

ble and ineffectual. Committing this whole subject, therefore, to the Governor of the State, we commend to our churches to offer unceasing prayer for our country in all its sections, and for our own church in all its interests.

This is the insulting reply made by these solemn and caustic pretenses, to the cry of perishing millions for help; to the demand of the Christians, republicans and philanthropists of other lands, that we purge our church and nation from their most hideous blot and sin; to the requirement of Eternal Justice, that we 'break every yoke,' open our mouths for the dumb, 'cry aloud and spare not' against oppression and fraud, and 'proclaim deliverance to the captive.' How does the narrow selfishness of sections and men's hearts all fraternal feeling, human sympathy, manly courage, and devotion to truth!

THEODORE PARKER.

Theodore Parker last night gave his Anti-Slavery friends a good sermon more than they bargained for in the matter of his speech. The Tabernacle was densely crowded with a miscellaneous mass of people, of all parties, creeds, and colors, assembled to hear Messrs. Parker, Garrison, and Phillips, who were announced to speak. Mr. Parker opened, and spoke over two hours and a half, and even then stopped only because he was compelled to do so by the impatience of his hearers, leaving at least one-third of the ground he had marked out untouched. His speech was very able, denunciations of everything prophetic of evil he was denunciated, and a demand for reform in any department of public affairs. Mr. Parker reasons by statements, never making a formal argument, but so collating facts as to suggest the inference he wishes drawn. His speech was a prodigious compilation of facts bearing on Slavery and its relations to the various interests of the country—all of them striking, some lacking authority, and very many of them skillfully made to countenance conclusions which would not warrant. But they were instructive and well worth hearing, and we were not surprised to find among his hearers quite a number of clergymen and others who have no sympathy whatever with his special views. Mr. Parker predicted the success of the Nebraska bill at the next session of Congress, if not immediately; and said he could see no end to the triumph and conquest of the Slave Power. He predicted that the General Government would force the country into a war with Spain for the possession of Cuba, and that an effort would then be made to restore the African Slave-trade. These measures might possibly, in his opinion, so touch the interests of the Free States as to arouse them to resistance; and in that case, Slavery would be swept from existence. But short of that he saw no ground of hope. Mr. Parker stated as facts not generally known, but of which many persons were cognizant, that the English Government had entered into an agreement with that of Spain, whereby Slavery in Cuba was to be abolished, and fifty millions were to be paid to the Captain-General of Cuba in his possession of a document from the Spanish Government, giving him full authority to liberate the slaves in Cuba, and to arm them for the defence of the Island whenever he should deem it expedient. He did not believe the Eastern War would amount to much, and thought that Spain of herself, with her Navy embracing 174 vessels; her letters of marque, which would cover the seas with the most desperate pirates from all the nations of the earth, waging war on our commerce; the armed and fighting fleets of Cuba, and the climate, yellow fever and other diseases of the Island, as their allies, would be able to inflict fearful damage on the United States. —New York Times.

CHANGE IN PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

We challenge the curious annals of history for a more striking progressive change in the sentiment of a nation, than that which has taken place in regard to Abolition, pure and simple, in the free States of America. A few years ago, the name of Abolitionist was identified with social outlaws. Southern States put a price on the head of Garrison; Southern Post-Offices opened letters and papers sent to him, and burnt them; the most honored Abolition journals by the heat; most honored the emancipation apostle from Baltimore—burned down a Liberty-Hall in Philadelphia—shot down Lovejoy for printing and speaking democracy—and everywhere persecuted the name, fame and persons of the Abolitionists. Three years ago, a mob headed by Isaiah Rynders, broke up their meeting at the Tabernacle, and fired upon them from the City. Two years ago they could not obtain here a place to assemble in, and were obliged to go to Syracuse to hold their Anniversary. But now all this is changed. They are welcomed to one of the largest and handsomest churches in New York, and for the past two days, their discussions have not only been entirely undisturbed, but have been attended by crowded and sympathetic audiences of the most respectable people. Even conservatism and moderation now listen without a shock to the bold utterances of these reformers. Such is the effect produced by the conviction which is now gaining complete possession of the public mind at the North, that the South is faithless to its own pledges, and is resolved to extend the area of Slavery at whatever risk. This great change has been wrought by the Nebraska bill, and as yet we are only at the beginning. Garrison, Phillips, and all their co-workers, could not have made so many Abolitionists and Disunionists in half a century, as Pierce, Douglas, Barber and Clayton have made in three months. —New York Tribune.

A WAR FOR CUBA.

