he called his property caught the hint, and taking one of his inalienable rights, passed over Freedom's ferry to find his others; and he is now in Queen Victoria's army, ready to shoot down any man that shall dare to lift his arm against that government. And there is Robert Tyler, who came here to offer his devotions on the altar of liberty. But he could not approach that altar, nor ascend Bunker Hill, without a slave to hold his hat or umbrella. He went to the Repeal meeting the evening following, apologizing that his devotions the day previous had quite unprepared him for the occasion; but if a heart overflowing with the love of freedom was any thing, it was at their service. I tell you, my friends, they are not the friends of our cause, and I desire the sooner we get rid of them, the better.

I close these remarks by pledging myself, that I will go to the immediate repeal of the union between all tyrants and their oppressed subjects, whether they be on the Emerald Isle, in the United States, or in any part of the wide world.

From the Voice of Freedom.

Proceedings at Faneuil Hall.

The reported speeches delivered at the above named meeting are well worth reading. Let the people of this country, and the old world reciprocate the plea to each other, in pleading for humanity, and the thread which has twice been severed, will soon become a three fold cord; which 'cannot easily be broken.' Wm. Lloyd Garrison was chosen Chairman of the meeting. A few years ago, and he was led through the streets of Boston and lodged in jail, to prevent the infuriated mob from taking life, because he occupied no strong ground against slave property. He says very pretty hard things against slaveholders, and no man dares to molest him. A few years ago, and 'Old Faneuil Hall' was so sacred a place in which to hold fanatical meetings! But now a thundering anti-slavery response to 'Old Ireland' resounds against her, and she says she is glad to see slavery do her worst. Let the walls of this ancient gathering place! Glorious change! Within a year or two, this 'Cradle of Liberty' has been many times used for rocking the child, human freedom. May the time soon come, when the pioneer nurses of this 'cast away' shall have put away their feelings of animosity towards each other, and when all shall see eye to eye, in their efforts to advance the true principle of freedom throughout this land, and the whole world.

COMMUNICATIONS.

[Reported for the Liberator.]

Clerical and Lay Convention in Middletown.

[CONCLUDED.]

ATTEMPTED SESSOR.

The first resolution, as amended by the committee, respecting laws, constitutions, and governments which are a violation of the laws of God, was taken up.

Rev. L. Atwater. I wish to have the Convention adopt careful language, so that those brethren who have stood aloof from us, may be encouraged to unite with us. For this Convention to declare such laws and constitutions void, is to take very high ground. It sounds bad, starts our southern brethren, and impresses the northern people unfavorably. Such naked declarations are harsh and unwise.

Rev. G. W. Perkins. The resolution does not declare the government to be void, but such laws and portions of the constitution as are in violation of God's laws. It has been declared, 'that what the law declares to be property is property.' Such laws should be disobeyed. I hold that all rights laws should be obeyed and obeyed, but when they enforce the right of property in human beings, every person should regard them as null and void.

Rev. Mr. Colton. I move that the words, 'are void,' be stricken out, and that we substitute, 'we feel ourselves released from obligation to obey them'—which would amount to the same thing, and be less objectionable in phrasology.

S. M. Booth. It is a principle of common law, as all Jurists teach, and as Judge McLean of the Supreme Court, in the case of Van Luut, has recently decided, that an agreement to do an act against natural right is null, and that any contract that rests upon such a basis is void. In the proposed amendment, we declare our own duty merely; while in the original draft, we declare the duty of all. It declares that it is wrong for any to obey them.

Rev. Mr. Mills. Whatever may be said and done here, will not bind the consciences of ministers and members of churches of this State.

Rev. N. Culver. Here is a great principle involved. No fetter operates more effectually against the anti-slavery cause, than the slaveholding clause in the Constitution. When we put forth a resolution, declaring such laws and clauses to be null and void, we declare a great truth, and I hope it will produce its desired effect. Before God, all laws and compacts which require men to do wrong are null and void; and this is what we proclaim to the world. The remarks of a brother, that such resolutions produce an unfavorable impression should have no weight. Our object is not to win men, but to stand in God's truth; and men that are not ready to do that, would be an injury to our cause. They need covering before they can unite with us. I am for going straight forward—not yielding one jot or tittle.

Rev. S. Boutelle. I feel anxious that the resolution, as amended, should be adopted. The public press has published resolutions of similar import to the original, which was adopted at the Buffalo Convention, and ridiculed the Convention, to arouse a spirit of prejudice in the public mind against our cause. The enemy has been humbugged.

