

PROCEEDINGS

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OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY
1854

OF THE

American Anti-Slavery Society,

AT ITS

SECOND DECADE,

Held in the City of Philadelphia, Dec. 3d, 4th and 5th, 1853.

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1854.

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PROCEEDINGS.

THE Twentieth Anniversary of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society was celebrated by a general meeting, in the City of Philadelphia, of the members and friends of the Society — Philadelphia having been the birth-place of the Society, on the 4th of December, 1833.

On Saturday, December 3, 1853, the Society assembled in Sansom Hall, and, at 10 o'clock, A. M., was called to order by the President of the Society, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

On motion, Voted, That James Miller McKim, Hannah M. Darlington and Margaret Jones be a Committee to nominate suitable officers of this meeting.

Said Committee reported the following list of officers, which, being read to the Society, was unanimously accepted, and the persons therein named were accordingly chosen :

PRESIDENT.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, OF BOSTON.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

JAMES MOTT, of Pa.	EDMUND QUINCY, of Mass.
THOMAS GARRETT, of Del.	LUCRETIA MOTT, of Pa.
FRANCIS JACKSON, of Mass.	BARTHOLOMEW FUSSELL, of Pa.
PETER LIBBEY, of Me.	JOSEPH BARKER, of Ohio.
JOHN L. CLARK, of R. I.	HANNAH COX, of Pa.
SAMUEL J. MAY, of N. Y.	WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Pa.
ROBERT PURVIS, of Pa.	HENRY GREW, of Pa.

SECRETARIES.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., of Boston.	C. M. BURLEIGH, of Philad.
OLIVER JOHNSON, of N. Y.	SARAH PUGH, of Philadelphia.
G. B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y.	

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

462
449
54
764

BENJAMIN C. BACON, of Pa.	BENJAMIN BOWN, of Ohio.
ABBY KIMBER, of Pa.	ALICE JACKSON, of Pa.

BUSINESS COMMITTEE.

WENDELL PHILLIPS,	JAMES MILLER MCKIM,
MARY GREW,	EDWARD M. DAVIS,
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH,	THOMAS WHITSON,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,	JOSEPH A. DUGDALE,
HENRY C. WRIGHT.	

Opportunity being given, vocal prayer was offered, in a fervent spirit, by HENRY GREW, of Philadelphia.

Mr. GARRISON, on taking the chair, made an eloquent and earnest address to the Society; but as the Reporter of the subsequent proceedings was not then present, only the following imperfect sketch of it can be given:

In holding this twentieth anniversary, (Mr. G. said,) I must first congratulate such of you as participated in the formation of this Society — and, next, all those who, since that memorable event, have rallied under its standard — on the unquestionable progress and many signal triumphs of our cause, and also on the numerous cheering signs of the times.

Our movement is not sectional or geographical, but world-wide in its principles, affecting all the hopes and interests of humanity, and indissolubly connected with the freedom of mankind. It does not relate to the color of the skin, but to the value of a man. It is not the antagonism of the North against the South, but of Liberty against Slavery. Our instrumentalities are the same now as at the beginning — the faithful and uncompromising utterance of the truth, and its application to the consciences and hearts of the people, without respect to persons. The spirit that actuates us is still a loving spirit, “without partiality and without hypocrisy” — as earnestly desiring the welfare of the slaveholder, as of the slave — the spirit of human brotherhood, of peace and good will to all men, and we believe most acceptable to God.

Since this Society was organized, probably not less than twelve hundred thousand new victims have been added to the slave population of our land; the whole number of which, at the present time — THREE MILLIONS AND A HALF — surpasses that of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania! One hundred thousand babes are annually born at the South, and doomed to live and die as chattels personal and marketable articles. This is the

prostration and annihilation of every thing which honors, exalts, and really constitutes humanity; for the slave is an extinct man. It is an annual loss and calamity to the country, equal to the blotting out of a population as large as that of Philadelphia, once in every four years! What mind is able to grapple with a thought like this, or to trace consequences so awful? What would be said, if it were possible for the Slave Power to visit with impunity every household in this populous city, and take from it every father, mother, child, and bury them in the grave of chattel bondage, in the short period of four years? Humanity shudders at the idea, and we all feel that the enormity of such an act would transcend the power of language adequately to describe it. Yet this is what is going on continually in fifteen States of the American Union; and they who sicken at the deed, and cry out against it, are regarded as fit only to be ranked with fanatics, incendiaries and madmen! If this were done on the coast of Africa, for any reason, the doer thereof would be, by the laws of this land, declared worthy of death. I do seriously believe, that the faithful execution of the Law of Congress against the Slave Trade would scarcely leave any body alive, South or North of Mason and Dixon's line, if it is true that the accessory is as bad as the thief, and that "he who abets oppression shares the crime." Not that I wish to see any body hanged, said Mr. G., but desire that every one may repent of his wickedness, and be saved from all evil.

Twenty years ago, it was common throughout the land to hear much said of the evils of Slavery. Even at the South, many professed to deplore it, and thus an influence was exerted to quiet the conscience of the people, and to reconcile them to inaction respecting this growing wrong. But now, all this is changed! All masks are off. Every house, as it were, and every soul, have been visited and searched. No longer do we hear the hypocritical lament that Slavery is a great evil, from the lips of men who are doing everything in their power to uphold it. The disguise is stripped off. Slavery is now justified in State and Church as a good thing — a right thing — an institution in accordance with justice and love, and with the Bible as the revealed will of God! No God is to be allowed but one who justifies human bondage; no Christ save one who is in unity with man-stealing; no Church but one which fellowships the slaveholder; no Constitution but that which guarantees the perpetuation of Slavery; and no party, nationally considered, which does not submit to the Slave Power. This is, indeed, in many respects, a sad picture. Yet is it ever better to know our opponents, and to see them stripped of all disguise, than to submit to deception, and

be led astray from the path of duty. But if foes have been unmasked and developed, so, on the other hand, have friends been multiplied, and that greatly, on both sides of the Atlantic. And such friends! how true, how stanch, how clear-sighted! Will they ever be discouraged? Never. Will they ever lay down their arms till the victory is won? Never. They will continue to labor in faith, and in patience, and with such love in their hearts as calls forth hope in the breast of the slave, and brings nearer the day of jubilee. God grant that it may be very near!

The first ten years of the Society's existence were marked by the efforts of mobs to destroy the Society, and crush the Anti-Slavery cause. The spirit of violence went forth through almost every city, town and village, breathing out threatenings and slaughter, and determined to silence every Anti-Slavery voice, no matter by what means. But it was in vain. During the last ten years, the tactics have been changed. We hear little or no objection made to our movement now, because of our doctrine of the duty of immediate emancipation, or because of the low and hypocritical cry against us of amalgamation.

Now, the great outcry against us is, that we are *infidels*—a cry chiefly raised by those who are in the closest alliance with slaveholders and slave-traders, and who have left nothing undone to bring the sanctions of the Bible to justify and sustain Slavery. A hireling priesthood and a corrupt press have uttered this cry, and are now uttering it. But in vain—in vain. No weapon formed against our Cause has ever prospered; none ever will. Gerrit Smith has truly said, No men on the earth are more thoroughly Abolitionists than the slaveholders; for were the doom of Slavery hanging over themselves, they would resist it with a vehemence and desperation greater even than any at the North.

Friends, our work is before us. Twelve hundred thousand victims of the Slave Power more than when we began are to be delivered! But our enemies, and the enemies of the slave, are now made manifest—the field is clear—our cause is just—it is God's own cause, and his omnipotent blessing will be upon it, and it will succeed!

“For truth shall conquer at the last—
So round and round we run,
And ever the right comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done.”

Mr. Garrison's speech was received throughout with close attention, and with many marks of approval.

The President read letters from Hon. GERRIT SMITH, Rev. E. H.

CHAPIN, CASSIUS M. CLAY, Esq., of Kentucky, GEORGE W. JULIAN, of Indiana, G. W. LEWIS, of Ohio, and HENRY C. HOWELLS, of Pittsburgh.

It was voted to publish these letters with the proceedings of this meeting. [See Appendix.]

The Declaration of Sentiments, put forth by this Society at its organization, was then read by Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, now of Syracuse, N. Y., one of the original signers. The reading was heard with profound attention and thrilling emotions. [See Appendix.]

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, N. Y., was then introduced to the meeting, and spoke as follows :—

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

MR. PRESIDENT :

I have some reminiscences of the preparation and adoption of this admirable document, which I think cannot fail to be interesting to all who have just heard it read ; especially to those who were with us twenty years ago.

Early in the first day of our Convention in 1833, it was agreed that a Declaration of our Sentiments and Purposes ought to be sent throughout the land. A committee to prepare one was accordingly chosen.

That Committee invited as many members of the Convention as might be moved so to do, to meet with them the ensuing evening at the house of their Chairman, Dr. E. P. Atlee, for the purpose of advising with them upon the character and extent of the proposed Declaration. About thirty persons met, as invited, and spent two hours in a somewhat desultory conversation upon the subject, which was adapted rather to scutter than to concentrate the thoughts of the one who would be called upon to write the Declaration. A sub-Committee of three was therefore appointed,—William Lloyd Garrison, John G. Whittier and Samuel J. May,—to retire and prepare a draft of the proposed document before the next morning.

We hastened to the house of Frederick A. Hinton, (a colored gentleman, since deceased,) and there, after a few minutes' consultation, just before 10 o'clock, we left Mr. Garrison alone, to do what must needs be done by an individual, and no one could do so well as he.

The next morning, so soon as the daylight would permit, we repaired to Mr. Hinton's. The lamps were yet burning, and the last two sentences of this immortal document were penned after we entered Mr. Garrison's chamber. The reading of what he had written so impressed us, that, at first, it seemed exactly what we would have it. On a second perusal, two or three verbal alterations were made—and soon

after 9 o'clock, we went with it to a room adjoining the Hall in the Adelphi building, which was occupied by the Convention. There the whole Committee gathered, in eager expectation of the forthcoming document. The first reading of it drew from all present expressions of almost entire satisfaction; and after a second and third reading of the several sections, only one important alteration was made,—that was the erasure of a long passage respecting the Colonization Society, and substituting for it the brief paragraph which you have just heard. Upon this point the Committee were for awhile divided more than upon all others; not that any of the members had the least confidence in that Janus-faced project, or doubted that it merited the scathing rebuke which Mr. Garrison had penned; but because it was supposed that the Colonization Society was destined soon to die, and it was thought to be not worth while to encumber our Declaration with any extended comments upon its duplicity and cruelty. Little did we foresee the tenacity of life—the seven lives—of which that insidious foe of the colored people has shown itself to be possessed. (Applause and laughter.)

Thus amended, we took the draft of the Declaration into the Convention. It was there first read by Dr. Atlee, chairman of the Committee appointed to prepare it. Never shall I forget—I am sure no one who was there can have forgotten—the impression which the reading of this document made upon that assembly. It was listened to with the profoundest attention; and we sat in silence several moments after the voice of the reader had ceased. Some one, I believe it was the great-hearted Evan Lewis, who has since departed to a better world, arose and said, “We have already adopted this Declaration. The response which has obviously gone forth from all our hearts is an endorsement of it. There is a maxim, current in the Society of Friends, that ‘first impressions are from God.’ Let us not venture to qualify or alter the language of this document, but adopt it as we have heard it read.”

The late excellent Thomas Shipley thought otherwise. He paid a just tribute to the Declaration as it had come from the hands of its author, but urged that as it was a document of great importance, destined to be handed down to our posterity, and to be read of all men, in justice to ourselves, and to the cause of liberty and humanity, every sentence of it should be well-considered.

Accordingly, the Convention entered upon the careful revision of this exposition of sentiments and purposes. We devoted four or five hours, the whole of what remained of the day, to this work; and yet only three or four verbal amendments were made to the document, as it had come from the pen of Mr. Garrison. To him, therefore, belongs the authorship of this Second Declaration of American Liberty.

It was in the midst of an earnest discussion of one of the proposed amendments, that, for the first time in my life, I heard *the voice of a woman* in a public deliberative assembly. A number of females had attended our meetings from the beginning, modestly seating themselves in the rear. We were in an animated debate upon a point, about which there was considerable difference of opinion, when our attention was called to that part of the hall where the women were seated, by the voice of one of them, who had risen to speak. A thrill of surprise that passed through the Convention, at first seemed to disconcert her; but she was reassured by our warm-hearted President, BERIAH GREEN, who bade her go on. She did go on, and spoke in a manner which satisfied every one present, that she was authorized by Him from whom all power of utterance comes, to speak as she had done. She made an impression upon the Convention that settled the point in debate, so that almost by acclamation it was decided in the way she had shown to be right.

We were favored, through the rest of our sessions, with remarks from the same, and from two other women, who I am rejoiced to see are with her here to-day. It is scarcely necessary I should add, that the one was Lucretia Mott, (applause,) and the others were Esther Moore and Lydia White.

From their lips we received counsels that were prized by all who heard them; and what we learnt that day, prepared many men who were there to espouse another great cause of reform, when, a few years afterwards, that cause claimed our espousal.

At the close of the second day, and of our debates upon the sentiments and the language of the Declaration, this immortal document, as I have just now read it to you, was unanimously adopted, and Dr. Abraham L. Cox was requested to engross it upon parchment before the ensuing morning, that then it might be presented, and receive the signatures of the members of the Convention.

On the following morning, the morning of the 6th of December, 1833, "the Declaration of the Sentiments and Purposes of the American Anti-Slavery Society," as it had been engrossed by Abraham L. Cox, was laid upon the table of the Convention. It was first read by the gentleman who had taken the pains to prepare so fair a copy. Some discussion was had upon an alteration he had made in the language of an amendment, that had originated with Lucretia Mott. But it was determined that the alteration did not materially change the sense of the passage, and, therefore, it was unanimously voted that the Declaration is now ready for the signatures of all members of the Convention, who

are disposed to sign it. Before, however, we proceeded to affix our names to this document, it was proposed that it should be read once more. The honor of reading it the last time was conferred upon me; and so soon as I had ceased, Thomas Whitson, whom I rejoice to see here to-day, informed the Convention that he was obliged to leave the city immediately, and requested that he might be permitted without delay to subscribe the document, which he cordially approved. The honor, therefore, of having put his name first to this Declaration, which is to live long after impartial liberty has triumphed over American Slavery, rests with him.

J. M. McKIM acknowledged the general courtesy of the newspaper press of the city, in announcing this meeting, and giving also a brief statement of the position of this Society, free of all expense.

SUSAN COX made some remarks, in testimony of her adherence to the Anti-Slavery cause.

Voted, That the hour of meeting this afternoon be $2\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, and this evening, 7 o'clock; and that the hours of meeting to-morrow be 10, A. M., $2\frac{1}{2}$, P. M., and 7, P. M. Adjourned.

FIRST DAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society was called to order by PETER LIBBEY, of Maine, one of the Vice-Presidents.

On motion of Henry C. Wright, and seconded,

Voted, That a Committee of three be appointed to prepare a history of the Society, and of the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, during the past twenty years, to be presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society in May next.

William Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, and Anne Warren Weston, were successively nominated and chosen said Committee.

JOSEPH BARKER, of Salem, Ohio, then took the stand, and spoke substantially as follows:—

SPEECH OF JOSEPH BARKER.

MR. PRESIDENT:—

I always rise to speak after dinner, on principle. The time after dinner is generally the duller and least valuable portion of the day; so that if, on rising, I say nothing to very good purpose, the meeting sustains as little loss by my occupying the floor as possible.

I wish, however, to express my great satisfaction in the principles of the Declaration that was read this morning, and my high appreciation of the objects which the Society formed on that Declaration seeks to accomplish, and the means which it purposes to employ in order to their accomplishment. With all others who think on the subject, I cannot but regard Liberty as the great necessity of humanity. Without it, man cannot be *man*. It is only by the free use of his physical, intellectual and moral faculties, that his manhood can be developed to any thing like perfection. Liberty, therefore, is the first great requisite to the development of man; and equally so to the improvement and perfection of society at large. The men, therefore, who contend for Liberty, are contending for the greatest good that man can enjoy. The men who war for Slavery, are warring for the most depressing calamity under which mankind can suffer. The men who war with Slavery, and who fight for freedom, are to be ranked among the greatest, and best, and worthiest of mankind. I cannot express, therefore, the reverence which I feel for the men and the women who took in hand this great movement in its infancy, incurred popular odium, and have exposed themselves to continued persecution.

I am not certain that I understand precisely every expression contained in the Declaration read here; but, as I should interpret it, I approve of it. The Declaration declares its reliance for success, not on the power of man, but on the power of God. Man has no power but what is the power of God, and God is not accustomed to work, except through the agency of man. The power of man *is* the power of God, and he that trusts in the power of man for the accomplishment of any object, is trusting, in the truest and best sense, to the power of God. I would, therefore, impress on all the necessity of trusting to that part of the power of God which is in themselves, and trusting in it, not while it lies inactive, but while it is drawn into exercise; of trusting in the use of that intelligence with which God has gifted them; in the declaration of those feelings, emotions and principles, which form a part of their intellectual and moral constitution.

Let me say a few words in relation to the means to be employed in the furtherance of this just work of emancipation. It seems to me that the circulation of tracts and books on this subject has been too much neglected, or their influence too much underrated. I believe that they are capable of being rendered exceedingly serviceable in this cause; and as the Declaration affirms a purpose to circulate tracts and books "unsparingly and extensively," it may not be amiss to remind those present that it is only by the employment of means that works are to be

multiplied. It seems to me that the Anti-Slavery Society of this country has never trusted sufficiently in the multiplication and circulation of tracts. In the agitation of the Corn Law question in Great Britain and Ireland, very great confidence was placed in the multiplication of tracts and pamphlets, and their wide distribution among the people. The Anti-Corn Law League passed a resolution to place the whole series of all its publications in the hands of every elector throughout Great Britain and Ireland. They accordingly set a great number of presses at work, and the steam-engine worked day and night, until the necessary quantity was prepared, and the mails and railroad trains were speedily burdened with immense loads of Anti-Corn Law publications, which soon found their way into the hands of the electors. Some read them, others threw them aside. Some read them, praised them, and began to agitate the subject. Others read them, and opposed them, thus helping forward the agitation; each opponent bringing into the field two in favor of the abolition of the Corn Laws. Such an impression was made on the minds of the people at large, such an excitement was created, that, in connection with some favorable circumstances occurring at the time, the tide set in favor of their abolition, and the aristocratic restrictions were borne down, the people obtained cheap, untaxed bread, and the commerce of the country and the interests of the masses prospered accordingly. In my travels up and down this country, I have seen but comparatively few anti-slavery books, except in the houses of avowed and well-known anti-slavery characters. They ought to be carried into every house, into every cabin, and into every shanty; and they ought to be supplied to emigrants, to put them on their guard against the infinite wiles by which the emissaries of the Slave Power will seek to entrap their comparatively unthinking and unprepared souls. It does appear to me, that if sufficient were done in this department, the sentiment of the North in favor of Freedom might be increased two, three, five, if not ten and twenty fold.

The rulers of the world at the present time are those who talk the most, write the most, and put the greatest number of documents in the hands of the greatest number of people. The printing press is the grand engine which controls society. The pulpit used to be the great power, but it has now only the second place; and if the friends of Freedom have the means of employing that press, why not do so? — why not work the press? There are those who would give for this express purpose — for this plain, easy, explicit anti-slavery object — far more liberally than they could be induced to contribute towards the objects of the Society in general.

I attended an anti-slavery meeting some time ago, in a town in Ohio,

and was very much distressed to hear the speaker say that it was impossible for the North to abolish Slavery. He said that it was possible for the North to restrict Slavery within its present limits; to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law; to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, and perhaps it might be possible to put away the slave trade between the different States of the Union; but it was out of all question to suppose that the North could abolish slavery in the Southern States. The feeling that I had while the man was speaking was, that he did not wish to see Slavery abolished; for if he did, he would never have entertained the idea that it was impossible to abolish it. I felt that the man who would agree that it ought to be abolished, would see a way by which it could be accomplished. That is my feeling at the present time. I could not help thinking then, also, that if all the Anti-Slavery advocates were to speak as that man did, they would soon put out the Anti-Slavery fire, and extinguish entirely all Anti-Slavery zeal; and that if those who really do speak in favor of Freedom would avow their principles freely, would say *all* that they feel, and boldly avow their determination to labor for all that they believe to be their right, and the right of the country at large, it would not only be possible to abolish Slavery, but impossible for any body to prevent its speedy abolition.

If these tracts, to which I have alluded, were extensively circulated, they would do something to improve the tone of the lectures and speeches of those who stand before the public as Anti-Slavery men. They would give them more courage; they would prepare the people to hear them better; and they would, in consequence, give to both speakers and people, a better understanding of the true policy to be pursued, and courage to act on those principles; and there would be a great increase of zeal and enthusiasm in favor of Freedom.

I am in favor of Freedom for others, because I wish for Freedom myself. I go against Slavery being inflicted on any man, because I should be very reluctant to allow it to be inflicted on me. But this is not all. The country in which I live is disgraced by Slavery; and every man who lives in this country, and allows Slavery to continue here, shares the disgrace. A man who speaks his mind in opposition to the system, does not merit any portion of that disgrace. So far as the country is slaveholding, a man who speaks his mind against it ceases to be of the slaveholding community. Sir, if I had any reputation, I would give it to this cause with a great deal of pleasure; but I have no such commodity. I had a good Orthodox reputation at one time, but some one took it away from me. I have had successively six or seven reputations, but they have all gone. The only reputation which I have at

present is that of an Infidel. I do not, of course, acknowledge myself an Infidel, in any bad sense of the term. I believe myself a good and a very large believer; and I believe that I love all that I recognise as truth more highly than ever before. However, as I have no reputation worth any thing to give to this Anti-Slavery movement, I must give what I can.

After all, this matter of reputation is not one of such great importance; for if any man joining in this Anti-Slavery movement have a reputation an hour before he joins it, the hour after, he will have no reputation at all. If, then, on coming into this cause, we have no reputation to begin with, we are on a level with those who, having a reputation to lose yesterday, have the happiness and honor of losing it to-day.

Reputation or no reputation, we can all do something. We are often deceived in judging of how much influence a good Orthodox reputation gives a man. I hold that a man's influence is in proportion to his regard for truth and principle. My firm conviction is, that the Society which consists of truth-loving, freedom-revering men and women—strong and unwavering in their adherence to what they believe to be principle—is stronger than all the associations, and churches, and priesthoods, that have the highest Orthodox reputations upon earth. The strength of an association lies in its regard to truth, in its adherence to principle; and such an association, laboring to accomplish a great object, will be found sufficient to shake and regenerate the world.

For myself, I cannot feel any regard for the various objections which I have heard put forth against the Anti-Slavery men. It is charged against us, that we are agitating society unnecessarily. But the very agitators are those who oppose us. They are the agitators who make or uphold bad laws, or favor bad institutions. Every man who takes sides with institutions that are false, and dangerous, and wicked, is an agitator of society. They must come down, and every man who stands by them only increases the difficulty of sweeping them away. It is only the sweeping these things away that causes the agitation. If no resistance was offered to the attempt to abolish them, these evils would be swept away like so many straws, and there would be no serious agitation; society would be relieved without danger.

Some say that we ought not to move on thus "recklessly"—"turning the world upside down." This is answered very readily, by saying that the world is upside down already, and that agitation has for its object the putting it *right side up*. (Laughter and cheers.)

I have been very much delighted to-day in listening to the remarks of S. J. MAY. It seems manifest that a very great advance has been made

during the twenty years that have passed since the formation of this Society ; and not only a great advance in point of sentiment and feeling among the people at large, but a great advance among the members of this Society in particular. They have learned to appreciate woman more justly ; they have learned to treat her more respectfully—to trust a little in that portion of the power of God which lies in a woman's judgment, in a woman's heart, and in a woman's tongue. It is plain, too, that a very great improvement must have taken place among the editorial fraternity. Twenty years ago, the newspapers of this city, and the country at large, so far as they moved at all, moved in direct and steady opposition to the Anti-Slavery cause. Now, it seems that there is scarcely one left in town which cannot be moved *a little* in the right direction. True, the *Daily News* moves mutteringly and complainingly ; but as Galileo said, "It does move, nevertheless." (Laughter.) There is one comfort to be derived from the article in the *Daily News*—the worst part comes first ; the conclusion is the best. Let us hope that the next time the editor finds it necessary to say any thing of this movement, he will begin where he left off, (applause,) and that in future, he will have nothing to do, but simply to give the needed intelligence, and to bestow the well-deserved, the very well-deserved compliments or encomiums.

I am not, Mr. President, one of those who feel any disposition to abuse this country. On the contrary, I feel disposed to speak in praise of the institutions of this country in general. I can conscientiously say, that I regard this country as ahead of all other countries on the face of the earth. It has a more liberal form of government, more liberal laws, in many respects, more beneficial institutions, than any other country with which I am acquainted. You have no hereditary monarchy nor aristocracy—no laws of entail and primogeniture—no State Church—no State Priesthood. You have your common schools ; you have better laws with regard to taxation, with regard to marriage, with regard to women, with regard to the transmission of property, and a hundred other subjects, than can be found in England ; and England is ahead, in most respects, of any country in Europe. We have no reason, when we find fault with the country for tolerating the institution of Slavery, to do it any injustice in other respects. We can do the country justice, and can speak the praises which the country deserves, and yet not be unfaithful in regard to the foul blot which still stains its character. But there is this to be considered, that all these great advantages of which I have spoken—the advantage of a more liberal, more rational, more popular form of government—the advantage of more just and equitable laws

and more impartial institutions—the advantage of common schools and more plentiful supplies of books and newspapers,—all these advantages leave the country less excuse for tolerating this greatest of all curses—the curse, the stain, the crime of Slavery. Any country with less light, unaccustomed to think about Freedom, the inhabitants of which do not enjoy the advantages of religious, political and civil freedom—any country where papers and presses are not so abundant as here, and where education is not so generally diffused, you might excuse for tolerating a dark and accursed wrong, without doing much for its removal. The light that we have cannot fail, if we will open our eyes, to reveal to us the darkness which exists near to us, spreading itself, to some extent, through the length and breadth of this great country. We have light enough to show us our own inconsistencies. The country has moved, and it will move. It has advanced during the past twenty years, it is advancing, and it will continue to advance. Slavery once cursed other nations that have got rid of it, without injury and without bloodshed; and we have no need to be afraid, either that Slavery will continue here for ever, or that we shall be obliged to overthrow our better institutions in order to get rid of it. The great excitement prevailing among the slaveholders at the South shows that they feel that the ground is sliding from under them; that the institution, in which they have ventured their all, maintains its position by an uncertain tenure; and that they feel that a great and glorious revolution is coming. I hope that revolution will be effected without bloodshed. That Slavery will be abolished, of course, is a matter of certainty, and every man may as well prepare to let it go down quietly as not. Go down it must, and our only choice is between allowing it to be extinguished by the operation of public reprobation against it, or allowing it to be extinguished in blood. But, whether it expire in blood or in quietness and peace, our duty is clear, to labor for its speedy extinction, in the faith that the more boldly and earnestly we work against it, the greater is the probability that it will pass away in peace, and allow us to enjoy the institutions of the country undisturbed, and go on from present to still greater and ever-growing wealth and prosperity. (Applause.)

HENRY GREW, of Philadelphia. I have been greatly refreshed by hearing that very interesting document [the Declaration of Sentiments] read, and I hope it will be the means of stirring up our minds to more active service in the cause of Humanity. I have been delighted, this morning, in the contemplation of the lucid and excellent development of principles in the document read; but there is one principle admitted

in that document, which, in my humble judgment, particularly requires our regard. It is a principle, which, in my view, gives value to the whole, and without which, all others would be worthless. I refer to that part of the document, to which our intelligent friend who has just preceded me also referred, but which he does not appear fully to understand. It is the principle, that after all the use of the means, the employment of the faculties which God has given us, the powers with which he has distinguished Humanity, we are still dependant on his own Divine blessing. It is true, indeed, that all the powers of man are from God, the Author of all things, the ever-blessed source of all being, of all power, of all excellence. But to infer from this, that all man's powers are the powers of God, in the sense mentioned, and, therefore, that the man who trusts in his own power, trusts in God, does not appear to me to be either very logical, or to be in accordance with facts. If I have learned any thing of human nature in the course of seventy years, I have learned that men of superior intellectual powers, instead of trusting in God, have trusted in their own wisdom, and in their own power, and have been practical Atheists in the world. My belief is in the Word which abideth for ever. "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm: blessed is the man who trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is." How far our friend may agree with me, I do not know; but I feel it my duty to bring this subject to your view. I have no hope for Humanity, but from the arm of Jehovah, and his blessing upon our feeble efforts. I remember the old fable of the man who called upon Jupiter to aid him, and was told to put his own shoulder to the wheel; and I know that we cannot look for the Divine blessing in the prosecution of our work, unless we use the means which He has given us, and the powers which He has imparted to us. But remember, that with all the use of these powers, we are still dependant upon the Divine blessing; and, thus depending on Him, I expect the fulfilment of our desires in respect to Humanity; yea, I put my faith upon the one unerring Word—the Word whose prophecies have been fulfilled from age to age, demonstrating it to be the Word of the Lord. I assure myself, from the declaration of that Word, that the King is to reign in righteousness on the earth, and that the rod of the oppressor is to be broken, and that this world, now darkened by man's depravity, is to shine bright in the glory of universal righteousness. "As I live, saith the Lord, the whole earth shall be filled with my glory." He will send His Son, for the restoration of all things. He shall come and sway the sceptre of righteousness and truth and justice and love, and Ameri-

can Slavery, and all other Slavery, shall be banished from our earth, and we shall rejoice in the glory of an eternal day.

Mr. BARKER said he had no disposition to introduce a controversy of this character in the Convention. There was one denomination in the country which held that it was irreverent to interfere with the institutions of the nation, believing that God would do every thing in His own good time. Others held similar views, in a modified form, and in consequence, he had alluded to the subject, believing such views had a tendency to encourage inaction, and a "folding of the hands to sleep," in view of the gigantic wrongs of society, and was thus deeply injurious to the highest interests of Humanity. He lived and labored in the hope and the assurance that every good deed would have a good effect.

The following preamble and series of resolutions were introduced by Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee :—

Whereas, The commemoration of the Second Decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society presents a favorable opportunity to renew its testimonials and to define its measures in regard to the overthrow of Slavery ; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Society, rejecting the use of all carnal weapons to effect its beneficent object, relies alone for success on the constant promulgation of the truth, and its faithful application to the consciences and hearts of the people ; on "the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of Slavery by the spirit of repentance."

That it still maintains, as at the beginning, that every man who retains a human being in bondage as a marketable commodity, is a *man-stealer*.

That any religion which recognises and sustains such a relation is spurious, having no connection with heaven, unfit to be tolerated on earth, and presenting the most flagrant impiety toward God, and the utmost barbarity toward man.

That, until the nature of man is changed, and the laws for the moral government of the Universe are repealed, and a God of justice is blotted out of the Universe, it is not possible for Slavery to be right, under any circumstances ; and, therefore, all those who are held in chattel servitude should be immediately and unconditionally set free.

That whatever government, statute, party, sect, church, creed, or parchment, assumes the rightfulness of the relation of master and slave, deserves to be execrated and rejected with horror, it being "a self-evident truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty."

That the rejection of this statement is a shameless repudiation of the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule.

That nothing is so important as to admit of the postponement of the slave's liberation, even for an hour — neither the preservation of the Union, nor the safety of the Church, nor the peace of society, nor the enfranchisement of any people sub-

jected to civil despotism ; but it is to be demanded at all times, under all circumstances, at whatever cost.

That the highest expediency and the only sound policy is obedience to the right ; hence, the abolition of Slavery being demanded by justice, cannot be injurious to any thing that of right ought to exist.

After the reading of the resolutions, HENRY C. WRIGHT came forward, and spoke as follows :—

SPEECH OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

MR. CHAIRMAN :

I was happy to hear it announced in one of those resolutions, that Slavery is a wrong that nothing in the universe can make right. That is our strong point ; and if we give up that position, we give up our enterprise. We have settled it, from the commencement of this movement, that Slavery is a sin *per se*.

That was the usual way of expressing our sentiments at that time ; but I like the expression of the resolution better, that Slavery is a self-evident wrong, which nothing can make right. No matter what, in the universe of God, is arrayed on the side of Slavery, instead of proving Slavery to be right, it proves itself to be wrong. The Church have taken ground in favor of Slavery. They have arrayed what they call the Bible, what they call Christ, what they call God, on the side of Slavery. We have discussed the question whether God sanctions Slavery, whether the Bible sanctions it. The Abolitionists have gone into that discussion, and have spent much time and wasted much breath on those questions. Now, it is to me, and long has been, a matter of perfect indifference, whether what a man recognises to himself as God sanctions Slavery or not, so far as settling the question whether it be right or wrong is concerned. I believe that every human being has in his own soul the evidence that is to settle this question, and settle it for ever. He knows it is wrong, when applied to his own case. He needs no testimony from God, aside from the instincts of his own heart. They settle the matter unmistakably, and tell him that Slavery is a wrong that cannot be made right. Men have quoted text after text from the Bible to sanction Slavery, and the feeling has been almost universal, that if you can get a text from the Bible in support of Slavery, Slavery must be right, rather than the Bible be wrong. I say, the day has been, when it was the almost universal feeling of the nation — it is now of the Church — that if the Bible be on the side of Slavery, Slavery must be right. This is placing the book above the testimony of God in every man's soul, which condemns the system ; it is sacrificing the human soul to the record of a

book. It matters not to me what the book says on the subject, so far as the question of right and wrong is concerned. Slavery is wrong, though every single line in the book, from beginning to end, should say it was right. (Applause.) It cannot be otherwise than wrong; and the man who arrays that book on the side of Slavery, is the deadly enemy of the book. The book cannot stand in the estimation of any honest man, for a great while, if it sanctions Slavery; and the question whether it does or does not sanction Slavery is one that I will not discuss, though it seems to me that it may be made with propriety an Anti-Slavery question, for the Church has forced it upon us, and there are those in the Church who, when an Abolitionist appears here and there to quote the book on the side of Slavery, denounce him as an enemy of the book; whereas, the whole Church, with nearly all the clergy of the country, quote that book on the side of Slavery; and, at the present day, nine-tenths of the people of the nation believe that it sanctions that relation.

A gentleman in the body of the hall, whose name we did not learn, interrupted Mr. Wright, observing that he knew more than a hundred churches in the country who never had held that the Bible was a pro-slavery book, and who had always refused to admit slaveholders to their communion. He thought it was wrong, therefore, for the speaker to make such sweeping and indiscriminate charges.

MR. WRIGHT — If there be a dozen churches in the country opposed to Slavery, I am heartily glad of it. (Loud applause.) I only wish there were more; and had the churches of the country taken a stand against Slavery at the outset, I do not believe the Abolitionists would ever have said one word, as Abolitionists, against the Church. I say, if the Mohammedan can find Anti-Slavery in his Koran, he has a right to stand here, and quote his Koran against Slavery. I wish he would do this; and thus rebuke what is called the Christian Church in this country. And if a Christian will come here, and array the Bible on the side of Freedom, why, let him do it. But does the gentleman pretend to say that the great mass of the Churches in this country — the Church as a whole — including all denominations, Catholic and Protestant — will he stand up and say, that, as a body, the religionists of this country have not quoted that book on the side of Slavery, and are not at this hour on the side of that foul system? He dare not do it! (Applause.)

Mr. ———. I believe that the majority of the members and ministers of the churches in the country will not say that the Bible upholds Slavery. It is not just to make such charges as you have made without proof. It is not right, *Mr. Wright*.

MR. WRIGHT — I say again, that, at this hour, I believe that all the great representative bodies of the Church of this country, including the Old and New School General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, — including the Northern Methodist Conference and the Southern Methodist Conference, — including the Baptist Triennial Convention, (which, I believe, has become defunct, and merely to get rid of the discussion of the subject of Slavery,) — these three, the great leading denominations of the country, at their last General Meetings, dared not take the stand of Anti-Slavery at all, nor plead the cause of the down-trodden millions of our land. We have the record of their debates, which can be easily brought forward; and we are to judge of these denominations as they speak through their organized bodies, which are the voice of the Church. But I will not stop to argue the question. What I have to say is this, that if every church in the world should declare Slavery to be right, they would only prove themselves wrong, and not Slavery right. If every word in the Bible declared Slavery to be right, the Bible would be wrong, and Slavery would be wrong, too, just the same. And if there were ten thousand messages, purporting to come from the Most High God, and were ten thousand miracles brought as the sign and seal of their divinity — even were the sun and moon commanded to stand still, and they should obey, — no matter what was done to prove the divinity of their commission, and they should say, *SLAVERY IS RIGHT*, it would only prove that they were wrong; for they would stand in opposition to that law, written in the body and soul of man, — never to be eradicated, never to be suspended for an instant — which declares Slavery to be wrong, eternally wrong, and that it never can be made right. It is on that ground we must stand, or we have no fixed platform to stand upon at all.