The moment the Nebraska Iniquity is consummated, it should be consummated, the Administration will seek to distract public attention from that abhorred deed by getting up rowdy shows. Whether this will be pushed to the point of actual War is not yet certain; but the President and his advisers hope and expect it will. They have resolved to impose on the feeble and decrepit Spanish Government conditions which cannot be accepted without disgrace, and insist on every iota of them to the last. Should Spain refuse them, War is to be made, and Cuba seized if possible—and the projectors entertain no doubt of our ability to overrun and subjugate the island in six weeks from the declaration—at all events before any reinforcements from Spain can reach it. This achievement, by adding about a fifth to the slaveholding territory and population of the Union, is expected to unite the South under the flag of Pierce & Co., and draw the Nebraska excitement at the North in the cry of 'Our Country, right or wrong! Hurrah for Cuba and manifest destiny!' Such, we are well assured, is the programme agreed on at the White House; and it is an even chance that we shall be at war with Spain on the 1st of July. —Ibid.

JAMES W. WALKER—HIS FAMILY.

In the death of James W. Walker, not only have the oppressed and outraged of earth lost one of the ablest and most devoted of their advocates, but his wife and little children have lost a kind husband and father—their protection and support. The work of the slave's redemption, to which for the past seven or eight years, Mr. Walker had devoted all his talents and energies, is not a family that meets with a reward in gold. His family therefore are left destitute. A settlement of his affairs will leave nothing for their future maintenance. The friends of freedom, and especially the friends of the American and Western Anti-Slavery Societies, whose agent Mr. Walker was, and in whose service he expended all his talents and wore out his life, owe a debt to his widow and little children, which we trust will be cheerfully and promptly paid. While abolitionists, generally, have been at their homes, making provision against future want, and giving to the cause sparingly of their abundance, Mr. Walker has been away from his family, toiling for the advancement of a cause, in which we are all alike interested, and for a compensation barely sufficient, under the most favorable circumstances, to supply the immediate wants of those dependent upon him. Had he sacrificed as little as other professed friends of the slave, his family probably would have needed no needful aid. His labors were needed; and by the approval and appointment of the friends of freedom, he went forward, forgetful of self, to the work of the slave's emancipation, and the result is as above stated. It is then but simple justice, that we should make some provision for his family. Arrangements will be made to secure to them the full benefit of whatever is contributed. It is suggested, that a little home should be provided for them, where they may remain permanently, and be comfortably situated. —Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MAY 19, 1854.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Broadway Universalist Church on Wednesday, May 10th. The church, at the hour of meeting, was well filled. After a voluntary on the organ, the President, Mr. GARRISON, called the Society to order, and announced that, in accordance with the programme, selections would now be read from the Scriptures by the Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse.

Selections from the Scriptures were then read by Rev. Mr. MAY, who also offered prayer; after which, the congregation united in singing a hymn, composed by Mrs. Follen.

FRANCIS JACKSON, the Treasurer of the Society, then gave the following abstract of the Annual Report, which, he said, was certified by James S. Gibbons, cashier of the Ocean Bank:—

RECEIPTS FOR THE YEAR. From Donations, sale of Pamphlets, &c., and Subscriptions to the Anti-Slavery Standard, and balance from last year, \$11,105 20

EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR. For Lecturing Agents, Publishing Anti-Slavery Standard and Pamphlets, \$8,720 00 Balance on hand, \$2376 20

The report, by unanimous consent, was laid upon the table, to be taken up at the business meeting.

MR. GARRISON then said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This is the twentieth anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I do not propose to go into any extended preliminary remarks, but wish simply to say, at the outset, that the object of this Society remains unchanged, and our purpose is as it was at the beginning. We make no side issue with this nation, or with the Slave Power which governs it, as absolutely as any plantation at the South is governed; but, declaring our eternal hostility to it, entering into no compromise with it, making no attempts at conciliation thereof, we are resolved on its utter destruction, undaunted by anything that may occur seemingly in favor of that power to which I have alluded, and resolved to continue to the end, come what may. We know, and the slaveholders know, and the slaves know, and all in this world, and in heaven and in hell, know that we are right in vindicating the rights of man for every human being on this earth; and that only the base, or the blind, or the bigoted, or the unscrupulous, or the time-serving, or the bloody-minded, are against us and our glorious position.

In regard to the work to be done, there are hundreds of thousands of slaves that have been added, since this Society was organized, to the old stock, who are waiting for deliverance at our hands. At this moment, the last great crime of the nation is about to be perpetrated; but the end is not yet. The liberties of this country have been betrayed, sacrificed, trampled in the dust. No man can stand up in any part of our country, and say before God, truthfully, 'I live in a free land, where I enjoy all the rights God vouchsafed to me by my nature.' On all hands, there are those who are conspiring to crucify Liberty, and to seal this nation over to destruction. It is for you, and me, and all of us, to see that such traitors are met; that these enemies of God and man are unmasked; that no compromise, in any sense, or any purpose, or any way, be made with the demon spirit of Slavery in this land. In regard to all, whether in Church or in State, found sympathizing with the oppressor, our duty is plain—in the name of Jesus Christ, to declare they cannot be Christians; and in the name of genuine republicanism, to affirm that they belong to those who sympathize only with the despots of the human race in all parts of the world.

