









was the Republicanism of Massachusetts engaged in last winter? Setting up a bronze statue of Daniel Webster in front of the State-house. Why did they do it? Because they do not want to say hard words (laughter); because they think words harder than actions; because this religious Church of ours has been the life of the American people; because we have not got men, but pieces of men—Presbyterians, Whigs, Democrats, arms, legs, a million of which would not make a man. [Laughter.] Go to Paris; look on that throne where sits a usurper, his robes stiff with the blood of the best men in France; see Napoleon, with his right hand resting on Jesuitism, and his left on the wealth of the Capital. And yet, though that usurper is offering temptations of office and wealth to the great men, the literary celebrities of France, that country has the proud record to make, that no man distinguished in her political or literary annals has ever bowed the knee to the usurper, notwithstanding he offers all these powerful temptations to them, and drives them into dungeons or exile, as the penalty for refusing to swear allegiance. Catholicism, superficial, rotten France has never found an apostate; and yet the South can buy up Northern Protestants America as fast as nature can make them. [Laughter.] You call that Protestantism the Church; I call it a sham. I hope to be a Christian. I know the fathers who begot me—the six generations who have dwelt upon this land, and labored to make this a Christian people. I should indeed be a bastard if I let the infidel French capital believe, that the craven Church that dare not lift up its voice in the face of a man who sells his brother on the auction-block represented my idea of the New Testament. [Applause.] I used to think, if you wanted to have a dirty piece of work done, you should get a minister to do it. John Selden said so two hundred years ago, in the days of the great rebellion; and every religious society whose action I have criticised proves it to-day. But my own profession has outdone them to-day—the Lords and the Bishops in the Tract Society meeting this morning, filing down conscience, dividing hairs, throwing dust in the eyes of honest men. [Laughter.]

It is hard to dismiss an anti-slavery meeting; it is hard to let you go. If I were at liberty to tell you the innumerable stories of the heroism, the sagacity, the sacrifices of the slave—if I could only open to you the records of the underground railroad—you would see how ashamed we are when we stand in the presence of those whom we receive under our roofs. No man of you could stand the eloquent sight of a fresh fugitive, doing deeds that no record of white men equals. We want the ability to put them in the streets, and tell their names. We want your churches to be altars to which they would flee before they come to us. One of your clergymen preached a sermon in support of the Fugitive Slave Law. It was printed in your *Journal of Commerce*. Daniel Webster prayed it. Three weeks afterwards, before the ink was dry, that very man was on the door-step of a clerical friend of his and mine, with a fugitive slave behind him who had got to his door. He could not practise his own doctrine. [Laughter and applause.] He came to his anti-slavery brother-clergyman, and said, "Where do you put these folks?" [Laughter.] I don't know what to do, but she ought to be out of sight in an hour; you have some way—tell me it." [Great laughter.]

Oh, the slave is a sermon with an act. If we could only present such a face, such a scene to you—if we could only make you initiate a religious, a political sentiment that should make New York a shelter and a refuge! Give us a bill that there shall be no slave-labor in the Empire State. [Applause.] Thirty men on trial at Cleveland for having obeyed God and rescued a fellow-being! I thank God that it is possible to have thirty such heroes exist among us! The State of Wisconsin throwing down her gauntlet to the nation, and saying, "There never shall be slave-hunt on my soil," and the Supreme Court endorsing it! [Applause.] Thank God for New England! Base as she is, she begot Wisconsin; and Wisconsin is an honor to the mother that gave her birth. [Applause.] Get out of your graves; let me dig you out of William H. Seward (a hiss); get you up on your own feet that your mothers gave you. Wm. H. Seward is a great man. [Applause.] I derive one of my great sources of encouragement from the fact that he is willing—and they say he is—to be run as the Republican candidate; for everybody knows that he never allows his name to be mixed up with a hopeless cause. [Laughter and applause.] That is, to be sure, no great honor to him—only to his sagacity; but when the doves come to our windows, when the rats run to the ship, not from it, it is a good sign. I take him as a good sign. I myself wish he could be elected; I would rather have him than Buchanan. [Laughter.] But, still, I do not want him, and I will tell you why. While there is slavery in the Carolinas, there will never be anything but a puppy-dog of the slaveholders in the Presidential chair; and Seward is too good wood to make a President in such circumstances. What I want him to say is—as an appendix to his Rochester speech—and in saying it, I give you my type of political duty—I want him to come home to Albany and say, "Gentlemen of the North, the battle is terrible against us. We cannot even go into the fight, inside this Union, without sacrificing our honor." I want him to wind his bugle-horn, and call home from Washington to the Empire State every lover of liberty, and to say, "Here, without sacrificing the honor of gentlemen, or the honesty of men, we will found a Republican Union, out of honest States, and make the South come and beg for admission." [Applause.] Men say, "Why not sit and vote in the United States Senate?" I will tell you why. Because the voter steals that vote. You would not have one first give money to the poor at the Five Points, having first cut Wm. B. Astor's throat, and stolen his funds! That is not charity, is it? How does Seward get that vote in the Senate Chamber of the United States? He gets it by being the agent of men who believe that the Constitution of the United States orders the return of fugitive slaves, and who are willing that it should be done! He goes there to perform the duty of a State which acknowledges that she is bound to send back the traitor man who sets foot on her soil—that is the black fugitive. If you want a man to take Jackson's gold and put it in a box six feet square, coming on the railroad from Maryland to Philadelphia for the sake of liberty, I will show him to you in the man who cannot read his letters; who knows nothing but the instinct God gave him; who clung like a barnacle, to the outside of the wheel-house of a steamer from Georgia to Virginia, and thence to Philadelphia, and would have reached there and been a freeman, but for an accused Yankee church-member, who found him and carried him back. [Applause.] The Church of America has not done, in the sight of God, good enough, since the days of the revolution, to make the wickedness of that one member kick the beam. If I could say anything better than that, I would. [Loud applause.]