So with regard to the Constitution. What care I what the Constitution says in regard to the subject of American Slavery, so far as settling the question of right or wrong is concerned? It is nought, utterly; and I hope that Abolitionists will in due time learn never to appeal to the Constitution on the subject of Slavery, and never to appeal to the Bible, either to settle the right or wrong of a thing; for if you have decided that Slavery be wrong, and that nothing can make it right, why do you pause to appeal to the authority whose decisions you have predetermined to set aside? If you have decided Slavery to be wrong at the outset, why appeal to the Constitution on the question, when you have decided that if the Constitution declare against you, you will reject the Constitution? Why appeal to a book to decide this question, when you have determined before-hand that if the book is against you, you will reject the book, and still adhere to your opinion? My position is, never to appeal to a tribu-

nal, in heaven or earth, whose decision I have determined to reject, if its decision is against me; and on this question of Slavery, I have to reject every tribunal in the universe, if its decision is against my belief in this matter. I so understand the question before us, and I am glad the question is placed right there.

I wish, while I am up, to mention another thing. We hear a good deal said of a trial by jury for fugitive slaves. I believe the time is not distant when Abolitionists will scorn to talk about a trial by jury in such cases, when they will cease to talk about the question of allowing it to be discussed at all, whether a man shall be placed before a tribunal on the question whether he is a *man* or a *brute*. Away with your trial by jury, and away with every court before whom a man is arrayed on the question — *Is he a man or a brute?* no matter who sits on the bench. I say, let us at once reject the idea of having a man brought before our courts on such a question as that. Of all the outrages the city of Philadelphia has ever witnessed, since it was a city — of all the wrongs that were ever perpetrated in this city — of all your murders, of all your midnight incendiarism, and of all your robberies, this is the greatest and most heaven-daring wrong — the arraignment of a man before any tribunal on the question, *Is he a man or a brute?* Such an idea is most horrible! Here are your Quakers, your Presbyterians, your Episcopalians — here are your two hundred churches in this city; and yet, from year to year, ever since I have known the city, you have been in the habit of allowing men to be put on trial on such a horrible issue as that! God save us! I say. Not even a jury trial to stand between them and the foulest, the most cruel wrong!

If your Judge Grier were a man, he would hurl his miserable commission in the face of the man who gave it to him, rather than sit in judgment on such a question. If your Marshals, your Commissioners, your Judges, your Mayors, had the feelings of a human being, they would scorn to act on such a question as that. (Applause.) Of all the wrongs ever witnessed on earth, or that ever will be witnessed, such deliberate, cool, systematic diabolism as that, never was perpetrated since God made this world. That question of jury trial has got to come up, and the sooner the better.

Mr. Chairman, before I sit down, I want to say one word, not to call in question any thing my friend Barker has said, but simply to express the deep regret I feel when I hear any man talk of any thing good in this country, in its original national capacity. We have our good institutions; but, to great numbers of our citizens, they are any thing but good. These very means of advancement are the means of destruction to the

colored people ; they are the means of educating the country to proslaveryism. Our schools, our colleges, our presses, our churches, our judiciary, our legislative halls, all the freedom of the country, have thus far been enlisted on the side, not of oppression merely, but of absolute chattel slavery. I maintain that there is not, on this globe, a government so steeped in blood, so unjust, so horribly tyrannical, so destitute of mercy, so utterly malignant, as the government of the United States. I speak of the government, *as a government*, of course, and not of the people. What is the national government but the sustainer and upholder of Slavery? What has it done but watched over the interests of the infernal system? To what, at this present hour, is the government of the United States entirely and absolutely committed, but to extend Slavery — to support, and perpetuate, and spread it, as far as possible?

Sir, is there a government on this globe that would dare to put on its legislative records the Fugitive Slave Law? Not one! Is there a government on the globe that would deliberately, systematically and perseveringly arraign men before its judiciary on the question — Is he a man or a brute? I challenge any man to show that there is one.

Sir, is there a government on the globe that ignores the existence of one-sixth of its population as human beings? Is there one beside ours?

S. J. MAY — Yes. Brazil and Spain.

Mr. WRIGHT — My brother May says yes ; but I beg leave to say, that Slavery in all the Spanish colonies is not so vile and tyrannical a system as the Slavery of the United States. They have laws to protect the slave, in some degree ; we have none.

There is another feature of peculiar atrocity in our Government. The universal law of Humanity is, that the child shall follow the condition of the father. In all the nations of the earth, this is recognised as a general law of our nature. Even among the rudest savages, this law is acknowledged ; but in this country, the nation has decided that the child shall follow the condition of the mother, and know no father. One sixth of all the children born in the nation know no father ; they “ call no man father.” Where in this world can you find any thing equal to that? Where, I ask my friend Barker, and I ask this audience, where can you find on the globe a nation that deliberately makes it a crime, punishable with death, to teach a fellow-being to read even the name of the God that made him? — even to read the Scripture record, which, you say, contains the will of the Almighty concerning him? Where,

on the face of the globe, can you find a nation so utterly sunken in iniquity as to make it a crime punishable with death for a man to attempt to improve his condition on earth, in any shape or form? — to raise himself from the condition of a beast to that of a man? I say, this government arrays all its powers, executive, legislative and judicial, against a man's raising himself from the condition of a beast to that of a man. It says, "You are a brute, and you shall be a brute, and your children shall be brutes, if we can keep you thus."

I do not believe there is another government in the universe which has been guilty of such atrocities as this government of the United States. Can you show me a single act of justice and mercy done toward the American slave by this government? Not one. Its whole course has been against him. The whole object of the Government has been to baptize what the nation saw fit to legalize; so that at this hour, one sixth of the children born in this land, inheriting our nature, "bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh," and having the same destination before them, are yet groping about among beasts and creeping things, feeling after God and immortality.

ESTHER MOORE, of Philadelphia, said that the remarks of Mr. Barker were so fully in accordance with her feelings and experience, that she could not forbear the expression of her gratification in having listened to them. She had often been told that she had better let this question of Slavery alone, and leave it for God to settle, who would do it in his own good time. She regarded this doctrine as pernicious, and calculated seriously to retard the onward progress of this holy enterprise, and was therefore glad to hear it spoken against. Every man living, and especially the man who had the New Testament in his hand, and read it with any desire to understand it, knew that every human being has the right to Liberty. But men were disposed to indolence, and were unwilling to engage in the discussion and agitation of this subject, so important to the welfare of the country; especially when they could console themselves in their inactivity and listlessness by the reflection that God would dispose of the subject at his own pleasure, and that they can sit idly down and leave the work to him.

There was no language, the speaker thought, that could do any injustice to Slavery, for it was the greatest abomination under heaven. It eclipsed every other wrong on the face of the earth. Just to think of a brother, a human being, made a chattel, a chattel personal, his brother claiming a right to buy and sell him, and drive him, like the beasts of the field! Why, it was astonishing, it was fearful, it was par-

alyzing to every Christian heart. She wished that they would all look about them, and ascertain their duty; and having learned this, be up and doing. A great deal was to be done. Heaven had declared that this people should be free; but how was it to be done? Had they not all seen, in former ages of the world, that God worked by human instrumentalities? So He would continue to work, and it was preposterous to talk of sitting down and waiting until He shall rise, and declare that the bonds of the captive shall be broken in some other way.

SPEECH OF WM. L. GARRISON.

Among the many absurd charges brought against the Abolitionists is this—that they are so given to the use of extravagant language, so sweeping in their charges, and so unsparing in their denunciations, that they alienate all sober and judicious persons, who desire to have just the right thing said, at the right time, in the right way, and in the right spirit. Now, I have very little doubt in my mind, that there are some in this audience, who, having listened to the remarks of our friend HENRY C. WRIGHT, imagine that what he has been saying fully justifies this popular objection to our course. How harsh his speech! How extravagant his statements! And this it is which is retarding the Anti-Slavery cause, and preventing the deliverance of the slave, no body can tell how long! Well, if there be any extravagance in his remarks, in the minds of any who are present, I suppose it was deemed to consist partly in this—that he insisted, that no matter what any book, or any man or body of men, might teach in vindication of Slavery, still, Slavery is a wrong, an outrage, and a crime, and ought to be driven from the earth. This was his presentation of the question:—You may say that the Bible sanctions Slavery—no matter; you may say that the Church sanctions Slavery—no matter; you may say that the Constitution and Government of the country sanction Slavery—no matter! Slavery is a self-evident wrong, and therefore ought to be abolished. Now, is this extravagant? I appeal to the American people—because, while men may object to be measured by my standard, and say that they cannot recognise it, they have no right to complain if I measure them by their own—and I ask, how is it possible for us to be extravagant in our denunciations of Slavery? Let them answer that question. Let them settle it with the fathers of the Revolution; the men who took up arms to oppose a threepenny tax on tea, and resisted unto blood even the “menace of a chain”; the men whose deeds we commemorate on every Fourth of July, and whom we teach our children to remember with veneration and gratitude.

There is our boasted Declaration of Independence—what do you say of it? What is it? Is it true or is it not? Are you prepared to throw it into the fire as a falsehood? One thing or the other must be done; either accept the Declaration, and vindicate the rights of all men, or else burn that great instrument as false and dangerous, and give its ashes to the four winds of heaven. What is its language? “We hold these truths to be SELF-EVIDENT:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain INALIENABLE RIGHTS, among which are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness”;—and if *self-evident*, no matter what any book, tribunal, or power on earth may say to the contrary. So that our friend Mr. Wright has been simply reiterating the Declaration of Independence, in another form. But he has not transcended it. There is no transcending it. It is radical, to the overthrow of whatever upholds or countenances Slavery, or makes any compromise with oppression in any form. Hence, nothing alarming has been uttered this afternoon—nothing extravagant.

Let us take another view of this matter. Our friend spoke of this Government as being preëminently cruel, oppressive and impious. Of course, he did not mean that it is so in its treatment of the mass of the people; for, in speaking thus, he included them in the governing power—for they make and are responsible for the government;—but as against three millions and a half of the inhabitants of this country, certainly there is no such government in the world, on the score of immorality, barbarity and impiety. In the first place, we sin against greater light than any other people. We begin by affirming it to be a self-evident truth, that “all men are created equal,” and then proceed to turn every sixth person in the land into a mere piece of property. In the second place, no man will deny, who intelligently understands the facts of our history, that the whole power of this Government, from its inception to the present day, has been wielded for the extension and perpetuity of the slave system. I repeat, therefore, nothing extravagant fell from the lips of our friend Wright.

There is oppression in the world, grievous to be borne—which Humanity cannot much longer endure—which is destined to be overthrown. It is, for example, the despotism of Austria as against Hungary. Yet even that despotism whitens into virtue, and blossoms into liberty itself, in comparison with the oppression of our country, as exercised towards three and a half millions of the people. Think of it! It is only necessary for God, by his own almighty power, this hour bodily to take up those fettered millions, and transport them to Austria, and the moment their feet touch its soil, in spite of the civil despotism which there pre-

vails, that very government will instantly recognise every one of them as a human being, and give him his rights as an Austrian subject, no longer to be a marketable commodity. And this is Austria — as against America! Yes, it only needs that every slave in our land should put his foot on the deck of an Austrian vessel, or on a rood of Austrian soil, and that moment he becomes transformed, as by a miracle! He ceases to be a thing, and is hailed as a human being, whom God intended for personal freedom. In Austria, they do not buy and sell human flesh. In Austria, a man is a man, to the extent of his identity, and with regard to many of his rights. Every man may acquire property, and find as great security for it as in the United States. Every man is allowed to cultivate his own faculties — under adverse circumstances, it is true, but as best he may — only he must not meddle with the Emperor and his sway; and then he shall find protection under it. The right of the subject to his fireside, to his wife, and to his children, is secured. The Emperor dare not attempt to desolate the hearthstone of the humblest peasant. He holds himself amenable to law, to the extent of recognising the family relations, and the right of man to the possession of himself, and to whatever he may earn. The contrast, therefore, is immensely against us, as a people, so far as our slave population is concerned. I merely allude to this, to show to any who may feel disposed to infer, from any thing that has been uttered here, that the charge of extravagance against us is well-founded, that such a conclusion is not justified by the facts in the case.

“On such a theme, ’t were impious to be calm,
Passion is reason, transport temper here!”

Rev. JOHN J. KELLEY, of New Bedford, (colored,) spoke briefly, but with great earnestness, in favor of the plainest and most uncompromising language with regard to Slavery and all its abettors.

HENRY GREW. I cannot agree with my friend Wright in the declaration, that no power in the universe can make Slavery right, under any circumstances. It is a matter of fact, that although the Bible does not allow such a species of Slavery as American Slavery, yet it *does* allow a system of bondage which implies that one man may be, in some sense, the property of another. That bondage was allowed to the children of Israel, but there were provisions connected with it, which would root up American Slavery to the very uttermost. I claim that God has a right to do that which man has no right to do; that he had a right to allow the children of Israel to buy bondmen and women, and make them their

servants, in the sense indicated, as much as he had a right to command the children of Israel to slay the Canaanites for their sins, making them the executioners of his righteous vengeance.

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

MR. PRESIDENT :

It has been suggested to me, that probably I have some other reminiscences of the Convention we are assembled to commemorate, and I have been requested to give them to this meeting. I have a number ; some of them, perhaps, rather amusing, others of a more serious character.

Most of us who were of the Convention of 1833 arrived in this city on the morning of the 3d of December. On our way from New York to Philadelphia,— Mr. Garrison being of the party,— considerable excitement was created on board, when it was ascertained that Abolitionists were there. After a while, we found Mr. Garrison in close conversation with a gentleman, who, we learned, was a Southerner. The conversation was very earnest, and somewhat protracted. Mr. Garrison, of course, exhibited our views and purposes to the gentleman with his wonted clearness, and with his wonted kindness of manner. The gentleman attempted to expose the foolishness, as he thought, of the Anti-Slavery undertaking, and the fallacy of the arguments by which Mr. Garrison maintained the course he took. As you may suppose, however, he was driven from his various positions with great ease. Towards the close, he said, “ Well, sir, one thing I will say, that I have been exceedingly gratified with the manner in which you have conducted the conversation. I had thought very badly of the Abolitionists ; and,” said he, “ I suppose if you were like that Garrison, of whom I have heard so much, I should have witnessed some of the evil spirit which is attributed to them.” Of course, I cannot remember the precise language, but he was admiring the language of the man with whom he had been conversing, while he was criticising the tone and temper of the leader of this great reform. We, of course, laughed very heartily at this mistake, and when we assured him that he had been conversing with Mr. Garrison himself, he supposed we were trifling with him ; that it could not be the man of whom he had heard such evil reports.

On the evening of our arrival in Philadelphia, some twenty or thirty of us met at the house of Joseph Sharpless—(who kept what was then called, I believe, “ the incendiary boarding-house ”)—for the purpose of making some preliminary arrangements for the meeting. Our arrival in the city had caused great excitement ; the newspapers were out upon

us in the severest terms of denunciation; and there was not a little apprehension, among the friends of the cause in the city, that we should be seriously molested. Not wishing, of course, to meet with any useless trouble, we cast about, in our advices with one another, as to what had better be done, in view of this state of things. Most of us being strangers in Philadelphia, it was suggested that if some person, well known in the city, would consent to preside over our Convention, it would be something like a guarantee to the citizens, that we were not the reckless band of incendiaries that the newspapers represented us to be. [Of course, we shall be but little gratified at telling this part of the story; but we have so much to exult over, that it may be well to humble ourselves in the confession of our folly.] A Committee of five or six were chosen to wait upon a certain gentleman in this city, a prominent member of the Society of Friends, since deceased, who had often avowed himself interested in the Anti-Slavery cause. We were directed to say to him, that we should be very happy if he would become a member of the Convention, and, as we were not known in the city, preside over its deliberations. We waited on him, and were received in the most courteous manner; but so soon as we made known the purpose of our visit, though there was nothing like repulsion in his reply—(he was a gentleman of the first respectability, moving in what are called the highest circles of society, counting height as this world counts height)—it was evident that he was not the man we had taken him to be. He excused himself in one way and another, very courteously, indeed, but still, as we thought, with very great determination. However, he dismissed us with saying, that he would take the subject to his pillow, and if he found it to be his duty, he would, of course, appear at the meeting, and accede to our request. When we came out upon the steps of his door, BERIAH GREEN turned somewhat abruptly, and said to us—“Don't you feel small? I do. This hunting about for a President! Why, if there isn't timber enough in our Convention to make a President of, let us go without one!” The next morning, we came together in a very different spirit, feeling somewhat ashamed of our hesitation or timidity, if you please to call it so, on the night previous, and we elected BERIAH GREEN as our President; and he proved to be a man in whom there was “timber” enough to make half a dozen Presidents, if the Convention had needed so many. All who were there will remember how nobly he met and sustained every measure that was proposed there, and none who were present can forget the solemn, sublime and thrilling speech with which he closed that Convention. He remarked how happy we had been and how united, notwithstanding

the threats of disturbance ; but he forewarned us that we were going forth into the world to give battle to an enemy that was a thousand-fold strong, and that would not suffer himself to be assailed without attempting, at least, the extermination of his assailants. The admonition was wise and timely ; and it is among my reminiscences of that year, that the very man who uttered that prediction, was the first to be put in jeopardy of his life. In the city of Utica, an Anti-Slavery meeting was held, which he presided over, and at which he spoke, and thus became the especial object of hatred to the infuriated mob, and escaped as best he could, with others of the Convention, from Utica to Peterboro', where they were generously entertained by that noble man, GERRIT SMITH, who, with all his Abolitionism, is to take his seat, next Monday, in the Congress of these United States. (Loud applause.)

I mentioned, this morning, that several women addressed the meeting in the course of the proceedings of the Convention, and endeavored to pay — (if I did not, it was because my language did no justice to my thought and feelings) — a tribute to the value of their contributions. It was cordially acknowledged at the time. Every one felt that we had been strengthened, that we had been quickened by their presence, and by the clearness of their vision of moral truth and right, and by the calmness and steadiness of voice and of manner with which they had advocated some of the highest principles and measures that were proposed. But it is rather amusing, and it will show how far we were then behind this age, that when we came to sign the Declaration, no woman was asked to append her name to the document. I do not know that a woman there thought of proposing to do it. If I remember rightly, their names were not even given in the account that was published of our proceedings ; but this I am sure of, that you will look in vain for their names upon the Declaration of those sentiments and purposes, which they so ably helped us to perfect. Were we to come together to-day for such a purpose, who doubts that we should as earnestly insist upon their names appearing on the document that should be prepared, as we were then grateful for the assistance they gave us in preparing it ? But, undoubtedly, the words that we heard on that occasion from them, and the assistance we felt we had received, prepared us to embrace the cause of the rights of woman, when that cause came to be uplifted to our notice and just regards.

Two or three years after, I think, it was reputed that two excellent women from South Carolina were in the city of New York, and several gentlemen, among whom were Lewis Tappan and Amos A. Phelps, were most anxious that these ladies (I allude, of course, to Angelina and Sarah

Grimke) should favor the women of New York with some account of what they themselves had known of Slavery. They did so; and one and another of the curious brethren, having a little of the spirit of mother Eve in them (laughter), put a listening ear into those meetings. At last, it was whispered about in the city, that there were no meetings like those, and ere long, in spite of the sense of impropriety on both sides, the meetings were indeed motley ones, if not about equally made up of men and women. Then it was that first arose the question, whether women should be allowed to take part in our public meetings. Often before that, in meetings of Anti-Slavery Societies, we had been assisted by those excellent, gifted women, Lydia Maria Child, Maria W. Chapman, Eliza Lee Follen, in the preparation of resolutions, and in the suggestion of most pertinent thoughts, that one or another of the brethren uttered. But after these meetings of the Misses Grimke it was that the great question arose, whether women should speak in our meetings. With the history of that controversy, you are too familiar to require that I should detail it here; suffice it to say, that it was the pretext, if not one of the causes, of the division which broke out in our ranks, and separated a portion of those from us whom we hoped would labor with us to the last.

I will not detain you longer with the recollections connected with that most interesting event of my life. I spoke only in answer to the suggestion of others, and will not further occupy the time.

The Society then adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

FIRST DAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Society met as adjourned, the large hall being filled with a highly intelligent audience.

At the opening of the session, the President read the following communication from the Quarterly Meeting of Progressive Friends at Kennett Square: —

TO THE SECOND DECADE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY:

DEAR FRIENDS, — At Kennett Quarterly Meeting of the Religious Society of Progressive Friends, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, held the 29th of the 10th month, 1858.

This meeting, uniting and cooperating with the Anti-Slavery and other reformatory movements of the day, unitedly concur in appointing the following delegation to represent us in the approaching Decade Meeting, to be held in Philadelphia on

the third, fourth and fifth of the twelfth month next, viz.: Dr. Bartholomew Fussell, Mabel Pyle, John Cox, Benjamin Pyle, Esther Hayes, Castner Hanway, Edwin Chambers, Ruthannay Way, Hannah Cox, Sallie Chandler, Isaac Mendenhall.

Extracted from the minutes.

WILLIAM BARNARD, } Clerks.
SARAH PRESTON, }

MR. GARRISON, in behalf of the Convention, expressed the high gratification which was felt at this evidence of sympathy and cordial cooperation, and welcomed the excellent and worthy delegates to a participation in the deliberations of the Convention.

The Resolutions presented at the morning session were again read, and the President (MR. GARRISON) called on THOMAS WHITSON, of Christiana, Pa., to address the audience.

MR. WHITSON said he felt under considerable embarrassment on rising to speak to such an assembly, in company with those individuals whom he admired more than any other in the world—the uncompromising and faithful Anti-Slavery men. He once read of a barber who undertook to shave a man with an exceedingly dull razor, and after he had been at work a little while, the man exclaimed, “O, Sir, have you no razor sharper than that?” “I know it is not very sharp,” replied the barber, “but hold still, and if the handle don’t break, the beard is bound to come off.” “So,” said Mr. Whitson, “I will do as well as I can—if the handle don’t break.” (Laughter.)

The speaker said they had had an interesting discussion that afternoon, and he had always liked the Anti-Slavery platform, because it did not shut out a man on account of his political or religious opinions. No body was accountable for those opinions but himself. He agreed with his friend Barker, in the sentiments he had expressed there, and believed that he had the true Orthodox religion, and that all who differed from him, in the fundamentals, were Infidels. If he understood him aright, he venerated nothing but that which is almighty, unchangeable, and which always produces exactly the same results. When they went to look out the law of mathematics, they did not make Euclid’s book authority on that matter; they went into the investigation of the great principle of mathematics itself; and then, when they had ascertained that, and saw that Euclid had the same idea, they endorsed Euclid, just so far, as good authority on mathematics; and if they went on, and found an error in Euclid, they would then reject him, and say, he is not almighty; it is *the principle* only that is almighty. So it was with all the sciences—mechanics, astronomy, chemistry; all authority on the powers of these sciences was valuable to us only so far as it agreed with our knowledge of

their fixed laws. Hence, they worshipped no book, honored no master, but worshipped the great principle itself—those eternal and fixed laws that sustain the universe, changing not, neither having the shadow of change in them. It was impossible for the mathematician not to venerate the law of mathematics, or for the chemist not to venerate the law of chemistry.

So it was in the law of morals. When they went into the study of what right and wrong are, they went into the calculation on the very same principle on which they entered into the consideration of the sciences—that there is an eternal, ever-existing law, that changes not, and produces always exactly the same results; and their veneration was steadfast towards such a law. They admired the law of justice, because of its fixedness; it always produced the same result.

Their friend Barker had said that all movements, in Church or State, that were not in accordance with the truth, were powerless, because there was nothing powerful but truth; and that there was nothing in the universe but what must go down, that is not in accordance with scientific law, intellectual or moral. The resolution spoke of something that ought not be, because in opposition to the law. They could talk about justice, and they could demonstrate what it is. They could prove it, by reversing the process, just as, in mathematics, they proved a proposition by reversing the process. If he undertook to try what justice was in his actions towards one of them, he reversed the process, and asked himself whether he would consider it just if the individual should act so toward him; and if he found he would not so consider it, he had as good a right to reject it, as not in accordance with justice, as he had to reject any problem in mathematics that would not come right when it was reversed. He tried the law of mercy in the same way. What would be merciful for them to do towards him, that was merciful for him to do towards them.

How did he do this? He did it by the power of which his friend Barker had spoken; by the power incorporated in his existence as a man, as a rational and moral being. By the cultivation of his intellectual and moral faculties, those faculties were expanded, and he became able to make further investigations; and as he became more and more acquainted with this deep law, this universal, unchangeable law, he venerated it the more highly, because he saw that it was all beautiful, and that it worked the same eternal right and equality to every man.

He knew that there were those who believed that there was a power behind this great principle, which brought it into existence, and which was the almighty power; but as he could not go further than what he

knew, he preferred worshipping the God he knew, and would leave to others the settlement of what is behind these great principles. He knew only the principles. If there was some incorporated being or power behind them, that was essential to their existence, well and good — they might believe that; but if he did not say but that they were the sustaining power themselves, they would excuse him. They were not accountable for his shortness of sight.

The speaker said he would advise all men to try every holy writ and every holy man by this standard of absolute and unchangeable principle, and then, if they were found to correspond and harmonize with it, they could venerate knowingly — they could worship the known, and not the unknown God. Principle, not man, was to control the world. Give to one man the truth, and the whole world the error, and the single man was mightier than all the rest; and this was the reason why he believed in moral suasion, in moral force. If he went into any discussion, and did not base himself on this principle, the power of his opponent was equal to his own. If he went to the ballot-box to decide a question of right or wrong, any man's vote was equal to his. But if they were to decide what was philosophical, the philosopher's power was more than that of ten thousand on the opposite side; he put them all to flight.

He (the speaker) did not admire any *man*. He liked President Pierce as much as he liked William Lloyd Garrison, but he did *not* like what President Pierce did. He hated and despised it; hated it, as he hated the adversary of all good. He loved what William Lloyd Garrison did; and loved that which was right, wherever he saw it. So, they would see it was not men he venerated. He paid no worship nor homage to the creature, but to the great principle. He did not believe that President Pierce would succeed. He had the people on his side, but the Abolitionists had right on their side. He might be naturally as intellectual as they were, but it was very hard for the most ingenious intellect to prove what is false, or make what is wrong right. If President Pierce could do what he had undertaken, then he could overturn all that was omnipotent.

Now, as he was somewhat of a theologian, he must touch a little on that subject. Some theologians had set up a being and book, somewhere, and they subjected the principle to the being and book; and hence the principle suffered.

J. MILLER McKIM, of Philadelphia, rose to a point of order. He thought the remarks of the speaker were not relevant to any of the resolutions before the Convention. The question of theology opened a wide field, and he did not see where it would end.

The President (Mr. GARRISON) thought that the speaker was in order, and was simply illustrating the doctrine, that it is demonstrative and self-evident that man was made by God to be free, and that therefore they might say that nothing could demand his enslavement.

Mrs. LUCRETIA MOTT, of Philadelphia, suggested that the remarks of friend WHITSON were as relevant and equally in order with those of friend GREW.

Mr. WHITSON said he was an Anti-Slavery man, because he believed Slavery to be incompatible with immutable principles and fixed laws. If he had no knowledge of these fixed laws, he should not be an Anti-Slavery man. If he had no conviction that such laws were in existence, he could have no certainty that Slavery was wrong. He determined it was wrong from the very principles he had laid down. If he were to be asked, What is injustice? he could point to American Slavery. If a man should tell him it was not injustice to enslave another, he would ask him, Would you be willing to be a slave? Would you be willing to subject yourself to all that Slavery subjects a being too? And if he said he would, he (Mr. W.) should not believe him, because he thought the revelation of his natural right to Freedom had been made to him, and he believed it was impossible for any man to venerate any power or being that would treat him as a slave. When he saw a principle — and he thought that was the Anti-Slavery principle, whether Anti-Slavery men had come up to it fully or not — which worked equally towards all men, which declared that all men have equal claims to liberty and knowledge, and to every thing that is naturally right, then he venerated that principle, because it worked thus equally to all men.

But he would not stand in the way of abler speakers. He believed that what their friend Barker said was well, and he believed it would do more for the overthrow of Slavery, to bring men and women to the knowledge of these great, eternal principles, and to the veneration of them, than any thing else would. He had no hatred towards the slaveholders, and did not wish any injury inflicted on them. He did not believe that there was any man in the world who was such a friend to the slaveholder as the Anti-Slavery man. There was no such friend to the world as Christ was; and yet those whom he came to befriend were the most clamorous for his crucifixion. So with them; they were despised and hated, but if they could bring about emancipation, they should not do a much greater good to the slave than to the master.

Mr. WHITSON concluded his remarks by observing that he loved the

Anti-Slavery cause, because it was elevating in its very nature ; because it brought men up to a knowledge of those laws which are supreme and eternal.

Miss ELIZABETH C. WRIGHT, of Ceres, Pa., said she felt obliged to express her dissent to the sentiment uttered by the last speaker, in his remark that he loved Franklin Pierce as much as he loved William Lloyd Garrison. She believed that declaration affected the whole fundamental structure of human freedom. They had got to plant themselves on the fundamental rock of individual responsibility. They had got to prove that every man or woman in the wide world was master of himself or herself, and that no one else had the right to interfere with him or her, in any possible way, so long as they interfered with none others. That was the sum and substance of the whole thing. If they could say that they loved the great sinner, as a man, as well as they loved another, whom they believed upright and holy, she did not see what was to become of the doctrine of individuality, or the responsibility we were all under to God. Our individual rights were no more to be trespassed upon than our responsibilities, for they must inevitably go together. The making a man a slave took away his right to discharge his duties. When God created us, he gave us not only these inalienable rights, and made us feel the consciousness, in our own souls, that these rights belonged to us, and to none others, but he gave us, at the same time, certain duties to perform, and made us capable of certain relations ; and when we entered into those relations and duties, they were as self-evident as the rights by which we attained them. If a man, or any number of men, became the property, the personal chattels of another man, then all their responsibilities were merged in him ; and God never gave a human soul to any mortal being great enough, expansive enough, to discharge the responsibilities of more than one soul. She felt that there was a great and terrible responsibility resting upon all who allowed those heavy burdens to be borne by others, which they would not allow themselves to touch with their little fingers. In a certain sense, she believed that "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God ;"—not resistance by carnal weapons, not resistance unto blood and death, but resistance with that strong moral force that is in every soul. She believed that principles were a part of God ; and she believed, also, the mathematical axiom, that the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts, and, therefore, that every virtue is a part of God, and goes to make up the sum of the whole great Deity.

Miss WRIGHT said she had been an Abolitionist all her life, in great

good earnest, and she did not feel afraid of forfeiting any reputation that was good for any thing, by advocating God's own truth. (Applause.) When she used the words of Jesus, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," she did not believe she was guilty of heresy; neither did she think their friend Barker was when he said the same thing. She did not believe it was any heresy, if they went out and proclaimed to the world those self-evident truths (which seemed to be very much in need of evidence, to the great mass of the world) set forth in the Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed the common equality of all men.

Miss WRIGHT concluded by saying that the idea she wished to advance was, that, in the sight of God, each man was just as great as another, unless, by obeying him more, having more virtue and more truth, he make himself greater; that, abstractly, whatever his position,

"A man's a man for a' that."

Mr. WHITSON asked the speaker if she loved Garrison and Quincy better than Pierce.

Miss W. Yes.

Mr. WHITSON. Why?

Miss W. Because I consider Garrison and Quincy right in their principles and actions, while those of Pierce I look upon as wrong.

Mr. WHITSON. Suppose the views of Garrison and Quincy should change, and become like those of Pierce?

Miss W. Then they would cease to be Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Edmund Quincy.

Mr. WHITSON. Exactly; and that is my position. I do not see that there is any essential difference between us.

JOSEPH BARKER, of Ohio, again took the platform, observing, that as he hardly expected to have another opportunity to speak, after that evening, he would, with the permission of his audience, make a few remarks, in relation to the apparent difference of opinion between himself and his friend HENRY C. WRIGHT. He did not think it worth while to dispute whether America, with regard to its government, institutions and laws, was ahead of England, or England ahead of America; or, rather, he did not think it worth while to dispute which of the sinners was the worst sinner, or which of two bad principles was the worst principle. The best plan was, having ascertained that two principles, or the existence of two laws was bad, instead of spending time in disputing which is the worst, to set to work to get both abolished, and better ones put in their stead. (Cheers.)

He could say a great deal to show that if the Aristocracy of Great Britain and Ireland were not as bad as our Southern slaveholders, they were at least the next bad set of men on the face of the earth (applause); and if he could not prove that the conduct of the English and Irish Aristocracy has been as purely selfish, unfeeling and cruel, towards the working classes, as the conduct of the Southern slaveholders towards their victims, he could prove that the difference, to say the least, was one in degree only, and that the effects of the misconduct of the English and Irish Aristocracy have been more ruinous than the effects of the selfishness and cruelty of the Southern slaveholders. But if they should enter upon the consideration of these questions, they would not be directing all their influence and energies to the one great object for which they were assembled, namely, the establishment of universal and impartial freedom throughout the world, and the abolition of every form of oppression and wrong. Their object should be to endeavor to find where they could stand together, and in what way they could coöperate most harmoniously for the overthrow of oppression in this land, and in all other lands.

There was one consideration which might comfort them, and that was, that, in warring with any one evil, they were warring with all evils that prevailed throughout the world. There was no country that did not exercise a great influence over every other country; and if in this country we had corrupt institutions, bad laws, an evil public sentiment, these operated injuriously upon every other country throughout the world; and if we tolerated these evil institutions and wicked laws, and this corrupt public sentiment here, we were really strengthening the corrupt institutions, bad laws and evil public sentiment in every country within the reach of our influence. So, on the other hand, if some individuals said the Aristocracy of Great Britain and Ireland are as guilty as our Southern slaveholders, and that the part of the English and Irish is to labor to abolish it, they were in reality taking from Slavery one of its props; they were undermining it. It was on this account that the reformers could afford to differ; for while they were working in diverse fields, and occupying different positions, they were really working for the same object. It was not worth while for reformers to quarrel with each other, because they differed in their modes of operation. They would never find the slaveholders rejoicing greatly because some Abolitionists wanted to reform Great Britain and Ireland, to abolish hereditary monarchy and aristocratic land monopoly, while other reformers were directing their efforts to the abolition of Slavery here. But if these two classes of reformers, instead of each working in its own field, and in its own

way, should begin to quarrel, and not work at all, then, if they could hear how the oppressors chuckled and laughed, they would learn to lament the quarrels of reformers, and see the necessity of their tolerating each other, and encouraging each one to work in his own way.

While the discussion had been going on during the afternoon, his mind was impressed with the great influence which this new country—it was a country which, in many respects, was unparalleled, both in its history and institutions—is exerting upon the countries of the old world. Dispute and differ as men might about this country, America, it was, after all, a great country, and no mistake! (Laughter and loud cheers.) It was, in many respects, the wonder of all other countries. It was, in many respects, a prodigy of a stupendous and magnificent character; and, in proportion to its greatness and the liberality of its institutions, was the attention it attracted from the other side the Atlantic, and the influence it exerted upon the sentiments and feelings of the old world. This country, say what they would, was exerting a modifying influence upon every other country under heaven; even upon countries that are not acquainted with her institutions, and have scarcely heard her name. America, therefore, was doing something every hour, for good or for evil, for every class of men on earth, and for every country and government under heaven. Her influence was great, and was increasing every year. This country was destined to spread, to grow in population, to increase in power, in riches, and to attract every year more and more attention from abroad, and to exercise every year an increasing influence on all the nations of the earth. They formed a part of this nation, and it therefore became them to do what they could to make the influence which America exerts, and is to continue to exert, as beneficial and as little injurious as possible.

How could they do this? He said, at once, that the thing of all others that they had to do, was to abolish Slavery, and to bring all the institutions and laws of this country into harmony with the best principles of our original Constitution, and the leading sentiments of the Declaration of Independence. (Great cheering.) If they could do this, they destroyed the power of any portion of America for evil, and increased the power of every portion for good. What was it that prevented America now from transforming the despotisms of Europe into liberal Democracies? Simply the existence of abuses with which America can be justly charged. They talked of a Republic, and every sixth man and woman among them was a slave, a chattel, a victim to the lust and power and selfishness of the rest. They talked of reforming other nations, and they were tender, to a proverb, if any body undertook to reform them.

They talked of restoring order in Europe, and encouraged riots and mob-law to put down the advocates of impartial Freedom. They talked about the wrongs of the oppressed, and their sympathy for the plundered and tortured people of Great Britain and Ireland, of Austria, Italy and Naples, and all this while they put the best men in the land in their dungeons, for helping a fugitive on his way from the house of bondage, and try to convict men of treason because they would not stop the flight of the escaped bondman, at the bidding of the slaveholder. (Cheers.) So long as the tyrants and despots of Europe, and their paid editors and paid lecturers, could point to such instances as these, so long the influence of America was great for evil, and limited for good.