'Lay the proud usurpers low; Tyrants fall in every row; Liberty's in every brow; Let us do or die.'

(Great applause.) I have now the pleasure of introducing to you the Rev. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia.

MR. FURNESS'S SPEECH.

MR. PRESIDENT: I so sincerely deprecate the expectation of a speech from me on this occasion, that although it is not exactly in good taste to begin with talking about one's self, yet, I must be allowed to say that I have come hither, on this occasion, not so much to make a speech as to take sides. It appears to me it is not a question of speeches, or whether a man can speak well or ill, or not at all, but that this is the question, namely, on what side he is; and I thank those gentlemen who have invited me hither, for the opportunity of committing myself again and irrevocably to the great cause of humanity. (Applause.) Besides, I am a timid man, and I like to be on the safe side and on the strong side. (Applause.) I do not think I have courage enough to be, or to appear to be, on the pro-slavery side, though I should have the President, his Cabinet, and all Congress to back me. (Laughter.) And besides, again, it is difficult to make a speech. When I am in the pulpit, I have notes before me, and there is a refreshing grace there; but upon this free platform it is difficult to speak in any measured terms upon slavery; and at the present time, when we think what is doing at Washington, it seems to me that if any man who has a heart in his bosom, rises and attempts to speak on the subject, his words must die away in a shriek of horror and indignation. (Applause.)

I recollect, thirty or forty years ago, (and nearly all who are old enough to remember so far back have a similar recollection,) that when the subject of slavery was mentioned, our elders used to shake their heads, look grave, and say: 'Ah! there is the danger, that is the thing which is going to work the ruin of this country; that is the black cloud which will grow bigger and bigger, and at last send out terrible lightning to dash to pieces the fabric of American freedom.' This was the universal anticipation; and a fearful looking for of dread mischief from that quarter; and the way and the form in which the mischief expected was to be wrought by insurrection. It was expected that the blacks would increase to such a degree that they would at last rise upon their masters; that the terrors of St. Domingo would be re-enacted here on a larger and more frightful scale; and that a war between the two races would be begun, which would probably terminate in the establishment of a black empire over nearly one half of the country. That dread of insurrection has now almost entirely died away. It does not appear to be feared that the slaves will ever rise of themselves; and the reckless determination with which slavery seeks to enlarge her borders more and more, looking with a greedy eye on Mexico, Cuba, the River Amazon, and the remotest part of the earth, shows how distant that day is, in the apprehension of the South, when the blacks may rise.

I am free to admit, that I think there is very little danger of an insurrection; and for two reasons: First, the character of the colored race themselves, so gentle and so docile. The fact that nearly four millions of them have been kept under such unmitigated despotism, and have never made any attempt to strike it off, creates a strong presumption that they never will rise. The second fact which is our protection against insurrection, is the abolitionists. Abolition at the North is the protection of the Southern slave-master. I know that the title abolitionist is looked on but another word for incendiary and fire-brand; but the existence of the abolitionists is either known among the slaves, or it is not. If not, then the abolitionists exert no influence on the slaves, one way or another, for good or

for harm. If their existence is known, then they are known as the friends of the slaves, and naturally, according to every principle of human nature, they are induced to wait patiently, knowing that they have friends in the country who are laboring for them.

Our rulers talk incessantly about putting down abolitionists. Put them down, silence every word of a human rights and common humanity at the North and then, if ever, look for insurrection, when all hope of this is out from every quarter but from itself! But, although there is so little prospect of insurrection or any danger to the country from that quarter, it does not by any means follow that slavery can do use, if it has done and is doing us the very greatest mischief. While we were looking out for slavery to produce its evil consequences in insurrection, it has been eating out the heart and conscience of the nation—working the decay of the spirit of liberty. A country with such free institutions as this cannot exist but by a passionate and supreme love of liberty burning in every heart; and it is now come to this, that we know not the distinction between freedom and slavery, as is seen from any of the objections that have been urged against the cause of abolition; as, for instance, when we are charged with being abstractionists—with being zealous and fanatical for an abstraction. Who is the abstraction? It is the golden rule of Christianity, the natural law of human justice, the only thing from the beginning of the world never questioned. The existence of God has been denied; the doctrine of immortality has been questioned; the existence of the outward world has been speculated upon and denied; but the natural law of justice, the golden rule, has never been questioned. This is the abstraction about which abolitionists are charged with being too zealous!