[Mr. Phillips was preceded by Mr. THOMPSON TAYLOR, connected with the *Independent*, who made an earnest speech, in which he warmly commended Henry Ward Beecher and Dr. Cheever. Dr. C. was present in the audience.]

The public exercises being concluded, the members of the Society proceeded to elect the following officers for the ensuing year:

President—SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

Vice Presidents—Erasmus D. Hudson, Lauren Weston, Joseph Carpenter.

Corresponding Secretary—Oliver Johnson.

Recording Secretary—Henrietta W. Johnson.

Treasurer—Rowland Johnson.

Additional Members of the Executive Committee—William A. Hall, John F. Cleveland, Abby H. Gibbons, J. Mortimer Hall, Cornelius Bramhall.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE American Anti-Slavery Society.

FIRST DAY—TUESDAY, May 10. (Continued.)

Judge CULVER was followed by EDWARD GILBERT, Esq. of New York city, C. C. BURLING, Wm. LLOYD GARRISON, and C. L. REMOND. [We cannot find any room for their remarks this week.]

The Convention then, at 10 P. M. adjourned to Wednesday morning, at 10 o'clock.

SECOND DAY.

The meeting was called to order, at 10 1/2 o'clock on Wednesday morning, by the President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Leicester, Mass., read the following Address to the citizens of Warrington, England, in response to the one read yesterday to the Convention:

ADDRESS FROM THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, IN TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING ASSEMBLED, To the Citizens of Warrington, England, Who, to the number of three thousand five hundred persons, of all ranks and classes, including the Mayor, the Rector of the parish, and the Member of Parliament for the Borough, have united for the aid of this Society in an appeal to the Citizens of the United States to relinquish Slavery forever.

With inexpressible gratitude—with feelings which cannot even be imagined, except by such as know by experience the horrors of slavery, and the toil and difficulty attendant on its abolition—the American Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges to have received, by the hand of its President, Mr. Garrison, as forwarded by Mr. Gaskill, an address, of which the comprehensive brevity and fidelity to the deepest and highest laws of man's existence make it fit to be engraved on every human heart. It is therefore certain to prove of potent influence with the American people to whom it is addressed; and we embrace this earliest occasion to assure our honored coadjutors in Warrington and its vicinity of the good it has done already, as published in our anti-slavery journals, by cheering and encouraging ourselves, and of the good it is sure to accomplish by its fraternal and deferential commendation to our fellow-citizens of the only course in regard to slavery which a good citizen can pursue. We know by manifold tokens, as well as by their assurance to the contrary, how deep is the impression made upon our people by the public opinion of other lands, especially of the mother country.

Not only to us and to our oppressed clients, and to our beloved native land, is such action as these high-minded Englishmen have taken eminently beneficial. If sufficiently multiplied, such addresses will awaken, inform, concentrate and direct the anti-slavery spirit of their own country, so as effectually to prevent those dishonorable diplomatic sacrifices of liberty which a timid English Ministry, in doubt of home support, feels compelled to make to the demands of our slaveholding Cabinets and the menaces of our slaveholding Congresses.

Thus this action of the just and generous public heart of Warrington is felt by the American Anti-Slavery Society as the first stroke of a new and prevailing diplomacy, whereby the complications created by the tricky of European cabinets and the bullying of American slaveholders shall be forthwith stopped. But, while rejoicing in this prospect, it becomes us, gentlemen and friends, to thank you with no common sense of grateful obligation for the pecuniary part of your testimonial. Supposing it to be for the most part composed of very small donations, we dare affirm of this combined power of gift and testimony that (if you will allow us the phraseology of our Puritan fathers) you shall not have gone over half the cities of your Israel before this work of abolishing slavery shall have been accomplished.

While, as the treasurers of this noble enterprise, worthy of a world's profoundest interest and most energetic action, we can accept your welcome gift without any feeling of humiliation, we do feel humbled at the thought that, although so much has been accomplished in awakening the people, such donations should be yet needed in our native land. Believe, meanwhile, that you are not aiding a body of persons in the accomplishment of this common good who have ever spared any sacrifice on their own part, pecuniary or other, by which they might hope to promote it; from the moment when foreign moral stimulus shall enable us to awaken in our own land a more general devotedness adequate to the occasion, we shall be the first to decline pecuniary aid from yours; and may that day be close at hand!

We accompany this address with a selection of our recent publications; and when you learn from them where the cause now labors, and the means we are putting in operation to carry it forward, we think you will be gratefully surprised as we are at the felicitous inspiration which prompted the righteous deed at the right time.

Done at New York, by order of the American Anti-Slavery Society, May 11th, 1859.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, President.

CHARLES C. BURLING, Corresponding Sec'y.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Recording Sec'y.

The Address was adopted, and the Convention voted that it be transmitted to the citizens of Warrington.

MR. MAY also read an extract of a letter from a lady who is travelling with Rev. Theodore Parker, giving an account of the state of his health, and also of the results of emancipation in the island of Santa Cruz.