Mr. Barker said he wrote home to England, and gave his friends there a picture of American society and institutions; he endeavored to show the points in which our laws were more liberal (with respect to *white* men) than those of England; and he sometimes took particular pains to point out the enormity of certain laws, on which the hereditary Aristocracy of Great Britain and Ireland is based, and by which its power to plunder and torture and kill is perpetuated. His friends wrote back to him, "We shall appreciate your commendations, and admit the force of your rebuke, when you have got rid of that Fugitive Slave Law, and have abolished Slavery!" Of course, it was foolish and impolitic in any nation to refuse to share our glory, because we had not had the firmness to throw away every one of the evils that were fostered among us; but they knew that a good dinner was not so pleasant from off a dirty platter as from a clean one, and so our relish for good institutions was lessened by the evil and mischief with which they were associated. Thus, the people of the old world could not do justice to what was liberal and just and humane and divine in our laws and institutions, so long as they saw that blackest of all stains and all shadows rising into frightful and gigantic dimensions, and throwing a melancholy shade over every thing that is beautiful in our land.

He (Mr. Barker) had adopted this country as his country, and the country of his children. They admired this country more than their own. They wanted to be able not only to say a great deal that was good, but every thing that was good of it, and nothing that was bad. They wanted the country to be not only more honorable than any other, but honorable throughout. They wanted the influence which this country exercised upon other countries not only to be good, but purely and unmingledly good; and they wanted America to exercise an irresistible influence in transforming the despotisms and tyrannies of the old world into institutions purely liberal, just and impartial. They did this, not

only out of regard for other countries, but out of regard for themselves. They did it in order to prevent the possibility of a servile insurrection; in order to retain what they had already got that was good, and avoid what might threaten them that was evil.

Besides all this, it was perfectly plain to him that they could not tolerate Slavery in one part of the country, without subjecting themselves to a modified Slavery in every part of the country. They knew well that in the Southern States, the liberty of the white man had to be sacrificed, in order to prevent the black man from getting his liberty. There was no liberty, even for the slaveholders themselves; they were afraid to express sentiments friendly to freedom. So, in some degree, we of the North were enslaved by this great despotic and tyrannical evil. The North had got a Fugitive Slave Law, which made them kidnappers, man-hunters, bloodhounds. True, they could defy that law, as every man of intelligence, bravery, virtue and humanity did defy it; but he could only do this by defying and setting himself in opposition to the government of his country. Just as the malaria which originated in one swamp, spreads itself and affects a neighborhood that has no swamp, so this one dead body of slavery, this one mass of moral putridity, would generate a malaria sufficient to spread over the whole land. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump;" a single spark will kindle the flame that forms a national conflagration.

Slavery had already exerted a most depressing, deadening and corrupting influence upon Northern society. The two leading parties of the country only showed the natural influence of the toleration of a wicked and bad institution, when they both joined together in saying, "We must suppress agitation; we must resist or discountenance freedom of speech." If the nation would have Slavery, they must have the means of keeping their slaves. They must have their vigilance committees, their watch-dogs; they must arm themselves with their dirks and daggers, their bowie knives, and their rifles and revolvers. They must have their bloodhounds, and they must have their Fugitive Slave Law, to require the Northern people to become man-hunters; and, of course, the tongues of the people must be tied, and the presses gagged. They could not have Slavery, without having all these evils which they deplored, and which they felt to be a curse and a disgrace and an infamy to the nation, as long as they remained. If they wanted to free themselves from the disgrace of a partnership in government with women-whippers and man-hunters, if they wanted to have rulers that they could respect and love, if they wanted laws which they could approve, and institutions which they could admire, and a press that should be free,

they must have done with this accursed evil of Slavery. It must be extinguished, if they wished to extinguish the fearful evils which sprang from it. (Applause.)

Mr. Barker said, that, in his opinion, the sentiments of his friend Mr. Whitson were correct. He (Mr. W.) thought that nothing deserved the name of Infidel but the subjugation of man's reason, judgment and conscience to the erroneous and uncertain standard of man's interest; that the man who will subject the certain to the uncertain, the dictates of right and justice to the suggestions of interest or convenience, was an Infidel; that the truly Orthodox man is he who finds truth, and sticks to it; who learns what is good, and, instead of sacrificing the good to an established institution, says, "I will make that bend to the good; and if it won't bend, I will break it." (Loud cheers.) If he had not that spirit, he hoped he should "grow" so, as Topsy said. (Laughter.) But, if there were some people who called this Infidelity, if they said, "Because you will not, out of reverence to a book, give up what, in your own heart, you know to be true, why, then you are an Infidel," then, in that sense, he was an Infidel; but it was a bad name which they gave to a good thing. Nevertheless, he would have the good thing; for he would rather swallow a wholesome substance with a poisonous label, than a poisonous substance with a healthful label. (Laughter and cheers.)

His firm conviction was, that the people of this country were coming nearer to reason and nearer to truth than they were some time ago. This change had been going on more rapidly in districts and cities at the West, than even in the more populous cities of the larger States, where old established bad things had worked with greater and more systematic power. He knew that there were exceptions; that there were men who declared the Declaration of Independence a "rhetorical flourish," and who professed to believe that a colored person had not as good a right to live where he pleased as a white person; and even in Ohio, he had met with men who would say (though he hoped they told a lie) that, under certain circumstances, they would as soon kill a "nigger" as a chicken or a turkey; but they were becoming rarer and rarer, and those who remained were not so ready to express their inhuman thoughts and their outrageous and diabolical feelings as they used to be. He lived in Knox county, (which might be spelt without the K—*nox*—in Latin, meaning night,) which was considered the darkest part of Ohio; but even there, things were changing. In his town, one of the worst even in Knox county, the Free Soilers numbered twenty-four votes; and if the election had occurred after he and his family took up their residence in the town, they would have added two or three votes more;—and, for—

merly, they could not muster one. The nation had progressed, and was progressing; and when he saw persons, differing with respect to opposite and minor details, yet having no greater happiness than in finding how they could agree on essentials, and work together for the general good, the universal emancipation and salvation of mankind, then he thought that was another indication that the triumph of right over might was at hand, and that we have reason to believe that the dawn of a better day is upon us. (Loud cheers.)

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., of Dedham, Mass., next addressed the audience, as follows:—

SPEECH OF EDMUND QUINCY.

MR. PRESIDENT :

When you first introduced the resolutions before us, you said that they were mere truisms—mere axioms, which every person of fair intelligence and common sense would assent to. I could not help thinking of that remark, during the admirable address to which we have just listened. I could not help thinking how the very subject matter which had called this meeting together, the very things which we have assembled to consider and to attempt to do, are the merest truisms, the plainest axioms which mathematics, not to say politics, can present to the consideration of the human mind. Why are we met here together, sir? Why did you, and those friends who met together twenty years ago, to form this Society—why did you come together at that time? What was it to do? Why, it was to announce to the world that every man had a right to his own soul and to his own body. That is the whole head and front of the offending of the Abolitionists, that they have stood up before the American nation, and affirmed that every man has a right to his own soul and body, and every woman, too. Can there be a simpler proposition than that? Can there be any thing in mathematics, not to say in metaphysics or in politics, more simple, or any thing that we would suppose more intelligible to the meanest capacity? And yet, what has been the whole history of the country? What is the present aspect of the country? Why, the whole policy of the country has rested, and still rests, upon the denial of this fundamental principle of morals, upon the denial of this self-evident proposition, this axiom, which a savage, we would think, a Mussleman, certainly—and, one would suppose, a *Christian*, also—would consider incapable of being made clearer by any argument.

I believe the Abolitionists have always scorned to argue this question

at all. We have disdained to enter into any process of reasoning to prove that a man has a right to himself; that a man has a right to the fruits of his labor; that a husband has a right to his wife; that parents have a right to their children; that women have a right to their virtue. For years, we have disdained to argue this question; we have simply affirmed and re-affirmed the truth, and it has been that affirmation and re-affirmation which has brought down upon us the denunciations of priests and politicians; which has made the great *Caleb Cushing* himself—the man elected to Congress by Abolitionist votes—the Whig of Tyler's administration—the Polk-made General—the sent-to-China in defiance of the negative of the Senate at that time—the great *Caleb Cushing* himself say that these truths are to be “crushed out”—“CRUSHED OUT”! and any man suspected of the slightest taint of them, any man who was ever inoculated with this disease in his infancy or childhood, any man who ever had the faintest taint of these heretical, these venomous opinions—that a man has a right to himself, to his wife, to his child, to his wages—a man who has ever been thus tainted, shall be put to political death by electricity! The mail is not quick enough; he shall be politically executed *by lightning!* (Laughter and cheers.)

Well, sir, we do not think it is worth our while to argue this matter. The American people know that they lie when they deny this proposition. They know that we are in the right, and that they are in the wrong, for the reason which has been so ably set forth to-day—because they would not be put in the place of the slaves themselves; because they would not consent to reverse the process. They would not consent to be put in the condition of this people, to keep whom in that condition these “heresies” are to be “crushed out” by the whole weight which the power of the government, mighty as that power is, can bring to bear upon the offender.

Well, sir, I think these are truisms—all truths are truisms; but they are truisms which must be repeated, which must be affirmed and re-affirmed, which must be uttered in the ear of the people, “line upon line, and precept upon precept,” here a little and there *a great deal*, until the nation's belief has been modified by the continual presentation of the subject. Now, it is very strange that we cannot be understood. We have always tried to speak as plainly as we know how. I believe we have never been accused of mincing matters, or of going “round Robin Hood's barn,” or of being parenthetical or hypothetical in our style of speech; and yet, it seems almost impossible to make people understand us. People seem to suppose that we entertain some dreadful designs; that we entertain opinions and that we propose plans which are volcanic,

which are to result in some fearful eruption, which is to bury every good institution under a stream of lava, or a bed of ashes. Well, sir, I think we stand in the position of those persons who are so very transparent that they cannot be understood. Our propositions are so simple, that the people cannot take them in. So it is with regard to our position, with regard to our motives, our intentions, our principles. It seems very hard for people to understand what our motive is. I think Abolitionists do not always seem clearly to understand it. I believe my friend JOSEPH BARKER understands us pretty clearly, but I really thought he was a little confused in his clear mind as to the platform on which we stand. The Orthodox man, the Heretical man, the Infidel, the Mohammedan, the Atheist, the Whig, the Democrat, the Protectionist, the Free Trader, men of all sorts of opinions, and men of no opinion at all, who apprehend and admit the enormities of slavery, and the duty of every honest man, every true patriot, and every man of true humanity, to endeavor to remove it—we all can work together, all pull in one direction, to help forward the car of Emancipation.

Now, sir, what is our plan? It is the statement of the simplest proposition, one would think. I know a good many very worthy people—not only that, but very intelligent people, men of ability and of genius, too—who have said to me, “Why, I think your position is the most absurd thing in the world. It seems to me that the position of you Garrisonian Abolitionists is the most ridiculous thing that can well be conceived. You propose to abolish the Union; you propose to destroy the American Constitution;—how preposterous! how ridiculous!” Now, this statement is in one sense true, and in another sense it is not true. I do not suppose that we shall ever convert so many people to our way of thinking as literally to destroy this Union, and abolish Slavery by our becoming a majority. I never expect to see Mr. GARRISON President of the United States, in virtue of his being President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. (Laughter.) I really do not. Our proposition is this. The Constitution of the United States contains certain requisitions, some good and some bad. It requires, as we hold—we holding with the Supreme Court of the United States, with the nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the people of the United States, with the entire bench and bar of the country, with every Congress that has ever sat, with every Congressman, except GERRIT SMITH, who has ever taken his seat in Congress, from the year '89 down to this day—we hold that the Constitution of the United States recognises Slavery. We believe in the Compromises of the Constitution. We believe that the slave trade was guaranteed to the year 1808; we believe that the fugitive

slave is to be restored, in some way or other, though we hold the present Fugitive Slave Law to be unconstitutional, and believe that the Supreme Court will so rule it, when it comes before them; we believe that a Court composed of a majority of Southern States' Rights men will never affirm that law to be constitutional, for it opens a door through which, whenever the country becomes saturated with Anti-Slavery opinion, Slavery itself may be reached by the power of Congress; for the views of Mr. Sumner and Mr. Rantoul, were not original with them; it was Calhounism they enunciated. Calhoun would have opposed the Fugitive Slave Law, if he had lived long enough to speak his sentiments on the subject; — but still, we do believe, that, in some way or other, the slave master has his right recognised by the Constitution of the United States. We never mean to obey that requisition. If the slave master does not lose his property in the slave by his escaping into Pennsylvania, if the Constitution declares that he has a right to pursue and retake him in the State of Pennsylvania, and the State has no right to make any law declaring him free, and implies that he may bring as many persons as he pleases to aid him in retaking the fugitive, and the State of Pennsylvania has no Constitutional right or power to do any thing in his behalf, but engages to keep the peace, and let the master carry the slave back,— if these things are so, (and we believe they are,) then we say — Put it in its very mildest form, give it the fairest shape that the imagination can conceive, and yet it is too frightful for us to receive and embrace. We say it is mean, it is base, it is despicable, in the State of Pennsylvania, to say, when a man flies into her jurisdiction, and claims her protection — the weakest, the most despised, the most outcast of all human beings, the one most needing protection, the one most needing the aid for which civil government was created — a wretch, flying to her and claiming her protection and hospitality — we say it is base and despicable in her to give that man up. I say that the duty of Pennsylvania, as an independent Commonwealth — the true doctrine of States' Rights — can never be carried out under this Constitution, because that doctrine of States' Rights would enable Pennsylvania to say to the fugitive slave — “As long as you cling to the hem of my garment, I will protect you; as long as you are kneeling at my feet, asking my assistance and protection, you shall have it, and you shall never be taken back to Slavery, as long as a man in Pennsylvania has a drop of blood to be shed in your defence!” (Loud cheers.) That I call the true States' Rights doctrine; and I have always been a States' Rights man, as was my father before me. He was the man who said, “New England will maintain her rights, peaceably if she can, forcibly if she must.”

Well, sir, that is one of the things we do not mean to do. We do not intend, as citizens of the several States to which we belong, to perform this part of the Constitution. This being the case, what is to be done? Why, then we say, *we cannot swear to do these things*. It is not particularly as Abolitionists, it is as honest men, as men of honor and as gentlemen, we say, we will not do these dirty things; and having determined not to do them, *we cannot swear to do them*, whether we intend to keep our oath or break our oath. That is the length and breadth of our doctrine. Is it not simple and plain? It is clear as daylight. It is a simple case of common-honesty, with our views.

Of course, there are persons who believe that there is no Slavery in the Constitution, and that, under the Constitution, Slavery may be abolished by act of Congress. These persons may swear to support the Constitution, because they do not believe there is any Slavery there. I cannot agree in this opinion. If I could go as far as that, I think I might go one step further, and believe that there is no Slavery in the country. (Laughter.)

Now, it seems to us that our position is perfectly plain; that our propositions follow each other as clearly as any two propositions can follow each other, in morals or in mathematics. Well, then, what do we propose to do? We do not believe that the American Anti-Slavery Society will ever embody a majority of the people of the United States; but still, we do believe, that the truth which is going to issue forth from this Society will permeate and pervade the nation, and that the people will be brought up to that point, in which they will present to the slaveholders the alternative of Abolition or Disunion; in which they will say to them, You shall have your choice. We will no longer be concerned in this dirty partnership. We will no longer assist you in keeping your slaves in chains. It is a work we despise. It dirties our fingers, it dirties our consciences, and we will have nothing further to do with it. If you choose to keep your slaves, well; but go you your way, and we will go ours; and we will be "enemies in war, in peace, friends." I believe, and I presume the great mass of the people believe,—and certainly, the slaveholders believe,—that as soon as that alternative is presented to the slaveholders, Slavery will not exist for six months. How long would the Russian Emperor retain his power, if his army were to dissolve their union with him? And what are we but the army of the slaveholders?—their minute-men, ready at any time (having our guns and cartridge-boxes in our houses) to fight on the side of the oppressor, if some sable Washington should rise at the South, and unfurl the flag of insurrection? I think, as soon as the slaveholders saw that the physi-

cal support of the North would be removed, they would submit, because the hands of their slaves would then be at their throats, and the whole battle would be easy enough.

You remember La Fontaine's fable of the lark, who, hearing the farmer tell his sons to call his neighbors to reap down his field of grain the next day, left her young in their nest, fearless of any danger; but when she heard him say, that the next day he would reap the field himself, hastened to convey her brood to a place of safety. Well, as soon as *this* field is white for the harvest, and as soon as the Northerners are ready to put in the sickle, you will see that the whole brood of Slavery will be removed out of their and our way. The slaveholders, for their own safety, will remove this intestine enemy, whose knives are at their very throats.

That is our simple method. We are now in precisely the stage which goes before Revolution. We are—to speak it reverently—the Anti-Slavery movement is the Baptist who goes before the Messiah of Emancipation. We are not “Him that is to come;” but we are the “voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord;” fill up the vallies and bring down the hills, and “make His paths straight.” Sir, we are doing precisely what reformers in all ages have done, previous to their reformation taking effect. All reforms, all revolutions,—those which have ended in the bloodiest struggle,—have all begun in thought. The kingdom was originally within them. They all originated in the mind, in contemplation, in theory, before any agencies were put in motion to bring them at work;—the Christian religion, the Reformation of Luther, the Reformation of the Reformation by the Puritans, which filled the sails of the Mayflower, and which ended in the war of the Revolution, and thus created the French Revolution—from which, like the Dragon's teeth which Cadmus sowed, have sprung up the Revolutions of '48, and which, although they appear to have been buried again, are yet germinating, have not lost their vitality, and will yet burst forth, in a yet more terrible crop of revolutions, in a yet more fearful harvest of armed men, of bristling bayonets, and which will be sealed with a far more terrible signet of blood.

Mr. President, that is the stage where we stand. We are creating that change in public sentiment which will ultimately come to its fruition in Revolution; for the Abolition of Slavery will be a Revolution. It will be an alteration of the fundamental institutions of the country. Whether it come in blood, or, as we hope, in quietness and peace, however it comes, the fundamental institutions of the country will be as much changed, as if the House of Lords in Great Britain were to be

abolished to-morrow. The governing power in the United States will be changed, and then the North can have its fair share of power. Then that arbitrary and tyrannical Aristocracy, which rests, not on honest acres, not on the possession of lands, but which rests on the ownership of human beings, which rests on the possession of human hearts, and souls, and brains, and muscles, will be abolished. We shall no longer be under the dominion of such a beggarly Aristocracy as that, whose very postage bills we have to pay, as well as to catch their slaves for them. For no slaveholding State pays its own postage bill, except the State of Louisiana, and that is paid by Northern merchants, who trade in New Orleans. Even the great Empire State of South Carolina, courageous and plucky, cannot foot her own postage account. I confess I have a liking for South Carolina; I like to see courage and pluck; I like to see assurance and impudence, provided they are well carried out; and when we see that little State, whose postage bills we pay to the amount of seventy thousand dollars annually, when we see her cowering the British lion, and making him put his nozzle down at her feet—I like the looks of that! And, while on this subject, I will venture a prophecy, that whenever Slavery is abolished, South Carolina will take the lead; South Carolina will be the first State to abolish it. I leave that prophecy to be confirmed hereafter.

Well, to return. Whenever the time comes that Slavery shall be abolished, we shall be delivered from this Aristocracy of Legrees, which has no historical associations, like the English Aristocracy, which does not rest upon any recollections of former services, which has no claim on hereditary gratitude, no ancestral record of great historical events and governmental changes; whose armorial bearings are the scourge, the branding-iron, and the manacle; whose peculiar privileges, whose hereditary rights are, the rights of plundering the poor and robbing the defenceless;—we shall be freed from such an odious, such a dastardly Aristocracy as that, and be able to have some voice in the appointment of rulers, in the arrangement of our public policy, in the making of laws, and begin to be respectable in our own eyes, and in the eyes of the world.

I rose, sir, with no very definite plan in my mind as to what I was to say; but I wished to make it plain what the object of the American Society was—that it was the universal recognition of the principle, that every man has a right to himself; and, secondly, the means by which we propose to attain that end, and that is, by the enlightenment of the public mind—by the changing of those opinions in the community on which Slavery now rests; for Slavery, like any other evil institution,

rests only on the opinions of the people. The Aristocracy of England, the Aristocracy of Russia, exist because the people are willing it should be so; because they know no better; because they prefer it. The moment they change their opinions, and determine the thing shall be changed, of course it will change. The Czardom of Russia, the Aristocracy of England, the Despotism of Napoleon, will vanish as speedily as the shadow when the substance is removed, as soon as the people are changed; and this is the reason why all despotisms fear the growth of intelligence among the people, and attempt to shut out the light of truth from their minds. Here, we have not all these obstacles to contend with. We can scatter light among the people; and this is what we are doing, and we have done a great work already in this respect. We have changed the opinion of the people mightily. We have created the Free Soil party. GEORGE THOMPSON said with truth, as well as wit, that "the Free Soiler who said he was under no obligations to GARRISON, might as well say that he had no grandfather." (Laughter and cheers.) It was the change in the opinions of the people, through the agency of this Society, which went forth from the primitive Anti-Slavery men, which first of all made the Whig party that apparently partial Anti-Slavery party which it tried to appear to be at one time. It was that which created the Free Soil party. It is that which is permeating and pervading the public mind through the Free States, and which will ultimately be seen in political action in the two great parties, or in those parties into which the present parties are to be divided afresh.

This work will be accomplished ultimately by political action. But we do think our friends, the Free Soilers, put the cart before the horse. They are trying to use political action, before they have got the means of political action. We are endeavoring to put the horse before the cart. We are training the horse. We are getting the horse ready to draw the car of Emancipation up to the Capitol. It seems to me that this is common sense; at least, it is all the sense we have. If others can show us "a more excellent way," we are perfectly ready to accept it. I believe that we have no desire to be separated from the rest of mankind. The Garrison Abolitionists have no especial objection to holding office, and a great many of them would be glad to serve the State or the nation in that capacity, if they could do so honestly. A great many of them would not be unwilling to be President of the United States; a great many of them would not be unwilling to be Senators in Congress, or to accept some of the lower offices which the States afford, if they could only take the oath. They would be very willing to exercise the right of franchise, if they could only do it honestly; but they

must first of all be sure that they *can* do it honestly—without violating their sense of honor and duty. Whenever they can be convinced that they are in error, they are ready, and will be most happy, to enter into new relations.

We stand very much in the same position in which the Catholics in England stood, before the passage of the Emancipation Act. Why did not the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shaftesbury go into the House of Lords? Why did not O'Connell and Shiel go into the House of Commons? They had nothing to do but to acknowledge the supremacy of the King, and abjure that of the Pope. That was a very simple operation, and they might have said that the Pope would give them a dispensation, and they might swear to recognise the supremacy of the Crown, without meaning to do so;—for that is one of the propositions which is sometimes made to us, that we may swear to support the Constitution, and yet not swear to do certain things which the Constitution imposes. Well, we do not believe in that way of construing the instrument. We think, when we swear to support it, we take the whole. Why could not those noblemen and gentlemen take their seats in the Houses of Parliament? Simply because they could not tell a lie. Simply because they had rather forego the exercise of political power, than swear to do what they did not mean to do. The only difference between them and us is, that our position is a great deal stronger and more satisfactory, and can be much better defended.

That is the position we occupy, sir; that is why we have come here together; that is what we propose to do; that is the way in which we propose to do it; and we hope that all will consider with themselves how these things be, and those who can come and join us, will they do so? If they cannot, let them help us in any way they can. We do not stand in the way of those who do not stand in our way. If there are any who think they have a better way, let them try it; we will bid them God-speed. But we cannot help telling them that we think that ours is the more excellent way, and commending it to their consideration and adoption.

HENRY C. WRIGHT said that if we were in the position of the slaves, or the free colored men in this country, who constitute a proscribed class, and who are stripped of all their rights, we should have no difficulty in settling the position of this national government before the world. He never yet heard of the man who constituted the government, or helped to constitute the government of any country, who was not always ready to suppose that his country was the best country in the world. He begged leave to say, that no man constituting a part of the government of

a country, could be qualified to speak justly of the position of that country before the world, where there is a class oppressed. Let them put themselves in the position of Robert Purvis, or poor Sims, in Boston; let them ask that man, as he sat in the Boston court house, as he was dragged through the streets of the "city of the Puritans," what he thought of the American government, in comparison with the governments of other countries! If any man had gone to Sims, and said, The Bible and the Constitution sanction these things, what would he have said? Were you, Mr. Chairman, (said Mr. Wright,) and your wife and children, on the auction-block, to be sold, and any man should come and say to you that that was right, that God had a right to make you a slave, and your wife a slave, and your children slaves, what would be the answer of your soul to such a proposition? I know what it would be. You would instantly respond, that not even God himself had a right to make a slave.

He (Mr. W.) wished to lay it down on the principle of right, and say that no being in the universe of God had a right to authorise one man to enslave another. Of course, he would say that the God of love had no desire to do such a thing; but he would go further, and say, he had *no right* to do such a thing, because he was a God of law and justice; and any man would say so, if he made the case his own. God had no right to lie; he had no right to do injustice; and he wished to lay this down as his way of meeting the popular argument,—which was not only the opinion of his friend Grew, but the opinion of the country, as a nation, the opinion of the Church of this country, and the opinion of Christendom, *en masse*,—that God has a right to authorise man to enslave his brother. He denied the right, and on this denial he founded his vindication of the rights of Humanity. The common doctrine was, that all rights belong to God, and all duties belong to man. He maintained that man had rights which no power could invade without injustice. They could stand on no other ground, in the prosecution of this holy enterprise, except that Slavery was a sin, under all conceivable circumstances. That had been their doctrine from the beginning. It was the doctrine embodied in the resolutions, and on this proposition, that Slavery is a sin, now and for ever, and that no power in the universe has a right to authorise its existence for an instant, the Anti-Slavery movement must stand or fall.

Mr. GARRISON said — I wish to say a word respecting a remark made by my friend Mr. Barker, in regard to reformers allowing themselves to be alienated from each other, and, instead of working heart and hand

together, becoming Ishmaelitic in spirit towards each other. Undoubtedly, all divisions in a movement which is good, and just, and holy, are to be deplored: that is to say, it is far more desirable to see those who profess to love the movement, carrying out harmoniously and uncompromisingly what they profess to believe, than to see them alienated one from another, on false issues, or on any ground whatsoever, as long as they profess to agree in principle, and in the object to be carried. Now, I do not think that, among those who are really baptized into any such movement, there can be any bitterness or strife. "All are not Israel, who are of Israel," in our day, any more than in the days of old. The great calamity, in every important reformatory movement, struggling for existence and victory, is this, that some hastily espouse it, without counting the cost, or foreseeing what is to follow. They are able to go a certain distance, but no further. They are willing to make certain sacrifices, but there they stop. They do not hold the movement itself to be paramount to all other considerations, and so are tempted, from time to time, to turn aside, and allow it to be endangered, or its claim suspended, for the attainment of some other object, or to gratify some other purpose.

I do not expect, in the Anti-Slavery cause, that all will see eye to eye, with regard to every thing to be done, precisely at the same moment. It is impossible. One man sees the truth of a proposition intuitively, and only needs to have it stated, and his mind, with lightning rapidity, comprehends it in all its bearings, from beginning to end; and he wants neither argument nor illustration. Another may be just as honest and true, as willing to make sacrifices, as desirous to know his duty, and as brave in the discharge of it; but he requires time to comprehend the same proposition, and arrives at his conclusions cautiously, slowly, and by a severe logical process. But, between these two, there need be no bitterness of spirit. In regard to position, one may be far in advance of the other; but he who is foremost can afford to wait until the other comes up, and he who is behind can be equally tolerant in spirit, where the love of the right is the paramount feeling.

Now, the American Anti-Slavery Society is not for promoting division, in an evil sense. How a Society more magnanimous, or more liberal towards all persons and parties in the land, can possibly be organized, I know not. When have we undertaken to exclude from our platform, any man who has desired to criticise our policy, or rebuke our conduct? Never. But, in thus allowing every one to speak his own sentiments freely, do we not exhibit a good spirit towards all who may differ from us? How can we show a better? Moreover, in all our Anti-Slavery

journals, we say to the slaveholder and to his Northern apologist, "Here is room for you also; you shall be heard impartially and fully." Certainly, this is not to be narrow, dogmatical, or egotistical. The true Abolitionist is willing to be criticised. His language is, "Search me and know me, and see if there be any pro-slavery in me, or in the position I occupy."

So, on this occasion, all are invited to commune with us; to feel that this is their meeting, as well as ours. No matter what their views may be, remembering the object that has brought us together, we solicit all to come in good faith, and endeavor to see what it is that upholds Slavery.

For myself, I will not blame a man, because he cannot understand the Constitution as I do. I will not revile or contemn him, because he cannot agree with me as to his religious or political duty as a friend of the slave. He tells me that he believes he is in the right—very well. He tells me, if he could see as I do, he would come over to my side—very well. Now, there will be no alienation of spirit between us, if he is honest in his belief, and I am honest in mine. We can afford to differ, generously, magnanimously, lovingly. We shall ever be ready to commune together, to reëxamine our positions, and to see whether we can get any nearer than we have yet been.

This is the spirit of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

I have no right to judge a man by my standard, if he rejects it; but I may convict him of inconsistency or wrong-doing out of his own mouth. He tells me that no compromise ought to be made with Slavery. I ask him, "Do you believe the Constitution concedes to the slaveholders extraordinary political power, and grants them the right to pursue and recapture their fugitive slaves, when they make their escape to the North?" "I believe it does," he replies. "Do you believe that the entire physical force of the nation is pledged to put down a slave insurrection?" "I do," he says. "How, then," I ask, "can you, as an Abolitionist, as a friend of the slave, as a man of principle, swear to uphold a Constitution, in which all these things are agreed to?" I judge him by his own standard. Again, he tells me that he regards Slavery, in the language of John Wesley, as "the sum of all villainies;" and I find him in a Church which he acknowledges to be thoroughly pro-slavery. Have I not a right to measure him by his Anti-Slavery profession? Why, is not such a Church an Anti-Christian body? How, then, can he remain in it, either as a Christian or an Abolitionist? He may tell me that he continues his membership, because he is anxious to reform the Church; that, by withdrawing from it, he will certainly lose his influence, and cut himself off from the opportunity to bring it to repent-

ance. But, if it be not a Christian Church, he has no business in it; and by remaining in it, does he not virtually say, that though it is proslavery, it is still Christian? And is not this to give the lie to his Anti-Slavery declarations, and also to cast a stain upon Christianity?

No, Mr. President, we run from nobody; in an angry spirit, we separate from nobody. Our aim has been, from the beginning to the present time, not to alienate, but to win. This may seem paradoxical to some, who can talk of nothing but our harsh and denunciatory language. Now, we claim no exemption from the common infirmities of human nature. We acknowledge ourselves to be very fallible men and women; that we may not have always been judicious in our language; that we may have erred in many things. But, in such a conflict, with EDMUND BURKE we think that "something is to be pardoned to the spirit of Liberty." We only ask a fair margin for human frailties. But our desire has been to conciliate all, and not to alienate any man from the cause of the slave. We were few at the outset—how few! We needed comfort, and aid, and coöperation. But we did not deem it wise or safe to differ from the philosophy of those who had gone before us—the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and the martyrs. They spoke the truth of God, "whether men would hear or forbear;" whether they would be conciliated or not; whether it should prove "a savor of life unto life, or of death unto death."

We only ask that men shall be satisfied with their own position, and show us, by the goodness of their spirit, that they sincerely believe themselves to be in the right, and can therefore afford to be criticised. I trust the time is coming when there shall be no strife among the professed friends of this great enterprise.

JOSEPH BARKER said that he fully agreed with the preceding speaker in his remarks, in regard to the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and he agreed with him, also, in the sentiment that all true-hearted reformers were one, in spite of differences in minor matters; and while they worked in their own way, and by the means which seemed to them most efficient, they still labored for the same grand and noble object.

In relation to the remarks of his friend Wright, which would imply that he underrated the disabilities under which the colored people of this country labored, Mr. Barker said that he believed he fully appreciated them, and that no man's sympathy for that oppressed class was stronger than his own. It was a shame and an infamy that his friend ROBERT PURVIS was not allowed to send his children to the school which his

taxes in part supported; but he (Mr. B.) could not send a son of his to a respectable school in England, because the aristocratic influence was so powerful that no teacher dared admit the child of a man like himself, a Republican in politics, and a Liberal in religion, for fear of losing their favor. No insurance office would insure his property, until he had secured such a number of friends as to make it worth while for them to seek to gain friends by a show of liberality. He (Mr. B.) did not believe that his most estimable and infinitely good-humored and philanthropic friend, EDMUND QUINCY,—a right noble offshoot of a noble stock,—(loud cheers,)—he did not believe that his friend Quincy understood perfectly the nature and operation of the Aristocratic institutions of Great Britain and Ireland. He would tell him, he would tell every body, that there was more of selfishness, inhumanity and villany in the British Aristocracy, and a greater resemblance in their heart of hearts to the heart of the slaveholders, than any man, who had not lived under them, could understand. He himself had worked for *four cents a day*, and been cheated out of his wages at that, and no magistrate would have taken in hand his father's case, and obtained for him his rights. That was the condition of millions in Great Britain and Ireland, and it was but the natural effect of those laws which the Aristocracy had made. "The slaveholder," said Mr. Barker, "must always be the greatest of all criminals; but there are some that are very much like him."

EDMUND QUINCY said he thought his friend could not suppose that he meant to say any thing in defence of the English Aristocracy. He merely wished to illustrate the difference of the basis on which the two Aristocracies rest; and he thought there must be a wide difference between the Aristocratical institutions of England and this country, since his friend, although he could not get his four cents a day, was yet able, by his energy and ability, to make an impression upon those Aristocratic institutions and effect great reforms; and whenever the slave could do that, *in the slave country*, he would admit that the wickedness and infamy of the Aristocracy of England approached to that of the Southern States.

MR. BARKER—We will get rid of them both.

MR. QUINCY—Amen. (Great applause.)

After a few remarks by the President, the Convention adjourned to Sunday morning, at 10 o'clock.

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

At the appointed hour on Sunday morning, the President took the chair, and called the meeting to order, the spacious hall being filled by a very large audience, whose countenances and manner bore witness that they were drawn together by a deeper motive than curiosity — an eager and heartfelt desire to know all truth and all duty. The sunny brightness and freshness of the day seemed reflected on the faces of that great assembly of thoughtful men and women.

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE read several most appropriate passages of Scripture.

Letters from Mr. G. W. LEWIS, on behalf of his father, SAMUEL LEWIS, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and from Rev. T. W. HIGGINSON, of Worcester, Mass., were read, and it was voted to publish said letters with the proceedings. [See Appendix.]

Miss MARY COX, of Philadelphia, said she wished simply to state, that she had been deeply impressed, during the meeting, with the application of the language of Scripture, "Jerusalem shall be searched with lighted candles," to this country and time. The Church of the present day was the "Jerusalem," and the Abolitionists were the "lighted candles." She hoped that every one would be willing to receive reproof or instruction, and to hear the word of life. The Lord Almighty was not afar off nor asleep, but was still the unslumbering Shepherd of Israel, "laying judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet," in our very midst.

EDMUND QUINCY made a brief reply to the exceptions which had been taken by JOSEPH BARKER to his previous remarks on the difference between the Aristocratic institutions of Great Britain and this country. He said he believed he did understand the character of the English Aristocracy. It was true, as his friend had said, that they did weigh heavily upon the hearts of the people, that they did throw infinite obstacles in the way of the elevation of the poor; but, while he admitted this resemblance between the two systems, he thought there was a very great difference in other respects. The very fact of his friend (Mr. Barker) being what he was at this time, was a proof of that difference. It was a proof that a man born among the lower class of the people in England, with all possible influences brought to bear against him to keep him down, could not be kept down, but that, in spite of those Aristocratic institutions, he could rise, and exert a great influence over the mass of the people; and not only that, but actually be elected to a seat

in the Parliament of the nation. Whenever a slave could rise, in the slaveholding country, and exert there the influence which Mr. Barker did in England,—whenever a black man, slave or not, in the South, could be elected to the Congress of the United States,—then the analogy between the two systems might be admitted.

Then, again, bad as the institutions of Great Britain were, there was nothing in them to prevent the laboring man from rising to the highest place; in fact, many persons had thus risen to power, as was well known. There were no obstacles in the way of the acquisition of knowledge. Men were not sent to prison there, or beaten, or lynched, for teaching poor Englishmen or Irishmen to read and write. They might learn to read, they might go where they pleased to church, they might send their children to school, if they could obtain the means. Then, the lower classes had the right of flight; there was no Fugitive Slave Law to stop them. They could not be pursued, even to the British possessions. They had a right to go to Australia, or New Zealand, or Canada, or any where else, at their pleasure. In all these respects, he apprehended there was a great difference between the condition of the laboring people of Great Britain, and that of the slaves of the United States.

What he (Mr. Quincy) wished his friend Barker and the audience particularly to consider and remember was the infinite difference between Slavery and Tyranny; that, bad as Tyranny is, it is as the light of noon to the darkness of midnight, compared with Slavery. (Applause.) He wished his friend to look at the matter from this point of view, because, whenever the Abolitionists portrayed the condition of the slave, and protested against the wickedness of the master, the tyranny of the English Aristocracy was thrown in their teeth. They were told that the English operative and the Irish peasant were just as badly off as the American slave, and that the owners of the English mills and the landlords were just as bad as the slaveholders. But, admitting that the physical condition of these classes was as bad, or even worse, than that of the slaves, there was this difference—that the slaves were kept so by the laws of the country in which they lived. Its ignorance, tyranny and oppression were organized into law, so that it was morally, intellectually and physically impossible for the slave to rise, in the slave country, above the place in which he was born.