Again, they have been charged with interference; they have been accused of being middlemen. Why, their doctrine is to put an end to interference; it is Slavery that really interferes; that interferes most cruelly with men and most impiously with God, lord of our God's heritage. Then, again, what a decay of the spirit of liberty is revealed at this present juncture, when the country is overwhelmed by this iniquitous Nebraska Bill, the most melancholy thing about which is its general insensibility of the people! It seems to me, if we felt rightly, all the business of this great city would be suspended, and men would flock together in masses to express their outraged sense of justice and freedom. Not as a clergyman, not as a Christian, but as a man—and as a man laying no great claim to humanity—in the name of the Almighty, and no other name, I protest against the Nebraska Bill. (Great applause.) First, and mainly, not because it allows Slavery in the Territory of Nebraska, but because it does not solemnly, with every possible sanction, forbid the introduction of Slavery into that Territory. (Loud applause.) And, in the next place, because it is a mockery and an outrage of the very principle it professes to uphold, namely, popular sovereignty. What is the worth of that principle which is qualified by the color of the skin? What is that liberty which claims the right to violate liberty? What right can be established to trample on human rights?

Some eight or ten years ago, we were all looking to Europe for a grand social revolution. We expected that the great cause of human rights would enter into deadly struggle with despotic power. And how is it now? There is a war there; but we hear not one whisper of any popular cause. It is a war of kings and governments. My friends, it could not be so, if this country were truly to its character and its destiny. We have the forms of a Republic, but in fact, we are becoming a great barbarian Empire, whose main traffic is in human beings. (Applause.) And, under these circumstances, if, as they say, Slavery is necessary; if, as they contend, it must always exist, as it has always done, it is necessary, and must exist for ever. We must bind our hearts and consciences to it, so that the voices pleading for the slave shall be, in this nation, like the voice of fate, sounding for ever in our ears.

But, as I said in the beginning, I did not rise to make a speech. I beg simply to say, I believe I am the only one of the speakers not belonging to this Society; that I am here by their invitation, by which I feel greatly honored. In stating this fact, that I do not belong to the Society—I do not wish to be understood as disclaiming their fellowship—far from it. But, as the pastor of a Christian church, I consider myself as already belonging to an Abolition Society, *ex officio* (applause); and that every church in the land is, in principle—in the ideal—an Abolition Society; although it must be confessed, with sorrow and shame, the great majority are very unfaithful Abolitionists. (Applause.)

MR. GARRISON—I very deeply regret to announce to the audience, that our esteemed friend, THEODORE PARKER, of Boston, will not be with us to-day to address this assembly. I have in my hand, a letter from him, received yesterday, in regard to the event which keeps him very away. I am sure that the disappointment will be very great and very general, but it is unavoidable. He says:—

'A melancholy death of a young mother has just happened among my friends, which makes it impossible for me to go to New York. I regret that I cannot speak at the meeting, for I have much to say which burns in my heart until it gets spoken. But the audience will lose nothing, for even the Anti-Slavery party has seldom had such an array of talent and eloquence in a single meeting.'

The funeral which our friend is called to attend is transpiring probably at this very time, and hence the impossibility of his being here. I am happy, however, to say, that, beyond all doubt, on Friday evening, he will speak at the Anniversary of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, at the Tabernacle. (Applause.)

A hymn was then sung.

MR. GARRISON then said—I have the pleasure of next introducing to the audience, one of that proscribed class in our country, a very large proportion of whom are held as chattels personal, and the other portion are treated as lepers, who ought to be ejected from every 'healthy organization,' and trampled under foot; one who passes for a colored man in our country. If he be a colored man, say, a black man, who of us is white? What reason has he for pleading here, personally, that Slavery may be overturned. I will tell you, by giving you an instance of this kind, which is a very common affair at the South. A New Orleans paper says:—

'I was Goodwin, free man of color; for coming into the State contrary to law, sentenced to one year at hard labor in the penitentiary.'

'James Turney, free man of color; for coming into the State in contravention of law, sentenced to one year at hard labor in the penitentiary.'

The crime is, for a man to stand on the soil of Louisiana—say, a man! In Massachusetts, thank God, Robert Purvis is eligible to the highest office in the gift of the people (applause)—and is protected by its Constitution—at least, if he will not travel to Louisiana, he is protected; but when he gets there, he is arrested for being a free man of color, and thrust into prison, to work out a year of hard labor, and then what? To be liberated? To be permitted to make his escape from that horrible State? No, but to be melted into the mass of slaves, never again to appear among men as a man! I introduce to you Robert Purvis, of Byberry, Pa.

MR. PURVIS'S SPEECH.