MR. MAY, in behalf of the Finance Committee, then made an earnest appeal for funds, alluding to the urgent need that existed for labor in fields already whitening to the harvest, and expressing the hope that the friends of the cause would give as liberally as their means allowed.

Addresses were delivered by Rev. Samuel Longfellow, of Brooklyn, Dr. W. C. Gould, James Miller McKim, Lucretia Mott, and Rev. Mr. Noyes, of Hope Chapel.

EDMUND QUINCY, in behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate a list of officers for the Society for the ensuing year, reported the following:

President—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Massachusetts.

Vice Presidents—Peter Libbey, Maine; Luther Melendy, James M. Hawkes, Jehiel C. Clafin, New Hampshire; Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Massachusetts; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode Island; James R. Whitcomb, Connecticut; Samuel J. May, Cornelius Bramhall, Amy Post, Pliny Sexton, Lydia Mott, New York; Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Edward M. Davis, Thomas Whitson, Joseph Moore, Pennsylvania; Rowland Johnson, Alfred Gibbs Campbell, New Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Thomas Donaldson, Sarah Otis Ernst, Benjamin Bown, Ohio; William Heins, William Hopkins, Indiana; Joseph Merritt, Thomas Chandler, Cyrus Fuller, Michigan; Carver Tomlinson, Illinois; Caleb Green, Minnesota; Georgiana B. Kirby, California.

Corresponding Secretary—CHARLES C. BURLING, Plainfield, Ct.

Recording Secretary—WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston.

Treasurer—FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Executive Committee—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ANNE WARREN WESTON, SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, SAMUEL MAY, JR., WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, CHARLES K. WHIFFLE.

The report was accepted, and the list of officers unanimously adopted.

MR. JOHN BEESON made a few remarks in behalf of the Indians of this country, and expressed the hope that this Society would send forth its testimony

against the injustice and tyranny to which they are subjected.

The following resolutions in reference to the recent decease of CHARLES F. HOVEY, a member of the Executive Committee of this Society, were then read by the President, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society is profoundly sensible of the loss it has experienced in the recent death of CHARLES F. HOVEY, for many years an active member and officer of this Society; that they feel deeply the withdrawal of an example so full of fidelity to conscience and of faith in the omnipotence of truth, and in the simple expediency of the Right; of a character so marked by the highest independence, the sternest integrity, the wisest sagacity; of a life so informed with love, with charity, with goodness, and with courage.

Resolved, That as Abolitionists especially, we mourn the loss of a companion so brave, so earnest, so wise and so munificent, whose best counsels, whose consistent example, whose ready hand were never withheld from the needs of the Cause, and the benediction of whose countenance gave us hope and comfort in the most trying hours.

Resolved, That we will endeavor to mourn him aright by endeavoring to be, like him, full of faith in the power of ideas, and full of good works to ensure their victory.

Resolved, That the President of this Society be instructed to convey to the widow and family of our deceased brother the assurance of our sympathy in their grief, and in their love and admiration of his character, which must prove their best earthly consolation.

The Convention then adjourned, to meet at 3 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—MISS BARBARA STEWART, of Cazenovia, a colored young lady, who has been engaged in lecturing on slavery for a few months past, was the first speaker. Her remarks were confined principally to a recital of the wrongs and outrages to which the slave is subjected, and concluded with an earnest appeal for renewed and yet more vigorous effort in his behalf.

MR. REMOND then offered the following resolution: Resolved, That we renew our previously declared testimony against the Colonization Society, for the reasons we have so often assigned, and will spare no occasion to pass unimproved, by which we may contribute to put an end to its mischievous spirit and designs, in fostering and perpetuating the hateful and unrighteous prejudice against the proscribed and persecuted colored people of this country.

MR. R. said he should say but a few words on this subject, because he knew that it was one which had been discussed again and again in their meetings; but in a brief speech, he urged the importance of renewing their testimony against the Colonization Society at this time, when the spirit of that Society was manifesting itself in various disguises.

MR. BURLING also spoke strongly in favor of the resolution, and showed in a clear light the absurdity as well as the injustice and cruelty of the position taken by the Colonization Society.

ANDREW T. FOSS, of New Hampshire, then took the platform, and gave an encouraging as well as entertaining account of his recent labors in the West. He said he had 'hung the banner on the outer wall,' heading his bills, 'No Union with Slaveholders,' and had found an advantage in that, inasmuch as the people, to whom the Gospel had never been preached, were curious to hear what he had to say. He did not wish his audience to understand that his preaching was always acceptable; on the contrary, to many it was very unacceptable, and some had talked about tarring and feathering him, but he had not been brought to the tar kettle yet. He believed that the question down to this point—'Shall we have the continuance of the Union and slavery, or the dissolution of the Union and the abolition of slavery?' He believed that the people generally were coming to the conclusion that slavery could never be abolished while the Union remained; and, by the testimony of slaveholders themselves, slavery could not live a single year after the dissolution of the Union. What he meant by a dissolution of the Union was simply for the North to call home her Senators and Representatives, and declare that she would have no more complicity with a government that stood with its entire weight upon crushed humanity. That was all he meant. If anybody wanted to fight about it, let them fight; but he had no idea of fighting.