And now, since we have cast off the offensive character of our cause, where do we find those who make such professions of friendship to the cause? Still holding back, and throwing obstacles in our way. Surely, they should entertain some respect for our feelings.

Rev. Dr. Porter. I think it is unfortunate that any feeling should be entertained here, that there are two parties in this Convention. I hope we shall act harmoniously.

Rev. Mr. Jennings offered an amendment to the amendment, which was lost.

S. M. Booth. I am surprised that this Convention of ministers and Christians are not ready to repeat even the language of one of the Judges of the Supreme Court.

Rev. Mr. Mills. We should bear in mind, that the Judge was acting in his judicial capacity. We have no such power to declare a law or Constitution null and void!

S. M. Booth. The Judge only declared a general principle; it is their inherent immorality which makes them so.

Levi Gale. Every Christian feels that every wicked law is null and void. Thus thought Daniel and the three Hebrews. Every martyr thinks so, and tramples down all wicked laws, instead of conforming to them. And shall this Christian Convention refuse to declare its convictions by setting aside this resolution?

The Chair substituted Mr. Colton's amendment, which resolution, as amended, was adopted.

Rev. Mr. Mills. I wish to know if the resolutions which have been adopted by this Convention are to be published. If they are, they some of the ministers of this Convention will feel it their duty to enter their protest against the one relating to communion with slaveholders. If I should give my assent to such a resolution, I should, to be consistent, have to go home, and commence discipline with members of my church, and exclude them from communion, who are not responsible for the sin of slavery. I hope they will not be published. What good will it do? I wish that some one in his wisdom, or in the wisdom which is from on high, would offer a motion. If they are not considered, modified, or not published, there are several ministers who will feel it to be their duty to withdraw from the Convention. Those who voted for the address were not required, in so doing, to sacrifice any principle. We who oppose the resolution cannot yield our assent to it, without compromising our principles—we ought not to be compelled to enter our protest against it, and publish it, which we shall, if the resolution is published in its present form.

Rev. Mr. Colver. The years and days on the resolution can be taken and published, which would show that those brethren did not endorse it.

Rev. Mr. Jones, from South Gloucester. I am not satisfied with my apprehensions of the objects of this Convention. I suppose it would be composed principally of ministers, who were to assemble to counsel with each other respecting their personal duties, and to unite in the adoption of some general principles. I had not the most remote idea that we were to adopt resolutions to publish to the world. If I had voted for the resolution which this Convention has adopted, and should live it out, I should be under the necessity of commencing a discipline with members of my own church, and close my pulpits against ministers of my own denomination, because the resolution specifies those who hold slaves and countenance slavery. I believe in the doctrine of expediency. I believe slavery, in the abstract, to be sinful; but how to get rid of the evil is the question! I am unwilling to say that every man who sustains any relation to that system is a wrong-doer, or that, omitting to oppose the system, it is giving countenance to it.

Rev. Mr. Ayers. Some of our brethren appear to be very much afflicted—like some horses I have ridden, which were constantly jumping at something, I could not tell what. Neither can I see any thing for our brethren to be so much started at. Each one is left to go away as free as he came. But the principle of doing nothing will certainly accomplish nothing for the slave. All that is proposed for us to do is to try to influence our brethren aright. We have proposed no coercive measures. We ask of them to do no more than to preach the gospel, and apply it. I believe anti-slavery to be a part of the gospel, and that no minister can neglect to apply it with impunity. I hope this question will soon be disposed of. I have come forty miles in order to do some good, and I want to have something accomplished.

W. H. Burleigh. I move that the manner in which our resolution passed be published. That will obviate the necessity of a protest from those brethren.

Rev. L. Crocker. I consider that it would be an act of injustice to those brethren to publish the resolutions as the sentiments of the Convention. Some did not vote at all; others they felt, and others against them. I wish that we may all feel disposed to harmonize. For that reason, I do not wish to be compelled to send forth any protest with the resolutions, but shall, if they are published in their present form, put forth my disclaimer when I think proper. The first resolution, declaring that the Bible opposes slavery, I consider *not sound philosophy*. Likewise the last one, respecting fugitive slaves, with the text of scripture appended to it. Thus shall not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master: unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, &c. betrays a want of correct taste to thus apply scripture. If I did not feel disposed to yield to the fugitive; the very best place I was possessed of, I should want the privilege of sending him on to Canada.