MR. PRESIDENT—The remarks you have employed, in introducing me to this audience, excite a feeling in my mind scarcely ever dormant in the terrible ordeal through which we are passing every moment of our existence, in the presentation to-day of that state of things which victimizes us by a cruel and relentless prejudice. This, Sir, is hard, very hard to bear; but, with due deference to modesty, we live in the consciousness of our rights and our manhood. (Applause.)

senting to the American people the plain and just demands made upon them. Is it not passing strange, that there is as yet needed from the people of this country, a practical recognition of the fact, that the colored man is a man, and, as such, is entitled to equal rights with other men? But, Sir, we have well-grounded hope in the history of past success and the present aspect of our cause, that we shall yet triumph. I beg leave, Sir, to offer as an expression of my views upon this point, the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the contrast between the present aspect of the Anti-Slavery cause now, and as it presented itself twenty-three years ago, is in the highest degree cheering—that the change which has taken place in public sentiment on the subject of the colored man's rights, as evinced in the tone of the newspaper press, and in the character of the current literature of the day, is such as not only to inspire the friends of the cause with the liveliest satisfaction, but to produce in the minds of all careful observers the conviction that a mighty revolution is going steadily on in this country, and will, in a few distant days, in the utter overthrow of American slavery, and the restoration to the colored man of the rights of which he has been so long robbed.

We all recollect the effect of the first declaration of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and how the man who started this guilty nation by the bold avowal of that doctrine had large rewards offered for his head, and was incarcerated in a Southern prison. The gathered energy and spirit of that philanthropy, penetrating the walls of Slavery, said, 'I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard.' (Applause.) That these pledges, made in the full confidence of an abiding trust in the power of truth and God, have been faithfully redeemed, no argument is needed to show. The trials and persecutions, and sacrifices of property, of liberty and life, have shown that those men who entered this cause were not to be turned aside by threats. 'We may be personally defeated; our principles, never. Truth, reason, justice, humanity, will and must gloriously triumph.' And that there has been a triumph, both of the principles and of the persons who advocated them, our presence here to-day is not among the smallest evidences.

I will not weary the patience of this audience by attempting a recital of facts that have fallen under the observation of all, in proof of the progress which our principles have made in this country; but you will allow me to refer to a single one, and a significant one, in the rebounding of public sentiment, overwhelming in defeat, disgrace and moral death, the Irish miscreant, John Mitchell (applause); a man who longs for a Southern plantation, stocked with healthy negroes, and who blasphemously associates, in his infernal opposition to human liberty, the sacred names of St. Paul and Jesus Christ! Sir, this bragging traitor to liberty has met with a repulse, which, while it is an index of the advancement of our principles in the public mind, will be a warning to any unprincipled foreign adventurer who may hastily prostrate their servile souls to the slavholding spirit of our land. (Applause.) This John Mitchell is a disgrace to your city, and his presence would be a curse anywhere. (Applause.)

Pardon, Sir, somewhat of feeling on this subject. I became a member of an association of colored persons in Philadelphia, whose object was, by contributions and otherwise, to promote the rebel movement in Ireland. ('Hear, hear.') We felt for Ireland, as we believe no other class in the country could. ('Hear, hear.') We sympathized with her in her distresses, in the wrongs and outrages inflicted upon her. We contributed our money and our personal effort to assist her in the overthrow of what we conceived to be a galling despotism. But, Sir, could we have believed for a moment, could it ever have entered our minds, that the leaders in that movement were such men as your Mitchell and your Mesgher, how much sympathy do you think we could have shown for that cause? I couple the name of John Mitchell, because, according to the terms of his own confession, it will be three years before he is enabled to determine whether he will be a man when he becomes an American citizen. (Applause.) In other words, this liberty-loving patriot will then decide whether his influence shall be for or against native-born Americans, many of whom are descendants of those who shed their blood in the Revolutionary struggle, and of those who subsequently, in important crises and perilous times, have shown their unflinching devotion to the interests of this country, in maintaining its liberties, and securing a refuge even for such vagabonds as these. (Great applause.)

MR. PRESIDENT: It is hard to bear up against the trials and persecutions which our cause has to encounter from our own countrymen; it is hard to endure the insults and the ingratitude of Americans; but, God helping us, we will defy them all, and we will look with pitying contempt upon all insults to freedom, whether from the foes or the apostates of liberty, whether foreign or domestic, whether exhibited in that rare specimen of superlative impudence, John Mitchell, or in the unscrupulous demagoguism of that traitor to humanity and to his country, Stephen Arnold Douglas, (loud and long-continued applause.)—a man who would offer up to the bloody Moloch of Slavery, the unpolled and virgin soil of a territory larger than the original thirteen States. (Applause.)