Mr. Quincy said, in conclusion, that there was nothing under the cope of heaven to compare with American Slavery; not even Russian serfdom, for the serf was chained to the soil, and could not be “sold South,” and the power of the Emperor was extended for the defence and pro-

tection of the serf; while in this country, the influence of the Government was all on the side of the master, instead of the slave. He believed that there was nothing in Europe or in Asia to compare, in blackness and infamy, with the relation of the slaveholder to his slaves in this country; and he hoped, therefore, that no Abolitionist would even *appear* to play into the hands of the enemies of the slave, by not recognising this distinction, in the most marked manner, whenever he spoke on the subject.

At this point, WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston, entered the hall, which fact the President (Mr. GARRISON) announced, remarking that "his appearance was as cheering as the unveiled face of the sun after a long storm." (Loud applause.)

JOSEPH BARKER said that he perfectly agreed with Mr. Quincy, that Slavery is the lowest condition of Humanity, and that slaveholding is the greatest crime in the catalogue of sins; but what he had contended for was this, that in substance and in tendency the two systems were one, and that their effects were much more alike, than one who had not felt the weight of the European system would be disposed to believe; and that, indeed, under certain circumstances, the effect of the Aristocratic system in Great Britain and Ireland was more deplorable, in some respects, than the effect of the slaveholding system in this country. In illustration of this position, Mr. Barker cited the starvation which had been produced, not only in Ireland, but also in England, to a fearful extent, by the efforts of the landlords to maintain a monopoly of the grain market, and thus secure a higher price for their lands from the tenant farmers. By this system, within two years, the population of Ireland had been reduced, through absolute starvation, one and a half to two millions. In no case had the slaveholding system produced such a deplorable and frightful result.

He (Mr. B.) acknowledged the force of Mr. Quincy's remark, that the people of Great Britain could run away, that they were at liberty, if they chose, to leave that country, and come to this. It was also true, that there was no law expressly passed to prevent the people from learning to read; but, by a tax of eight cents on every newspaper, so that one could not be bought for less than thirteen or fifteen cents, by levying a tax of thirty-six cents on every advertisement, though it were but a line, and by a burdensome tax on paper, the number of books and newspapers was kept down, and the ability to obtain them limited to the higher and middle classes of the people. Let his audience imagine

books kept at a high price, the people prevented from having more than one half the needful amount of employment, and then obliged to pay two thirds of all their earnings in taxes, (the Aristocracy did not pay one fiftieth part of their income in taxes,) and they would have as cunningly a devised scheme as the world had ever beheld, for extracting the very last drop of life-blood and energy from the working classes, and leaving them as low, as abject, as poor, as hopeless, as they could well be.

It was true, Mr. Barker said, that the people had the right to run away; but, in many cases, they had not the requisite means to avail themselves of this mode of escape from the tyranny that oppressed them. There were millions in Great Britain and Ireland, at this time, who could not run away; and many of them waited until their friends in this country sent them the means to pay their passage here. Millions were sent over from the United States to Great Britain every year for this purpose. He was aware, as Mr. Quincy had said, that the conduct of the Irish and English Aristocracy is sometimes thrown in the way of the Abolitionist, as an objection to the Anti-Slavery movement; and when he presented his views on this subject, he knew what abuse might be made of them by pro-slavery parties in this country. He knew it was possible that some pro-slavery man might, by mistake, say to him,—“That’s right, Barker! You do right to denounce the Aristocracy across the ocean.” It was possible that such a man might do this once—*not twice!* (Laughter and cheers.) But, on the other hand, if they refused to allow that the English and Irish Aristocracy are the company of unbearable creatures they really are—how did that operate on the Irish emigrants? They would say—“If these men don’t know any more about Slavery than they know about England and Ireland, we shan’t believe them when they tell us of the condition of the slaves. We have suffered from the Aristocracy and land monopolists in England; we know how they operate; we know it is not possible for the slaves physically to be in a worse condition than the laws of the Aristocracy and land monopolists of Great Britain and Ireland have brought upon the laboring population of those countries; and if they will not concede the truth when speaking on this subject, we are not prepared to acknowledge what they have to say on the question of Slavery.”

Mr. Barker concluded—My own impression is, that the course I have taken in venturing to express my feelings and judgment on this subject, will do far more good, by its influence upon English emigrants, than it could possibly do harm by appearing, for a time, to strengthen a certain objection employed by slaveholders and their sycophantic adherents. (Applause.) But, whatever be the effect of this course of procedure, for

a time, one thing is certain, I can only vindicate liberal principles in my own way, and use such illustrations as my reading and experience supply; and I will trust the effect of a free, honest, benevolent utterance of my own thoughts, and my own feelings, *further than I can see*. And when we do utter our feelings and sympathies, and convictions of truth, and our wishes for improvement, and when we do contribute our labors for the good of mankind, I am thoroughly persuaded, as I am that I exist, that the effect must be good, though some individuals may seek to make a bad use of it. However, we are all agreed, that while we live in America, it is with American institutions and American abuses that we have especially to deal. Our work is to create and extend the sentiment in favor of impartial Freedom; and against that most accursed of all institutions, American Slavery. I say, here we are agreed, and here we speak our minds, and contribute our efforts to this one great object,—to wipe away the stain from the American character, to abolish that institution which rests like an incubus upon American enterprise and improvement; and, surely, we can bear to hold differences of opinion in minor matters, so long as we are perfectly agreed in hating American Slavery, in opposition to the American slaveholder, and in our efforts to elevate every human being to a position of equality of rights and a fair chance of doing well for himself, both in body and soul, in his own person and in his posterity, through the length and breadth of this great country, and through the countless ages which are to witness its growing destiny. (Loud cheers.)

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, of Plainfield, Conn., then took the platform, and addressed the audience as follows:—

SPEECH OF CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

MR. PRESIDENT :

I do not intend to go into any extended reply to the remarks of the preceding speaker. Indeed, it was not in my mind to allude at all to the subject on which he spoke. Still, before entering upon what I intended to be my discourse of this morning, I wish to glance briefly at some of the points which have been made.

I heartily agree with the sentiment which our friend has uttered here, that the faithful utterance of the truth—the faithful, honest, effective utterance of that which commends itself to our minds as truth—may be trusted further than we can see. That is the sentiment which has animated the Anti-Slavery enterprise from the beginning. We

have been met with talk about expediency; with objections to our severity and harshness; with objections to the dangerous character of the remedy we propose for Slavery, and a thousand objections based on this principle of expediency; and our answer to them all has been, whether we can show or not that the course we adopt is expedient, we know it is RIGHT, and therefore we can trust it. If we have once made up our minds that a course is demanded by principle, by a regard for truth and justice, no matter what its effect may seem to be to-day or to-morrow, on you or on your neighbor, it is certain that it will have the right effect at last.

But, as to the particular case before us, it seems to me that those who assert that the victims of the selfishness of the British Aristocracy are in as degraded and depressed a condition as the victims of American Slavery, or who think that we are in any danger of judging too lightly of the character of the British Aristocracy, ought to make a very different inference from that which would rank us as allies and friends of any form of oppression in the world. I should reason after a different fashion, if I thought that Abolitionists underrated the oppressiveness of the British Aristocracy. I should say, Well, if the American slaveholders, whom I do not know, are as much worse than your representation of them, as the Aristocracy of Great Britain and Ireland, whom I *do* know, are worse than your representation of *them*, then I do not wonder at the earnestness of your opposition to them. I do not believe that we ever lose ground at all by seeming to be tender and lenient towards those whose positions we do not thoroughly comprehend. When our judgment stops a little short of the severity of absolute truth, I think it can be no worse, at least, than if by chance we should go a little beyond, or come right up to the utmost point of just severity, in any case where there is danger of being misled by ignorance.

In the comparison which has been instituted between the American and British systems of despotism, I think that one circumstance has been lost sight of, or not presented with sufficient distinctness. We have been told of the starvation which the people of Great Britain and Ireland have suffered, in consequence of the oppressive policy of the British government; we have also been informed of the hindrances which are interposed in the way of the intellectual culture of the British peasantry, through the taxation which is laid on the production and circulation of books and newspapers. All perfectly true, and all well put, as I think, in the argument which would go to the abolition of the Corn Laws, and the breaking down of this system which keeps back the intellectual advancement of the people; but not exactly well put, it seems to me, in

the argument which is to bring us to a correct appreciation of the comparative merits or demerits of the two systems of British Aristocracy and American Slavery. Now, when the American slaveholder says to his slave, "You are my property; you must work for whatever I choose to give you, and all the product of your toil must go into my pocket," he has the unmistakable object in view of converting his brother man into a mere instrument for the promotion of his own interest. It seems to me that we cannot quite so certainly say this as to the British systems of policy; for there are those, and not a few, in this country, as well as in that, who believe that such systems are the very best means for promoting the welfare of the whole nation. We, too, have a tariff policy; and if we do not forbid the importation of grain, it is because we have no occasion for it. But we *do* forbid the importation of certain articles of manufactured goods; and we have men among us,—and able men, and men who love Liberty, and men who love the masses of the people,—who say that it is better for our country that we should keep up this protective policy, and that we shall thereby really enlarge the prices of labor, and multiply the comforts of the poor. Well, we may differ as to whether this is a wise policy or not, yet it does seem to me that the selfishness of the one course is far more clearly manifest than that of the other. So, as to the tax on books: it is for the purpose of making revenue; and to carry out the system consistently with that object, the British government, to say the least, should not discourage education among the poorer classes, because, to diffuse the light of knowledge is to multiply the number of readers, and thereby the number of purchasers of books and papers, and thereby the number of payers of this tax. So, through the whole of these points of comparison, it seems to me this difference runs: the one governmental policy may be presumed to be intended to operate for the good of all classes, while the other is directly designed for the promotion of the interests of one class, through the sacrifice of the rights of the other. But I pass from this question.

However we may differ as to the actual and relative positions of these parties, we are agreed in one point, that the principle of the American slave system is an embodiment of the most purely selfish principle that was ever embodied in human laws and human institutions; that it is the most detestable system of villany that ever yet emerged from the bottomless pit of perdition, to find a dwelling-place on God's green earth. (Loud cheers.) And as to the administrators of this system, whatever they may be at the beginning, they must naturally and necessarily tend to become like the system which they administer. We have often been told of the benevolence of slaveholders, of the kind treatment of slaves,

and we do not dispute the facts, because we are told that the lucky accident of a benevolent and beneficent despot among the despotisms of the old world sometimes occurs; but, whatever number of such accidents may happen, the necessary tendency of upholding and administering a system purely and utterly selfish in its character, must be to make those who uphold and administer it selfish also.

It is just here that we assail the American slave system. We say, that in its intrinsic character, it is a sin, and therefore always wrong; and not merely wrong, but the very superlative degree of wrong; the very condensed and concentrated essence of all iniquity. We fully endorse the declaration of John Wesley, that Slavery is the "sum of all villainies." We maintain that Slavery embodies all actual, all possible, all conceivable, all imaginable villainy, in the single principle which is its essence and life,—the principle of the absolute property of man in man,—the principle that one man is the mere tool, the mere appendage of another, the instrument to be used for the promotion of that other's interest; and, therefore, we maintain that to talk of the abuses of such a system, of the perversion of the power of the master to the production of results not naturally belonging to the system, is folly. Pray, how can there be any abuse of that which is itself the sum of all abuses? If you are to be held, as the Supreme Court of North Carolina has decided the slave is to be held, without any regard to your good, but solely to promote my comfort and security, pray, how can you imagine the existence of any abuse of the power thus conferred, of the relation thus defined? Every thing which I believe to be necessary to the attainment of the object, I may do; and the fact of its necessity to that end, justifies the doing of it. In this principle, we find the broad and firm basis for that doctrine of the slave law, which the Supreme Court of North Carolina set forth in the decision that the slave has no redress from any injury inflicted by his master; that he can have no appeal from the master's decision, and consequent action, to the tribunals of the country. All wrongs, therefore, are included in this one wrong, and we cannot, for this reason, be too severe in our denunciation of Slavery. We cannot imagine any thing as more oppressive than the combination of all oppressions. What right can ever be invaded in the person of the slave, from whom all rights are rent away? If no wrong can be perpetrated on the subject of the system, then there can be no abuse of the system.

Now, we have come together, and have called our fellow-citizens from all parts of the country together with us, to combine our energies for the overthrow of this institution—for the abolition of the system

which declares one man to be the absolute property of another, and which, in thus setting up the principle of the absolute power of one man over another, has committed, at one blow, the sum of all wrongs and of all outrages.

Here we are met by a great many objections, foremost of which, at the present day, is, that we are enemies to all good, in every form, now existing in the world. Men say to us, your cause may or may not be good, but we cannot coöperate with you, because you are enemies of the Sabbath, enemies of the Bible, enemies of Christianity, enemies of the Church and the Christian ministry; and if we should coöperate with you, in endeavoring to overthrow Slavery, we should thereby be giving countenance to an enmity to all the good you stand arrayed against. Our enemies would turn away the gaze of the people from that institution which we are summoning them to assail, by exciting their theological prejudices against us, hoping thereby to weaken the hands of the friends of Freedom, and prop and strengthen those of the champions of Slavery. We are obliged to meet this objection. We are obliged to show that our enterprise has no controversy with any thing but Slavery, and that which is arrayed for the defence of Slavery. We are not the enemies of the Bible, or the Constitution, the Church, or the clergy, or the popular religion, unless these are arrayed in defence of the slave system.

Now, we may not always stop to inquire whether the system of chattel Slavery *is* in harmony with the spirit of the Bible, the Church, the clergy, and religion, or not; we have only to say, if the Bible and the Church, if the clergy and their religion, *do* sanction such a system, then that sanction, instead of justifying Slavery, condemns them; and we throw the burden of proof upon our opponents. We ask them to *prove* that Slavery is right, not that something else, which, after all, may be wrong, declares it to be right; and if they wish to defend their Bible and religion, we ask them to prove that these, while they sanction Slavery, are or can be right. On the other hand, we deny that there is any necessary controversy between the Anti-Slavery cause and the religion of Jesus Christ, and the Church and clergy whose business it is to set forth and embody that religion. We maintain, that if Christianity is to be judged in the light of its great principles, in the light of its central and all-pervading truths, then Christianity is an Anti-Slavery religion; and that it is not only our right to prosecute this Anti-Slavery enterprise in the midst of a Christian community, and to summon that community to coöperate in the prosecution of it, but that it is the duty

of every man, calling himself by the name of Jesus Christ, to enrol himself in the ranks of the Anti-Slavery host.

This is our answer to those who charge us with being the enemies of the religion of Jesus, or any of its institutions. Admitting that the common faith in regard to the sacredness of the first day of the week is the true faith, still we say, that the work in which we are engaged is eminently appropriate to this day of the week. Even though you hold as strictly to its sanctity as the children of Abraham did to that of the seventh day, still, we maintain that the day is no holier than the work. You say that this day ought to be devoted to the promotion of the cause of Christ in the world, to the dissemination of religious truth and the use of the means of spiritual welfare. Very good, we say; appropriate it, then, to religious worship; appropriate it, then, to the advancement of the cause of Christ; and, among the means of advancing the Christian cause, uphold our enterprise, which, in the principles it embodies, in the results at which it aims, is an eminently Christian enterprise. Ours is a holy enterprise, then; ours is an enterprise holy enough for the holiest of days and the holiest of places.

You would devote this day to worship. Pray, what do you mean by worship? You mean by it, the expression of your reverence for God, whom you deem worthy of the highest veneration. Then you mean, the expression of veneration, not merely for some abstract idea, but you mean reverence for the attributes and character of your God—reverence for that which constitutes him worthy of veneration. The God you worship, you will not admit as the mere creation of your fancy,—a sort of floating vapor, away somewhere in the infinite regions of space, with no qualities, no attributes, on which the human heart can fasten with a strong and sure grasp. You cannot venerate such an airy abstraction. Try, and you will find it utterly impossible. But you mean that you venerate the justice, the love, the truth, the purity, the holiness, the goodness of God; to sum it all up in one word, and that word the very one which your Anglo-Saxon fathers by familiar speech have shortened into the common term by which you signify the object of your religious worship, God—Good; the pure and absolute Good is what you profess to venerate; Good impersonate, endowed with all the qualities and attributes of personality—it is that which you tell me that you bow before in your temples of religious adoration.

Now, let us examine the bearings of this admission on the question here before us. If you worship God on account of his justice, his love, his truth, then it is these that are the real objects of your veneration,

and He is to you but the impersonate essence of these. Wherever these call for any expression of your reverence, there you instinctively bestow it. Supposing you to be filled with the spirit of reverence for God, no element of selfishness mingles with it. You love justice for its own sake, and not for any advantages which may accrue to yourself; you love truth for its own sake, and not for the sake of any possible benefit to yourself from the prevalence of truth; and so through all the divine characteristics. Any cause, then, which embodies any portion of this principle of justice, demands, in the same proportion in which it does embody it, your reverence; and as worship is the expression of reverence, every act which you do to give expression to your reverence for right, wheresoever it is embodied, is an act of worship; and so, through all the other attributes of the divine character.

Now, here is the American slave system—a system of incarnate iniquity and injustice, and the most cruel form in which injustice can be embodied. What, then, is the feeling which naturally arises in your hearts and minds on the contemplation of that injustice? Love to truth and justice necessarily implies hatred to falsehood and injustice; there is no neutral, there is no middle ground. “If a man say, I love God, and hate his brother, he is a liar.” In the very change of his term from love, in the first clause, to *love not* in the other, the Apostle implies to “love not” is to “hate”; that, in other words, there is no middle ground between love and hatred; and that is the implication which conveys the true philosophy. If we love the one of two opposites, we must hate the other. If I love justice, I must hate wrong; I cannot be neutral. “When judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off, and truth is fallen in the street,” I must feel deeply in proportion to the depth and strength of my reverence for God, which is reverence for justice, for love, and for truth. I must, then, if I feel deeply, act according to my feeling. “Out of the abundance of the heart” not only “the mouth speaketh,” but the whole man *acteth*.

Well, then, here is a system of embodied injustice, standing in full view of us who profess to love God. What is the natural expression for us of that feeling of reverence for right? I may *say* that I love right better than wrong; I may *say* that I have a great regard for justice, and that I venerate the God of justice, because he *is* a just God; but is this the most natural and emphatic expression of reverence for justice and truth? When the feeling is strong, when the sentiment is deep and all-pervading in the soul, does it not demand something more impressive than mere words? does it not rush forth into action? Most assuredly. It is earnest, it is eager to embody itself in something more than mere

speech, and DEED becomes worship. The expression of our reverence for God, in this view of the subject, is the expression of our hatred of wrong, and our desire to remove wrong from the face of that earth which it curses. I am not saying that there may not be hypocritical worship of this kind, as well as of any other; but this does not of itself disprove the existence of heart worship. That men profess to be Anti-Slavery men, when really there is no heart at bottom but the heart of selfishness, by no means disproves the proposition that true veneration for God assumes this expression of itself—the worship of God in doing good to our wronged and oppressed brother, in laboring for the overthrow of every system of injustice which is oppressing and degrading him.

I demand for our Anti-Slavery enterprise the character of a religious enterprise. I demand for our Anti-Slavery action the character of religious worship; and I affirm that every man who engages in this cause, animated by the spirit which is congenial to the cause, which is the vital spirit of the cause, is worshipping God in every act which he does to promote this cause. He is giving expression to his love for justice, when he makes war against the iniquity of the Slave Power. He is giving expression to his reverence for that God who is justice itself impersonate, when he is giving his aid to the cause which seeks to make justice triumphant over wrong.

If I had spoken of Slavery as an embodied lie in the presence of this nation, I might draw the same conclusion from that aspect of the case. Slavery practically denies the great truth which, as men, we believe we know to be the truth. It practically denies the truth which Jesus Christ revealed in the whole tenor of his preachings, and still more impressively in the whole tenor of his life. You call yourselves followers of Christ. You say you believe in the divine character of Jesus Christ, in the divinity of the words he spoke. Then I ask you to unite with us in endeavoring to imitate Him who “came to bring deliverance to the captive, and to open the prison doors to them that are bound.” He has taught, as plainly as words, as plainly as a life bright with beneficent deeds can teach it, that all men are brothers, that we are all children of one family; that we have all the same nature, and, by necessary consequence, the same rights. If He has said to us, “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets,”—this is the very essence, the sum of all which the prophets reveal, which the law enjoins,—then he has, in saying this, said that our neighbor *is* as ourselves. To command us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and to command this as the very essence of our duty, is to tell us that we are all equals in nature and rights, that we are

all members of one common family ; is to give us the law which naturally, which necessarily grows out of the doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man.

A great outcry was made all over the country, a year or two ago, about PARKER PILLSBURY, who, it was said, went through a certain form used by the religious organizations of the country, with the supposition, or the imagination, that the subject of the rite was only a dog. The religious newspapers uttered exclamations of holy horror ; the pulpits poured out their solemn anathemas upon the man who dared to be guilty of so blasphemous an atrocity as the baptizing of dogs. And yet, PARKER PILLSBURY did nothing more, even in imagination, in that case, than what every clergyman of the South does, in principle, when he admits a slave to his church ; nothing more than what every slaveholding church does, when it admits a slave to its communion. It would be just as proper (assuming as true the central principle of the American slave code, that the slave is a *mere chattel personal*) to take the bread of the communion and feed the dogs of the kennel with it, as it would be to take it and give it to the chattels that toil in our fields. If the slave is a chattel, if he has not the same human nature that we have, if he has not the same human rights as we, then he belongs to that inferior grade of beings to whom it would be blasphemy to administer the sacraments of the religion of Jesus. I repeat, those who treat the slave as an inferior being, and at the same time talk about sending him the gospel, talk about giving him the privileges of the church, talk about baptizing him and admitting him to the communion table, have no right to find fault with any body for administering the ordinance of baptism to dogs. They have no right to find fault, I say, if this be actually done ; but every body knows, who knows the facts in the case, that PARKER PILLSBURY, as an illustration of his argument, merely *imagined* the case of a minister attempting to go through this ceremony with dogs instead of slaves. You cannot but see how perfectly conclusive is the logic ; and the only fault—if fault there were—in the case was, that PARKER PILLSBURY chose to embody that logic in a dramatic form, which appealed to the senses, so that it would make its impression upon the heart, instead of presenting it in the form of dry argument, a mere appeal to the cold intellect.

Jesus, then, by the very commandment to treat our fellow-man as an equal, has taught the doctrine of Human Brotherhood. It is the very vital principle of the religion of Jesus Christ. If the words and life of Jesus mean any thing, reveal any thing, press any thing with peculiar force upon the understanding and the heart, it is just this truth, that we

are the equal children of one infinitely loving Father ; that we are all of the same nature, and necessarily have the same rights, since rights are as the nature of the being possessing them. Now, Slavery denies this. Slavery, therefore, is a lie against our humanity, a lie against the religion of Jesus Christ, or God himself is false. We are obliged to accept one of the two alternatives—either God has written a lie upon the very constitution of our being, either Christ has taught falsely, or Slavery is itself the greatest lie that ever passed from the false heart of man into the false institutions which he has set up. We revere truth ; we desire to worship God, the God of infinite truth,—that is, to give expression to our reverence for truth, our reverence for him who is the infinite impersonation of truth to our understandings and our hearts. Now, what is the most emphatic expression of this reverence ? Is it to go about the country saying, “ We like truth ” ? Or is it not, rather, by embodying the truth in our lives, and showing our veneration for truth by our abhorrence of every deviation from it ? It is not by professing a hatred of wrong, but by endeavoring to put an end to it wheresoever we discover it, that we display our veneration for right and justice. Make war upon Slavery, make war upon that institution which is itself the incarnation of all outrages and all ills in the universe of God, which is the purest embodiment of the satanic element in this universe—make war upon that, earnestly, perseveringly, impelled by a spirit in full harmony with the purpose that calls you to action, and you are worshipping God,—because you are expressing your reverence for truth in your hatred to falsehood, and the expression of reverence *is* worship.

I might go on, and show that just the opposite, not only of truth and justice, but of whatever else commends itself to you as good, as an attribute of the character of God, is embodied in American Slavery ; but time will not permit. Every man who truly venerates these divine attributes is thereby impelled, by a law of resistless moral necessity, to array himself against Slavery. He only needs to know what Slavery is, he only needs to know of the existence of such an institution as is defined in the American Slave Code, he only needs the simple knowledge of the fact, to make him a decided, earnest Anti-Slavery man. If, indeed, the spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ is in him ; if, indeed, the spirit of reverence for the God of infinite justice, goodness, benevolence and truth is in him, you might as well suppose that you can prevent water from gushing out from the living fountain, to flow

“ Through matted grass, that, with a livelier green,
Betrays the secret of its silent course,”

as prevent the flowing out of this indwelling reverence for right, for truth, for benevolence, in the form of deeds that shall bless mankind. When Jesus said that the decision pronounced upon them that should be gathered before the Judge, and divided from each other as sheep are divided from the goats, should be based on this principle—Inasmuch as ye did or did not the offices of kindness and brotherly affection to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did them or did them not to me,—when He represented this as the very highest test of human character, He taught no other than the plainest philosophy of morals, as any man may discover it, who will examine himself, or who will carefully observe life round about him; for if we have that spirit within us which prompts us to do the deed of kindness and mercy to those who are in circumstances which render it impossible they should ever be able to requite that deed, if we spontaneously bestow our good offices, without hope of reward, then the presumption manifestly is, that it is the impulse of love for goodness in itself, within us, which has prompted the deed; while, on the other hand, if we refuse to do that deed under such circumstances, if we wait until we can do it to those who, in some way, will be able to repay us in kind, the inference is fair that we have not the spirit within us which prompts to deeds of goodness, but that we are prompted to action only by the selfishness of our own hearts.

I maintain, then, upon these grounds, that the Anti-Slavery enterprise is truly a religious enterprise, is truly a Christian enterprise, in the best and highest sense of the term; and that when we are acting in accordance with its spirit, and endeavoring to promote this enterprise, earnestly and persistently, we are worshipping God; that we are worshipping Him in an acceptable manner; that we are worshipping Him not only as truly as those who bow the knee in prayer, but more impressively than they. If, in order to escape from this conclusion, the attempt should be made to prove that Christianity does not teach the doctrines I have ascribed to it, all I have to say is, You who teach that, must settle your controversy with Infidels and Atheists as you can; I have nothing to say, on this Anti-Slavery platform, as to whether Christianity is divine or not. True, I believe it to be divine; I cling to it as the very embodiment of the vital principle of love; but if others choose to understand it differently, and to maintain that it is a religion which is unjust, which is tyrannous, or which countenances wrong of any kind, I have no time to spend, upon this Anti-Slavery platform, in a contest on the divinity or diabolism of a religion of that character. Nay, I do not know that it is necessary to debate the question elsewhere; for before an audience which could not, by instinct, perceive whether such a religion is divine or diabolical, it

might perhaps be throwing away argument, to endeavor to convince them of such a proposition. You might as well light a lamp at cloudless noonday, to show that the sun is shining. The Christianity which I believe in is the Christianity of Human Brotherhood; the God whom I reverence is the universal Father of all the family of man; but if any others worship a different God, and believe in a different Christianity, then the argument that I have been presenting here does not touch their case; and, therefore, their arguments in support of the deductions which they would draw from such a Christianity do not affect the Anti-Slavery question, or the conclusion to which we arrive in the settlement of that question. We say to Rev. Theodore Clapp, of New Orleans, who says, in reference to a certain passage in Scripture, "Here you see God trafficking in slaves,"—the only difference between you and us is, that we are Abolitionists, and therefore do not worship an Almighty slaveholder. We do not worship Belial, or Moloch, or Mammon, even; but if you choose to incorporate the avarice of Mammon, and the lust of Belial, and the blood-thirstiness of Moloch, all into one monster, and call that monster "God," why, instead of stopping to debate with you whether the Anti-Slavery cause is in accordance with the will of your God or not, we shall earnestly inquire if it be not our duty immediately to organize a Missionary Society, to preach the Gospel among the heathen in New Orleans. (Loud applause.) It is not at all a question concerning the right or wrong of the Anti-Slavery cause, which is raised by these theological objections to it. It is the question whether the cause in which we are engaged is in accordance with the worship of Juggernaut and Vishnu and Brama. When we accept the teachings of these deities as divine truth, we shall be in the right position to argue that question. When we worship a God who is not the loving Father of all the tribes of men on the face of the earth, then we will talk about the question whether Slavery is or is not in accordance with that religion. To-day, we come here to argue in favor of a cause that, being right and benevolent in itself, is in harmony with every thing else which is right and benevolent. Aiming at the upholding of all that is good in God's universe, and believing that all which is good in the universe is in harmony with His will, the only way in which we can be met is, by endeavoring to prove to our human consciousness, to our human intellect and heart, that Slavery is right—that it is right in itself to make merchandise of men—that it is right in itself to use labor without wages—that it is right in itself to darken the intellect by the prohibition of education, as well as the means of education—that it is right in itself to abolish marriage, and by law, and the strength of public sentiment, to enforce

wholesale concubinage and adultery—right in itself to destroy the religious sentiment of men, by stifling and smothering it—right in itself to turn a man into a beast, in order that another man may put the market price of him into his purse. When these things are proved, then we can accept the arguments of the theological defenders of Slavery. If we believe that such an institution is not right, and never can be right, that it is an outrage against man, and rank rebellion against God, then, the theological argument against us will be disregarded, and only the Paganism or the Atheism of those who object to our treating it as such will be made manifest.

Mrs. WILLIAMS, of Wilmington, Del., (colored,) said she must be indulged in a few words. She spoke with much emotion and most impressively, remarking that she had attended but few Anti-Slavery meetings; but, she continued, I have been told that these men (pointing to Messrs. Garrison, Burleigh and others on the platform) are my enemies, and the enemies of the colored people. Within a fortnight, I heard a Methodist minister, in Wilmington, say that these men are all Infidels. Now I have seen and heard these men myself, and I say freely, that I have heard more truth this morning, I have had my intellect more enlightened as to the character of God, and my heart more stirred with the love of God, than by all the preaching of all the ministers I ever listened to in my life. I wish that all the world were here to see and hear for themselves. I believe that all good and honest men would be affected by the truth spoken here. The audience were deeply moved by Mrs. W's earnest language, and she resumed her seat with the remark, "I couldn't help speaking; I should have burst, if I hadn't."

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., of Boston, then took the platform, and said:—

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I wish, before this audience separates, to make a single remark in regard to an observation of my friend Mr. Barker, that a distinction drawn between the condition of the suffering classes of his own country and the slave, may lose us the sympathy of his countrymen, settled here. I know that his long experience entitles him to speak on this topic with far more authority than any words of mine ought to have; while his marked fidelity and disinterested devotion to our cause, on both sides of

the Atlantic, entitle his statements to still more weight. I must, however, say that, judging from my own experience, I have no hope, none whatever, of help to the Anti-Slavery cause, from the English emigrants, those from Ireland, or from the oppressed classes of any country in Europe. I believe they will be found the enemies, generally, of the Anti-Slavery movement; as all history shows us that no oppressed class of one nation has ever been able to sympathize cordially, or to do any thing effectively, for the sufferers from a different oppression under another government. I believe every hundred men, added to our population from foreign sources, are a weight in the scale against the Anti-Slavery movement, and that emigration would in itself be a serious obstacle to its progress, if beneath this opposition there did not lie the great principle, that every thing which tends to lessen conservatism, helps every other element of progress; and, consequently, that these classes of men, though hating the slave, as they uniformly have, and calumniating his friends, as they uniformly do, are in themselves unconsciously helping to resist the conservative tendency of this government, which so effectively supports the system of Slavery.

Again, before this assembly separates, I want to add my protest against the doctrine that it is true, in any degree, that the sufferings of men under European governments ought to be put on the same level with the sufferings of the slave in this country. Here, again, I would speak with due submission to the long experience and mature judgment of our friend. But he will allow me to say, that he seems to me to have overlooked one most important consideration—the first and greatest characteristic of his country—which is, that, *in spite* of all the disabilities he has mentioned, from the masses themselves—below the Aristocracy, below the class legislators, below the landholders—has sprung a very large share of the progress and improvement which England boasts; and that those very laws which he has cited have been beaten down again and again by the intelligence and energy of those very classes they were meant to subdue. Where is there any picture like this among the slaves of the South? Every effort in their behalf is made from without. Slavery has been taking a downward course for seventy years; adding horror to horror, bloody statute to bloody statute, selfishness to selfishness, privation to privation, until the Anti-Slavery movement, *from without*, has succeeded in turning the eye of the world upon the Slave Power, and restraining its course of unmixed selfishness. But, contrariwise to this, the sources of the improvement made in Great Britain for a hundred and fifty years, and all over Europe, have been from within,—from the indignation, the intelligence, the force of the

very classes with which the slave is assumed to be compared. While this fact remains, I do not care how often, in single items, the slaves may be compared to the oppressed of other lands. It is manifest, that the *result* of Despotism is one thing, and that of Slavery is quite another thing; that in the one case, Slavery kills the mind and cripples the intellectual energy of the enslaved class; that every generation sinks a degree lower than that which preceded it. The slave of to-day is worse off, practically, than the slave of our Revolutionary times, and the slaveholder of to-day would be a more cruel and remorseless master, but for the influence of the Anti-Slavery movement, (he was so before this movement commenced,) than his ancestor of seventy years ago. Now, it is a singular fact, not to be denied, in the face of the history of the last one hundred years, that the poorer classes of Great Britain and Ireland have not only not fallen lower in the scale of manhood during the last century, but have grown better.

Again: that our slaves have not been starved by millions, is not the merit either of the system or the masters, but is owing to the fact of their dwelling in a new country, a place where starvation, unless purposely and systematically sought for, cannot readily be found. The majority of the people of South Carolina have no element of improvement among them, but, on the contrary, are losing, in every generation, their manhood: their intellectual and moral condition is getting lower and lower every year, and cannot, therefore, be compared, in any respect, with that system of oppression in the old world, which, bloody as it is, has yet, by its own inherent force, wiped out bad legislation—the statute book becoming cleaner and purer every year.

Let me say, however, that my friend will not find me objecting to any efforts on his part, however earnest or frequent, to show how cruelly oppressed, how miserable, how pitiable, how wronged, the English and Irish have been; but when he has done it all, when he has made the picture black as he can paint it, I would then like to point the moral by saying, Here is the utmost that an Aristocracy, trusted with unlimited power for a thousand years, could inflict; they could do nothing blacker than this; and when you have painted it all, it is mid-noon compared with that blackness of darkness which broods over the Carolinas! (Loud cheers.) My appeal to the emigrant would be, that, no matter how deep the pit into which he had fallen, an oppression which undertakes to maintain the forms of law, which does not burn martyrs, if it burn them at all, except after trial in open court, and with a decent respect for the forms of justice, is not to be compared with one which, mocking all law as well as justice and humanity, lights up the waters

of the Mississippi and the Ohio, and the cane-brakes of Alabama, with the actual burning of the body of a slave and his champion, in the Nineteenth Century. When has this sight been seen in England for two hundred years? When would it be possible, even in the bloody civilization of Europe, that four instances should occur, within twenty years, of men burned at the stake because they were heretics, either in Birmingham or in Manchester?—three within six months, as my friend (Mr. Garrison) reminds me? No; to the English emigrant, or to any other, we maintain that our cause—the cause of the slave—has an essentially distinct, a deeper, sadder, weightier claim on the humanity of the world, than even his. (Cheers.)

I was anxious, Mr. Chairman, to make at least this brief expression of my opinion, before the audience, so properly disposed to yield implicit confidence to any opinion of Mr. Barker on this topic, should separate, lest his mistake, as I must think it, should weaken, in some degree, our appreciation of the unmatched wretchedness of the slave.

JOSEPH BARKER said that Mr. Phillips, in consequence of not having heard the whole discussion, had misunderstood his meaning, as well as the origin of the discussion relative to the oppressions of the British government. Mr. Barker also made a frank concession of several positions stated by Mr. Quincy, with which Mr. Q. expressed himself perfectly satisfied.

Adjourned.

SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

Previous to the calling to order, SOJOURNER TRUTH (formerly a slave in the State of New York) sang a plaintive song, touching the wrongs of the slave, and afterwards spoke of the wrong Slavery had done to herself and others.

The meeting having been called to order,

JOSEPH BARKER took the stand, and said that he had remarked, at the close of the morning session, that Mr. Phillips had partly misunderstood the position he occupied. It was a misapprehension to suppose that he intended, by any remarks which he had made, to divert attention from evils here at home, to evils far away across the Atlantic. That was sufficient for general explanation. But Mr. Phillips made one or two special remarks, which did not fall pleasantly upon his own mind, and perhaps it might be well to notice them, very briefly. First, let it be

observed that the leading Anti-Slavery people were not to be looked for among the ruling classes. Mr. Phillips seemed to think that the oppressed in one country were the people to take sides against those who were oppressed in another; and that the emigrants from Europe might naturally be expected to take sides with the oppressors here, or to despise the claims of the oppressed in this country. That the emigrants from Europe did not properly understand American affairs, and that some of them, when they seemed to understand them, took wrong sides, was too true; and it was also true, that persons who were brought up in Slavery were, when emancipated themselves, too prone to ape the tyrant who oppressed and crushed them before, and take sides against the classes still remaining in oppression. But the principle was not a universal one. It was not true as regarded those who had come from England. No one in this country knew so many English emigrants as he (Mr. B.) did; no one had had so many personal friends come to this country, and settle here; and he would give it as his opinion, that, taking their numbers for numbers, the Abolitionists were as numerous among them, in proportion to their number, as among the native Americans of the Northern States.