MR. F. then proceeded to speak of the methods of operation which seemed to him most likely to promote the end for which they labored; and among these he regarded the passage of Personal Liberty bills as one of the most efficient. The moment there was no hope of recovering the fugitive slave, slavery was at an end. Let the North cease to protect the slaveholder, and let the case stand between the slave and his master, and then, if the colored man would not take care of himself, he (Mr. F.) would ask nothing more for him. He knew he would, and so did the slaveholder; and therefore he said that this Union ought to be dissolved. In what manner? Simply by disregarding the compact on which it stands, taking away its foundation stones. And that amounted to just this: ceasing to be the villains and scoundrels, as they always had been from the beginning.

MR. FOSS said, that in the West he had found many Democrats ready to sign the petitions for Personal Liberty bills, and he believed that, if proper agencies were put into that field, a majority of all the voters in northern Illinois, Indiana and Ohio might be induced to sign a petition, this next fall, asking for laws that should prohibit slave-hunting on their soil.

AARON M. POWELL introduced the following resolutions in reference to the efforts which have been made for the greater security of personal liberty on Northern soil, and recommended renewed and increased exertion on the part of all friends of freedom in that direction:

Resolved, That while in direct and avowed labor for such a revolution in public sentiment as shall secure the total abolition of slavery is our chief and fundamental mission, we recognize in the recent efforts in Massachusetts, New York and elsewhere, for the unqualified prohibition of slave-hunting, as most timely and important work, and one which should engage the earnest and untiring co-operation of every Abolitionist, and of all who would have Northern soil truly free and really an asylum for the oppressed.

Resolved, That we especially recommend to the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the several States which it represents, to at once begin the work of circulating petitions, addressed to their respective Legislatures, demanding the entire prohibition of slave-hunting on their soil.

MR. POWELL spoke in support of his resolution, and was followed by Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Simons, of New York.

MR. GARRISON, after a few appropriate remarks, read the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That among the tried and faithful friends of the Anti-Slavery cause who have been removed by death since the last anniversary of this Society, and whose memories deserve to be gratefully and admirably cherished for their works' sake, ELIAS GRAY LORING stands conspicuous, having given the earliest public adhesion to an enterprise at that time without friends, and everywhere bitterly hated and proscribed, and sustained it by a life of the purest integrity, of the deepest conscientiousness, of the most perfect disinterestedness and the highest moral intrepidity.

Resolved, That in the death of Judge WILLIAM JAY, the slave loses a firm, fearless and devoted friend—one of the few Americans who lived equal to the noble Anti-Slavery name he inherited—one whose early and earnest advocacy of emancipation, whose sacrifice of office for his principles, and whose contribu-

tions to Anti-Slavery argument and literature, second to none in value and importance, place him in the front rank of those to whom these States will owe, at some future happy day, their salvation from their foulest sin.

Resolved, That an early, intrepid and devoted advocate of the enslaved in our land has been removed by the death of ANOLD BUTTUM, at a ripe old age—one of the signers of the Declaration of Anti-Slavery Sentiments at Philadelphia in 1833, and one of the twelve who organized the New England (now the Massachusetts) Anti-Slavery Society, and its first public lecturer in the enforcement of the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation, to whose earnest and impressive appeals many can trace their conversion to the Anti-Slavery cause—he never allowing an opportunity to pass without bearing an uncompromising testimony against the sinfulness of slavery.

The question was then put on the adoption of the resolutions reported yesterday from the Business Committee, and they were adopted.

The resolutions submitted on the previous day by Mr. Phillips, having reference to the duty of Abolitionists in regard to politics and the Church, and in case of insurrection at the South, were then adopted.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Powell having reference to the circulation of petitions for the prohibition of slave-hunting, and also the resolution introduced by Mr. Remond, in regard to the Colonization Society, were also adopted.

The President then stated that the only other resolutions before the Society were those introduced by Mr. Pillsbury on Tuesday forenoon—namely:—

Resolved, That while we rejoice in all the indications of an advancing state of public opinion against slavery, we would still be mindful that our greatest danger is not from actual slaveholders, and the open, bold, and blasphemous defenders and extenders of the institution in State or Church, in politics or pulpits, but rather from those who make specious and strong anti-slavery pretensions and professions, like the Republican party, the Boston American Tract Society, the recently formed New England and New York Church Anti-Slavery Society, the New York *Independent*, with its array of clerical editors and contributors, that are still in governmental or ecclesiastical union and fellowship with slavery and slaveholders.

Resolved, That while these organizations are thus, through their pretensions and professions, able to absorb the awakened public sympathy, control the public charity, paralyze the public conscience, and pervert even well-intended action into channels that flow only with compromise, corruption and crime, it becomes our duty faithfully to rebuke them, and to warn the people against them, as the enemies of that only radical and genuine gospel through which, under God, deliverance can come to the enslaved.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., opposed the resolutions. He thought it unjust to class the Church Anti-Slavery Society and Dr. Cheever with the other Societies and persons referred to.

MR. GARRISON. I agree with my friend Mr. May. As a matter of conscience, and from a sense of justice, I cannot vote for the resolutions.

J. A. HOWLAND. I am prepared to vote for the resolutions as they stand. They do not class the Church Anti-Slavery Society with the malignant opposition of the *Independent* to Dr. Cheever, but they class its opposition to slavery with the opposition of the *Independent* to that sin,—both denouncing the sin, both fraternizing with the slaveholder.

MR. MAY. In some respects they are unlike, and I believe the adoption of the resolutions would do a positive injustice. To say that the Church Anti-Slavery Society and Dr. Cheever hold out the hand of fellowship to slaveholders as the other parties are doing,—the bare intimation that they have no more moral opposition to the slaveholder and his measures than is seen in the Boston Tract Society, which is only a mere appendage to the New York Tract Society, and the *Independent*, which has been so cold and hostile to the anti-slavery words of Dr. Cheever,—to intimate by a resolution that there is good distinct and perceptible difference between them, running them together as alike to be condemned, I hold to be extremely unjust.