Sir, these things should only stir us to renewed zeal and devotion to the cause of freedom; for, after all, there is no mistaking the tendency of the age. The signs of the times are brighter than ever before. A series of articles has lately appeared in that widely-influential journal, the New York Tribune, calculating the value of the Union. ('Hear, hear.') The doctrine of disunion, which this Society has so often expressed and maintained, amid censure and opprobrium, is finding its way into the minds and hearts of men. The sentiment of freedom is abroad in the whole world. The despotic thrones of Europe are shaking to their very foundations, and the spirit of Liberty is arousing and animating men every where to do their duty. For more than three hundred consecutive nights, the popular and faithful drama of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' has been performed in your city, in obedience to the demand of the public; and still the demand keeps up. Such signs are not to be mistaken; they are an index to the progress of the cause of human freedom.

But I will not detain you with any further remarks. In the language of the resolution I have submitted, I repeat, that a mighty revolution is going steadily on in this country, that will result—and that of no distant day—in the utter overthrow of American Slavery. The day is not far distant, we confidently hope and believe, when the soil of this country will be unpolled by a single stain of Slavery. (Applause.)

MR. FURNESS begged to be allowed to state, as Mr. Purvis was a fellow-citizen of his, that he had the reputation of being a man of wealth; at all events, he was rich enough to have purchased an alliance with a whiter complexion; but he chose, to his great credit, to identify himself with the colored race. (Applause.)

MR. GARRISON—My friend, Mr. Purvis, made allusion to the case of the Irish refugee, John Mitchell. It is difficult to look far enough down to be able to discern one who has sunk so low. But do you want to know how far the South has fallen, or a portion of it? Do you want to see the latest evidence of the fact, that the Slave Power holds, at length, that it is time to clutch, like a drowning man, even at a straw to save itself from sinking? Hitherto, we have heard a great deal about Southern chivalry, Southern dignity, and Southern self-respect. In times past, these traits of character have been strongly exhibited on various occasions, so that when any Northern doughface has undertaken to pay court grossly to Slavery, the slaveholders have invariably spit upon him, and spurned him as one almost too base for them to touch, even with their feet. But now, when John Mitchell comes over here, and gets down, not on all fours, but on his belly, (laughter,) and attempts to curry favor of that demagogical power which governs all, is he spit upon, as, judging from the past, we had reason to suppose he would be by Southern slaveholders? No; in their great extremity, they are glad to have even one so low and worthless as himself

to keep them in countenance; and it is only the other day that the Legislature of Louisiana sent him a letter of compliment for his base servility, offering him an ovation, if he would only go to Louisiana—a thing unprecedented in the history of Southern legislation. A State Legislature gets down as low as John Mitchell! Southern statesmen can no longer be chivalrous, but are willing to welcome apostates even of a baser kind than they formerly spurned and despised.

I have now another announcement to make to the audience, which I regret equally with that which I made with regard to THEODORE PARKER. Our friend, Miss LUCY STONE, who was announced to speak on the present occasion, is compelled, by a series of calamities that have rendered her presence here impossible, to disappoint you to-day. We never advertise at our meetings that persons are expected to speak, or that any will speak, who have not previously stipulated that they will, if possible, be on hand; and so we are ourselves as well disappointed as the audience assembled.

Miss Stone, in a letter addressed to us, says:

'My brother and his wife are gone to see her mother who is very sick, and have left the children for us to care for. We have no help in the family. On the same evening, my dear old mother, stepping in the dark, stumbled and fell, her whole weight coming on her head and face. She was dreadfully stunned and bruised. It seems to me imperative, therefore, that I shall stay here. I wanted, for various reasons, to beat the Anniversary, and regret more than I can express the chapter of misfortunes which compels me to stay at home. You can say to any one who cares to ask, that I am unavoidably absent. I hope you will have such an Anniversary as the hour demands.'

MR. G. then introduced to the audience WEXDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PHILLIPS'S SPEECH.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I should feel great regret to stand here now, in any sense, in the place of the speaker whose absence has just been apologized for, did I not feel, as our friend Mr. Furness has expressed himself, that this is not a meeting for speeches, but to take sides in a great moral controversy, and that our only purpose and expectation is, not to tickle your ears with eloquence, but to tell a plain, unvarnished tale, and to endeavor to arrest the attention of a great nation to the greatest of all possible wrongs.

You will allow, friends, at any rate, that in the letter which has just been read to you, Miss Stone, the well-known advocate of human rights and of woman's rights, at least vindicates herself most emphatically from the charge of neglect of her home to-day. [Laughter and applause.] You will have it to say, also, and the memory will be impressed upon you by your own disappointment, that she feels the weight and responsibility of her domestic relations as tenderly and as fully as those who are not accustomed to occupy this platform; and hereafter, whenever the charge is made against the champions of this cause, you will at least do her justice to recollect that she once disappointed you on such an occasion as this.