Mr. Barker said he wished the fact to be particularly remarked, that the Abolitionists in England were not to be looked for among the Aristocracy. He knew of but two Aristocratic families which had committed themselves to the American Anti-Slavery cause. The principal part of the Anti-Slavery sentiment in England would be found among the working classes—among the oppressed and plundered ones. There were some among the middle and wealthy classes, who held Anti-Slavery opinions, he was ready to admit, but the statement he had made he believed to be true in regard to the great mass of Anti-Slavery sentiment across the water.

There were some other points in Mr. Phillips's remarks that he was about to notice, but he would not further occupy the time, lest he should thereby prevent those who might be desirous of speaking on the great question of American Slavery from obtaining a hearing. He felt the greatest interest in the Anti-Slavery cause, and was most anxious for its continued progress, and for its ultimate triumph in the abolition of Slavery. He believed the cause would triumph, for it was based on right and truth, and it was sure to grow stronger and stronger, and ultimately to prevail. He knew that Mr. Phillips could not wish to do him any injustice, and he should be sorry if such an impression was left on his mind. His (Mr. B's) sole object had been, the establishment of universal and impartial Freedom in this land. (Cheers.)

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., of Boston, then took the platform, and spoke as follows:—

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I am very sorry that my remarks were made on a subject, the whole discussion of which I had not heard, for I certainly did not intend to convey the impression which the friend who has just addressed us seems to have derived from those remarks. My admiration for him has always been proportionately greater from the fidelity with which he has avowed the same principles on this side the Atlantic, for which he contended and suffered on the other. Undoubtedly, he knows the emigrant portion of his countrymen, and others from the neighboring countries of Europe, better than I do. I may be mistaken in taking a local fact for a general one, for I am sure I stated the facts exactly as we have experienced them in New England. I shall be glad to believe that Mr. Barker will be able to retain over his countrymen here, that same influence which he had abroad, and that his own example will bring them to a frank and decided adherence to the Anti-Slavery movement. They can undoubtedly give us great aid. Their own experience can aid us, and they will be free from many of the worst prejudices that influence Americans. Again: undoubtedly, Mr. Barker knows far more perfectly than I can, the condition of his own country, and we are bound to give great weight to his opinion on this question. With these mutual explanations, I think we may leave the topic.

This is the Twentieth Anniversary of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It seems good to look back, and see what these twenty years of our organization have effected—how much we have done towards the solution of the great Anti-Slavery problem with which we undertook to grapple.

Mr. President, I think we have great cause for rejoicing, as we stand here to-day. Men have blamed our philosophy, found fault with the means and temper of the Anti-Slavery movement, ever since its commencement; have undertaken to criticise it constantly, and to predict its downfall. But, if driving every other question out of the arena, and making the Anti-Slavery question the only question of all parties and of the nation, be any approach towards triumph, no man will deny that from the President down to the humblest member either of the civil or religious bodies of this country, we have turned every man's eye toward the slave. It seems to me that when we have done this, we have half set-

tioned the Anti-Slavery question. My friend Mr. Burleigh, this morning, spoke of the prejudice against us on account of the civil and religious positions which we assume. I take it as full proof of our fidelity and efficiency, that we have preached ourselves into the character of Infidels. We know, in an individual case in this country, that when a man preaches honestly, he preaches himself, in nine cases out of ten, out of the pulpit. Now, the account which we come up to render to the American people to-day is, that we have preached ourselves out of the pulpit, we have preached ourselves out of all religious character, in a nation which undertakes to make slaveholding compatible with a religious character. I have no care, Mr. President, for the misunderstanding to which Mr. Burleigh has alluded. Our main object is to state and reiterate our principles, not caring very anxiously about their explanation. After all, the community is not so stupid as some men imagine it. When we undertake to array the moral sentiment of this nation against the Church, when we undertake to array the moral sentiment of this nation against the State, we may be called Infidels, and traitors, but very few men misunderstand either our position or our object. The presses of the country, the leaders of parties, may undertake to misrepresent and mystify, but the popular mind has an instinctive sagacity that underlies all this; and the past ten years show us, beyond all dispute, that the Anti-Slavery movement has been understood, for it has gained its foothold in those very quarters where this misrepresentation was expected to have the most effect—among the masses. The first decade of our existence, the first ten years, were a struggle to be heard. Those ten years were marked by mobs, by popular resistance, by gag laws, by petitions smothered in Congress, by the impossibility of getting the question before the press. It was political suicide for a politician to touch the question; it was suicide, in regard to influence and character, for any man to touch it. That was a contention against the institutions of the country, against its parties, its leading Church influences, and they were directed against us, to keep us down, and prevent our being heard. Correctly represented, the last ten years show a different aspect;—it is the institutions of the country, the leaders of parties and sects, struggling, not so much with us, but with their own masses. We have undermined them, to a great extent. We have penetrated the popular apprehension. I do not mean to say, we have made men Abolitionists; that we have planted in their hearts distinct and conscious Anti-Slavery principles; but this we have done—we have made men critical and vigilant watchers of the conduct of their leaders in Church and State, and it is no longer possible for these men to act as they did. They are obliged to

turn round and use some method, not to oppose us, but to smother the expression of Anti-Slavery feeling in their own party. The efforts of Church and State are now used to dam up the expression of the popular sentiment of the nation on the subject of Slavery; and we underrate, sometimes, the progress of our movement, from the very success which they have in keeping down all expression of the public sentiment. To many minds, it was an unmixed surprise that "Uncle Tom" ran like wild-fire through the nation, and was responded to from every heart. They had judged of the nation by its only expounders, political leaders, religious leaders, and theological newspapers. They had judged of the America of 1850 by the America of 1835, when a man consulted his interest by opposing the Anti-Slavery movement. But all popular changes are unnoted. Like the sunbeam on the dial, we cannot see the motion, but, in course of time, it does strike twelve at last. (Applause.) So it is with the nation. These hearts that are beating behind the active drama of life, and which, in the end, re-create the actor, have been silently, and unconsciously to themselves, breathing the atmosphere of an Anti-Slavery agitation, and changing their position, without knowing it. I know a leading member of the Massachusetts bar,—one of the leaders of the Whig party,—a man the farthest possible removed from any apparent influence from this Anti-Slavery movement,—a man who would never open one of our books, listen to one of our speakers, or show himself inside the walls of one of our meetings,—a man who would have scorned the Anti-Slavery movement, as beneath him, and as utterly powerless to touch the most trifling fibre of his being,—this man told me, that ten years ago, he asked himself the question, "Would you help a master regain his slave before a Massachusetts Court?" and the answer he made was, "Yes, as readily as I would help him regain possession of any other piece of recognised property." And yet, silently, without his being aware of it, so great a change had gone on in his own moral convictions, that when Sims was arrested, he asked himself again the question, "Would I now give my professional weight and personal influence in favor of the master?" and, said he, "I shrank back from it with horror!" In this individual instance, we have an evidence, a sign, of that gradual leavening of public sentiment of which I have spoken.

Let me allude to a single fact, which the last canvass in Massachusetts developed, to show the same thing. I remember, fourteen years ago, a "LIBERATOR" contained a letter from ABBOTT LAWRENCE, in reply to a half dozen of us, who had asked him his opinion on the Anti-Slavery question, when he was a candidate for Congress. His answer was most contemptuous. It was substantially, "He had made up no opinion on that

question, and if he had, he would not tell us what it was." He could afford to despise us. He strengthened his own cause by despising us. That was fourteen years ago. Last year, he came home from the Court of St. James. The Whig party asked the use of his name as their candidate for Governor. He wants to be Governor. He would make a bridge from his dwelling in Park street to the Gubernatorial chair in the State House, of solid gold, if he could be permitted to walk over it. It has an excellent sound—*Governor* Lawrence. But he did not dare,—that proud and haughty Whig of '39,—he did not dare place himself before the Anti-Slavery common people of Massachusetts, against HENRY WILSON, the "Natick Cobbler." (Loud cheers.) More than that, the proud and haughty Whig, who, in '39, gained strength by despising a letter signed by FRANCIS JACKSON, was content to leave the repose of his own house, and enter the field to prevent the election of that "Natick Cobbler," against whom he did not dare to place his name in the scale! Fourteen years, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, had, unheeded, made it not a seven per cent. stock to despise Abolitionists, but one decidedly below par. (Laughter and cheers.)

Just this change, Mr. President, has been going on all over the United States, in the habit of the people, unheeded; and instead of a voluntary and eager defiance of the Abolitionists, the leaders of Party and the leaders of Church are engaged, at this moment, in holding back their own followers from the Anti-Slavery ranks,—endeavoring to retain their control over them. This is a great change. I have inadequately described it to you; but if you catch in any degree my idea, you will perceive that one half the work is done, in a country like ours, where the people rule. Some men imagine that the great, dark, giant brows at Washington mould the public sentiment of the nation. It is the same mistake that boys make, when they look at the machinery of a steamship, and fancy that the great, black, ponderous iron beam has the most to do in the motion of the boat; but down low, unseen, in the hollow of the ship, there is a rude figure, a hot fanatic, feeding the fire, and, afar off, in the pilot's house, there is a little hand on the wheel,—and they have more to do, although unseen, with the motion and guidance of the mighty mass, than the lumbering iron that is most in sight. (Loud applause.) So it is with the great, palpable influences, as they are called, of party and sect. Lord John Russell says, "It is with party as with snakes, the tail moves the head." (Laughter and cheers.) This is peculiarly so here. If you observe carefully the public men among us, you will see that they dare not venture to express their own opinions, but trim them down to the average men at home. They consult the masses.

Why, even the ablest of them, Mr. ADAMS, — who had outlived his sixty years, and had reached that period when, as it has been beautifully said, “a man begins to listen less to the promptings of ambition, and more to the dictates of duty,” — when even he first broke ground on the Anti-Slavery question in Congress, hastened to write home to the Old Colony to know whether he would be sustained. Even he was anxious to know what the response would be. Standing cushioned up there at Washington, amid the leaders of party, on those barren and cold heights, he did not know the work that one or two men like those about me had been doing in his own District. Before that letter reached its destination, the response of the Old Colony reached him, telling him *he had not gone far enough*. (Applause.)

Now that I mention him, let me turn aside to say, that it was a blessing of God that gave us ADAMS in the first ten years of this great struggle. He was not a little man, who could be smothered down; not a nameless man, who need not be listened to; not one that party could afford to bluff off or despise. He had won all offices, and was beyond the suspicion of personal ambition. With the laurels of forty years of public service on his brow, the first statesman and the ablest, by a most fortunate concurrence of circumstances, his hand was moved to grasp fast hold of the standard of Freedom of Discussion and Freedom of Petition; and he stood there, so high, so much a giant in our political world, that he could neither be concealed nor conquered; and if he had merely stood there silent, his silence was more eloquent than any other man's speech would have been. (Loud cheers.) When God gave us the name and service of ADAMS, the authority of his character and his standing for the Anti-Slavery movement in Congress, even half way as he then went, it was the sign and signet of His approbation. I think we cannot exaggerate the influence of the accession of that one man to the cause, at that time.

Again: how great has been the change since then, all over the country, in the religious world! Mr. ADAMS is said to have remarked to his son, when he first heard of the division of the Methodist Church, — “My son, you think more of politics; you think more of the movements of men of great rank; but I tell you that the breaking up of this religious body is a more awful sign of a great change of opinion, than any thing that could have taken place; for it reaches on over the heads of the leaders of party, to the people themselves, and shows which way the popular current is turning; and that is sure in the end to sweep every thing before it.”

In the religious world, it seems to me that there has been a most

marked and gratifying change. In New England, at least, we are permitted to draw our distinctions, to make our charges against the Church, to enter into argument with religious leaders, with perfect freedom—without so much as loss of reputation. The door is not shut, as it once was, against the first whisper of our argument. This is a strong evidence of our progress. Men have begun, even the commonest men, no longer to listen to the old tale that the Abolitionists hate the Church;—they make a distinction. PARKER PILLSBURY is getting dangerously popular throughout New England. We oppose the Church; but is there a man here who supposes that we have any opposition to the *Christian* Church? Wherein have we manifested it? Is there any man here who supposes that we have any opposition to the New Testament? Wherein have we shown it? In the first place, we are old-fashioned enough to think on both points as the whole world does on the other side of the water. If there is any magic in majorities, we are in the majority. Get beyond the smoke of your own prejudices—rise a little out of the American locality, and remember, that though the Abolitionists here may be alone in saying that the New Testament weighs more than the Statute Book, they have a glorious company in unison with them on the other side the Atlantic. In Faneuil Hall, a leading politician undertook to remind the people that there were fanatics rising up—it was in 1835, before they had fully risen—who thought that “the New Testament weighed more than the Statute Book”! Well, we are the “fanatics”—we are “*thar*.” (Cheers.) We are the men who undertake to say, in opposition to the Church, that God never made a slave nor a slaveholder, (renewed applause); that the New Testament does not sanction Slavery. Are we its enemies? Shall we be placed lower in the list of its friends, than those who undertake to say it does? Our Infidelity amounts to this: we say that Christianity does not sanction Slavery. Our treason amounts to this: we say that the blood of a crushed and brutalized race is not necessary to keep the nation together. My treason amounts to this: I say that Massachusetts does not make money solely because South Carolina plunders the blacks. That is the amount of our infidelity and of our treason, broadly stated. Did you ever see a woodman go into the woods, in a December or January New England snow storm? What does he see? I have heard my true-hearted friend, LEWIS FORD, describe the scene and moralize on it thus: Laden with snow, the lithe branches of our New England pines bend heavily to the earth. They shut up the road, and make it impossible for him to take a step ahead. He takes one branch after another in his

hand, and shakes them free from the incumbent weight, and they spring up again, and point to heaven; and if by chance he finds a tree so thoroughly weighed down that it has no elasticity left, he cuts it down, and thus opens a path. Does the woodman, then, hate trees? or merely seek a path to his field beyond? So with us. There is the American Church. Behind it stand the slaveholder and slave; behind it lies the means of reaching them, and effecting a deliverance of the captive. Weighed down with selfish interests, its branches touch the earth. We shake now one, now another, in the hope they will spring upward, and point to heaven; and when one is broken beyond recovery, we cut it down. (Great applause.) Does the woodman do so because he hates trees?—just as much does our course prove that we hate churches. (Renewed applause.) It is to reach our object; and the only question between us and the community is, Is that object a good one, and is the course we pursue necessary in order to reach it? The Abolitionist is only one who undertakes to say to these thirty thousand pulpits,—You say that your views of Christianity are right; that your views of the relation of the Bible to Slavery are right. Now, you are justified in placing that plea before the people; and side by side with you, I also shall appeal to this great jury of our countrymen, which is as much my jury as it is yours. I have as much right to attempt to mould this moral sense with my ideas of Christianity, as you have with yours. You call me “Infidel,” and I call you “Infidel,”—and there is only one word the more spoken. The Pope excommunicated Luther, and Luther excommunicated the Pope, and posterity has sanctioned the latter excommunication, and laughs at the first. So we appeal to the verdict of the next generation, to say which was right, when they claim Christianity on their side, and we claim it on ours. We appeal to the verdict of our countrymen, claiming that the New Testament is ours, that the religious sentiment of human nature is ours, on this question; and our object—we confess it plainly—is to undermine the thirty thousand pulpits, while they undertake to stand as bases for the slave system—no longer. There is nothing remarkable in this position, if you will consider the radical character of the question at issue. It is proper to ask—Is the question radical enough to demand such an issue? No man has a right to disturb the community for a trifle. If the disease is slight, if it is only superficial, if a hint in the morning newspapers will dispose of it, leave it to this, and do not undertake to disturb the comfort and the pleasant arrangements of society for nothing. Do not create a storm over the whole Atlantic, merely to waft a nutshell to its harbor. That is plain enough. But the question is, Can Slavery be

treated thus? Remember, in the first place, it has two thousand millions of dollars' worth of property;—property rules in such an age as ours. Remember that fifty millions of dollars, concentrated in the hands of the United States Bank, and scattered along the sea-board, was almost able to set at defiance the unmatched popularity of Andrew Jackson, and tear the nation asunder. About this money power, the Church and the State are built like bulwarks. Remember, again, that these dollars are not in the hands of a scattered class and different interests, but are owned by a hundred thousand men, intelligent, sagacious, linked side by side, well-knowing that the spirit of the nineteenth century is against them, and that this is their death-grapple. They know they are one solid column in the centre of a Waterloo whose troops are the world, and that, unless they cling together with all the energy of absolute despair, they must go to the ground.

Now, how are we to treat these hundred thousand sagacious, intelligent men, with two thousand millions of dollars, in a country where the sin of not being rich is only atoned for by the endeavor to become so? Such a power is almost omnipotent; and yet there are those who seem to expect us to deal with it by a few fine words. The old Anti-Slavery men have scraped the tongue, and got the disease out of sight; we want to remove it. They were like the Hindoo, when the missionary showed him a glass of water through a microscope, and convinced him that, in drinking it, he swallowed flesh as much as if he had devoured a cow; the poor man dashed the glass into fragments,—as if, by destroying the glass, he destroyed the fact. (Applause.) So there were men, in the beginning, who thought if they could only hang GARRISON, they would get rid of Slavery;—like the ostrich, that hides her eyes in the sand, and thinks the enemy is gone!

The distinctive merit of the present Anti-Slavery movement is, that it has understood its functions; that it has known how deep-rooted and anchored was the evil with which it had to grapple. It did not understand it at the outset. If not a merit, it was at least, in the circumstances, a fortunate thing, that our friend who sits here (Mr. GARRISON) was blind enough to go to the American pulpit, at the commencement, and beg the clergymen of Boston to inaugurate this movement. He had the common faith of all Americans, that it was possible for a man standing quietly in the Church and State, to deal with such a question as this; and in good faith, in perfect sincerity, he assembled the clergymen of his own city, with the design of submitting to them a plan of emancipation, confident they would aid him. Though disappointed then, still he went

on, year after year, trusting that the Church would yet awake to its duty. If the Anti-Slavery cause had taught us nothing else, it would be valuable in having taught the weakness of our ecclesiastical organizations for any purpose of reform like this. Who expects that religious organizations formed like ours will be instrumental in the removal of great public sins? Our pulpit is established on the "voluntary system"; that is, the churches choose their own ministers. What is the church in this country? It is a body of men, who assemble together, and choose a teacher to preach to them. It is the best form of religious organization for a Republic like ours, but it obeys the same law with all other religious institutions.

Let us look at this a moment. Take the Catholics, for example. The Catholic, whether he freezes with Fenelon in the snows of Canada, or burns with Xavier in the torrid zone, represents always the Pope. A young man goes out from Rome, and his brow never loses the impression of that Bishop's hand at Rome; because the created always has the form of the creator; the child bears the features of the parent; and the priest, no matter how near or how distant, how ignorant or how educated, whether Saxon or of any other race, he is still the reflection of Rome—his creator. Take Episcopacy, also. The Episcopal Church is the child of the Aristocracy of Great Britain. Her pulpits are tenanted by those educated by the Aristocracy, sustained by the Aristocracy; and, as a consequence, Macaulay has told us that for one hundred and fifty years, in all the crises of British affairs, the Episcopal Church has never, for a moment, even by accident, found itself on the side of popular rights,—because there, too, the created reflects the creator. The pulpit based on Aristocratic institutions, must be essentially Aristocratic.

This rule, which is true in Italy and in England, is true also here, and the pulpit of this land, the created of the pews, obeys the pews, reflects the pews. If you say, the minister is bound to speak the truth to his people, and rebuke their sins, even at the risk of starvation, I admit that he may be bound to do this—nay, he is bound; we are all bound to be saints, but how few are so! Saints do not travel in battalions, no, nor in regiments—they go alone. We have now and then one. We have one at Brooklyn; we have one at Boston; we have one at Worcester; we have one at Syracuse; but these men are saints in spite of circumstances, not in consequence of them, and I am speaking of the influence of circumstances upon masses; I take no note now of the exceptions. There are always saints in spite of circumstances; but the American Church cannot be expected, in the very nature of the

case, to rebuke a great popular sin. It would be a stream rising higher than the fountain, if it were so. David did not send for Nathan—he never would have sent for him; and the American people do not choose to pay for ministers to be Nathans to them. This is not to be expected, and *you* are the hard critics, if you do expect it. The clergy lie under the weight of the same burden of human nature as other men. They have the same failings, the same virtues, and the same temptations that we have. There is a good deal of human nature in the world. (Laughter.) You cannot expect to form institutions, and by any jugglery to make them better than the average of human nature. He that expects the American Church to lead in such an unpopular reform as this, expects the stream to be higher than the fountain; expects the sinner to go in search of his rebuker; expects men, common men, because they stand in a pulpit, to criticise relentlessly the very men upon whose good opinion depends their own welfare and that of their children. Now, this is not in human nature. Sydney Smith tells us that he once went down to Litchfield to attend an ecclesiastical Convention, and talk on the Catholic question; the excitement ran high—it was 1827. He made a speech in favor of the Catholics' right to vote. He says, the vote being taken, he was left in a glorious minority of one. As he walked down the main aisle of the church, a brother clergyman caught him by the hand, and said—"Mr. Smith, I agreed with you in every word you said." "Why, then, didn't you vote with me?" asked Smith. "Because I have eleven children, and my patron is bitterly Anti-Catholic," said the man; "and," says Smith, "I held up both hands, and begged him to vote against me to the day of his death."

You see, therefore, that, in the very nature of the relation of the Church to the people, it is not to be expected that it should do otherwise than oppose the Anti-Slavery movement; and, as a consequence, we have been obliged to do just what all other radical questions have done, in all ages of the world—*come out*. Men seem to dread coming out, as if it was morally very difficult to come out from the nice comfortable organizations in which our fathers have nestled us so long. It is very difficult. But how does God move the world forward? By men who smother their own convictions and conform to the customs about them? by men who tell only half the truth they see, and, saving thus their respectability, hold on to old institutions, whose short-comings they confess, in hopes so to improve them? Are these God's best instruments? No. Let those who are but half awake grope thus their way along, afraid to cut loose from o'd leading-strings. But let whoever honestly

thinks he sees a new and vital truth, proclaim all his thought, and *act on it*. If it lead him, like John the Baptist, into the wilderness, let him trust God that he will be the herald of a better day. "Come out, *my people*, and be separate," is not the lesson of any one time, but is meant for each soul and every age. Luther came out, and he incurred the hatred of his generation because he did so. He used the same policy which the Abolitionists have adopted, in the last decade, in which I am speaking. We used to apologize; we used to defend ourselves once. We used to make ingenious and plausible arguments to show the so-called Church her short-comings; but we have learned better, and agree now with Melancthon, who tells us, that the Reformers, though they apologized at first, when, in a few years they had probed the Catholic question, did not apologize, but boldly proclaimed, "We are the Church, and whoever separates from us is a heretic." So far as the Anti-Slavery element of Christianity is concerned, and so far as your bosoms are moved by an honest purpose to help the slave, this meeting is nearest to the ideal Christian Church that is met to-day in your city; for it means to apply Christianity to the sins that are walking to-day up and down your streets, and of course it is martyred. It was not the Sermon on the Mount that made Christianity hateful. Confucius had almost anticipated — yes, in part he anticipated the Sermon on the Mount and the morality of the New Testament. That "to suffer is better than to injure," is five hundred years older than Christ; to "love another as you love yourself," is, even in its own form, older than the New Testament by three or four centuries; indeed, as old as Moses. But, before the time of the Savior, this truth was writ down for the educated, for men abstracted from the common walks of life. He took it like a lighted torch, and carried it up and down the streets of Jerusalem, and flared it in the faces of the living sinners. (Loud cheers.) Applying old principles to dominant sins — this is what earns martyrdom. Weighing truth in nice scales of abstract speculation — sounding on and on, no matter how boldly, in Plato's grove — is little objected to; it is when Socrates mocks at the popular faith in the very streets of Athens, in words the commonest can understand, that they brew hemlock for him.

I will find an opportunity, during another session, to speak more at large on this topic.*

* See Mr. PHILLIPS'S Speech, on page 103.

Miss SUSAN H. COX said that any one who could leave that assembly, and speak against the cause for which it was convened, must have a heart blacker than Egypt, and darker than a starless night. God himself had betrayed his presence that day. She knew it, by the evidence of her own spirit. Therefore, let glory be given to his name, for there was no other name given under heaven whereby men should be saved, but by the name and the power that was in Jesus Christ, who had said, "Let the oppressed go free!"—"Break every yoke!" Let all sectarian prejudices be banished, and let them love one another. Pure, holy love would conquer every thing. The truth would make them strong and fearless; it would wake woman's voice, for

"While woman's heart is bleeding,
Can woman's voice be dumb?"

They should love the truth, in order that they might be children of truth, and free their own souls from error, that they might be able to free their brother.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, (the President,) calling on Mr. QUINCY, one of the Vice Presidents, to take the chair, then addressed the audience, as follows:—

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

MR. CHAIRMAN:

At this stage of our proceedings, this afternoon, I will not attempt to make an elaborate speech. It seems to me that no stronger proof of the deep degradation into which this nation has fallen, religiously, could possibly be adduced, than a defence, such as we had this morning, from the lips of our friend Mr. Burleigh, of a gathering like this, on this day of the week. The very fact, that we are put on trial, and are called upon to plead guilty or not guilty to the charge of Infidelity, or Sabbath breaking, in gathering together to "remember those in bonds as bound with them," is a fact utterly condemnatory of the prevailing religion. And we are gravely to defend ourselves against this imputation, made by a people who hold in their hands the New Testament, and read therein, complacently and approvingly, the scorching rebuke of Jesus to the Pharisees, who upbraided him as "not of God," because he healed the sick on the Sabbath day! "Are there not six days of the week," they asked, "on which the sick may come and be healed?" So, by nearly every religious denomination in the land, it is asked, "Are there not six

days of the week in which the cause of the slave can be advocated, without desecrating the Lord's day by an Anti-Slavery gathering?" In this great city, I presume if a verdict of the churches could be taken, in regard to the propriety of our being here for such a purpose to-day, we should find almost a unanimous vote recorded against us. We are here to help consummate the glorious mission of Jesus on earth, to raise up the bowed down, to deliver those who are oppressed and in prison; yet, we are desecrators of the Sabbath day! One thing is certain. Nature knows nothing of holy time. To-day the sun shines, as it did yesterday, and as it will to-morrow. All the operations of Nature are uniform through all the days of the week. Hence, as many babes will be born of slave mothers to-day, as were born yesterday. Would to God there were a Sabbath day, on which no slaves could be added to the millions already in bonds! But, alas! no less than three hundred new victims will be born, seized and registered as property, on this "day of the Lord," by those who claim to hallow the day. And we are accused of desecrating it, because we are assembled to undo every burden and break every yoke; while those who are performing their ceremonial worship are the only genuine "Christians" in the land! There are fifty-two Sabbaths in the year, and on these alone, the increase of the slave population is not less than fifteen thousand! Put these wretched victims into one scale, and all the popular religious worship in the land into the other, and that worship will assuredly kick the beam. (Applause.)

We are Infidels, are we? Well, who would be recognised otherwise in a land like this? Who that is honest, manly, humane,—who that loves God, and loves his race,—would desire, for one moment, to pass current in this blood-stained nation as a religious man? He who is willing to be popularly recognised as such, ought to hang his head for shame, and hide himself, until he is willing to come out and be branded as an "Infidel." Why do I say this? Because a religious reputation necessarily implies conformity to popular ideas and usages, and especially abject subserviency to the will of the Slave Power; that he who possesses it is a sycophant, a trimmer, or animated by the unnatural spirit of colorphobia. How is it possible, then, for such a man to be a sincere disciple of Him who was willing to be "made of no reputation," and to be accounted as one having a devil, in order that he might bless and save a lost and suffering race? Infidels, are we? What religious character had they whose memories we venerate? How did the prophets stand in their day and generation? As infidel to the popular religion—assailing, boldly and daringly, the holiest institutions, so esteemed—saying, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers

of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. The new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with. When ye make many prayers, I will not bear. Your hands are full of blood. Wash you; make you clean!" How did such language then sound, do you suppose, in the ears of the "godly," falsely so called? Of course, they were the infidels of their times. Yet we are the people who venerate their memories, and record our judgment that the true religion was with them, and that they who put them to death, ostensibly for the glory of God, were animated by a Satanic spirit. But suppose that the prophets had contented themselves with simply extolling Abraham and Moses, and conforming to the popular standard of piety—would that have been any evidence of their love of God or man? None whatever.

Why do we love Jesus? Why do we dwell with such fondness and delight upon his character? He was "despised and rejected of men," in his day. Paul, Peter, and the rest of the Apostles—were they regarded as religious men while living? What if they had been satisfied with looking back to the past, and glorifying those already glorified? What would it have availed, in regard to the redemption of the world? But they purposely eschewed a reputation for piety in their day. Jesus was crucified for no other alleged reason than that he was too wicked to live. He was regarded as a more heinous criminal than Barabbas, who was both a thief and a murderer. The Apostles were "pestilent and seditious fellows," "seeking to turn the world upside down"—"the filth of the earth, and the offscouring of all things." Of course, they had no religious reputation.

Why is it that we, Protestants, venerate Luther? You know very well that he was branded as a heretic and an Infidel, and dared to be regarded as such; and that he stood up against all that was popularly esteemed as truly religious. And yet, we love him, admire him, and proudly refer to him as the great champion of Christian liberty, as pertaining to the rights of conscience. George Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay—what were they, and those who associated with them? Were they "religious" people, and so endorsed, in their generation? No; just the reverse. But they did not shrink from the charge of heresy, and were willing to be called "Infidel," for the Truth's sake. And do we not hallow their memories as truly good men, "of whom the world was not worthy"?

In our country, how easy it is for every clergyman—manufactured according to a particular pattern, and also to order—to stand up and

say, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ"—fancying he has made out a clear case, in regard to his piety! He is not ashamed of Christ at New Orleans, or Charleston, or Savannah, or any where else in this country—not he! And people exclaim—"What a pious saint he is, surely!" Pious! What is the quality of his piety? what the proof of his being in principle a good man? Is it to be found in the fact, that he uses, like a parrot, the words of a book universally venerated, and of a faith every where embraced? It is an idle pretence, an empty boast. The test, which, eighteen hundred years ago, was vital and searching, is now like "salt which has lost its savor, fit only to be cast out, and trodden under foot of men." In our day, a popular profession of faith in Christ is as worthless as was the popular belief in Moses and Abraham in the days of Jesus. But when Paul stood up and said, "I am determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and *him crucified*," that was to be sublimely heroic. It meant something—every thing; a willingness to suffer the loss of all things for the truth. For who was he, of whom he thus spoke? It was of one recently crucified between two thieves, and regarded as worse than either; of one outlawed by all that was respectable, and honorable, and pious. Yet, in the face of persecution and death—in the face of "principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places"—he could courageously exclaim, "I am determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified! In him I see a deliverer, a Saviour, the true Messiah; and, therefore, I take my lot with him, persuaded that neither life nor death, nor principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, shall be able to separate me from the love of God in Christ Jesus." Such a declaration, as a religious profession, means nothing now. The times are changed. We are living in another age, under other circumstances, which alter the case entirely. Christ is now every where honored and accepted; but, I warn you, it is not the Christ of Judea. No, but a slave-holding, slave-driving, slave-breeding, and slave-trading Christ; for this nation will have no other Christ to reign over it. You see, therefore, that a public profession of faith in Christ costs nothing, tries nobody, is every where respectable, and every where leads to promotion in the Church and in the Government; and so is good for nothing.

How many there are, who have gone to their churches to-day, to perform public worship! But theirs is a pro-slavery worship. It consents to the enslavement of those three hundred babes, to whom I have referred. They can sit down in their richly cushioned pews, and bravely sing martyr songs and hymns, as though they were ready to confront

“the world, the flesh, and the devil,” no matter how great the odds. Hear them!

“Though earth against my soul engage,
And hellish darts be hurled,
Still I can smile at Satan’s rage,
And face a frowning world.”

Now, every body knows that they cannot face their next-door neighbor. (Great laughter.) This is simply to be in the fashion; it is to be heroic—where there is no danger, where the “offence of the cross” has ceased. It is to have the “form of godliness, without the power.” They are cowardly and time-serving; and the reason they are not found on the side of the slave to-day is, because theirs is a religion which goes only “in silver slippers,” and cannot endure persecution.

Let me illustrate the point which I wish to impress upon your minds, touching a Christian profession in this country. If I should go over to England, and travel from the Land’s End to John o’ Groat’s, exclaiming, “I am not ashamed to be known as an Abolitionist,” would that be an indication of moral courage? Would it be any test of character? No. Why? Simply because there is nothing more popular in England than the Anti-Slavery cause. When Prince Albert can afford to take the chair, at an Anti-Slavery meeting in Exeter Hall, and Queen Victoria to be a patron of the movement, and all classes of the people are loud and hearty in their denunciations of Slavery, it is an easy matter to make a profession of Anti-Slavery faith; for it is saying nothing more than this—“I am not ashamed to stand by the side of Prince Albert; I am not ashamed to be with Queen Victoria, and all the people of England.” But in this land, where Anti-Slavery is abhorred, and scouted, and crucified, it is another matter. Then, every where openly to say—

“I am an Abolitionist!
I glory in the name,
Though now by Slavery’s minions hissed,
And covered o’er with shame”—

means something; it is at least *prima facie* evidence, that he who thus avows his sentiments is one who loves God, and loves his suffering brother man.

Well, my friends, we are accused of Infidelity. We cannot be otherwise esteemed, while things remain as they are, and we are true to the right. But let us take this for our consolation, as Paul did, “It is a small thing to be judged of man’s judgment;” and again, “If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him.” It will all come right in the end.

Look at the matter, for a moment, in regard to the Bible, so much prized, professedly, in our land. You know that, among the slave population, that book is not allowed to be read. The American Church and clergy conspire, systematically and wilfully, to deprive them of it, though it is able to make those who read it "wise unto salvation." We are here to open the way for the circulation of that book, so that all who have it not may possess it; and yet, we are "Infidels," and they who take away the Bible are "Christians"! Who would not be such an "Infidel," or who would be such a "Christian"?

If you dare to doubt the plenary inspiration of the Bible, wo be unto you! Take care how you exercise freedom of mind and of conscience, in reading the Bible! Take care how you entertain a doubt, whether every word in the book, from Genesis to Revelation, was given directly by the spirit of God, and is therefore true! A short time since, I went to Hartford, to attend a "Bible Convention," the call setting forth, that, inasmuch as a great variety of conflicting opinions prevailed, in regard to the Bible, all persons interested in the question were respectfully invited to come together, each one to speak his own thoughts and present his own views; so, if possible, to effect a greater unanimity of sentiment. And yet, before that Convention assembled, the pulpits all over the country denounced it as an Infidel Convention, and the religious and political press joined in the outcry. But while you and I may not raise a doubt as to the plenary inspiration of the Bible, except to the injury of our character, the great religious bodies in our country may combine to suppress that volume among millions of heathenized slaves, and their character for piety is not to be brought into question, for one moment!

Let me say one word, in conclusion, in regard to this outcry of "Infidelity." I maintain that, whoever raises it, simply on the ground of a difference of opinion respecting the Bible, is a man who, if he calls himself a Protestant, should get down on his knees and crawl all the way to Rome, and submissively kiss the great toe of the Pope. (Cheers.) How is it possible, among Protestants, for any man to be an Infidel? Infidel to what, or to whom? What is Infidelity? Who shall oracularly determine what it is? Who shall play the Pope? I differ from another in my interpretation of the Bible, and he calls me an Infidel. Very well. He differs from me as widely as I do from him—shall I apply to him the same invidious epithet? What will be gained by it to either of us? The right of private judgment was the great distinctive doctrine of the Protestant Reformation, and it for ever puts an end to Papal infallibility.

In Catholic Europe, a man may be an Infidel, because the Catholic

Church is to judge in all matters of faith. But when it comes to Protestantism, the right of every man to think, speak and judge for himself, is acknowledged to be absolute and paramount. The Protestant, therefore, who raises the cry of "Infidel" against another, because he does not accept his views of the Bible, or of religious doctrine, is only so in name, but a Romanist in spirit, by his assumption of the robes of Infallibility. (Applause.) It is for every man to "be fully persuaded in his own mind." "So, then, every one of us must give account of himself to God," and to nobody else in the world.

Adjourned, to 7 o'clock, P. M.

SECOND DAY — EVENING SESSION.

On taking the chair, Mr. GARRISON made a few remarks, explanatory of the views he advanced in the afternoon, as to the essentially popish and anti-Protestant assumption of the charge of "Infidelity" upon any, for their interpretation of the Bible.