MR. HOWLAND. I understand that the Church Anti-Slavery Society fully recognizes the Christian character and fraternizes in labor with the Boston American Tract Society. Whence, then, this delicacy with respect to linking the two Societies together? Mr. Cheever is not mentioned in the resolutions.

MR. FOSS. I shall vote for the resolutions, because I believe they express the truth; no more, and I am happy to say, no less. If Dr. Cheever is doing God's work, God will take care of him. He has taken long strides in the right direction, but he is still keeping bad company, and until he gets out of that company, we should let him go.

MR. GARRISON. It seems to me that there is a palpable contradiction in these resolutions. Take the first sentence:—'Resolved, That while we rejoice in all the indications of an advancing state of public sentiment against slavery,' &c. Then look at the conclusion, that those movements—political and religious—which certainly indicate the favorable change alluded to, are more dangerous than all others!

Where are the indications of an advancing state of public opinion against slavery? to be found, except, politically, in the growing opposition to the Democratic party—a party which is the willing tool of the Slave Power to any extent desired? Where, but in the imperfect, inadequate, but nevertheless relatively significant efforts of Dr. Cheever and the Church Anti-Slavery Society, and the growing alienation between the New York and Boston Tract Societies? I thank God for all these favorable 'signs of the times.' [Applause.] For one, I will not 'bruse the broken reed, nor quench the smoking flax.' Let us remember how we were once clouded in vision, 'seeing men as trees walking'—in fact, virtually occupying a pro-slavery position, by upholding the Union and voting under the U. S. Constitution, not perceiving the connection of things, and being united with various religious pro-slavery bodies, hoping for their conversion, while zealously advocating the cause of the oppressed. We have reached our present position by a slow but painful process. Now say that others must pass through the same experience. My friend Foss says that Dr. Cheever has taken long strides forward. So he has; God bless and sustain him to the end! How, then, can I vote for a resolution which classifies him among the most dangerous 'enemies' of the Anti-Slavery movement? God forbid that I should do this! This, however, I am prepared to say:—Dr. Cheever must either continue to advance to our position, or else 'beat a retreat.' If he goes backward, he is lost; but if forward, his salvation is sure. I believe he is conscientiously working out the problem for himself, that we have long since clearly solved in our own minds; and he is learning a new lesson every day in this matter, by the treatment which he is receiving at the hands of his Orthodox clerical brethren generally, who either strongly condemn or timidly stand aloof from him.

The formation of the Church Anti-Slavery Society is an indication of religious progress on this subject; yet it must prove a failure, for a two-fold reason:—It is sectarian in its terms of membership, and it endorses the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Dr. Cheever and his associates are deluded with the notion, that, as a church organization, they will secure the co-operation of evangelical churches generally. They will soon see their error, and that we have not been forsaken on account of our alleged 'infidelity,' but because we have maintained uncompromisingly our principles in behalf of the slave. I am for criticising them as severely as the truth will warrant, but I desire to be strictly just in all cases; and I do not consider it just to brand them as dangerous enemies.

MR. HOWLAND. We recognize fully the cheering signs of the times, the significant signs of the progress of anti-slavery sentiment; and yet, this transition state is not to be accepted as the glorious result at which we aim. Here lies the danger. These men come up and say, 'We are abolitionists, and the slave's consistent and true friends.' While we admit that they are his friends, and, to some extent, consistent with their own views, yet, nevertheless, we do not admit that, in their present transition state, they are fully in the position to which they must come, and to which we seek to bring them—the position in which we aim to stand, and in which we ask them to stand.

MR. MAY. I agree with the idea expressed in the resolutions, that the greatest danger to the progress of our movement now lies in those bodies who have made some advancement. That looks to me philosophical and true. I believe, for instance, that it is in the power of the New York *Independent* and the New York *Tribune* to damage the Anti-Slavery cause to an extent that it is not in the power of the New York *Herald* or *Observer* to do, or of those who sail in their company.

I have been a subscriber to the *Tribune* for many years, (perhaps it is a confession I ought to feel some reproach in making,) and have read it carefully, and I believe it is doing a vast deal to lower the anti-slavery conscience of the people of this nation. I think we should be warned against it, and against all compromising papers. But while I would do that, and while I would vote for a very strong resolution on that point, I think it is both folly and meanness to place on the same level with these papers—whose opposition to slavery springs mainly, not from conscientious abhorrence of the system, but from party considerations—a man like Dr. Cheever; for I insist that he was meant by that resolution, if he was not named. I believe that when the Church Anti-Slavery Society was named there, Dr. Cheever was meant, for he is the soul of that Society, and without him, it would not be. I cannot find it in my heart to do such a thing. And I protest against this making haste to condemn a society, before it has hardly had a chance to show itself before the people. That I regard as unjust, and that I would refrain from.