MR. PRESIDENT, this is indeed a marked occasion, and I cannot even commence any remarks upon the general aspects of the Anti-Slavery cause, until I have called your attention to the singular fact, and one indicative certainly of much of that hope to which Mr. Purvis has alluded, that we are met here for the first time within my memory in the city of New York, on an anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in a church, in a building consecrated exclusively to religious exercises, and known only as one representing the religious sentiment. You may not view this as much, but it shows how the wind blows. It is a great thing that recent events have done for us when they have stirred so deeply the public sentiment, even here in the city of New York, in this great commercial capital, in a community whose streets roar with the din of trade, and whose heart is eaten out with money, that the Anti-Slavery cause has not gone backward, but has gained ground. If you had served seventeen years, as we are every year bound to do, in the penitentiary of American life, and found the doors of every religious edifice shut against you, you would give more importance to the fact than, perhaps, you are at present ready to do, that the doors of a religious edifice are open to us, and that we meet under the express sanction of Christianity.

It is an 'infidel' Society, ladies and gentlemen, whose anniversary you this day attend; it is a 'reasonable' Society that is met here to-day. You shall go elsewhere, this very week, and in this city, and in many other parts of the country, where anti-slavery sentiments are uttered; you shall go to Congress, and attend the meetings of an efficient debating Anti-Slavery Society in the House of Representatives; but there is a character which attaches to this Society. It is an 'infidel' Society; it is a 'reasonable' Anti-Slavery Society, whose anniversary you countenance by your presence to-day.

I mention this fact at the beginning, because we count these epithets no insult, but cling to them as our most fitting characteristic, and we claim of history that she should never overlook them, but that she should do us the justice to hand them down to posterity as our only claim to the gratitude of those who are to come after us. [Applause.] At a time when the influential and respectable pulpits of New York were not willing or did not dare to pray for the abolition of slavery; at a time when large classes of respectable and influential men with hearts in their bosoms could see so much of authority in human laws, or so much value in political institutions, that they stopped flinching at a half-way line in their hostility to slavery, and dared not attack it when it shelters itself behind the Constitution of the United States, though we had no other offering to lay on the altar of human liberty, we laid this: A willingness to believe that Christianity, no matter how dark the hour, never could sanction slavery—that the New Testament, no matter how many Doctors of Divinity stood before it, had no line on its pages that could make a human slave, or authorize another to be a slaveholder—that human laws, however venerable ancient or important to the material interests of society, never ought to be, never could be binding when they put a fetter on a single human being. That is our creed; and, in the few moments that I am to address you, having shown you the length and breadth of our offence intentionally, I want to endeavor to prove to you, that harsh as these sentences sound, they are not unchristian, however infidel they may be to American Christianity; that they are not disorganizing, however illegal they may at first appear; that conched under them is the only hope and remedy for the system of American slavery; and that we have not disturbed the community unnecessarily by adopting too radical principles, or covered any more ground than we ought to have done. In a word, I wish to prove to you, that the Society which meets here this morning, and which you have graced with your presence, is one that really believes that there is no help for the American slave, except in a total revolution in the religious institutions of the country, and a total destruction of the political arrangements of the land.

This is a Disunion Society; and, for one, I am glad and proud to profess my creed at a moment like this, dark enough for mere politicians, dark enough for any one who has looked for the success of the Anti-Slavery cause in the established institutions of the country, for they have failed. It is not too much to say, to-day, that political Anti-Slavery has failed. It commenced with Washington and Jefferson. It commenced with the fathers of the republic. They were anti-slavery in the sense of their day. They hated the slave trade; they shrank back from the basis of the slave system itself; they had not an utter faith in the safety of doing right. They could not trust in justice as the highest expediency. They dared not launch boldly on that pathless sea, doing justice to each human being, confident that when God established justice, he saw it that it would be safe; but they provided a little city—is it not a little city? they said—a refuge of compromise, a half-way attempt, as much as they dared. Disheartened by a seven years' war, they clipped off a few outer branches of the slave system. They shrank from the sin of the civilized world on the subject of the slave

trade, but looked forward to the abolition of it when the lapse of twenty years; and having thus held off the evil at arms' length, they sat down by their own device, and enjoyed the material property which a present sagacity had secured for the present and the country prospered. In the meanwhile, slavery grew strong—strong enough to warp aside what was right in the Constitution—to smother out of sight what was wrong—and to make even a greater use than had been expected of what was compromised; and gradually she has taken foot after foot, barrier after barrier, defence after defence which the fathers erected, until to-day she stands with her plume of conquest floating over the touched territory of Nebraska; sure if victory is not recorded to-day, it will be to-morrow—if not this evening, in any crusade, has she ever been beaten?