A. F. Williams. It appears that the business of this Convention now is to undo what it has done for the two days it has been sitting. Those brethren who do not wish to have their names appear with the resolutions, can erase them from the roll. (Several voices—they are attached to the roll.)

S. M. Booth. Brother Williams has expressed the feelings of many members of this Convention. I hope we shall not now go backward. Very many voted for the adoption of the address, with the understanding that it would be modified by this resolution, who otherwise would not have given to it their assent. If the resolutions are reconsidered and modified, I think the address should likewise be reconsidered. Let us not now begin to retrace our steps. *Thater let our motto be, 'Nulla vestigia retrorsum'*—no footsteps backward.

Rev. Mr. Jones. I cannot conceive that any benefit will be derived to our cause by the publication of these resolutions. On the contrary, much hurt I think will grow out of such an act. In reply to bro. Ayers—blessed sometimes start for two reasons—for the want of light, and from too much light. I hope the proceedings will not be published.

Rev. L. Atwater. I regretted at the time the resolution was under discussion, that I could not have an opportunity to utter my protest against it; but, owing to the rush of speakers to the address, I was compelled to keep silence. The address, partially reconsidered me to have the resolution remain as it is, as it would thereby be greatly modified. But, after consulting with my brethren around me, and ascertaining their feelings, I felt: it was my duty to enter my protest against it, unless it can be reconsidered. Their feelings must be respected; and I now notify this Convention, that, unless this resolution can be modified, *this will be an act of ministerial infidelity for this great and holy cause. If the ministers cannot be brought into the cause, there is but very little prospect that it will succeed!*

J. W. North. We came here for the purpose of bearing our testimony against slavery; and now those who have thus far borne the burden and heat of the day, in this cause, are asked to yield up all they have done, and concede every thing to those who have thus far done nothing—but to throw obstacles in our path. I think such persons are in an unenviable dilemma. Some have said to us, 'We cannot go with you, on account of your offensive measures and affirmations; when you cast them off, we will unite with

you. And now, since we have cast off the offensive character of our cause, where do we find those who make such professions of friendship to the cause? Still holding back, and throwing obstacles in our way. Surely, they should entertain some respect for our feelings.

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Levi Gale. Every Christian feels that every wicked law is null and void. Thus thought Daniel and the three Hebrews. Every martyr thinks so, and tramples down all wicked laws, instead of conforming to them. And shall this Christian Convention refuse to declare its convictions by setting aside this resolution?

The Chair substituted Mr. Colton's amendment, which resolution, as amended, was adopted.

Rev. Mr. Mills. I wish to know if the resolutions which have been adopted by this Convention are to be published. If they are, they some of the ministers of this Convention will feel it their duty to enter their protest against the one relating to communion with slaveholders. If I should give my assent to such a resolution, I should, to be consistent, have to go home, and commence discipline with members of my church, and exclude them from communion, who are not responsible for the sin of slavery. I hope they will not be published. What good will it do? I wish that some one in his wisdom, or in the wisdom which is from on high, would offer a motion. If they are not considered, modified, or not published, there are several ministers who will feel it to be their duty to withdraw from the Convention. Those who voted for the address were not required, in so doing, to sacrifice any principle. We who oppose the resolution cannot yield our assent to it, without compromising our principles—we ought not to be compelled to enter our protest against it, and publish it, which we shall, if the resolution is published in its present form.

Rev. Mr. Colver. The years and days on the resolution can be taken and published, which would show that those brethren did not endorse it.

Rev. Mr. Jones, from South Gloucester. I am not satisfied with my apprehensions of the objects of this Convention. I suppose it would be composed principally of ministers, who were to assemble to counsel with each other respecting their personal duties, and to unite in the adoption of some general principles. I had not the most remote idea that we were to adopt resolutions to publish to the world. If I had voted for the resolution which this Convention has adopted, and should live it out, I should be under the necessity of commencing a discipline with members of my own church, and close my pulpits against ministers of my own denomination, because the resolution specifies those who hold slaves and countenance slavery. I believe in the doctrine of expediency. I believe slavery, in the abstract, to be sinful; but how to get rid of the evil is the question! I am unwilling to say that every man who sustains any relation to that system is a wrong-doer, or that, omitting to oppose the system, it is giving countenance to it.

Rev. Mr. Ayers. Some of our brethren appear to be very much afflicted—like some horses I have ridden, which were constantly jumping at something, I could not tell what. Neither can I see any thing for our brethren to be so much started at. Each one is left to go away as free as he came. But the principle of doing nothing will certainly accomplish nothing for the slave. All that is proposed for us to do is to try to influence our brethren aright. We have proposed no coercive measures. We ask of them to do no more than to preach the gospel, and apply it. I believe anti-slavery to be a part of the gospel, and that no minister can neglect to apply it with impunity. I hope this question will soon be disposed of. I have come forty miles in order to do some good, and I want to have something accomplished.