AARON M. POWELL. I am not aware that Dr. Cheever, excellent as he has been his words, noble and prophetic as has been his testimony, does not stand today in fellowship with slavery, as we understand his position. [Voices—no, no!] I presume we should not differ in regard to the position of the whole Congregational church in that respect. I do not know that Dr. Cheever has taken any action whereby he should be warranted in classing him other than in the Congregational Church. As I understand the position of Dr. Cheever, he has yet to be born fully and entirely as an uncompromising abolitionist. I know, if I know my own heart, that I have only love and good-will and honor for all the anti-slavery enthusiasm and moral power which he has exerted; but, Mr. Chairman, as a cultivator of the soil, I observe the analogy, an analogy between its treatment and the treatment of this cause, which is dear to my heart of hearts. I find that, as the soil becomes more and more fertilized, as the ground is better and better prepared for the production of fruit, then do the weeds spring up, then does the real difficulty of the cultivator commence—that is, in keeping the ground entirely clear. So in this moral field. Under your labors, and those of others, the soil of freedom in this land has become more and more fertilized, so that we who are coming in to cultivate it are obliged of necessity to use the axe and the hoe more and more vigorously, and more and more carefully, in order not to injure the fruit, not to destroy the seed, but still to uproot the weeds, which otherwise must annihilate the crop. I do not wish to be understood, in speaking in favor of these resolutions, as undervaluing a single word of Dr. Cheever's able advocacy of the anti-slavery cause, a single breath of sympathy expressed by Henry Ward Beecher, or a single anti-slavery line published in the New York *Independent* or *Tribune*; but I do mean to be understood as saying, that I believe all those agencies thus named in the resolutions do stand in ecclesiastical fellowship with the slaveholder, or, at any rate, under religious and political responsibilities not yet discharged toward the slave. Therefore, I would express this sentiment,—that while we are and should be strictly and severely just, we are not ungenerous in the language in which the resolutions are couched.

A motion was then made that the resolutions of Mr. Pillsbury be laid upon the table, which was carried by a large vote.

The Society then adjourned, sine die.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

The June number of this vigorous magazine opens with a critical dissertation on 'Shakespeare's Art.' The author endeavors to show the distinction between Nature and Art, and argues that the great Dramatist is indebted more to the latter than to the former for his mastery of language, and consummate skill in the arrangement of his plots. Part of the first scene from Timon of Athens is instanced and analyzed in support of this theory, which is at least worthy of consideration, even if it does not prove acceptable to all.

'Mun-yau' is a pleasantly written and readable account of the adventures of a Chinese youth belonging to the *haut ton* of the Celestial Empire. A satirical vein is perceptible throughout the story, reminding the reader that he need search no further than New York for a prototype, (a diminished one, of course,) of the Pekin exquisite and the aristocratic circle in which he lived.

'A Trip to Cuba' next attracts our attention. It is an amusing but uninviting account of the hospitality, or rather inhospitality of the Cuban inhabitants. We notice fewer objectionable sentences in this chapter than in the last, but the article is characterized by a tone of flippancy little to our taste. We regret that the pages of the *Atlantic* should have been made the vehicle for conveying the pro-slavery and unchristian sentiments with which the writer has seen fit to interlard and alloy her letters. The tone of the following extract shows a contemptuous and bitter spirit:

'As soon as we had dropped anchor, a swarm of dark creatures came on board, with gloomy brows, mulish noses, and suspicious eyes. This application of Spanish flies proves irritating to the good-natured captain, and uncomfortable to all of us. All possible documents are produced for their satisfaction,—bill of lading, bill of health, and so on. Still they persevere in tormenting the whole ship's crew, and regard us, when we pass, with all the hatred of race in their restless eyes. "Is it a crime," we are disposed to ask, "to have a fair *Saxon skin, blue eyes, and red blood!*" Truly one would seem to think so; and the first glance at the historical race makes clear to us the Inquisition, the Conquest of Grenada, and the ancient butcheries of Alva and Pizarro.'

Such an observation comes with ill grace from one who suggests the propriety of consigning to the tortures of a worse than Spanish Inquisition, an unfortunate race whose only crime is the possession of 'a skin not colored like our own.' Again:—

'On board the "Karnak," harmony reigns serene. The custom-house searches are gone, and we are, on the whole, glad we did not murder them.'

Then follows an expression decidedly Fanny Fernish:—

'After so many experiences of good and evil, the cat-guts about our tough old hearts are loosened, and discourse the pleasant music of Friendship.'

This may seem wit to dullards, but it strikes us as coarse and inelegant.

The 'Inedited Memorials of Smollett' throw an additional ray of light on that genial author's history. To lovers of Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle, the article will be truly welcome.

'The Differential and Integral Calculus' traces the rise and progress of mathematical science.

Mr. Underwood's serial story, 'Bulls and Bears,' is brought to a satisfactory conclusion in this number.

'A Charge with Prince Rupert,' the leader of the

Cavaliers in the civil war of the Stuart, is a vivid picture of those stirring times that tried men's souls, in England's struggle for civil and religious freedom.

The next is a capital article on 'The Stereoscope and the Stereograph,' from the pen, we think, of O. W. Holmes. It gives a very interesting and instructive account of the process of making daguerrotypes and photographs, together with a history of that wonderful, and as yet unappreciated instrument, the Stereoscope. The surmises of the author upon the possible future uses to which it may be applied are by no means extravagant, and we heartily accept his concluding prophecy, 'that before another generation shall have passed away, it will be recognized that a new epoch in the history of human progress dates from the time when he who

never but in uncreated light Dwelt from eternity—

took a pencil of fire from the hand of the 'angel of the sun,' and placed it in the hands of a mortal.'