Miss WRIGHT read some original verses of encouragement to those, who, after twenty years' struggle against the Slave Power, might feel disheartened.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY then took the platform, and spoke as follows:—

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

MR. PRESIDENT :

It is not my intention to detain you long with what I have to say. There are others here, whom I know you are more desirous to hear than myself. I rise, that I may identify myself with this cause anew, and with the peculiar feature of this cause, which is exhibited before the people of this city to-day. I rise to declare myself a member of the Anti-Slavery Church that meets here to-day (applause); to declare my belief that it is the true Church of Christ and of God in America. I am, as you know, a minister, yet in tolerably regular standing with a denomination of some respectability in certain portions of our country. It was said yesterday by our friend from Ohio, (Mr. Barker,) that he had no reputation to lay upon this altar. I have a very small reputation still remaining, I believe, which I hope you will be so kind as to accept, as an offering upon this altar, if it be worth any thing. (Cheers.)

I remember as the best—yes, when I look at it in all its connections and influences upon my life, I regard it as the happiest day of my existence—the day which brought me acquainted with WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. It was at an early day, yes, on the day when he commenced his first Anti-Slavery lectures in Boston, October, 1830—and never was I more impressed by the religious spirit of any man, than I was with the religious spirit of him, who has since been so traduced as an enemy of all religion, and an Infidel. The first day that I spent with him, I well remember, was in reading copies of the letters, which he had written to the prominent ministers of religion in various parts of our country; not doubting then, for a moment, that when he should have spread before them the facts that had come to his knowledge during his residence in Maryland, and when he had explained to them so clearly as he had, the claims of the enslaved upon their sympathy and efforts—not doubting that they would at once espouse their cause, and be the leaders in the work of their redemption. I returned to the city of Boston a few months after the commencement of his work, and I shall never forget the expression of disappointment with which he met me, and told me that these letters had either received no notice at all from these prominent clergymen, or cold repulses. But yet, after all, he retained his faith in the ministers and churches, and his confidence in the professing members in those churches. It was not, indeed, until patience had almost ceased to be a virtue, and the demands of the enslaved were upon him, that he renounced his confidence, and set up a new Church of God in this land, a Church of such as would break the yoke of the oppressed.

I have not yet abandoned the sect,—if it must be called a sect,—to which I belonged, nor have I ceased to labor in the pulpit; but it has always been with the explicit avowal of my “unity” (to use a beautiful expression of the Friends’ Society) with WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON; and it is known of all men, who know me, that I leave the pulpit, when WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will not be welcomed there as often as he will favor us with a visit. (Loud applause.) Never shall I maintain my place in what shall be called a Christian pulpit, except so long as the doctrines of Anti-Slavery, the rights of all men, especially the rights of these men, to whom their rights have been so long denied, shall be recognised as a subject appropriate for the most earnest discourses which the minister, or those whom he may invite to his pulpit, can deliver to the people. Such has been my course from the beginning; and I rejoice to know that there are others, who are still maintaining their places in the pulpit, and their fidelity to the slave. The pulpit has been a great

instrumentality in the cause of God and Humanity; it will yet be a great instrumentality. I acknowledge the important services of the press; I recognise the momentous influence that is flowing forth from the Lyceum, where a greater freedom is allowed, if I may so say, than in the pulpit; I shall never cease to speak in the strongest commendation of the power for good which I think is wielded in Anti-Slavery gatherings, and in all other assemblies called by true and faithful men and women for the especial consideration of any great cause, and the advancement of truth on the earth. But, still, I cling to the pulpit, in the hope that it may yet redeem itself from that thralldom into which it has been brought by the Slave Power of our land. I believe that it will yet be redeemed, and that ere long the ministers of religion shall every where be found as true to the slave as they are to the deepest convictions of their own souls.

Sure am I, that no one who was present at the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, whether as a member of the Convention, or as a witness of its proceedings,—sure am I, that no one who was there failed to be impressed with the deeply religious spirit that pervaded those who engaged in that enterprise; and it has not been the fault of the Abolitionists that they have not retained their connection with the ministers and the churches in our land. The time is coming when the truth on this subject will be told; and it will be seen that it was not until after we were repulsed again and again, rudely repulsed, and covered with every epithet of condemnation, that we turned us from the Church of the land to the people and to God. In my discourse this morning, in the pulpit of that noble brother who has maintained himself in this city, as a minister of religion, without compromising in the least his fidelity to the slave,—in the pulpit of WILLIAM H. FURNESS, I said, as I have often said, and as I say again, that if I were called upon to quote that passage of Scripture which, more than any other, sets before us the peculiar and distinguishing difference of Christianity from all other religions, it would be this:—"If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there"—even there, when about to engage in what most men account a peculiar religious service—"there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift on the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." True is it, as brother Phillips said, that some of those precepts of Christianity which have been by most persons regarded as peculiar to Christ, had been uttered before; but, let me tell my brother, they were uttered, but not exactly in the connection in which Christ placed them. True is it, that Moses and the prophets taught, as the first and great commandment, "Thou shalt

love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and mind, and strength"; and you may also find, in the writings attributed to Moses, the second command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." *But you do not find the two commandments placed upon the same level of importance.* It was left for Jesus Christ to show that the second command, that which respects our duty to our fellow-men, is as great even as the first, which respects our duty to God, and that the two are inseparable.

The peculiarity of Christianity is, that it holds up benevolence to man as the only unequivocal evidence of true piety to God. "Honor the king"—"Honor great men"—was a command given of old; given in the writings of Moses and the prophets. "Honor *all* men" was first given by an Apostle of Christ; "Honor Humanity"; and the teaching of Christ is, that he only who honors man—the highest manifestation of God upon earth—he only who honors Humanity, can honor the Father. His beloved Apostle said, "If a man say, I love God, and hate his brother, he is a liar." "Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" This, friends, is the peculiarity of the religion of Jesus, the distinguishing characteristic of Christianity; and it is because the Anti-Slavery host are inculcating obedience to the second command, as that which, more than all else, has been neglected in our land, that I cling to Anti-Slavery as the true Church in America. True is it, that, in other parts of the world, it is now no test to declare one's self an Abolitionist. True is it, as Mr. GARRISON so clearly expressed to us, that in our country, and in most parts of Christendom, there is now no courage required in declaring one's self to be a disciple of Jesus Christ. But to declare one's self to be a brother of the lowest, the most despised in this land, and to claim for that brother the inalienable rights of humanity, that, indeed, requires still some courage, and I therefore honor those who do it. I ask not what may be a man's profession or faith; I ask not what may be a man's creed or system of theology; I ask only whether he gives unequivocal evidence of his fidelity to God, and his love of the Father, by his fidelity to the right and his love of the brethren, (applause,) especially his poor brethren.

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., took the platform, and spoke as follows:—

SPEECH OF EDMUND QUINCY.

MR. PRESIDENT:

My excellent friend who has just taken his seat, spoke of the reputation which he had left, and which he was ready, as we all know he is,

and has ever been, to lay upon the altar of this cause. I do not know, sir, for my own part, how I stand in the matter of reputation (laughter); I do not know that I have much character. Perhaps I have lost my reputation; but I can honestly say, I never missed it. (Laughter and applause.) Perhaps I did not have much to lose; but if I ever did lose any, I imagine that I have "gained a loss"; for I can truly say, that I have been a great deal happier since I became an Abolitionist than before. Whether it was because I had lost that troublesome thing called reputation, I cannot say; but I am very glad at the result.

Men speak sometimes—outsiders and insiders—of the sacrifices which Abolitionists have made in joining the cause. Well, sir, I know that some persons have made sacrifices; that some persons have sacrificed their means of subsistence—that men have left their pulpits—that men have straitened their families—that men have actually encountered inconvenience, serious inconvenience, in consequence of having joined the cause; but I have yet to see the man, even if he had experienced these evils, who, acting from an honest conviction of duty, ever repented it. I, to be sure, have not had to encounter any such inconveniences or evils. I have not been permitted to offer any such testimony, or give any such seal of my apostleship. I am conscious of no sacrifices that I have made. I do not know, sir, that the Anti-Slavery cause owes any thing to me; but I do know, that I owe almost every thing to the Anti-Slavery cause. (Loud cheers.) I do not know, sir, whether the slaves of the South are going to reap any benefit from any thing I have ever said or done in their behalf; but I know very well that the slaves of the South have done me an infinite benefit, by the efforts they have caused me to make in their behalf. It really seems to me surprising that men do not come into our cause faster than they do. It is the one thing to be done, it seems to me, by a man of common sense, of common humanity, a man of intelligence, a man who wishes, of course, to make his mark, in some slight degree, upon his age,—for every man, whether great or small, whether strong or weak, wishes to make some mark, however slight, upon the age in which he lives, to lay a hand, however feeble, upon the great movement which is carrying forward Humanity from the dead Past to the living Present and the prophetic Future. It is a common, just and honorable wish, and all men feel it, in some degree, only they do not know exactly how to carry out their desire. They join the Whig or the Democratic party, perhaps. Heavens! Mr. President, what an outrage on a man's nature! Think of a man devoting his thoughts, his wishes, his purposes, his efforts, his time, his means, to the carrying forward of the Democratic party, for

example!—to putting Franklin Pierce in the Presidential chair!—to the establishing of such a Government as now presides over the destiny of this nation! It seems to me about as small a business as a man can possibly be engaged in (loud cheers); if there be any thing smaller, it is the endeavor to put the Whigs there. (Laughter and cheers.) I can hardly conceive of men of intelligence, talent and sagacity, of earnest men, wishing to *do* something, wasting their time in this way;—and I do not think the Free Soilers are much better employed, although I believe they are better intentioned. I think the great mass of Free Soilers are honestly and sincerely desirous of doing some substantial service to the cause; but, as far as the little experience I have had is concerned, I must say, that they have a way of carrying on their affairs, in our part of the country, at least, that I do not particularly admire. I did not particularly delight in seeing the Anti-Slavery party, four or five years ago, putting Martin Van Buren at the head of their movement; and it did not afford me much gratification to see men who used to respond “Amen” to STEPHEN S. FOSTER, when he described Mr. Van Buren as the “slimiest reptile that ever crawled across a continent,” falling into the rear of his trail, and following after him; or to see, in my own State, and in some other States, those gentlemen, for the sake of effecting some local purpose, unite with men who swear by Franklin Pierce, and who are morally committed—if not directly, and probably most of them directly and expressly committed—to stand upon and uphold the Baltimore platform. I do not think that is a very agreeable, or a very respectable, or a very desirable mode of exerting one’s influence; and I think, even if they could carry every thing they desire, it would not amount to much. It is sometimes said of us, Mr. President, that we are doing nothing; and people marvel how it is that we go on from year to year without producing some effect—without electing some man to the General Assembly or General Court, or, by possibility, a Representative to Congress. Well, sir, it seems to me that we are doing about as much as the Free Soil party have been doing; for, as far as I can see, they have elected very few persons, and I really do not think that many of those gentlemen whom they have sent to Congress have crowned their work in such a manner as to make it very admirable to the eye and heart of the Abolitionist,—meaning no sort of disrespect to those gentlemen, who, I dare say, do the best they know how.

Now, sir, I think that we, the Abolitionists of the American Society, stand precisely in the position where men, who wish to do something, would desire to stand. We stand in a position in which it is impossible for any human being in the country to attribute to us any self-seeking;

it cannot be possible for any man in his senses to do so. Men may call us insane, they may think us visionary and ridiculous, but no man can think that men who refuse to take office themselves, and who refuse to vote for other men to hold office as their deputies, on account of the proslavery clauses of the Constitution, which they will not support, are actuated by any selfish motives. If there are any men in the country who can really receive the respect of all parties, slaveholders included,—and who, I believe, do receive the respect of all parties, slaveholders included,—they are these Abolitionists, because we stand in an unmistakably unselfish and disinterested position. We stand in a position in which the words we utter cannot be supposed to be intended to make political capital either for ourselves or any body else. We are the true preachers of the Anti-Slavery gospel—the Apostles who are sent forth to reform the world—and we are taking precisely the methods the Apostles did, by depending on the “foolishness of preaching”; by applying the truth of God to the hearts of men, and thereby preparing for that change which is hereafter to come, and which will be done through the means of political action, which will be done by our servants, by the men whom we are making and multiplying; and when we have prepared them, when the people are ready to act, then the whole matter will be easily enough done. There is not the slightest difficulty in any nation doing what it has a mind to, when it knows what its mind is. The institutions of Slavery are but the dark shadow which the heart of the American people projects; as soon as the heart is changed, the shadow will be changed. All institutions exist originally, as I said last night, in the minds and hearts of men. Not only the “kingdom of God,” but the kingdoms of this world, “are within us.” It is because the American people choose to have Slavery, it is because the mass of the American people, at the North as well as at the South, wish to have it so, choose to have it so,—it is because, although, on the whole, they think that Slavery is a bad thing, yet still, they believe that the removal of it would produce inconvenience and depress their financial affairs and their business arrangements, which would more than counterbalance the advantages of the Abolition of Slavery, and, therefore, they are willing to bequeath it to another generation, believing, with Louis the Fifteenth, of France, that “things will last their time, and the next generation must take care of itself,”—it is for this reason, that Slavery now exists in this land. But as soon as the heart of the American people is changed, and they are as resolute to remove as they now are to maintain it, how long do you suppose Slavery will last? We are getting the

mind of the people into that state. It seems to me that it is the most sensible and the most practical proceeding that any man can undertake, and I earnestly invite and entreat those who have not joined us, those who have not signed the articles of our warfare, to come up and help us; and be assured, it is the most sensible as well as the most pleasant course. You know that we Abolitionists are notorious throughout the country for our self-satisfaction; but the country does not know the reason we have for it. (Applause.) If they will come and join us, they will know why we are thus self-satisfied. We *are* exceedingly well-pleased with our position;—not with what we do, for we think we do not do half enough; we do not come up to our ideas; we do not work as hard as we should; we do not make as many sacrifices as we should;—but we are perfectly satisfied that we are right; that we stand exactly in the right position; that our faces are Zion ward, and that we are proceeding in the straight way, which God himself has established, and we enjoy that happiness which comes from the consciousness of ultimate triumph. We are certain of success. We know that we cannot but succeed, because the cause in which we are enlisted is the cause of God himself. We may fail; we may fall in the conflict; we may go down to our graves without witnessing the consummation of our hopes; but we know that success will ultimately crown the contest, because we know that God sits on the throne of the universe, because we know that his laws must ultimately prevail, and though men set their faces against them, we know that he is stronger than they; and although President Pierce may resolve that Abolitionism shall be “erushed out,” and although Mr. Webster, and Mr. Clay, and Mr. Cass declare that Anti-Slavery agitation shall cease and must cease, we know that “He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh” at them, and that God “will have them in derision.” Why, sir, what are these men? Are they Giants? are they giants, who war against Jehovah? Are these the men who “pile Ossa upon Pelion,” or “storm the battlements of heaven”? No, sir; they are poor little creatures, not six feet high, on the average, (great laughter,) crawling about on this little world—this planet in the corner of the universe—and defying the Almighty; declaring that they can repeal his laws; that their laws are paramount to His, and when He establishes a law and they repeal it, why, it is of no effect, and it is the duty of all men to obey their laws and disobey God’s laws! This is precisely the doctrine of the “lower law,” as you know. It is not only the doctrine of the politicians, but the doctrine of the priests, and of the chief High Priests, of every denomination, I believe, with one or two trivial excep-

tions. All the larger sects, all the High Priests and Rulers of the Synagogues have exclaimed, with one voice, "Great are the Compromises! They are to be obeyed, whether God is to be obeyed or not."

Well, we do not believe this. We do not believe that President Pierce, or General Cass, or Mr. Webster, or Mr. Clay, or all the men that ever lived, or all the genius and all the talent and all the energy and all the force that ever existed on the earth, concentrated and brought into one point, can perpetuate Slavery for ever. It is just as impossible as to make a pyramid stand for ever upon its apex. The laws of moral gravitation must and will bring it down to the ground; and it is only because it is supported by the bayonets of the North, and by the pulpits of the North, that that inverted pyramid stands as it does at this day, crushing slaves beneath it, and casting its fearful shadow over the whole land, and paralyzing the hearts of the people. We do not believe it can stand for ever; and we want to persuade the people to remove these bayonets and these pulpits, and leave it to the natural laws of moral gravitation, knowing that it will come thundering down, and that God in heaven will bless the fall, and that all mankind will rejoice in it.

I therefore invite all those who have not yet joined the American Society, those who have not yet seen eye to eye with us, to examine the method which we propose, and which we have pursued, and of which we now see the fruits all over this country. Small as was the seed, few as have been the sowers, we see it springing up all over the country — in the slave States as well as in the free; and we know, that as surely as God liveth, as surely as God keepeth His word, so surely will Slavery come to an end; and we thank God that, in his Providence and in his goodness, he has permitted us to be his humble and unworthy instruments in this blessed work. (Loud cheers.)

WILLIAM THORNE, of Lancaster county, discussed the moral teachings of the pulpit, and went into a defence of the Free Soil party, as a party which had conferred great benefits on the country.

GEORGE SUNTER, Jr., of England, said that, in his opinion, the discussion upon the comparative merits or demerits of our slaveholding and the English Aristocratic institutions was an idle discussion. There was one matter, growing out of that discussion, which needed to be insisted upon, namely, the essential oneness of the spirit of oppression, in all its manifestations. The spirit of selfishness was one every where. The violation of the Golden Rule, which led people in his country to oppress one another, rulers to oppress subjects, and workmen to oppress those

who were a stage below them, was just the same in character, and they might be as guilty, under those particular circumstances, as when it was manifested by the slaveholder himself. He wished to impress upon his own conscience, and upon all those on whom he had any influence, that if they were living in perfect obedience to their own highest convictions of right, they were doing their part towards putting an end to all the wrongs in the world; and just so far as they deviated from that conviction, they were countenancing and upholding every form of oppression. The reason why people were so concerned about the authority of the Bible, the institution of the Sabbath, with the organization of churches, with the sacredness of the ministerial profession, about the holiness of houses, and so on, was because they resorted to them as substitutes for this living obedience to the law of God. The Anti-Slavery man, he believed, was hostile to every form of oppression. Woman's Rights, the question of the Sabbath, and all other questions tending to the welfare of the race, were Anti-Slavery questions. It was essential to spiritual life, that they should have no law but the natural law.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., came forward, and said:—

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT :

The remarks of the friend who has just taken his seat, whose coöperation with us in England in years past has been so efficient, and whose outspoken fidelity in this country has been so marked as to deserve a most emphatic expression of our gratitude, seemed to me to evince a misapprehension in regard to the nature of the Anti-Slavery organization. It is quite true, as he said, that the Anti-Slavery spirit permeates all these kindred movements with which the country abounds. It is true, also, that, as Despotism is a brotherhood, a blow on the chains of the Carolinas is felt in Hungary and in the dungeons of Austria. I remember a man's refusing to go to a meeting held some years ago in Boston, to ask for the abolition of the use of the lash in the navy, because, he said, "he should be sure to see JACKSON and GARRISON there." (Laughter.) It is true, that the spirit of Liberty is one, the world over; but it is not therefore necessarily true, that on the Anti-Slavery platform, in an organization arranged for a single purpose, we can honestly cover all these grounds, or allow the Woman question or the Bible question to be formally discussed. Our spirit, like heat, permeates every thing; but we lock up heat, sometimes, in the locomotive, in order

to move the train, and afterward let the heat go and distribute itself where it will. As the steam engine in a factory, in one story moves the machinery, in another warms the rooms, in another, turns a lathe, so here, one spirit permeates all these movements; but while in one room, we confine it to one purpose. Thus we may gather all creeds and opinions to an united effort against Slavery. We would avoid the bigotry which contrives, by arbitrary laws, to narrow down the platform—as one of your own fellow-citizens said he would not support JOHN P. HALE, unless he would come into their prayer-meeting. We would open the Anti-Slavery platform to all individuals, no matter what be their sentiments on other topics and in other places, receiving them as Abolitionists, and inquiring no further. Whether, in the next story, or the next apartment, they dispute the Bible or reject Christianity, favor Woman's Rights or the contrary, is no business of ours. Sufficient, for the present, that they work with us, like faithful Abolitionists; and we will assure them of this, that while they are with us, they shall not have their opinions on other topics unnecessarily interfered with.

One of the most valuable lessons that the Anti-Slavery cause has ever taught us is this deep, fundamental lesson, not of mutual toleration, that is a bad word, but of mutual *rights*. Who asks why we “tolerate,” as men say, the disbeliever in the Bible on this platform? He has as much right here as I have. The Hindoo, the Mohammedan, the Infidel, or the Atheist, who will help me lift the chain from the slave, or who will give me the aid of his intellect and his kindness of heart to reëducate these twenty millions of people on this matter of Slavery, has as much right here as I have. I hope he will tolerate me; and it is a great deal more evidence of candor that he should tolerate me, compromised as I am by being called a Christian, when these thirty thousand professedly Christian pulpits are arrayed against the slave, than for me to tolerate him; for I have got to explain away these thirty thousand pulpits, before I can claim Christianity as an Anti-Slavery gospel. Alas! Infidelity, with all its errors, has no such blot to remove from its escutcheon. The toleration is all on the other side. (Cheers.)

In my remarks this afternoon, I was speaking of the evidence of good policy derived from success. When I first came into the Anti-Slavery cause, seventeen years ago, I remember that the first person with whom I went out to hold an Anti-Slavery Convention was AMOS DRESSER. He was fresh from Nashville; fresh from that public square where a City Committee, (among whose members was one man who, the Sunday before, handed him the communion bread and wine,) had undertaken to whip him, for the offence of having Anti-Slavery tracts in his trunk;

and when the Ohio press, in the month following, indignantly demanded why Amos Dresser was not punished according to law, instead of that inobocratic and Judge Lynch manner, the reply of the Tennessee press was, "he had not offended any law, and we had to punish him in that manner or none." That was public opinion in the border slave States seventeen years ago. The last Anti-Slavery news to-day is, that into that very community, LUCRETIA MOTT and LUCY STONE have gone to preach Anti-Slavery and Woman's Rights, and have been received with an enthusiastic welcome that has not been able to find epithets enough to express its admiration. Surely, the world moves!

One other fact occurs to me, which I will mention. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS is reported to have said, that when he first commenced his Anti-Slavery course in Congress, he should have had no hesitation in aiding in the return of a fugitive slave; that he would just as soon have helped in the recovery of a fugitive slave, as of any other article of acknowledged property. This was JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, fourteen years ago! How popular opinion had warped the best minds of America, and unconsciously levelled them down to the most corrupt and degraded state of indifference and darkness on a question like this! Certainly, if we have done nothing else, we have done this: we have roused men to think, and make up deliberate opinions, not merely float idly with the current; and no man of Mr. Adams's position, humane sentiments, and love of Liberty, can ever be left in such a state of mind in regard to the slave system, as he stood in fourteen years ago. (Cheers.)

Let me instance another fact; for it is good, on an Anniversary like this, to sum up all these things,—to take account of stock, as it were, and see where we are. Only think of the success of young JOHN JAY in the Episcopal Church!—one of the very best tests that could be taken of the state of public opinion, since that Church is so Aristocratic in its character as to be far removed from popular control or influence. In its high, cold latitude, above the beating hearts of the American people, out of the reach of any popular movement, silent, in icy dignity, there it sits! Mr. Jay, year after year, moved that body to admit colored priests on an equal footing with white. Year after year, they denied his motion; and, further than this, with a sagacity which they might almost have borrowed from their brothers of Rome,—wiser in this respect, than the ecclesiastical despotism of the vulgar sects,—the moment they had passed the vote, they added another, (cunning creatures!) to erase the whole record from their register! They did not mean to go down to posterity with that ugly black line against them. They were wiser than our Congressional men, who leave votes to stare

them in the face, instead of expunging the record, so that they need not swallow their own words, but have a fresh trial every day. (Laughter.) Thus, having put Mr. Jay down, and "cleaned off" the record, they went on, year after year, voting him down; but, this year, Mr. Jay has got the vote in his favor. By his "continual coming," he has wearied them into decency, and they admit colored priests into their Convention—that cold, Aristocratic, isolated Church! Our Church is the Siamese twin to our Politics, (laughter,) and the ligament of mutual dependence is never broken. No warm popular American blood circulates through the statuesque Episcopal Church, and, therefore, this fact is the more remarkable and significant. That must be a hot day indeed, that melts the glaciers on the side of Mt. Blanc.

If there be any other religious institution which shows the effect of this change in the public sentiment with peculiar force, it is the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Even they have been obliged—even they, the only truly Aristocratic Board in this country, for they exist for life, and choose their own successors, and are thus utterly removed from popular influence, and able, more than any thing else in the country, to defy it—even they, at their last meeting, were obliged to take a sort of Anti-Slavery course, or, at any rate, to smother down, by a direct vote, the Anti-Slavery discussion; showing that they, too, have been reached, in their high and isolated position, by this change in public sentiment going on around them.

All these things are to us, who watch the times, the most encouraging evidence that our principles have permeated the shallow as well as the deep waters of society; penetrating all the bays and inlets of the great ocean. They have not merely been seen in the great foci, the great centres of intellectual life, but our light boats have gone up into all the quiet haunts, and still waters, the highways and byways of American thought, and caught the attention of the people, before whom every thing, in the last resort, must bow. (Applause.) It seems to me that these things show that we have a right to be encouraged in the use of the very means by which so great an effect has been already produced. Let me tell you what I mean. An Abolitionist recognises this change in the swallowing up of all questions before this one great question of Slavery. One of our public men, Mr. Todd, came home to Ohio lately, after an absence of five years on a foreign mission, and addressed an audience there on a political question, after he had been a month or so in Ohio. He gave them an old-fashioned Tariff talk; and the people opened their eyes in amazement. A friend, who was asked what he thought of the speech, said it reminded him of the story in Swift, of the

man who was suddenly interrupted in conversation by his friend being called abruptly away, and who, meeting him twenty years afterwards, began his story just where the interruption broke him off! (Laughter.) So, in the case of Mr. Todd, his audience were just five years ahead of him, and stared in amazement at the political Rip Van Winkle.

Some men have asked us, in times gone by, why it was necessary to be so radical on a question like this; why we needed to talk about overthrowing the Church and dividing the State; why Disunion and Anti-Church measures were necessary. I said something this afternoon on this subject, especially on the religious aspect of our organization.

On this topic, I was observing, when I broke off, that we do not ask you to-day to accept a single new principle, either in civil or religious truth. They are all as old as Christianity itself; and could we divorce this element of color from our cause, it would triumph in a moment. If Calhoun placed his hand on the black babe born on his plantation and called it his, but few considered what a monstrous and blasphemous act it was; but let some one seize the cradled babe of the Green Mountains, how soon would those rock-ribbed hills tear themselves from their foundations and pour down on the Carolinas, to snatch those blue eyes from degradation! Remember, that the God who gave us our blue eyes and sunny locks, made the black babe also, though he did not give the privileges and blessings which now we Saxons share. As I said, we take these principles and carry them up and down the streets of America, and we must expect to be crucified, as all the Nathans have been who have undertaken to apply principles to the Davids that sit in high places. The principles are old; it is the application that makes martyrs of those who attempt it. It seems to be inevitable, with our poor human nature, that every new application of an old truth to a rampant sin shall necessitate the formation of a new sect. Some critics say, no man ever wrote but one really great book. So, no sect ever seems able to embody more than one great idea. That done, its work is finished, and it begins to die. When a new application of the principle is to be battled for, there is always a swarm goes out from the old hive. When the Protestant church grew rich and prosperous, the Puritans came out of it, holding each church perfect and independent; and when Puritanism got planted here in Massachusetts Bay, Roger Williams, with his doctrine of unlimited toleration, was too radical for it. Winthrop shook him out of his lap; and when the Quaker came, with his idea of individual independence,—another stride ahead,—the Commonwealth hung one on the Common and banished the rest. The Quaker grew rich, easy in life, and conservative, and then the Unitarian set

up the standard of individual thought, and he, too, came out from the sects. The whole history of religious thought is *come out*—and *COME OUT*; a constant coming out,—and that is the only method of growth which seems possible for human nature. It is a beautiful, it is a glorious characteristic of our movement, which joins us to the best and the noblest of the race, in all ages. But how hard for one man to stem the current of his age! Some are timid, and think if you sweep away the cobwebs, you endanger the building. Others had rather sit in the pew where their mothers sat, than go where an enlightened conscience would lead them. Some men, as Jerrold says, will not look at the new moon, out of respect for that ancient institution, the old one.

Let us pray for fanatics to break up and criticise;—it is only by breaking away from the past that the race makes any progress. Many men dread reform—its excesses, its headlong course. It seems to me such men forget the nature of the human mind. God has wisely provided that changes shall be slow in man's condition, as well as in nature; and to this end, he has bedded the feelings of the present so deeply in the habits of the past, as to make any sudden and violent innovation impossible. Such rarely occur—when they do, they are but spasms and temporary. “Men are all Tories by nature,” says Arnold, “when tolerably well off; only monstrous injustice and atrocious cruelty can rouse them.” Some talk of the rashness of the uneducated classes. Alas! ignorance is far oftener obstinate than rash. Against one French Revolution—that scarecrow of the ages—weigh Asia, “carved in stone,” and a thousand years of Europe, with her half dozen nations mired out and trodden down, to be the dull and contented footstools of priests and kings. The customs of a thousand years ago are the sheet-anchor of the passing generation, so deeply buried, so fixed, that the most violent efforts of the maddest fanatic can drag it but a hand's breadth. It is a wise provision of Providence, that he who attempts to replace the good with what he thinks better, or to reform the usual because he thinks it bad, shall find opposed to him not only received opinions, but the iron chains of old custom; and hard as it is to make public opinion run in a new channel, it is a more herculean task still, to break up the crystalization of a man's habits. Yet the latter is often the more important of the two, since the majority act more from habit than principle. This beneficial principle of our nature becomes a curse, when men add strength to this almost omnipotence of the past by artificial barriers, and frown down the spirit of improvement, perpetuating institutions, good perhaps at some former time, but which a change of circumstances renders a curse.

In this light, what a blessing is death! God takes us away when we grow old and rigid, and when the mind is no longer capable or apt for receiving new ideas. Death takes us gently off, that the new bark and the new tree may have room to spread, and that the youthful intellect may not be cowed and quail for ever before one who boasts the experience of a thousand years. Who would dare to differ from a man who spoke with the experience of a thousand years? In his presence, all later intellects must be always children. What a blessing, then, is death!

Why should men be afraid of this Anti-Slavery movement, that seeks to inaugurate a new idea? The Churches—why should they? They have answered the end for which men gathered them; they met the issues of the eighteenth century, and did its work. We only ask them now to do ours. As there is a place for each new born man, at Nature's great table, so there is room for each new idea to incorporate itself into institutions. Barons' Castles moulder on the height, while workshops and moderate dwellings cover the whole slope below. The dreamy grandeur of the old cathedral is half deserted, and the listless convent is empty, while earnest men strive to get justice done in the market place, and are running to and fro over the whole earth to turn men's eyes from the dust below them to God. So with us. God calls this age here to grapple with the great social problem of Slavery. The Missionary Society, giving away the Bible and printing Tracts, the crosses of years gone by, are *respectable* work now. The *mass* of Society, now-a-days, recognise the duty and worth of all these, as much as of Alms-giving and Sunday Schools—cheap soup and the primer. For the *Church* remains a higher and harder work. Standing in the van, her prophetic eye should be the *first* to descry suffering, even though the cloud be no bigger than a man's hand; her heart, touched with liveliest sympathy, is to be poured out *first* in its behalf; hers is to be that wisdom, the child of goodness, which is *first* to devise the remedy. This *Church*, our movement claims, in its part, to be. Why should the old church find fault with us? As well might the dead timber which men have fashioned for use, quarrel with the living tree. Look at these beams and rafters, these girders and king-posts. They stood once fresh and green in the forest. Men cut them down and fashioned them for this stately hall. It has served its purpose. You have here worshipped God, held peaceable communion, and been sheltered from the storm. Suppose, now, all these liatels, "the bean out of the timber," should cry to the pines on the mountain side, "Grow no more—no more halls shall be built—no more churches will be needed—stop growing!" And the pines would answer back—"God moves in my veins, also, and I grow for the future; work you well for

the present, and I, too, will do man service in the coming time!" So the Abolitionist says to the girders and king-posts and rafters of the American Church—"You did well, forty years ago. You inaugurated the Missionary enterprise, the Tract enterprise. God speed them! They were the self-sacrificing, disinterested efforts of religious men, up to the level of the responsibilities of their day. But, lo! the place is too small. The lists are needed for a new battle—new work lies before me. I, too, grow for the future, with the direct influences of God in my bosom; and because you have been hewn into rafters and served man, is no reason why I should not grow and serve him for the future." 'The New York *Evangelist* said, some years ago, that "Philanthropy had fallen into the hands of Infidelity." What a Christianity is that!—a Christianity that leaves any thing good to be done by Infidels! I believe in a Christianity that covers the platform of Humanity so entirely that halting Infidelity can not get on it—there is no room for him. (Loud cheers.) When you see a man go down to the Five Points, or take up the cross of the Anti-Slavery or Temperance Reformation, no matter what his creed is, God touched his heart before he went out. I will never believe the opposite, until I can believe that "every good and perfect gift" does not "come down from the Father of lights," but rises sometimes from somewhere else.

I did intend to speak of the evidence which this view of our Anti-Slavery duty receives from the success which has attended it; for the very best proof that our radical measures were necessary and right, is that they have succeeded. We are not the first Anti-Slavery movement that has ever been attempted in this country. Nay, I hardly exaggerate when I say, there has never been a time in our history when there has not been the nucleus of an Anti-Slavery movement in the United States—an Anti-Slavery sentiment more or less powerful among the people. Go back even to the earliest stage in the history of our country, and you find the struggling evidence of an Anti-Slavery feeling. You find it in the life of BENJAMIN LAY; you find it in your own city, in that noble Quaker, JOHN WOOLMAN; you find it in the North Carolina Quakers, the history of whose ill-fated slaves ought to be written; you find it, previous to the Constitution, in the discussions which may be found in the Magazines of that period; you find it in the Constitutional Convention itself; you find it in the debates when Louisiana was admitted, and when the father of our friend QUINCY represented so eloquently and ably the Anti-Slavery instinct of New England; in the question of the acquisition of Florida. You see it again in the war of 1812; in the meeting of the Hartford Convention; in the struggles of the Federal party to free them-

selves from the incumbrance. I have a copy of a pamphlet, probably by GEORGE CABOT, and every one of the arguments, and all the statistics, which the Anti-Slavery speakers put forth to-day on the political aspects of the question, were debated in it. They did not appeal ignorantly. They knew well the gigantic foe that lay coiled up in the United States Constitution, and which poisoned and finally killed the honestest party that ever appeared in American politics. You see it again in the Missouri Compromise of 1821, and all along the Tariff debates. The reason why the Anti-Slavery movement is different is, that it has undertaken to forget interest and remember only justice: undertaken to say that the Anti-Slavery question ought to be settled, no matter whether it jeopardize the safety and prosperity of the white race or not. Mr. GARRISON succeeded better than those who went before him, because he undertook to look at the slave question as the negro looked at it. Clarkson, Wilberforce, Lushington and Buxton looked at the slave question for thirty years as the white man looks at it. They piled *Blue Books* mountain high to show that Bristol and Liverpool would not suffer in trade, that sugar would be as cheap, that rum would be as plenty, after emancipation as before. They proved that the white man could *afford* to be just; and the nation plodded on, in the wearisome task of satisfying the white race of the islands that God understood his own creation when he made it, and that man could be trusted with himself.

Now, the only reason why the Anti-Slavery movement of the present day has succeeded better is, that it brushed aside all these *Blue Books*, and undertook to look at the question as the colored man would look at it, and say, "I have a right to be free. Whether there will be this benefit or the other, I know not; but, benefit or ruin, I have a right to be free, notwithstanding." No race has a right to prosperity built on the sacrifice of another race! This is the stand-point of the Anti-Slavery argument, and it touched the deeper consciousness and affections of the American heart, and brought the change you see before you. I have often heard the friend who sits here (Mr. GARRISON) say that when Sir T. F. BUXTON received him at his own door, he exclaimed—"Mr. GARRISON! why, I thought you were black." (Laughter.) It was the highest compliment that could have been paid him; for FOWELL BUXTON knew him only from his "LIBERATOR," and could not believe that any white American could so thoroughly identify himself with the colored man as to be able to look at this question from the stand-point of the negro, and he inferred his color from his logic. (Applause.) It was a touching and well-earned compliment, and beneath it lies the secret of his success.

Let me now say a word distinctly in regard to the disunion of the States,—the favorite doctrine of the Society with which this meeting is identified.

We are often asked, Why not trust this matter to the Constitution, to parties, sects, and the press, in the hope they will create a public sentiment sufficient for the work? Because like causes produce like effects. While the sources of National character remain the same, that character will be the same. With such experience in the past, whence shall we expect an Anti-Slavery nation? We must go deeper, and change the actual sources of American character. What has produced this present nation, Church and State? What has educated it? Is there any doubt what it is? Can there ever be any doubt what the American Church is? No; she bears her character on her face, always. Her voice, when she speaks, is heard over the nation; her step, when she moves, shakes the continent. She is a great whole—one and indivisible. Her voice moulds the literature, the education, every thing in the country; and it is unmistakable to any body who, without prejudice, looks over these United States, and sees a people, full of hateful prejudice against color here at the North, and, throughout the South and North, ready, by the use of the most unscrupulous means, to sustain the system of Slavery, that, no matter what individual exceptions there may be, the great result is, an American pro-slavery nation. In all its life, it is pro-slavery;—its very life-blood is pro-slavery.