The Tribune, this morning, in an article of great courage, of noble enthusiasm, of generous and ever reckless daring, begins by saying, that if the Nebraska iniquity is consummated, the North will go on to realize as she has begun! [Applause.] O, that is an ominous prophecy. 'She will resist as she begins.' Well, she began with twenty majority, on the 21st of March, against the scheme, and to-day she stands with twenty majority in its favor. She has begun with being bold and bullied. Will she go on so? [A Voice.—'Yes!'] There has been no beginning of effectual resistance yet. When we have defeated at least one pro-slavery resolution, when we have laid one conspiracy against justice in an unexpected grave, then we will plant a green and over it, and write upon the whitest marble the immortal epitaph, 'The North: she has begun to resist aggression.' [Applause.] But do not tell us, of the moment when the proclamation comes from Washington that the Government has bought up enough to secure its triumph, that the North will resist as she has begun. What is this North? It is the controlling element of the country; controlling, not only by virtue of a vast numerical, but by virtue of a vast moral majority. It educates the country; it furnishes school masters, it writes books for the whole States. It is, in fact, the Government of the Union. The South are the slave overseers; the North are the slaveholders of the Union, in the true sense of the word. We have a right to lay upon Southern shoulders the full weight of annexation, or any thing else that the Government has done. The South could not have annexed Texas, if she had not first gained the North. She never could have achieved a single triumph in the whole career of her conquests, if she had not first gained the North. The South rules by the North, and the responsibility for Slavery must be sought north of Mason and Dixon's line. The intellect, the enterprise, the culture, the money of the country are here. The majority is here, every element of political strength is here; therefore, we are responsible for every act of the Government.

I have said that political Anti-Slavery has failed. It has done its best, and I am not here to find fault with it. It has done its best under Washington, Jefferson, Rutledge, Lee, Luther Martin, Alexander Hamilton, and under a greater and better than all, John Jay. [Applause.] It has done its best under the great era of succeeding epochs down to our own day, which is the day of little men. [Laughter.] Mr. Garrison thought we should strain our optics to see down to the depth to which an unhappy Irishman has descended. We of New England are as sharp-sighted as the eagle that has been long at sea, and with eyes blinded with tears, we have fathomed a deeper depth than that to find our own Everett and our Webster. [Applause.] We are accustomed to look down deeper far than the depth to which the unfortunate victim of Irish oppression has sunk. My friend Purvis said he had been led to

his master, [perchance it may have been one that had...

Well, he came home, and perchance you will suppose...

Well, what did we do again with Mr. Everett? We...

Now, what makes this state of things in Massachusetts...

Now, I maintain that the reason why New England...

Now, I maintain that the reason why New England...

Now, I maintain that the reason why New England...

Now, I maintain that the reason why New England...

Now, I maintain that the reason why New England...

Now, I maintain that the reason why New England...

struggle of the artisans of Holland, for a whole century...

I said there were two Massachusetts. There is one that...

I have endeavored to describe to you Edward Everett...

Let me point out to you, for a moment, the position...

Now, the Government, which is the Slave Power, is just...

Now, the Government, which is the Slave Power, is just...

Now, the Government, which is the Slave Power, is just...

Now, the Government, which is the Slave Power, is just...

Now, the Government, which is the Slave Power, is just...

Now, the Government, which is the Slave Power, is just...

ty; while the result has been, unfortunately, that the...

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Preached at Scituate, on Fast Day, April 6, 1854,
BY REV. FISK HARRIS.
Matthew xvi. 3.—Can ye not discern the signs of the times?

of 1850. Do you wonder, then, that I have so little confidence in these recent demonstrations in favor of freedom? Southern men laugh at them. They know what they mean and what they are worth, and have no fears. They know that here at the North, principles are in the market, ready to be struck off to the highest bidder. Money, patronage, trade, and promise of office, will buy Northern men, and the South boasts of it.

struck with holy horror at this new aggressive movement of the Institution they have so vigorously defended. At the South, we find, at least, uniformity and consistency. At the North, neither. We know where to find Southern men. They are true to a principle, bold and earnest in maintaining it. They never dodge the question, nor require certificates to secure the public of their ill health. They have courage of purpose and aim. Hence their power and influence in the councils of the nation.

be struck. Not an unkind word need be uttered. No man's motives need be impugned; no man's proper right invaded. All that is needful is, for each Christian man, and for every Christian church, to stand up in the sacred majesty of such a solemn testimony; to free themselves from all connection with the evil, and utter a calm and deliberate voice to the world, and the work will be done.

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