'The Minister's Wooing' increases in interest as it advances. The subtle and unprincipled character of Aaron Burr is admirably described in this number, as also are his polished and irresistible manners. The guileless innocence of Mary Scudder, the stern integrity and unwavering purpose of good Dr. H. in his opposition to the slave-trade, and lastly that plying, gossiping, talkative little busy-body, Miss Prissy, are all depicted with inimitable skill. Our appetite for the story increases marvellously, and, like Oliver Twist, we would fain ask more. Could not Mrs. Stowe allow us a little larger portion monthly?

The 'Professor,' as usual, is attractive, and treats us to an exquisite little poem called 'The Two Streams.' The literary notes of this number are varied with more than usual care. Altogether, the *Atlantic* for June is in no way inferior to its predecessors. Buy it.

MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS. The colored citizens of Boston held a large and enthusiastic meeting in the vestry of the South-street church, on Monday evening, for the purpose of sympathizing with and tendering aid to the persons implicated in the Oberlin rescue.

Wm. Wells Brown presided, and earnest appeals were made in behalf of the objects of the meeting by the Chair, Messrs. Grimes, Martin, Hayden, and others. A series of appropriate resolutions were adopted, and a committee appointed to collect material aid reported about \$50 as the result of their labors among those present. At a late hour the meeting adjourned to Monday evening next, at which time the Finance Committee will make their report.

Baron Humboldt, unquestionably the most learned man in the world, died at his residence in Berlin, Prussia, on the 6th inst.

MEETING OF 'FRIENDS OF PROGRESS.'

The Annual Meeting of the 'Friends of Human Progress' is called to meet at Waterloo, Seneca Co., New York, on Friday, June 3, and continue in session three days.

This body of Reformers have held several annual meetings of decided interest at the same place, and many of our ablest men and women have participated in their deliberations. All movements and subjects relating to human rights and human improvement are freely discussed in a manly and uncompromising spirit. A cordial invitation is extended to all who love Freedom, Truth and Humanity, to be present.



POETRY.

For the Liberator. LESSONS FROM NATURE. Written for a Sunday School Magazine.

There are tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in every thing. —Shakespeare.

What sayest thou, Tree, through thy tongues, the young leaves, And with small birds building beneath thy eaves?

What page ope the brooks to the bright spring sun, As glancing and dancing and sparkling they run,

There is good in Spring's trees, with their light green tongues, In the murmuring stream, book of sweet spring songs;

ALL ARE GOOD. There is good in Spring's trees, with their light green tongues, In the murmuring stream, book of sweet spring songs;

THE TOCIN. Herald of Freedom! buckle on anew The holy armor of the living God;

Charles F. Hovey.

THE WIND AMONG THE POPLARS.

Close thy book, and come, my Bertha, Come into the wood with me, Where the wind among the poplars Wildly roareth, like the sea.

Then he clasped my hand, and kissed it! Ah, it feels that pressure yet! And this heart—his own forever— Never can its love forget.

The Liberator.

LETTER FROM REV. HENRY F. CHEEVER, Secretary of the Church Anti-Slavery Society.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR: In the rejoinder of C. K. W. to my last communication on the 'distinctively Christian character of the Church Anti-Slavery Society,' I see but two things that require notice;

In regard to the first, I deny and disprove the alleged inaccuracy, by showing that the language used—There has not been until now any distinctively Christian or church organization against slavery—could not mean any thing else than that it is the first anti-slavery organization that has existed, both founded on Christian principles, and to be composed exclusively of Christian persons.

As to the second thing to be noticed, viz., the alleged superiority of an anti-slavery organization that admits to its communion all friends of the slave, to an organization intended to include only the Christian friends of the slave, or those embraced within the visible Church—it is merely a matter of opinion.

Now, in answer to these questions, I would say, first, that the fact to be noticed and my own idea of it would have been more accurately expressed, if, instead of the term 'irreligious men,' I had said, men not religious.

(1.) This sentence seems to me to contain a contradiction in terms. The Church, in this country, is a pro-slavery Church, is the great bulwark of slavery. A Society, therefore, composed of Christians only, and acting on Christian principles, cannot possibly be the organ or exponent of the Church.

(2.) If an intelligent slave were asked whether all men should oppose slavery, or only all Christian men—and whether slavery should receive absolute and unconditional opposition, or only such amount of opposition as should be compatible with the credit, prosperity and enlargement of the American Church?

(5.) Danger! indeed! Why does not H. T. C. say there is hope that the Church will be cast into contempt, when she so richly deserves it?

note appended, make the meaning of the writer entirely clear. In answer, then, to the question, who are meant, or what persons, in this passage, I say distinctly, men like Pillsbury, Wright, Foster and Parker, who are understood to denounce the modern Christian Church (6) and to deny the peculiar inspiration and authority of the Christian Scriptures and of Christian ordinances.

With their philanthropy I agree, and I mourn that the very oracles of orthodoxy are so far behind them in the practical duties of Christianity toward the slave, and that they, stigmatized as irreligious or infidel, are so far in advance of the recognized organs and exponents of the Church, in the advocacy of the rights of man, and of practical righteousness and freedom.

With these statements, it does not seem to me necessary or desirable to pursue this controversy any further. Both Societies are prosecuting the same great end, and it will take all the energy and resources of both to accomplish it. I see no reason why the two should not work harmoniously together.

(6.) Then they are misunderstood; which is strange, considering that no man here ever spoken more directly and perspicuously. The wish has certainly been father to the thought in those who, knowing what they have really said, make this representation of it.

(7.) Here, at last, H. T. C. has made an accurate statement of who the persons are who are far behind the American Anti-Slavery Society in 'practical righteousness'—in 'the practical duties of Christianity'—namely, not Christian ministers and churches, but 'the oracles of orthodoxy' (and, of course, their followers).