What could have passed the Fugitive Slave Law? What could have tempted such a man as Webster to make that last fatal—and even that was unsuccessful—step of his, if there had not been a public sentiment so strong and potent that he might reasonably hope that it would accept the sacrifice, and bear him into office? With regard to the Fugitive Slave Law, the pro-slavery sects (to whom Mr. QUINCY alluded) and the clergy generally, in the first rank, with few exceptions, were longing to endorse that law. Mark you this! The great sects, the leading theological newspapers, the leading divines in the powerful sects in the country, were all for the law. It was the smaller sects, it was, as a general thing, the lesser men, in present estimation, who opposed that infamous enactment; the men by whose names we have a right to read the nation, were pro-slavery.

So it is in regard to the civil power, State and National. What are President Pierce and his cabinet engaged in at the present moment? In the effort to smother down the Anti-Slavery tendencies of the Democratic party. The leading political influences of the nation are pro-slavery. Perhaps I need not dwell upon it, in an audience like this.

Our argument is simply this: What has been, will be, the circumstances being the same. The circumstances of the last seventy years, the religion and the politics, have educated this nation. God gives twenty millions of people into the hands of these thirty thousand pulpits, these educational and political influences, and says, "Educate for me this people." They educate it, and have produced, in the face of day, a nation which absolutely sets Europe aghast by the enactment of a statute such as no throne in Europe would have dared to insult public opinion with. It seems to me that the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society are philosophical in saying that we had as good men, as far as politics are concerned, at the time of the formation of the government, as we can expect to have. We had the Hamiltons, the Edwardses, the Jays, the Rutledges, the Wythes, the Leighs, and Chief Justice Marshall, and Randolph, and Henry. We had Gouverneur Morris,—let his name never be forgotten, when men talk of the public sentiment of the old time,—who, when they told him, in the Constitutional Convention, that Georgia and Carolina would not come into the Union, without the Compromises, answered in these memorable monosyllables, "Let them stay out, then!" If there had been such a spirit in the North, we should have seen the Compromises rejected, we should have seen these States kept out on probation, and seen them come humbly into the Union, as Rhode Island did, when they found they could not stay out any longer, and join it on our terms, instead of our joining it on theirs. But still, we started with as good influences, as far as men are concerned, as we can ever expect to have—men full of enthusiasm for civil liberty. We started with just those institutions which we now have. We have no better statesmen, we have no better Declaration of Independence, we have no better literature, we have no better Constitution now, than at that time. And there are those among us who say, "Let us take the same ship, the same crew, the same sailing orders, and expect to make a better voyage;"—and we reply, "If you do, you will land in the same harbor—*on the coast of Guinea!*" (Loud cheers.) We say, "We will not waste the experiment which our fathers tried at such expense. Fifty years' experience is enough for us, and we will not venture again to sea in the same ship, and under the same captain." It was the inherent depravity of our institutions, that sacrificed a WEBSTER on the shrine of Slavery. He was as good a man as most others, and as strong; New England cannot expect to build up, under her political arrangements, much better men. God will not probably give us a mightier intellect for many years than his; it was the maelstrom of political temptation with which you surrounded him, that engulfed this

loftiest intellect, as to civil affairs, of his time; it was the conviction that to be Anti-Slavery was to commit political suicide, which changed him from what he was on the rock of Plymouth, to be the obedient vassal of the Slave Power. Yet you undertake to say, we will take these same men—made of the same human nature, no better, no worse—we will take them again, we will put them into the same oven, and hope that they will not come out the same dough as before! (Applause.)

It is unphilosophical to expect, that under the same course of circumstances, we shall have a better pulpit or politics than we have had. The present debauched character of the nation is not the fault of the men, it is the fault of the institutions which formed their character. The power of a depraved public sentiment tempted our great men to their own ill. Who shall say that the course of American history for the last fifty years will not be repeated, if we have the same political elements as before?—the “three fifths basis”—a hundred and fifty thousand men wielding the influence of two thousand millions of dollars—a mercantile class, whose basis is cotton, and the press of the country the vassals of that class;—who shall affirm this, with a press thus in vassalage to the mercantile class, and a mercantile class thus bound to the chariot wheels of the capitalists of the country; with a pulpit, in this country necessarily, from the nature of our religious organization, the reflection of that stronger power, the Money power—for, in a country like ours, the mercantile class must always sweep into its ranks the greatest energy, intellect and enterprise that the generation can furnish—while we remain a new country, with so much industrial prosperity about us, it is impossible, in the nature of things, that the mercantile class shall not attract to itself all the first mind and energy in the country, and it is necessarily the vassal of the capitalists. To the feudalism of the old world has succeeded the feudalism of gold, and the Southerner has the gold on his side.

Now, in this view, we say, simply and singly, that we have nothing to fall back upon except the religious element, the religious spirit of the people. Let me illustrate once more the influence which the predominant sentiment of the country has exerted upon its literature. I will not take the newspaper press; I will take literature in its best form; and I will look for a shining mark, one of the first men in the republic of letters. I will take BANCROFT. When he sat down to write the history of the country—a work which has taken its place by the side of the best histories of any people—under the magnificent elms of Northampton, a scholar, and nothing else—he finished his first volume, and we found in it a frank, able, natural, scholarly rebuke of the shortcom-

ings of the country ; and wherever the slave question showed its head above the current of the history of the land, wherever he met it, he put his finger upon it, with a decided expression of New England sentiment—frank, plain, good Anti-Slavery. *Mind you get the first edition!* (Laughter.) It is very hard to get, for there is not a copy to be sold ; and if you pick up the fourth edition, you will find that that chapter has been most ingeniously contracted. Every one of those Anti-Slavery sentiments has been erased ! Every one of those expressions of feeling has been filed down to mean nothing—to express nothing—to offend nobody ! He had passed from the noble elms beneath which Jonathan Edwards had walked, and had been into the dangerous atmosphere of the cabinet at Washington, had walked St. James's as the Ambassador of the country ; he sat in the city of New York, and held loosely the reins of a great party, *and he had hopes*—God grant they may be disappointed ! (Loud cheers.) In taking this high instance, I am saving the necessity of taking more. I give you the name of a man who might be expected, from his world-wide fame, from his position, from the nature of the occupation in which he was engaged, to have had a wider range of vision than merely as far South as Mason and Dixon's line. But even he failed to rise above the smoke of American life.

It is proved, that in this bargain between God and Devil, the Devil gets the better, on all occasions. This compromise is all on one side. This temptation is always too strong, for the moment, for the virtue of our divines and our politicians. Too strong, I say, for the moment ; and that reminds me of another evidence of the strength of the Anti-Slavery cause. Dr. Dewey came from Washington to New England, and lectured through our towns, offering to give up his own mother into bondage to save the Union. We published it. We sent it to England. We published it here, again and again. Then Dr. Dewey quailed before the public sentiment which he had not understood, while he lived in Washington—he did not know, for instance, that the Unitarian Committee, in the city of Boston, for supplying ministers to country parishes, had been reduced to say, when asked to send an old-fashioned divine, of the pro-slavery stamp, “ We must either send you a fool or an Abolitionist.” (Laughter and cheers.) What does he do ? Like an honest man, does he take it back ? No ; like an American, he wriggles out of it, (loud cheers,) by trying to make people believe he said “ brother,” and not “ mother.” But even in the attempt to whine himself out of the dilemma, there was an unconscious tribute to the Anti-Slavery sentiment, on both sides of the water ; a confession that this had grown stronger than he was aware, and before it he was obliged to bow.

Some men are very much surprised that we cannot conduct this cause so as to secure the approbation of moderate men; they are always quoting to us the example of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and the English Abolitionists, and ask us why we cannot tread in their steps. This is odd. It only shows that even my friend here (Mr. GARRISON) has a chance of its being forgotten, forty years hence, that he has been a "fanatic." I have no doubt that the Reformers of that day will be taunted with the question—"Why don't you go to work in a moderate, Christian manner, as GARRISON did?" (Laughter and cheers.) Why, CLARKSON was so moderate in his day, that the merchants of Liverpool tried to push him into the dock, and William the Fourth called WILBERFORCE "a grey-headed fanatic." Now, we quote them for moderation! So we shall be quoted, on some future day; but no man, in his own day, may ever expect to charm away a great public evil by soft words or ingenious methods. The men who are concerned in the evil understand you, and just so far as the slaveholders felt—not heard, but FELT—that WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING, under his choice English, meant just what WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON did, in his plainer Saxon, they hated the one as much as the other. As the magnet feels the presence of the needle, so they can feel the presence of a man, who, under a rude or honied speech, means to take the slave from the grasp of his oppressor. They feel the magnetic influence of a true man, and, soften your tone as you may, you shall not escape hatred. (Applause.) "Punch" has a story of an English Colonel in India who won an elephant in a lottery—you recollect the story. His barn was too small to hold it; he was afraid to shoot it; it was against the law to turn it into the street; and he was too kind-hearted a man to starve it. "Punch" concludes the story—"He was in the condition of a man of a small house, moderate fortune, common humanity, and an elephant." It is just so with this nation. It has got a sin on its back; it cannot conceal it; it is ashamed to confess it; it is too lazy to attempt to cure it; and it cries out with angry hatred against the Nathan who boldly sets its sin before its eyes. It is in the condition of a nation with common pride, some humanity, average conscience, and an elephant." (Loud cheers and laughter.) Now, no man, able to make an effective charge upon that popular sin, can criticise such a nation, and yet, at the same time, during his own life, secure the popular coöperation and sympathy. The selfishness of the human heart is too deep-rooted to allow it. The very grapple and conflict, the ranging of side and side, the moral agitation, the war of ideas, prevent it. The honest combatants, on either side, must misunderstand and hate each other, and it is not until the smoke of the controversy clears away, in a subsequent gen-

eration, that men recognise the sincerity of purpose, the love of country, and the spirit of benevolence, which animated the honest men on either side,—when the question admits of honesty on both sides.

There is nothing singular, therefore, in our having provoked popular indignation and the rebuke of high places; in Mr. GARRISON'S being hated; in the Abolitionists being generally odious. It is the necessity of our position. We shall be odious as long as we live. We are the dead lumber, probably, that is to make up the road over which the popular Abolitionists of another generation shall walk. Yes, we are the rude and rugged pioneers, whose labor will render us too unsightly for the holiday gaze of the people; and by and by, when the road is built, when the sacrifice of our bodies has made it strong and hard enough, then you will see men in political pumps and silk stockings, who, with no sacrifice of their political station or popularity, will condescend to walk over the road we have built, and stereotype into Constitutions that Anti-Slavery sentiment we have created. (Loud cheers.) All this odium and unpopularity is inevitable in a cause like ours; and our duty is to go on, and appeal, as before, to the live heart of the people. I value logic, but the common people do not reason. I distrust this long array of argument. It is not always necessary to argue; there is an instinctive logic which leaps over the long deductions of reason, and reaches its end at once. On many questions, the heart is the best logician. Yes, we have got to accomplish our work by making the people our jury, and appealing for the decisions of all public questions to those whose hearts are ordinarily larger and more active than their heads. We may rejoice or regret, but the fact remains, that the people feel more than they reason. Look at Webster and Clay, as illustrating this. Our great New Englander stood his whole life long at Washington, and hammered out on his anvil of relentless logic his politics and his doctrines of the Constitution. He went on, industrious, faithful, persevering, adding link to link. Now and then he looked off over the nation; but no one was watching him. He had lost his hold on the popular mind, and they left him there, working out on the anvil his chain of remorseless argument. While Clay, who never laid down a premise or drew a conclusion, did but spread out the broad arms of his warm, genial human nature, and almost the whole North and South melted into his great magnetic heart. (Loud cheers.) A great party, that never could be brought even to support, much less to love, the New England champion, were ready, at any time, to shut their eyes, and rush to certain destruction, if they might but write the name of Henry Clay upon their banner. (Applause.) It was the instinctive uprising of the popular heart, that answered back to a man that had a heart.

Now, the Anti-Slavery cause, whether it be very sagacious or not, I do not know; but this I do know, that, in the Providence of God, it has appealed to this same element. It would neither be turned aside by the airy sophistry of the politician; no, nor by the legal trifling of the professional man, nor the fine-spun theories of the Orthodox Churchman; but it said—"I FEEL! (enthusiastic cheering,) and this same heart that God has put into my bosom, is in the bosom of others; *when my heart beats, that, too, shall beat!*" And see, *it does beat*; as the pendulum of Arago, hung at one end of a room, and left motionless, caught soon the motion of one vibrating at the other, and both, in a few hours, were found beating in unison together. (Loud cheers.)

That is our philosophy. It is our trusting, confidential appeal to the masses, which has resulted in such a marvellous growth of Anti-Slavery sentiment in twenty years. Our fathers thought they had kept it down; they thought they had compacted a Constitution so cunningly, so strong, that we could never get above it. It reminds one of the Eastern story of the prime minister of Solomon, Asaph, who was so honest and able that when he died, Solomon had him embalmed and placed in his Treasury, dressed, and resting on his staff. The thieves, ignorant of his death, stole from time to time to the Treasury, to see what their old master was doing; but, observing him always in a vigilant attitude, fled in fear. At last, it happened that some white ants (well known in the East for their ravages) found their way into the Treasury, and, attacking Asaph's staff, he fell to the ground; the thieves thus found out the trick, and, entering the Treasury, rifled it of its hoards. So with our Constitution. How long it stood a bugbear to honest men! We thought it really had a support in the hearts and consciences of good men. But the white ants of tricky and broken Compromises, of Fugitive Slave Laws, vassal presses and rotten pulpits, have eaten this away, and it lies a log king. Who so poor to do it reverence? The Union needs so much "saving," that men begin to ask of a Constitution that requires so much doctoring, like Pope's coachman, whether it would not be easier "to make a new one?"

The Anti-Slavery cause owes its success to Mr. GARRISON'S forgetting he was white (cheers); to the fact, that he looked upon these great questions of Church and State as the negro looks at them. He did not fear for the walls of granite and marble, nor for the national prosperity with which the nation was drunk; but he said to this, "Good! and if all this can stand consistently with Justice, let it stand!" But he was heathen enough, thank God! to say also with Horace, the old Pagan, "Let Justice be done," though even the American Union fall! In that convic-

tion, he went forth, and the people listened to the new voice, that undertook to go deeper than the old. Some men would have despaired in such a contest, forgetting,—what our friend HIGGINSON has so happily reminded us,—that “a wise man is harder to conquer than a city.” We walk about, and look up at these gigantic institutions,—at these wharves of granite, and at these lofty warehouses and this garnered wealth, the frowning buttresses of old institutions, and we feel very weak and little before them. So the poet sometimes, as he gazes at the mountains and walks beneath the stars, talks of the eternal stars, that never change, and thinks how little man is by the side of the everlasting hills; but he forgets that this breath which has been breathed into our nostrils, is able to melt those mountains, and shall outlive the stars. (Cheers.) So with these iron institutions of which I speak. A child’s conscience, a poor man’s thought, the protest of one earnest heart, these are the only true forces. When these rise up against a government, it is left a heap of ruins, like the marble and gold of the old Temple where God’s spirit said, “Let us go hence.” (Loud applause.)

This Anti-Slavery movement founded itself on justice, and a belief in the people; for the people, in the end, are always right. One man will be selfish, one class will be selfish. One man will be tempted by one thing, one by another; but each man is selfish for his own profit, and not for his neighbors; and the selfishness of one class neutralizes the selfishness of another; and, in the end,

“ Ever the truth comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done.”

Give a truth twenty years, and you may trust the people; give it forty, and it is surer still. My proof of it is this: twenty million of independent and powerful people said, “The Anti-Slavery cause shall not be heard;” and a score of men and women stood up, and said only, “We will.” They have stood there, like the solid square at Waterloo; and it is strange how the rest of the world has come round to them. But it is only the common little birds that, when they try to fly, the others bluff them aside and beat them down; when the eagle spreads his wing, he mounts calmly upward, while meaner tribes make room for the sweep of his broad pinion. So it was, when one American undertook to say, “God and Justice are on my side; my voice shall yet be heard above the roar of parties, and make, with God’s blessing, the dry bones of these charnel-houses into living members of a true church.” And this Twentieth Anniversary of the National Society, if it says nothing else to him to-day, will assure him, at least, that the people have heard his voice. (Loud applause.)

Rev. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia, was next introduced to the audience, and spoke as follows:—

SPEECH OF REV. WILLIAM H. FURNESS.

MR. PRESIDENT :

I am most happy to be able to say a few words upon this platform, although I may be able only to bungle, and stutter, and stammer. But I conceive it vastly better to stammer in the cause of Liberty, than to make the smoothest speech that ever came from any advocate of oppression. (Applause.) Besides, when I think—and I sometimes get an insight of the fact—what a mass of guilt and blood and horror American Slavery is, I can do nothing but stammer: and I wonder that our friends here, “fanatics” as they are, can keep so cool and calm, and that they should have produced and given to the world so many elaborate arguments about Slavery. But I stand up here this evening simply to express my gratitude, my satisfaction,—and I trust I express the feeling of many hearts here,—that this noble city of ours, which has been so polluted and disgraced by the atrocities of the Fugitive Slave Law, shall, nevertheless, have it writ in her annals, and it shall be read by our children, that not only the Declaration of American Independence, but the grander Declaration of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was first made in Philadelphia. (Loud cheers.)

I wish, also, while I think of it, to bear witness to the great kindness of this company of pioneers, who are represented as so rude and harsh. Mr. Phillips has said, in one of his speeches, that “no one, however feeble, has ever peeped or muttered, in any quarter, that the vigilant eye of the Abolitionist has not recognised him.” I stand here a living evidence of the truth of that remark; for they would sometimes make me believe—although I have done nothing, except now and then to take a long breath in the pulpit—they would make me believe I belonged to them. (Laughter.)

Mr. Emerson has said, speaking of the immense trade in pork in our Western country, that, in our political speeches and organizations, he could hear the “squeal of the pig.” (Laughter.) Our Anti-Slavery friends, whose ears are sharp, have heard a more serious and melancholy sound than that, even the wail of the slave, in all our political organizations, and have seen that the sweat of the slave was the oil by which they have been moved. But, since I have had the pleasure, with you, of listening to Mr. Phillips this evening, I think, from some remarks that he has made, that hereafter we shall begin to hear—we can almost

hear it already—the voice of Anti-Slavery in every political movement, and in our whole social organization. Already we may hear the muttering and roaring of the coming of that ocean of Freedom, which shall sweep away the foul blot from our land. (Loud cheers.)

I wish to add to the tokens of success and progress which Mr. Phillips has furnished, another, with which you may be familiar, but which has struck my own mind with peculiar force. I took up, the other morning, a newspaper, and my eye rested upon an article headed, “Extracts from the Message of the Governor of Alabama, upon Slavery.” I looked over it, of course expecting nothing else but denunciation of Abolitionists; but his Excellency goes on to say, that it is allowable, although it is disreputable, to separate mothers from their babes, and husbands from their wives, and he recommends that the law shall be made absolute, that no child, under ten years of age, shall be separated from its mother, and that no husband shall be separated from his wife, under any circumstances. I think there is evidence of progress in this, especially as he goes on to say, that it is now universally conceded that the colored people are reasonable beings, and that their moral feelings, although obtuse—they are not singular in that (laughter)—are susceptible of improvement. I think, taking this fact in connection with the good news of which Mr. Phillips told us in regard to LUCY STONE at Louisville, that we may look for some strong Anti-Slavery movement in the South, and that sagacious people at the North ought to keep their eyes open, and be prepared, so that they may not be left altogether in the rear. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF MRS. LUCRETIA MOTT.

MY FRIENDS:

I am so often heard in this city, you are all so familiar with my voice, that I would fain give place, as long as any of our friends from a distance shall come forward to address you. I have had some most gratifying reminiscences since the opening of this Convention. I have looked back to the time of the formation of the Society, to the time of the issue of the Declaration of Sentiments of the Convention then assembled, twenty years ago. That Declaration has been read here; and I remember, at the time it was written or engrossed, and hung up in some of our parlors, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON came in, and, reading a part of it, exclaimed, “How will this sound some fifty or a hundred years hence—that such a truism as this, that every man has a right to himself, to his own body, to his own earnings, and that no man has a right to enslave

or imbrute his brother, to hold him for one moment as a piece of property—that such truisms as these had to be declared in General Convention, had to be promulgated before the people, and before an *unbelieving* people, too?” I remember, at that time, when our friend SAMUEL J. MAY was with us, and his loved friend, WILLIAM H. FURNESS, through the influence of his affection for him, was willing to assemble with us in our private houses, but who, at that time, felt altogether unprepared to take any active or coöperative part in the movement; and when some of us were desirous that his friend S. J. MAY should labor with him on the subject, so that he might not give “sleep to his eyes, nor slumber to his eyelids,” until he became the advocate for the slave, until his “mouth was opened for the suffering and the dumb,” and he could “open his mouth and judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy,” he was ready to laugh in his sleeve, and say, “You have mistaken your man.” (Laughter.) But it was not long after this that he published a book; and when some one remarked to him, that it was hoped something would be found in his book in regard to American Slavery, he acknowledged that he should have been better satisfied had he acted up to his own convictions upon that subject. Now, where do we find him? Identified with the worst of us (laughter); ready to come forth, and acknowledge himself one of us. And not WILLIAM H. FURNESS alone, but HENRY WARD BEECHER, and many other religious teachers of the land, are now the earnest advocates of the slave.

We have heard the circumstance of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S voice being raised in behalf of the right of petition and freedom of speech adverted to, and we were fain to believe that God had especially raised him up for this purpose. But see how the John Quincy Adamses have increased in the last twenty years! Why, their name is almost legion on the floor of Congress! Congress has been nothing but an Anti-Slavery meeting for a long time, and we hope will become more so. The politicians are becoming the advocates of the rights of man, and their voices are heard over the nation.

It is well, while we bring into view the fact of the great wickedness and enormous atrocity in the world, that we should also take a view of the growth of Anti-Slavery sentiment, so that we may be cheered, that we may thank God and take courage, and go on conquering and to conquer, and not be at all weary in well-doing, but adhere to the great principles on which our movement was founded—the force, the potency, and the efficiency of moral appeal; that we may go on, in the confidence that the great heart of the people is right, and that it will respond to the truth, and that we may, with all hope of success, continue to

appeal,—not, as has been said, in the elaborate arguments that seemed necessary at the beginning, not by appointing evening after evening for the discussion of the subject upon Scripture ground,—but to the deep sympathies of the popular heart. Why, I remember, in the beginning of this great enterprise, twenty years ago, it was proposed to declare the simple fact, that the slaveholder is a *man-stealer*. We had not been much accustomed to call this evil by its right name, and we feared the hard words. We were accustomed enough to calling a sheep-stealer a *sheep-stealer*, but a *man-stealer*—we did not like to apply such a term. But, after considerable discussion in the Convention, it was concluded, in order to modify the expression, and with a kind of tender courtesy to some of our Quaker friends,—who, I must say, although they had been accustomed to very plain language, were among the prominent ones to object to the word *man-stealer*—the language was modified by prefixing, perhaps in parentheses, the words, “according to Scripture,” a *man-stealer*, (laughter,) so as to cover it up under an appeal to the veneration of the people. Then the pro-slavery divines presented themselves, and took the ground that Slavery was sanctioned by Scripture, and the Abolitionists came forward, and offered to discuss the question whether Slavery was or was not sanctioned by Scripture; and a great deal of time was spent in arguments and discussions of this kind. I have been rejoiced, in later years, to hear some of our New England friends say—“We have done wasting our time with these elaborate arguments and researches into Scripture, to prove a self-evident truth. It is enough for us now to affirm that Slavery is a sin; that the slave has the right to his freedom, and that it is no less the duty of the slaveholder instantly and unconditionally to emancipate him.” This is evidence of progress, that we are not going back to find authorities to support us in our efforts for the deliverance of the wronged; that we are disposed to read the Bible with another pair of spectacles, through which, we may find in it coöperation with the right; and in this way we have learned what are the means we should use; that it should not be by these low arguments, by bringing the subject up in a manner agreeable to the authorities of the age, the religion of the age, the politics of the age, or the social aspects of the time, but that we should stand simply and singly upon the inherent rights of man, on the self-evident truths that have been declared before the people, and which, being so self-evident, need no proof. We have advanced. We are willing now, in a great measure, to stand on the immutable principles of justice and right. Let us, then, not falter; let us go on. Plenty of Bible will be found in support of Freedom, as soon as it becomes a little more

popular—just as it has been found in every scientific discovery, in every other advancement in morals. We need not fear. Plenty, too, of political truth will be found, and constitutional argument, if we go on with our spiritual arguments and weapons, making our appeal to the conscience and heart of the people. There will be no need of trying to bring the Bible or the Constitution to our support; for our enemies,—those who are now the pro-slavery party of the country,—will bring those instrumentalities,—those which are now their gods,—to the side of Freedom. Let us, then, go on, and not cast away our confidence, which hath “great recompense of reward,” if we will abide in the truth, and be satisfied that it is strong, and “mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strongholds” of the iniquity of Slavery, and of wrong and oppression of every kind.

I attended the great “Whole World’s Temperance Convention,” in the city of New York. There seemed to be, on the part of some in the Convention, great anxiety to have a “Maine Law”—to have legal support for the cause of Temperance. There seemed to be a betrayal of a lack of faith and of confidence in the moral power with which they set out. They began to ask, What have we done? “Art thou he that shall come, or look we for another?” They began to fear that they had not done enough by their moral suasion, and they called on “the powers that be” to come in to their aid. When I heard that noble man, JOHN PIERPONT—that man, who stood forward in the early days of the reform, at Hollis Street Church, in Boston, and spoke forth such “words of truth and soberness” as made him seem a very “John the Baptist” in this cause, coming to preach “his baptism of water unto repentance,”—when I heard him asking, “What has our moral power done?” and declaring that we must have the aid of a “Maine Law,” in order to secure the Temperance movement, and to carry it forward, it seemed to me that it betrayed such a want of faith in that instrumentality with which he was sent forth, that I felt, when he was asking, “What has been done?” as if he had said, “Art thou he that shall come, or look we for another?” I thought he should be answered—“Go, tell the generation the things you have done; how you have gone into the gutter, and taken from his degradation the poor drunkard, and raised him up from his vileness, and caused his limbs to be healed; caused the poor lame inebriate to walk; caused the blind to see; and all in their degradation and their low estate—those who have been brought down to the chambers of death by their licentiousness and their wrong-doing—to be raised, their feet put upon the rock of Temperance, and the new song of Total Abstinence put into their mouths!” When I looked back, and

saw how much they had done by their personal sacrifices, by the tenderness with which they had gone forth, and healed the sick and diseased, I wanted to say—and I wish I had said—“Blessed is he who shall not be offended in me.”

Various have been the means that have been adopted by us for the accomplishment of our object, in the hope that they would prove successful. I remember, in the beginning, that one of the first means that was proposed was weekly or monthly concerts of prayer. There was then great faith in that instrumentality. It had become a kind of organization in the popular churches of the day, and we were very desirous to make our cause religiously popular. So, we were ready to introduce this as one of the means; and I have no doubt that it was done in all honesty—in all good faith. But there were some engaged in the cause, who preferred the recommendation of Jesus, to “pray in secret,”—to enter our closets and there pray, and when we came together, meet to work, as the effect of that prayer, to show that we were watching and working, and saying our prayers in secret. We went on in that way, until we saw other ways and means by which to act. All this was very well. The various means, proposed at different times, were very well. When one comes forth, and declares his sentiments and ideas of religious truth, and his faith in religion, and shows what that religion is, and what that faith in God is, then, if he does it as among the rightful means for the abolition of Slavery, let him be heard. And when friend GREW, or any other, as honestly comes forth, and holds up his view and his idea of the abolition of wrong, by dependence upon any atoning sacrifice, as well as upon labor,—when this shall be incidentally presented before the audience, let this, also, be accepted, and be patiently heard; not in the spirit of mere toleration, but as the right that one and all have to propose the means that seem best adapted, in their own minds, to advance the great work in which we are all engaged. And when our friend GEORGE SUNTER comes forth, and lays a still broader ground, and feels, as he does, that, in advocating the right of the slave, he must go behind these, to the cause,—to something that he sees must be removed, or must be subverted, or the attention turned to it, in order more efficiently to work for the slave,—let us bless GEORGE SUNTER, too, and be glad that he has a more comprehensive view than perhaps some of the rest of us. And if I should happen to feel and believe, that the one great cause of the existence of Slavery in our land, and of other great oppressive systems in our own and in other lands, is to be found in the great error that has been so long believed and taught to the people, the doctrine of “Total Depravity,”—that men’s hearts are more prone to

do wrong than to do right, — if I believe that this is the great obstacle to human improvement, and must be removed out of the way before we can expect to bring about the desired result, and if I occasionally express my belief to this effect, with no intention to excite controversy or to wound the feelings of any one, why, you must try to bear with me, just as I will bear with friend GREW, and with others more Orthodox than myself.

I might say here a good deal of the Woman question — as to how the Anti-Slavery cause has brought forward woman, and of the many other instrumentalities that have been brought to operate upon this enterprise; but the hour is late, and I will not do it. I might not consider these extraneous topics, at a proper time; and I do say, that, in our desire to keep our platform directly and strictly to the subject, we must not go so far as to set such a limit as shall cramp the intellect and the heart of the advocates of Freedom, of those who would protest against this great, this monstrous evil of Slavery. There must be liberty; there must be an acknowledgment of the right to speak out our convictions, incidentally, in the course of any speech or remark, without all the time trembling lest we should be called to order.

Now, one word further, in relation to the means to be used for the promotion of this great cause. There is no danger that we shall set too high a value on good works. Although we are religiously taught, every Sunday, that good works are of no avail, the preachers do not seem to know that the word “good” is not to be found in the Bible, in this connection; and when works are said to be of no avail, and described as “filthy rags,” the works of the law are referred to — the ceremonies of the day, the rites and usages and ordinances of the Church of that time; and, with that understanding, I do not care how much is said against works. But when it is maintained, (as it is in nearly all the religious societies of the land,) that practical goodness, practical righteousness — good works — are of no avail, I say that such a doctrine is neither scriptural nor in accordance with the instincts of our nature. This is one of the hindrances to every good movement. The veneration of the people is directed, in their religious teachings, to something other than to works of practical righteousness, to practical self-reliance and self-respect, and they are taught to withhold the credit that belongs to their own instincts and their own nature. I honor the beautiful sentiment of Jesus — “By their fruits ye shall know them; for of thorns men do not gather grapes, nor of thistles gather they figs.” Let us, then, keep our hearts right, and be sure to act out our convictions of duty in our lives and conversation. (Applause.)

Mr. GARRISON again came forward and addressed the audience. He said:—

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

Our friend, Mr. QUINCY, has told you, that our position is outside of the Church and the State, and, therefore, that we have no hope of preferment or popularity. We are “come-outers.” Now, for this many censure us, and ask why we do not remain both in the Church and in the State, in order to reform them. Conceding that both are thoroughly pro-slavery, they yet cannot understand why we should withdraw ourselves, thereby losing that influence over them, by which we might reasonably hope, in due time, to effect their reformation. Let me ask such censors, if they are Democrats, why they do not join the Whig party, which they say is corrupt to the core,—or, if Whigs, why they do not adhere to the Democratic party,—until it is reformed? Why do not the Baptists connect themselves with the Presbyterians, or the Presbyterians with the Baptists, in order to reform their doctrinal opponents? The reason is obvious:—“How can two walk together, except they be agreed?” Why did not Luther remain in the Romish Church? Do we upbraid him—rather, do we not honor him, because he did not? Why did not our fathers remain under the British government, and keep on appealing to Parliament and King George, until they obtained their rights? The time comes, in the Providence of God, when there must be secession, separation, disunion, utterly and eternally; for when did ever an old and powerful organization, which had become thoroughly corrupt, show itself capable of repentance?

I turn to another view of this great struggle. How ought we, as Abolitionists, to be judged? Not in regard to our peculiar theological or political opinions, as individuals, but by our own standard of Anti-Slavery duty. If we say that a certain step should be taken, those who yet stand aloof from us have a right to ask, whether we have set the example. If we say that the Church of this country is pro-slavery, and therefore anti-Christian; that it ought to be branded as such, and, for the slave’s sake, denied all religious fellowship whatever; our opponents have a right to ask whether *we* have had the courage to follow our own advice. For, if we have not, then they may justly reproach us as either hypocritical or cowardly. If we say to any, “You ought not to count reputation as of any value, in comparison with the deliverance of the slave,” then they are justified in retorting, “Do you not care how you

are regarded? Do you esteem it a small thing to be judged of man's judgment?" And if they find us sometimes compromising our principles, sometimes forgetting the slave and remembering only ourselves — it is for them to reprove us as unfaithful to the cause which we profess to love.

Again: — Do we ask any to come out of their political parties, which they believe and acknowledge to be thoroughly on the side of the Slave Power? They have a right to ask whether we have sacrificed our party predilections. Do we say to all who profess to abhor Slavery, place upon your banner the motto, "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, RELIGIOUSLY OR POLITICALLY"? They may very properly demand, whether we continue to uphold the Union. In no other form, on no other issues, are we, as Abolitionists, to be arraigned or judged.

When we call for a separation from the Church and the State, because they are blood-stained and oppressive, we know how great is the exaction. We know, experimentally, that it is no light thing to be crucified. Had Jesus no anguish of spirit, no agony of soul, when the nails were driven into his flesh, and the spear was thrust into his side, and the crown of thorns put on his head, and the cup of wormwood commended to his lips? Is it nothing to cut off the right hand, or to pluck out the right eye? Yet this is the spirit by which we must be animated, if we would be true to the slave. We believe we cannot remain in the Union, without sacrificing the rights of man; without leaving the slave under the crushing weight of the nation. THE UNION! Let us not be deceived. God never yet made it possible for a union to be formed between Liberty and Slavery. No two powers in the universe are more antagonistical. They never agreed to strike hands, and never can, in the nature of things. God never made it possible for the lovers of Freedom, uncompromising and true, to strike hands in a union, religious or political, with those who trade "in slaves and the souls of men." What is the Union to any of us, and where is it? What has it been, ever since the Government was formed, but the absolute supremacy of the Slave Power? Absolute, I say; as absolute as the sway of Nicholas over Russia, of Francis Joseph over Austria, of Pius Ninth over Italy. All the leading religious sects and political parties of the land are wholly subservient to the will of the Slave Power. You all know that we cannot assemble in the slave States, as we are met here to-day, to plead the cause of the slave, except at the peril of our lives. Some reference has been made here to our excellent and noble friend, Lucy Stone, and to the fact that she has spoken before slaveholders; but Miss Stone, though indirectly she bore a testimony against Slavery, was

talking on another subject, and was tolerated. This is, I admit, a cheering sign of progress. But I am speaking of the South generally; and I affirm that this meeting could not be taken up bodily, and transferred to the South, even on a day like this, and while the Southern people are engaged in what they call solemn worship to Almighty God, without being broken up in confusion, and lynch law being executed upon us by slaveholding Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, &c. &c. This is our "liberty"—that we cannot go through the slave States like men, and live. To that part of our Union, Northern men who abhor Slavery dread to go, either on business or pleasure, or in pursuit of health, lest they should be suspected of being Abolitionists. They must be cautious, prudent, dumb, while there, and take care what kind of documents they have in their possession.

Why should the issue we present to the South be regarded as wild or unreasonable? Before we proclaimed, "No Union with Slaveholders," they had taken this for their motto—"Death to Abolitionists! If caught at the South, let their tongues be cut out, and cast upon the dunghill!" What kind of a Union is that? For one, I may be pardoned if I do not cherish the strongest regard for the Union,—living as I do with a price upon my head, and outlawed in all the Southern country. Under the American Constitution, freedom of speech is to be exercised only by slaveholders. Boldly and audaciously do they traverse the land, cursing Liberty and eulogizing Slavery as freely at our North Eastern Boundary as in Carolina or Georgia; and this they do with all possible impunity. But woe to those who go from the North to the South, to denounce the slave system which there exists, and to call for its immediate extinction!

I know of but one redeeming feature in the character of the Southern slaveholders, and that is, their sturdy consistency and effrontery. They are never afraid to "speak right out in meeting," let who will take offence. They have none of that canting, snivelling hypocrisy, which is so common here at the North. Let me give you a specimen of Southern pluck, as contrasted with Northern "prudence."

The Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock, you know, on the 22d of December, 1620, by our present mode of reckoning. It has been customary, until within a few years, for their hollow worshippers to commemorate the anniversary of that event with ostentatious demonstrations; but, to their discomfort and confusion, the Abolitionists have repeatedly resorted to Plymouth, on that day, and evinced their veneration for the honored dead by making it the occasion to break the fetters of the enslaved on our soil. So, these fair-weather devotees selected

the First of August, the present year, to celebrate the embarkation of the Pilgrims, at Delft Haven, on that day—"the beginning of the end." But, it happens, singularly enough, that the First of August is the anniversary of British West India Emancipation; and should the Abolitionists resolve to go to Plymouth on that day, for the purpose of a two-fold commemoration, what would the other party do, if again put to flight?