W. H. Burleigh. I move that the manner in which our resolution passed be published. That will obviate the necessity of a protest from those brethren.

Rev. L. Crocker. I consider that it would be an act of injustice to those brethren to publish the resolutions as the sentiments of the Convention. Some did not vote at all; others they felt, and others against them. I wish that we may all feel disposed to harmonize. For that reason, I do not wish to be compelled to send forth any protest with the resolutions, but shall, if they are published in their present form, put forth my disclaimer when I think proper. The first resolution, declaring that the Bible opposes slavery, I consider *not sound philosophy*. Likewise the last one, respecting fugitive slaves, with the text of scripture appended to it. Thus shall not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master: unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, &c. betrays a want of correct taste to thus apply scripture. If I did not feel disposed to yield to the fugitive; the very best place I was possessed of, I should want the privilege of sending him on to Canada.

A. F. Williams. It appears that the business of this Convention now is to undo what it has done for the two days it has been sitting. Those brethren who do not wish to have their names appear with the resolutions, can erase them from the roll. (Several voices—they are attached to the roll.)

S. M. Booth. Brother Williams has expressed the feelings of many members of this Convention. I hope we shall not now go backward. Very many voted for the adoption of the address, with the understanding that it would be modified by this resolution, who otherwise would not have given to it their assent. If the resolutions are reconsidered and modified, I think the address should likewise be reconsidered. Let us not now begin to retrace our steps. *Thater let our motto be, 'Nulla vestigia retrorsum'*—no footsteps backward.

Rev. Mr. Jones. I cannot conceive that any benefit will be derived to our cause by the publication of these resolutions. On the contrary, much hurt I think will grow out of such an act. In reply to bro. Ayers—blessed sometimes start for two reasons—for the want of light, and from too much light. I hope the proceedings will not be published.

Rev. L. Atwater. I regretted at the time the resolution was under discussion, that I could not have an opportunity to utter my protest against it; but, owing to the rush of speakers to the address, I was compelled to keep silence. The address, partially reconsidered me to have the resolution remain as it is, as it would thereby be greatly modified. But, after consulting with my brethren around me, and ascertaining their feelings, I felt: it was my duty to enter my protest against it, unless it can be reconsidered. Their feelings must be respected; and I now notify this Convention, that, unless this resolution can be modified, *this will be an act of ministerial infidelity for this great and holy cause. If the ministers cannot be brought into the cause, there is but very little prospect that it will succeed!*

J. W. North. We came here for the purpose of bearing our testimony against slavery; and now those who have thus far borne the burden and heat of the day, in this cause, are asked to yield up all they have done, and concede every thing to those who have thus far done nothing—but to throw obstacles in our path. I think such persons are in an unenviable dilemma. Some have said to us, 'We cannot go with you, on account of your offensive measures and affirmations; when you cast them off, we will unite with

you. And now, since we have cast off the offensive character of our cause, where do we find those who make such professions of friendship to the cause? Still holding back, and throwing obstacles in our way. Surely, they should entertain some respect for our feelings.

Rev. Dr. Porter. I think it is unfortunate that any feeling should be entertained here, that there are two parties in this Convention. I hope we shall act harmoniously.

Rev. Mr. Jennings offered an amendment to the amendment, which was lost

was called for, and sustained. Two amendments were rejected, and the resolution passed in its original form.

The following resolution was then adopted: Resolved, That the business committee be authorized to take into consideration the financial condition of this Society, and report thereon at its earliest opportunity.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society, and of the friends of humanity and justice throughout the world, be due to DANIEL O'CONNELL, for his labors and persevering efforts for the overthrow of slavery in every portion of the globe.

Resolved, That the business committee be authorized to take into consideration the financial condition of this Society, and report thereon at its earliest opportunity.

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THE TENTH MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR WILL OPEN AT AMORY HALL, ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 19.

The great variety of things rare, unique, new and beautiful from London, Paris, Dublin, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and many other places, together with all that have been collected at home, combine to make this an unequalled opportunity for the choice of CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S PRESENTS.