(8.) Which Church? The American Church or the Christian Church? (9.) The Christian Church has never been out of its true position.

(10.) Why should a pro-slavery Church be honored, and why does H. T. C. wish to honor it? (11.) That will depend, entirely, on whether the Church Anti-Slavery Society is faithful to the sound anti-slavery portion of its 'Declaration of Principles.' For instance, if that Society, as it now seems disposed to do, shall fraternize and cooperate with the Tract Society in Boston, which declares, and plainly proves, that it is not an anti-slavery Society, and which chooses still to remain a branch of the openly pro-slavery National Tract Society in New York—of course, instead of working harmoniously with these three, we must call upon the Worcester Society, as upon the New York and Boston ones, to repeat and reform.

they cannot coalesce. Neither any more can one suppose the other. The friends and advocates of the one may appear upon the public platform of the other without compromise; and there need be nought but a generous and kindly rivalry between them in the service of the slave.

(12.) Here is another of those half-truths, by the constant repetition of which, as if they were whole truths, my honest and well-meaning antagonist seems to impose upon himself. GOD is against oppression! This is the basis on which we both agree, and any misunderstanding whatever. But does it not inevitably follow from this, that ultimate success is sure in the warfare with oppression, to any faithful opposer of it, whether minister or church-member or not?

My DEAR FRIEND:—You ask my opinion in regard to the past action, and the future course of the Oberlin prisoners, now in jail at Cleveland, for violating the fugitive slave enactment.

That measure was passed under the influence of threats and intimidation. Disunion and bloodshed were proclaimed as the alternative of refusal. Before such insolence, Northern members bowed in submission, surrendering their own individuality, the rights of their States, and the honor of their nation.

As to the future, I see no other course for the prisoners than to patiently await events. Their legal rights apply to the Supreme Court of our State for a habeas corpus, whose return shall be pronounced upon any of their number.

THE OBERLIN CASES. Sentence has been passed upon Bushnell and Langston, the two Oberlin men against whom the Judge and District Attorney for the Northern District of Ohio have succeeded in obtaining verdicts.

Michael McNamee was hung at Gallows, for whipping his wife to death when in a fit of intoxication. A great crowd gathered about the gall at the time. The Press and Tribune devote two columns and a half to the details. The following is the account of the horrid scene of the execution:—

THE CLASSIFICATION.—One of the Wellington, Oberlin prisoners writes from jail to the Ashtabula Sentinel thus:— Sheriff Wightman has in his custody some fifty-five prisoners, classified as follows: horse thief, 1; counterfeiting, 1; murder, 1; drunkenness, 1; assault and battery, 1; grand larceny, 7; petit larceny, 8; burglary, 3; and believing in the higher law, 20.

MASSACHUSETTS CITIZENSHIP. Extract of a speech recently delivered in Illinois, by WILLIAM H. HERNDON, Esq., in relation to the Rights of Citizenship:— Finally, Mr. President, we are gathered here in this hall to-night—We Republicans, native and foreign born—for the special purpose of giving vent to our sentiments, and expression to our ideas on the late act of Massachusetts in relation to her naturalized citizens.

It is now well understood in Massachusetts, that the democracy of that State is partially, if not wholly responsible for the passage of the Constitutional provision, odious as it is. I now hold a letter in my hand from Boston, which says, in substance, 'that the Democracy really wanted the law passed; some voting for it, some casting their vote in its favor on the day of the election, and all wanting it to pass, and voting stoutly for it. They could have killed it if they had wished to do so.'

Consumption has been treated with a success unexpected by the patients and their friends; and the results in numerous cases of Scrofula, Liver Complaint, Dyspepsia, Heart Disease, Dropsy, Femoral Glands, Disease of the Stomach, Bowels and Kidneys, Rheumatism, and other chronic affections, give confidence to those conversant with the fact, that cures are effected at this Institution which have baffled medical skill elsewhere.

REPUBLICANS. Republicans, score deep on your banner, morticed in and buttressed on the Philadelphia platform, and let there be no cowardly dodging for timid policy's sake from this, this ever-living vital principle—liberty and equality to all men—equality among all American citizens, and freedom and justice to the race of man around the globe.

EXECUTION OF MICHAEL MCNAMEE. HORRID SCENE AT THE GALLOWES. Michael McNamee was hung at Gallows, for whipping his wife to death when in a fit of intoxication. A great crowd gathered about the gall at the time. The Press and Tribune devote two columns and a half to the details. The following is the account of the horrid scene of the execution:—

THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL. FOR MAY. CONTAINS portraits of Dr. W. A. Alcott, D. D., S. M. D., and Robert Allen; Letters to the Editors; Organization, Life, and Mind; Pardonable Intemperance; Self-Estrangement; Formation of Opinions; Importance of Sleep; Formation of Opinions; Women.

MEDICAL REFORM.

That a great change has within a few years been wrought in the practice of medicine, no one who is professed to deny. It is well known that the study and learning which has been for ages lavished upon the use of mineral poisons, as medicines, has been abandoned.

Dr. Greene, after studying the various systems of medicine, and finding that they had not the study of Nature's laws—spent several years in travel, and received much useful information from those 'classical drosses of Nature'—the 'red man of the forest,' whose habits and system of medical practice he thoroughly investigated, and which has greatly assisted him in the development of a system, hitherto nature for its foundation, and science for its superstructure.

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