Among other attractive and valuable selections for the occasion are expected: Two Cases of ARTICLES FROM PARIS, Comprising Bonnets and articles of Ladies' Dress, Bronzes, Printing Press, gilt Balloons, filled with gas, safe for drawing-room use, Bonbons, Boxes of Toys, Medallions, plated Play Services, small securities, Statuettes in or moulds, Fournitures de Bureau, &c.

Will be furnished with every kind of beautiful writing material, in the most excellent taste. Lawson Seals, beautifully cut, boxes of Sealing Wax, Wafers of different kinds—a few of the Monuments of Paris. Paperies—ornaments and plain, of unexceptionable taste, in boxes, portefeuilles, cases and sachets; Pastoral Letter-paper, of eight or ten varieties; rare Autographs, Old Books—the entire manuscript of O'Connell's Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, very valuable; Gustava de Beaumont's book on Ireland, in English, translated by W. Taylor, the best book on Ireland extant, and not yet published here; Ady's Travels in the United States, (never re-published,) models of English and Swiss castles; architecture; Card-cases of the Killarney arboreal wood; Porcelain Envelopes, and four other kinds; embellished Music Paper; Wood of York Minister; exquisite water-color sketches of Rhine scenery from Nonnesworth, Johannesburg, Cologne, &c.; pen and ink drawings, Bristol board, outline drawings from the Museo, &c. &c.

On the first day of the Fair will be published THE LIBERTY BELL, The beautiful Souvenir of the Fair for 1844, containing articles from Dr. Bowring, Emily Taylor, Garrison, Rogers, Pierpont, Harriet Martineau, the Duchess of Sutherland, Lucia Mott, James Haughton, R. D. Webb, J. R. Lowell, William and Mary Howitt, and other distinguished persons of England and America.

Those who engaged articles of this beautiful ware, after the last year's invoice was disposed of, are informed that the requisite selection has arrived, consisting of every variety of small articles, taper-stands, paper-folders, winders, tea-caddies, japanned and gilt Portfolio-stand, a new and beautiful article, &c. &c.

After the antique, and a few copies of the most celebrated works of modern sculpture, but principally classic subjects. VARIETIES Of infant's Dresses, gentlemen's linen, Dress Waistcoats, silk Aprons, richly quilted Skirts, Bags of every stitch and color, in Berlin worsted, wrought with gold and steel beads; Tapestry, Tabouret, ottoman, screen and work-table Fittings; ladies', gentlemen's and children's wrought Slippers; new Neck-ties and Waistcoats of knitted woolen, Chenille, wrought blue satin Tippet, trimmed with swan's-down; an entirely new fashion of ladies' Gloves, for drawing-room use; splendid Sofa and Chair-Nets, Purses, Cuffs, Mufts, Medallions; Needlebooks and pin and toilette cushions, of dozens of varieties; Net Napkins, shawling cloths, Book-marks, various sizes of Brioches, Stamboul, sofa and elbow cushions, Puzzles, children's Dresses, of a new material, the Tartans of the clans whose names are also family names of Massachusetts; a few 'Alice Mauds', a small shawl for girls; Balls, Bats, Whistles, miniature Vessels, and all manner of boys' play things, Dolls, Baskets, lined with silk; a pair of splendid Bell-Pulls.

Many valuable Paintings, both landscapes and portraits. The earlier Presidents, highly finished copies from Stuart; Roman Lady, an original Vandyke; Portraits, by excellent artists, of Dr. Channing, Dr. Notch, Dr. Griffin, Alexander Hamilton, DeWitt Clinton, and various other distinguished statesmen and divines.

This beautiful and magnificent spectacle of the Christmas Tree, with appropriate musical services, will be on Monday, the evening of Christmas day, December 24th, at the MELODEON. The front of which will be illuminated for the occasion, and all arrangements made by which to prevent inconvenience in the entrance and exit of a great number of persons.

M. W. Chapman, Lavinia Hilton, Ann T. G. Phillips, Hannah Tufts, Mary G. Chapman, Catherine Sargent, Susan Cabot, M. A. W. Johnson, Eliza Lee Follen, Caroline Weston, Olivia Bowditch, Anna R. Philbrick, Sarah S. Russell, Mary Young, Sarah B. Shaw, Harriet Jackson, Helen E. Garrison, Mary F. Rogers, Louisa Loring, Louisa M. Sewall, Jane Warren Weston, Caroline F. Williams, Thankful Southwick, Abby Southwick, Henrietta Sargent, Mary Willey, Maria White, Marian Fuller.

Resolved, That the business committee be authorized to take into consideration the financial condition of this Society, and report thereon at its earliest opportunity.