Well, at the August celebration, there was a grand banquet, at which three thousand people sat down. And what an occasion to talk of personal liberty and the rights of conscience, as paramount to all laws, governments and religions in the world, to the contrary! Among the orators on that occasion was the Hon. EDWARD EVERETT. Of course, he made an eloquent speech, for he never makes any other; but it was full of poison and death to this nation—a "fillibustering" speech, playing into the hands of those who talk about "manifest destiny"—the annexation of one country after another, until we swallow up all creation "and the rest of mankind." (Laughter.) It was his bid for the Presidency.

Hon. CHARLES SUMNER also made a speech—an admirable speech, in its way—but a speech at which no one could take offence. I will not doubt that the Anti-Slavery struggle, the outrageous treatment of its faithful advocates, and the transcendent guilt of this nation, were present to his mind; but, unfortunately, he stood upon the "proprieties" of the place, and did not deem it judicious to make any allusion to the existence of Slavery in our country, lest it should mar the harmony of the occasion! So, omitting all reference to the Present, and taking refuge wholly in the Past, he very eloquently complimented the Puritans for their marked characteristics—strong, rugged, brave, uncompromising, putting unrighteous laws beneath their feet, and scouting a corrupt and profligate church; and, in return, stigmatized, denounced and persecuted, by all the reputedly godly and law-abiding. No doubt this was intended, on his part, to bear inferentially on our own times, (if any one chose to see it,) in regard to the question of Slavery; but something more obvious and more direct than an inference was imperatively demanded by the Pilgrim spirit; for who, among the most time-serving, ever thinks of taking umbrage at the most extravagant panegyrics that can be bestowed upon the memories of time-honored saints and heroes, or imagines that they are applicable to the "heretics" and "fanatics" of our own day? I make this criticism, because of the relation Mr. Sumner publicly sustains to the Anti-Slavery cause; and because I know of no opportunity more appropriate for a fearless rebuke of our great national sin than the celebration of Forefathers' Day at Plymouth Rock.

HON. JOHN P. HALE also made a very good speech, and gave Mr. EVERETT a keen rebuke, in a humorous manner, for his fillibustering spirit. But he, too, was careful to make no allusion to American Slavery. No; there was not a word spoken, by which any one could infer that such a being as a slave existed on our soil. But there was a man present of a different stamp. He did not trouble himself about the proprieties of the occasion. He was from Charleston, S. C.; not surrounded by his friends and constituents, as SUMNER and EVERETT were, but far away from home, in the midst of the descendants of the Puritans. Yet he could dare to stand up before that vast assembly, and eulogise Slavery, the Fugitive Slave Law—and Webster, Clay and Calhoun as demi-gods, because they had given their colossal strength to the support of them both! Yes, he had the assurance to compliment Edward Everett to his face, for having said, in his place in Congress, many years ago, that, in case of a slave insurrection, he would be ready to buckle on his knapsack, shoulder his musket, and march to the assistance of the slaveholders!

That was on Forefathers' Day, at old Plymouth Rock! I could not but admire the hardihood of the man. Ah! when shall we have Slavery abolished in our country? When we shall have a spirit as daring and as vigilant as that which defends it; as willing in one section of the country as another to speak its own thoughts, and to defy consequences. The Slave Power terrifies the North. Why are we terrified? In itself, it has no resources, no safeguards, no reserved forces. It is the weakest, because the wickedest Power in the world; for weakness is always commensurate with wickedness—the farthest from God, the surest of overthrow. Its strength is here in this city; in the pulpit and press of this city; in the commercial mart here, in New York, in Boston, and in all the free North. It is the public sentiment, the wealth, the religious influences, and the physical force of the North, which alone sustain and perpetuate Slavery. Thank God! we have the monster in our own hands. It is only necessary for us to decree his death, and he shall die, and be buried beyond the possibility of a resurrection. Up, then, for your liberties! If you desire a Union, resolve you will have one in which you can be men, and in which there shall be neither a tyrant nor a slave. If you want our country to be great and prosperous, and to endure to the latest generations, a blessing to the world, then combine all your influences for the utter and eternal overthrow of Slavery! (Applause.) The alternative is before us, as a people, and the choice must be made—either to give liberty to our bondmen, or to part with our own rights, and bring down the terrible judgments of Heaven upon the land.

THIRD DAY — MORNING SESSION.

The Society met again, on Monday morning, in Sansom Hall, and was called to order at quarter past 10 o'clock, by SAMUEL J. MAY, one of the Vice Presidents.

LUCRETIA MOTT remarked, that she thought it should be a matter of record, that during all our meetings, the most respectful and candid attention had been given, by the large and sometimes inconveniently crowded number present, to the most radical utterances of our speakers. She regarded it as one among the many favorable signs of the times.

ESTHER MOORE referred to evidences of the great and wonderful change which had taken place, in regard to our cause, during the twenty years past.

MARY CLEMENT recited some beautiful lines of the late Elizabeth M. Chandler.

After an animated discussion, in which O. Johnson, Esther Moore, S. J. May, Benjamin C. Bacon, of Pa., J. Barker, Ira Gibson, of New Jersey, Dr. B. Fussell, of Chester county, and others, took part, it was

Voted, That in republishing, with the proceedings of this meeting, the Declaration of Sentiments, with the original signatures, there shall also be published, in a separate list, the names of the persons (women as well as men) who attended the Convention of 1833, but had no opportunity to sign the Declaration at that time; and, furthermore, that another list be appended, including the names of all others, present at *this* meeting, who desire to affix their names to the Declaration.

OLIVER JOHNSON said, that, having examined the reports of our meeting in the daily press of this city, he considered it due to them and to ourselves to say, that they had generally spoken fairly of this meeting and its doings. There was, however, one paper, which had pursued a different course, and had grossly and coarsely caricatured the meeting. That paper was the *Daily News*—whose influence in that city, it was true, was small, but it might find credit in some quarters. As an illustration of the malignant and calumnious spirit of this report, Mr. J. read its heading, and referred to some passages in it.

[Justice requires that we state that the *News* subsequently corrected the most objectionable passage in its report, and, thus far, showed a disposition to deal fairly with the Convention and its readers.]

JOSEPH BARKER again called attention to the subject of a systematic and vigorous effort for the circulation of Anti-Slavery tracts. He said

that in England, Anti-Corn Law Tracts were issued at four-and-six-pence a hundred. He volunteered to be one of one hundred, who would give ten dollars each, to raise the sum of one thousand dollars, to be devoted to this object.

SAMUEL J. MAY said, that such an enterprise had already been entered upon in Central New York, and that they had issued five tracts, in very large editions, between thirty and forty thousand copies of which had already been published. There were five men acting as colporteurs in the distribution of those tracts throughout the State. The intention was to flood the State with them in the course of the coming two years. He hoped, however, that the suggestion of Mr. Barker would be heeded, and that action would be taken upon it.

HENRY GREW, of Philadelphia, said he wished his position on the subject of Infidelity understood. If he passed by a drowning man, and observed another endeavoring to help him out, and that he needed his assistance, he did not stop to consider whether the man was an Infidel or a Christian, or any thing else, but took hold to help him do a right action. So, when he heard, to his joy, of the starting of this glorious enterprise in the city of Boston, he at once went to the help of his friend Garrison, to aid him in getting the poor slave out of the pit of bondage, without stopping to inquire whether those associated with him were Christians or Infidels, Calvinists or Romanists. He was obliged, however, from his regard for what he believed to be the truth, to dissent from the remark of his friend Garrison, that every Protestant was debarred from considering any man, in a Protestant country, an Infidel. What was the common acceptance of the term Infidel? As, in a Mohammedan country, a man who did not believe in the divine authority of the Koran was considered an Infidel, so he considered the person who denied the divine authority of the Bible an Infidel, though he might believe a great many things in the Bible, and respect the Savior, as his friend Garrison did, and at the same time manifest such a holy and benevolent life as ought to make the men ashamed who were crying out against him as an Infidel.

J. M. McKIM, of Philadelphia, rose to enter his protest against this doctrinal discussion, as irrelevant.

Mr. GREW. I think, if a verdict is given against me, and if I am to go in my old age on my hands and knees to Rome, before the sentence is passed against me, that I may be permitted to say something in my defence. (Applause.) My simple idea is, that if any man, or any angel from heaven, denies the truth of what the Bible claims to be the truth and the Word of God, that person, whoever he may be, is subject,

in some sense, to the charge of Infidelity. This, I understand to be the common acceptation of the term. I do not say, even, that such a person may not believe enough of the truth of the Bible, and manifest such a moral, holy life, as to be saved by the grace of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ; but the principle, I contend, subverts the divine authority of the Bible entirely, and leaves us to accept or reject the Bible as any other book. I have no fellowship with this outcry against us as Infidels, on the part of many, which is made only for the purpose of placing a block in the way of our glorious enterprise; but, at the same time, I wish to have it understood that I claim the right to consider what I have stated as an Infidel principle, and any man who holds it, in some respect, justly chargeable with Infidelity.

Mr. GARRISON said that the only point he wished to present was, that we are all Infidels in the view of the Romish Church, and in the view of Mohammedans and Pagans, because they had absolute standards, and all denied the right of private judgment in regard to what was truth, as well as the right to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences. But it was an absurdity for one Protestant to charge another Protestant with being an Infidel, for he was Infidel to what? Even in regard to the Bible, we all claim the right to judge what it does teach. His friend Grew judged what he thought God taught in that book, and so did he. Was either of them, therefore, to call the other "Infidel," because he would not accept him as his Pope? That was Anti-Protestant; it was rejecting the ground on which they had agreed to stand. If each thought the other did not interpret the Word aright, they should differ in a loving spirit, and respect each other's conscientious views. There could be no great alienation, after all, between them. He could not help loving his friend Grew, and he meant to keep as near to him as possible.

THOMAS WHITSON said, that, after the manner that his friend Grew called heresy, so worshipped he.

J. M. MCKIM said that, on Saturday, he called his friend Thomas Whitson to order, because he thought he was travelling out of the record. In that city, and elsewhere, he (Mr. McKim) had declared that the Anti-Slavery platform was free to every one; that the Calvinist, the Unitarian, the Universalist, and the Infidel, might come upon it, and act with them in good faith, and not have their peculiar views assailed. He believed this statement to be true; and he called his friend Whitson to order, in justice to his own convictions, and from his own sense of duty, believing his remarks to be irrelevant to the question before the Convention. When Henry Grew, on the other side, wandered from the

question, he felt called upon again to raise a point of order; for he did not think the introduction of theological questions into their meetings was consistent with their obligations to the friends of the cause. His friend Lucretia Mott had asked for a wide margin, and, of course, they must give a wide margin for expression there. Every one would speak in his own language; and for that, all proper allowance should be made. He thought no one was more ready to make that allowance than himself. If his friend Mrs. Mott should feel called upon to argue against Slavery, and maintain that the doctrine of Total Depravity was one of the causes of Slavery, or if another should argue that a hireling ministry was one of the causes of the existence of Slavery, he could bear with them; but he hoped they would also bear with him, if, from a sense of duty, he should rise to protest against it, as not pertinent to the occasion.

LUCRETIA MOTT said she considered the charges made against Abolitionists as Infidels, as most legitimately before the Convention, inasmuch as this charge was the only one that now remained as a bugbear to terrify those who might be disposed to come and hear them. She therefore regarded the remarks on the subject as perfectly proper, and thought that nothing was more natural than that those having different views as to what constituted Infidelity, should present them there. Had they not labored long together, and with love one to another, and could they not now bear the incidental mention of this question in a catholic spirit? She considered the remarks of Thomas Whitson as perfectly relevant to the question before the meeting. When, on the previous day, Wendell Phillips spoke of the "cold isolation" of the Episcopal Church, she waited to see whether her friend Miller McKim would not feel called upon to raise a point of order, in regard to his remarks, also.

She (Mrs. M.) wished to say, in regard to the discussion that might ensue as to whether they were Christians or Infidels, that it might not be proper, in that Convention, where so many wished to speak, to occupy any length of time in the consideration of the question. They might hold meetings afterward, and consider the subject, when they had disposed of it as far as seemed incumbent upon them. She presumed that the discussion would be found to be interminable. In conclusion, Mrs. M. said — "O, friends, let it become 'a small thing to be judged of man's judgment.' Let us, with the Apostle, say, 'It is after the manner which men call Infidel, that we worship the God of our fathers.' What though they brand us with the name of 'Infidels!' Let it go. They may not write our names down with 'those who love the Lord'; but, nevertheless, if we are faithful to our convictions, if we are true to the impressions of the light of the Gospel of Anti-Slavery on our hearts and

minds, we shall have such beautiful dreams of peace, that when the angel comes, though he may be an Orthodox Christian, and not ready to give our names as 'those who love the Lord,' we may be written down as 'lovers of our fellow-men.'" (Applause.)

ESTHER MOORE said she had for sixty years been engaged in that noble work, of all others in our land the most imperative upon the rising generation. She merely wished to observe, in relation to the subject under discussion, that she hoped they would let the Bible alone. Let it retain what hold it could on the minds of the people, and let its precious truths be employed to stimulate them to efforts for the emancipation of the slave. As for the churches, she regarded them as the strongest bulwarks in the way of the deliverance of those in bonds.

S. J. MAY. Much has been said of the meaning of the word "Infidel," so often applied to certain individuals, who frequent our meetings, and are welcomed to our platform. I shall not pursue the chameleon epithet. Whether we can define Infidelity or not, this I know, we have apostolic authority for saying that there is something worse than Infidelity. In 1st Timothy, 5: 8, Paul says, "If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an Infidel." Now, if this be so, then the worst kind of that which is worse than Infidelity must be chargeable upon those who *hinder*, directly or indirectly, a man from providing for those of his own house. (Cheers.) If, therefore, we are charged with an indefinable something called "Infidelity," (all the more dreadful, probably, because of its vagueness, its obscurity;) we may retort upon our accusers, that they are worse even than those who are worse than Infidels, in so far as they are directly or indirectly interposing their influence or authority, or the authority of the Constitution, or of the Bible, to hinder the fathers of the enslaved families in our land from providing for their wives and their children. Slaveholders, and the apologists for slaveholding, should be regarded as the worst of Infidels.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said he hoped, that in the report that was to be made of that meeting, his protest would be found against the doctrine of his friend, LUCRETIA MOTT. The question between them was not, in his opinion, one of love to each other, but a question of public faith, which they were breaking, when they undertook to introduce, upon that platform, the discussion of religious character. They were not all the Abolitionists in the world. They did not expect, by their own unaided efforts, to free the slave. They called upon all creeds to come up and help them, and they had assured them, from the commencement of the enterprise to the present time, that they should find nothing to shock

their religious convictions on the Anti-Slavery platform. He would allow, with Mrs. Mott, that it was necessary to the frankness and the usefulness of every speaker, that he or she should speak their own thoughts, and argue in their own way; and it was unavoidable that a man who made a long speech on that platform should unfold, incidentally, the tone of his religious convictions. It would be impossible for his friend Barker to make a speech there an hour long, on the subject of Slavery, without their being able to guess what his religious convictions were; and so with himself, or any one else. This was allowable, because every man must preserve his individuality; it was the *sine qua non* of his being useful to the cause. But, beyond that, they had no right to tread; and the moment they began to argue to an audience, gathered under the sanction of the American Anti-Slavery Society, that it was necessary to believe the Bible, in order to free the slave, they had broken their pledge to the public; and the moment they began to argue that it was necessary to disbelieve the Bible, and go over or under the old doctrine of inspiration, in order to free the slave, they had broken faith with the Abolitionists of this country and of England, and had no right to call themselves the American Anti-Slavery Society. When his friend, Mrs. Mott, undertook to argue that the doctrine of Total Depravity must be got rid of before we could free the slave, it seemed to him that she transgressed the limit which that platform imposed upon every individual. The English Orthodox Abolitionists had a right to find fault with her, for that audience had been gathered together by the name of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and they had no right to argue such a question. Individually, though an Orthodox man, he had no objection to Mrs. M's arguing that doctrine, at any length; but his objection was, that if she rose to argue her side of the question, it would, from the necessity of the case, be found that some one else would feel called upon to answer her, and thus the time would be wasted by discussions which were not within the fair line of argument here. The reason why he (Mr. P.) kept himself with extra scrupulousness to the legitimate topics of discussion was, that he should provoke opposition by introducing extraneous and irrelevant questions. He held that every true friend of organized action would make his line narrow, in that respect, in order that he might save them from discussions like those of that morning. He held himself bound to stand on the narrowest limit that would do justice to his own individual feeling. He thought he should be "obtaining goods under false pretences," if he should invite the Orthodox Anti-Slavery of Great Britain to coöperate with him, and then, when they were absent, assail their religious creed or opinions.

He stood there to guard the rights of men whose right hands they had so often solicited, and he felt himself bound, as their vigilant brother, to see that nothing was uttered on that platform to which they could justly object. The American Abolitionists had a right to defend themselves from the charge of Infidelity; not by showing that they believed in the Bible, the Church, or the Sabbath, but by undertaking to show that the Society, in its collective capacity, had never arraigned the Church, or the Bible, or the Sabbath, except as some individual or body undertook to use the Sabbath, the Church, or the Bible, as a shield for the system of Slavery. So far they could go, but no further.

Mr. Phillips said, in conclusion, that he had made these remarks, in order to show to the Abolitionists of this country, and across the water, that the American Society kept faith with them, and had not yet cut away from its old anchorage—the conviction that, without attacking Inspiration or Orthodoxy, and without, at the same time, sustaining their claims, they could free the slave, if they would give them their help.

Mr. GARRISON rose to say, that he hoped no one would rise on that platform to apologize for raising a point of order. Any speaker might properly be called to order, at any time, by any individual who thought he was wandering from the question; but he (Mr. G.) thought that, in this matter, they were “giving to an inch the importance of a mile.” He fully agreed in all his friend Phillips had said, in reference to the fidelity which they owed to persons of all religious opinions, whether on this or the other side of the Atlantic; and for himself, he had endeavored, in good faith, while speaking his own mind naturally and freely on the question of Slavery, to keep their cause distinct and isolated from every other question, in order that no person could fairly be excused from rallying under the Anti-Slavery standard. But it seemed to him that there was danger of erring on the other side. There was a very broad distinction between the incidental expression of a peculiar theological opinion, without the intention of proselyting any body, and the Society, as such, gravely undertaking to pass judgment upon the peculiar opinion that might thus be expressed. When, for example, the American Anti-Slavery Society, as such, shall bring in the Sabbath question, or the Bible question, or that pertaining to Total Depravity, or any similar question, and undertake to settle it, then it will deserve to be branded as false to its promises. But he maintained that the Society had always been as rigidly true to its profession as his friend (Mr. Phillips) desired it to be. It had never undertaken to settle any thing but the rights of the slave, as a man, and beyond that, as an Association, it had nothing to say.

Now, so easy is it for a speaker to express himself, unconsciously, in a way to give umbrage to some captious spirit, intent on "making a man an offender for a word," that even his friend Phillips had laid himself open to the charge of wantonly assailing a religious body on foreign ground. When, on another occasion, he (Mr. Phillips) spoke of the Episcopal Church as being isolated, cold and aristocratic, an Episcopalian might have complained of it as an invidious thrust at Episcopacy, because he spoke of its inherent spirit, and not simply of its pro-slavery position; though afterwards he gave his criticism an Anti-Slavery bearing, in showing how even that body had been operated upon by the Anti-Slavery influences of our land. Yet he (Mr. G.) was sure Mr. Phillips did not mean to offend any one; and he did not think it was worth while for them to be sensitive in regard to such incidental remarks, for which this Society could not justly be held amenable.

GEORGE SUNTER remarked that one protest was as good as another. They could not talk of toleration, and then endeavor to restrict the expression of opinion, without giving countenance to the pro-slavery spirit; for it was the old spirit of mastership that enslaved the black, and if they meant to go to the root of the evil, they would have to acknowledge the right of every man to be independent of all authority outside of himself.

JOSEPH BARKER said he rose to express his dissent from some of the remarks of Mr. Phillips. It appeared to him perfectly in order for any man to attempt, in his own way, to rebut the charge of Infidelity brought against Anti-Slavery advocates and men. If he was called an Infidel, because he took part in the Anti-Slavery movement, he had a right to do one of two things,—either to prove that he was not an Infidel, or else, if he acknowledged that, in some sense, he was an Infidel, that to be an Infidel in that sense was not a bad thing, but a good thing. The word "Infidel" either meant that a man did not believe as people generally believed, or else it meant a man who, although he does believe aright, is unfaithful to his own judgment and conscience. In the first sense, they were all Infidels, because no one believed as the majority of mankind believed; but in the second sense, they, as Anti-Slavery men, had the right to say they were not Infidels—that they believed their doctrines to be true, and that they endeavored to act according to those doctrines, to the best of their ability; and this was in perfect order.

There were those, Mr. Barker said, who considered Anti-Slavery a theological question; and he thought that the introduction of theological remarks, if they were such remarks as bore directly upon the Slavery question, were not out of order. They all knew that the Churches of

the country were the bulwarks of American Slavery, and the Anti-Slavery men were considered to be in order in taking this ground; and if any person should say that a certain false respect for the divine authority of the Bible was the bulwark of the American Church, he thought that also would be in order. Suppose that he believed that the Bible, as generally understood, was really the stronghold of all oppressions, (as he certainly did,) he would have the right, as an Anti-Slavery advocate, to speak his views, and to call upon the people to help him remove this erroneous opinion of the Bible out of the way. If another man held the contrary opinion, he might reply to him there; and if any evil resulted from their stating their views, it would be for want of charity or for want of judgment, and not because either of them violated the proper order of a meeting like that.

His friend Phillips had spoken of the English Abolitionists. Some of them were Infidels, in the common use of that word, and some were Orthodox, and they could not please them all. They could please all the reasonable men of both parties only by allowing the Society to take neither position; and that was the ground it now held, and which, he predicted, it would never abandon. While the Society held that central ground, it was an Anti-Slavery Society, and neither a Christian nor an Anti-Christian, a believing nor an unbelieving, a Jewish, Pagan nor Turkish institution,—leaving each member of the Society to advocate the grand Anti-Slavery principle in just such way, and by just such arguments, as he might think best and most effective. He knew no other ground than this. They could not please all the English Abolitionists; for some of them were as unreasonable as men could be, while others were as wise and good as men could be, and nothing within the bounds of reason would give them offence.

Mr. Phillips had said that every advocate should make his own line as narrow as possible, and so he (Mr. B.) said; but no other person should attempt to make the circle narrow for him. If they did make the attempt, they would describe a hundred wide circles, in trying to make one narrow. He (Mr. B.) had endeavored to draw a very narrow circle, and believed that he had succeeded better than even Mr. Phillips himself; but let each one take his own range. An argument convinced him that Slavery was a bad thing, which would not convince another; and that other might be convinced by an argument that would not reach him; and, therefore, it was necessary that every possible argument should be urged, in order that all might be convinced. He was regarded as exceedingly zealous in a cause which some thought Infidel, but which he called the cause of God and Humanity; but he would be exceed-

ingly careful not to introduce his views on an occasion like that, if he could help it, so anxious was he that nothing should be said to disturb the harmony of an Anti-Slavery meeting. But they must, while taking a little liberty themselves, allow liberty to others; nay, they must allow a great deal of liberty, if they wished to have justice done to the cause. It was not worth while to attempt to conciliate either the American or the European Church. The European Churches were Infidel to the cause of Humanity. He knew that the English Churches were at present, to some extent, Anti-Slavery; but they were as faithless on the subject of Temperance as the American Churches on the subject of Slavery, and they did not deserve all the credit for the good they really did, because their motives were not quite pure. It was his firm conviction, that it would be a very good thing to move as if they were not aware of the existence of a Church organization in the world, and so to pursue their course of reform and humanity as by their efforts to make it worth the while, by and by, for every such organization to join with them to swell the tide, if it will not join with them to gain the victory.

WILLIAM BROWN hoped that the inspiration of the Bible would not be called in question, for it wounded the feelings of those who revered it; and he thought that, in so doing, the speakers did not confine themselves to the Anti-Slavery platform. He believed that that very book afforded the strongest vindication for the cause, and he had not heard a speaker on that platform, who had not quoted the Bible to sustain his positions.

Mr. PHILLIPS again took the platform, observing that he regarded the points then under discussion as of more importance than any which had previously occupied the attention of the meeting. He thought that, substantially, his friend Barker agreed with him, in his practical explanation of the Anti-Slavery platform; but he objected to his theory, from which he thought his conduct entirely differed; and his objection to it was not because he either feared or hoped much from the American Church, or any other. He did not care for that; but he had pledged his faith to the public, and meant to keep it. As he understood that pledge, what had passed upon the platform was a breach of it; and he thought the principles laid down by his friend Barker a breach of it, but he did not think his conduct was. If he (Mr. B.) supposed the Bible to be the bulwark of Slavery, as he (Mr. P.) had said a pro-slavery Church was, or if Mrs. Mott thought one of the doctrines of Orthodox belief was the bulwark of Slavery, had they a right to get up on that platform, and make a speech to show that fact? [A voice—"Yes."] Had they a right to go on and show that the doctrines of the inspiration of the Bible and of Total

Depravity are obstacles in the way of the Anti-Slavery cause? If they had, then their agents had, and PARKER PILLSBURY had a right to go through the country, and argue that the belief in the inspiration of the Bible and in Total Depravity are both necessary to be overthrown, before Slavery can be abolished. Was it the understanding with the Orthodox friends in Massachusetts, when they asked them to contribute their funds to pay the salary of PARKER PILLSBURY, that he should go through the State, and argue that it is necessary to get rid of the inspiration of the Bible and Total Depravity, before they could abolish Slavery? He contended that it was not. An Abolitionist might take his staff in his hand, and go where he pleased, and argue what he pleased, and he (Mr. P.) had no fault to find; but what he asked was, what right a speaker had, with an audience before him collected by the name of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and with a record to be published by the friends of the Society, stamped with the seal of that Society, and circulated under its countenance, to introduce such topics? He contended that he had but a qualified right. As an individual, he had a right to argue that, until they believed the five points of Calvin, they could not be Abolitionists; but, standing on that platform, his position was different. In their DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, they had laid down their principles, upon a universal basis, and consequently invited the coöperation of all sects and parties, without requiring any other test of Anti-Slavery character. There was a time when some friends thought human government itself was the bulwark of Slavery, and they thought they could bring the debate on the Anti-Slavery platform; but that right was denied, and the Society restricted them, while on its platform, to questions legitimately before it, leaving the individual to his own course outside of it. He held that that rule was to be as strictly construed as possible. If he had overstepped the bounds in remarks having reference to the Episcopal Church, he asked pardon, and Mr. Garrison should have called him to order.

He (Mr. Phillips) went to England, in 1810, in company with eleven others, to attend the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, and he was asked, in regard to one of the twelve, what his religious belief was; and he could not tell, though he had labored with him four years. He thought that individual had behaved honestly on the Anti-Slavery platform, and he was an able and efficient man. The question before them was a very important one to the existence of the Society, and he thought it should be settled how broad a meaning might be attached to the word "incidentally." He thought that their friend, the President, (Mr. Garrison,) if he was to be understood to the extent he at first intimated,

was surrendering a portion of that neutrality that had hitherto been their main defence. He (Mr. P.) wished to understand the sense in which the Society took its Constitution; for he had heretofore been in the custom, when he addressed the people in different localities, of assuring them that they should not hear, on the Anti-Slavery platform, any arguments against their peculiar creeds. He could not say that any longer, if such speeches as they had listened to from their good friend from the other side of the water (Mr. Barker) were considered in order.

Mr. GARRISON. Or such allusions to the Episcopal Church as were made by our friend Phillips! (Laughter.)

Mr. PHILLIPS. If I wandered from the question, I should have been called to order. I do not object to any man's calling me to order. I do not mean to make these meetings the indirect occasion of converting any man to my creed; and I do not think that my friend, Lucretia Mott, means to make them the occasion of converting people to her creed; but I believe she would be understood to claim the right to do so.

JOSEPH BARKER said, that he thought a hired agent was bound to do what he was hired to do. He thought that the position of an agent was different from that which he (Mr. B.) occupied on that platform; and he did not see that his friend Phillips and himself differed on any other matter. As for explaining the word "incidentally," he could not do it then, and did not know that he ever could.

THOMAS WHITSON said, that as he had been the subject of some discussion there, he felt that it would only be doing himself justice to make some explanation. He supposed he was understood there. He did call people differing from him Infidels; but he did not do it in any invidious spirit, and believed he had the same right to do this, that they had to call him an Infidel. He honored his friend Grew, notwithstanding their doctrines totally disagreed, and he thought that his friend Grew had a perfect right to do as he had done. He (Mr. W.) thought that his friend Miller McKim was as incapable of doing any thing invidious towards him, as he could be towards any other individual, and he did not object to being called to order, though he thought it was not necessary. He (Mr. W.) had not said that he did not believe in a personification of the Deity; he simply remarked, that they would excuse him if he did not express any belief. He wanted them to believe in certain attributes that he thought every man must recognise, to do the slave justice.

ISAAC FLINT, of Maryland, expressed his hope that such extraneous topics would not be introduced upon the Anti-Slavery platform. He thought that if an unlimited range were allowed on such subjects, it would infringe upon the peculiar object of the Society, as an organiza-

tion for the Abolition of Slavery. The Society, in its DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, had cited the Bible in support of its position.

Mr. GARRISON said, that their friend had referred to the DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS as appealing to the Bible, because there was a reference in that Declaration to the book of Exodus, wherein they affirm that the text authorized them to declare that every slaveholder is a man-stealer. Now, the Society, as such, had never contravened that declaration. The simple fact was, that it was the only Society in this country which had ever caused a defence of the Bible to be written against all pro-slavery interpretations thereof—the famous “Bible Argument” of THEODORE D. WELD, which was published by the Society, and circulated broadcast through the land. No other Society had undertaken to vindicate the Bible as an Anti-Slavery book. They had twice offered five thousand dollars to the American Bible Society, if that Society, making some additional appropriations, would distribute that amount in Bibles among the slave population, and those propositions were both declined! Instead of attempting, therefore, as a Society, to disparage the book, it was the only Society which had vindicated it against the aspersions of the clergy, who had interpreted it to sanction Slavery.

EDWARD M. DAVIS, of Philadelphia, said that his feeling was, that if Thomas Whitson, Joseph Barker, or Wendell Phillips, or any one, was accused of being an Infidel, he was not at liberty to defend himself on the Anti-Slavery platform; but if the Anti-Slavery Society, as an organization, was accused of being an Infidel organization, it was proper to defend the Society there. They must sink the individual, on that platform; and if they discriminated in that way, they would neither feel themselves restrained, nor exercise an undue liberty.

Mr. BARKER said he had not asserted that he was at liberty there to defend himself against the charge of Infidelity; he only said that they had a right to defend the Society against such a charge.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH wished to present a fact or two, showing how this question of “extraneous topics” had practically been regarded. The offence was taken by those who had, all along, exercised a well-nigh unquestioned, perhaps an entirely unquestioned, right to introduce their own peculiar opinions—being those which agreed with the opinions and feelings of the majority. He had never heard that those who objected to some incidental avowal of heretical opinions there, objected to the Orthodox opinions that had been introduced in the discussion of various topics. [Hear, hear.] In one of his lecturing tours in Ohio, he (Mr. B.) had met a very earnest Anti-Slavery man, who was also a very earnest champion of the Orthodox faith, and a minister of the gospel. In con-

versation with him, the clergyman remarked—"I do wish I could impress upon your mind the importance of adopting the doctrines which I claim as essential to man's salvation. I think you would be much more successful, if you could only see Anti-Slavery as embodied in Jesus Christ, and feel that, to be successful, you must base your efforts upon his Christian office, as Mediator and Savior." He wanted him (Mr. B.) to go forth as the advocate of the Anti-Slavery cause, and plead it upon that ground. No doubt, if he had taken the trouble, he could easily have shown him that, as the representative of other men, he could not consistently do that; but the anecdote would show them how some, at the first glimpse, looked at the matter, and how perfectly destitute of all right were such men to call in question the incidental remarks, conflicting with their views, which were uttered upon the Anti-Slavery platform from time to time. He afterwards attended a Convention, in which that very man read a written discourse, in which he argued substantially the very same principle that he had thrown out to him more briefly, in private conversation. In that Convention—it was true, it was a *Christian* Anti-Slavery Convention—there were Christians who entirely differed from his Orthodox views; and yet, they listened with perfect patience; not a word of objection was offered, on their part. [Hear, hear.] But, if one of them had risen, and as distinctly argued in favor of his view in regard to the office and character of Jesus Christ, he would have been called to order twenty times, before he had got through as many sentences. The truth was, the advocates of Orthodox opinions generally had so long been accustomed to giving utterance to their sentiments without question, that the moment any thing was said which conflicted with their opinions, they were exceedingly sensitive, and quite forgetful of the large measure of liberty which they had themselves enjoyed. For his part, like his friend Barker, he always tried to keep whatever opinions he entertained on theological matters to himself; but he thought that all should be tolerant toward any incidental expression of opinion different from their own.

Nevertheless, Mr. Burleigh said that the distinction which had been made there, between a defence of individual opinion and of the Society against charges affecting its character and usefulness, was a proper and just one, and should be borne in mind on all occasions. The speaker should be held bound to avoid all direct discussion of those questions which did not immediately and directly pertain to the question before them; and, therefore, he agreed with the doctrine that their friend Phillips had advocated. But he still insisted upon it, that those who had objected to any deviations from that principle, ought to remember how

patiently, and how tolerantly, and how long, they had been listened to, when they had uttered, sometimes in speech, sometimes in song, sometimes in prayer, sentiments that were entirely at variance with those of a very respectable minority of their associates in this labor.

The following Resolutions, from the Business Committee, were then presented for the consideration of the meeting:—

Resolved, That the renewed and heartfelt thanks of this Society be proffered to the many faithful friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, across the Atlantic, for the generous and important aid which they have rendered it by their contributions to the National Bazaar, and through other channels, and by their emphatic religious testimony, transmitted to this country from time to time, against the prostitution of the Christian faith and the Christian Church to the support of the impious system of Slavery, by admitting slaveholders to Christian communion; and we earnestly beseech them not to give any heed to the assertion, whenever or by whomsoever made, that they are doing more harm than good by their interference for the emancipation of those in bondage on our soil, but rather to multiply their exhortations, warnings and rebukes, in the same spirit of good will and Christian fidelity, and to continue their pecuniary coöperation to the extent of their ability—assured that, in this manner, they are powerfully accelerating the approach of that day when the trump of jubilee shall “proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.”

Resolved, That our most grateful acknowledgments are tendered to our long-trying and highly esteemed fellow-laborer, JAMES MILLER MCKIM, for his gratuitous and effective vindication of this Society, and its prominent supporters, against the numberless false and malicious charges brought against them by the enemies of individual and universal freedom, during his late visit to England; and also to our equally devoted friend, SARAH PUGH, for a similar labor performed abroad during a more protracted absence; and that we hail their return to these shores, and to the field of conflict, in health, ready as hitherto to spend and be spent in the noblest cause of the age.

J. MILLER MCKIM, of Philadelphia, rose to respond to the Resolutions:

SPEECH OF J. MILLER MCKIM.*

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I have been requested, by some of the friends, to take this opportunity to give some account of my visit to Europe,—and I am quite willing to oblige them; but, really, I do not know what I can say, that will be at

* Owing to indisposition, Mr. MCKIM was unable to deliver but a small portion of this Speech from the platform; but, in compliance with the request of the Society, he has kindly written out the remarks he intended to make, for publication.

all likely to interest this meeting, and at the same time be appropriate to the occasion. However, I will state what occurs to me; and as my visit abroad was neither long nor eventful, my story will soon be told.

I went abroad for reasons partly personal, and partly Anti-Slavery. Personally, I needed relaxation from the routine of duties, that, for fourteen years, had confined me to one spot; and Anti-Slavery wise, having a high appreciation of the importance of British coöperation in our Anti-Slavery movement, I was desirous of doing what I could to make this coöperation more effective. I was absent nearly six months. During that time, I visited the principal cities, and chief points of Anti-Slavery interest, in England, Scotland and Ireland, besides spending about six weeks on the continent. It would be tedious, as well as unprofitable, to go into any thing like a detailed account of my journeyings; suffice it that I mention only some of the results of my observation, and a few of my best remembered experiences.

Under this latter head, I would say that, however it may be with other things, it is not true of American Slavery, that "distance lends enchantment to the view." If I may judge from my own experience, quite the contrary is the fact. The further I got away from Slavery, the more hateful the system seemed, and the more deeply I abhorred it. There are some things,—objects of great magnitude, for instance,—that are better seen at a distance, than close at hand. Their outlines become more distinct, and the eye can better take in their proportions, and their relations to other objects. Such is the fact with regard to American Slavery. I thought I understood the system pretty well before I went away, and that I had formed something like an adequate appreciation of its enormity; but, seen from a more distant stand-point, its hideous outlines became more palpable, and I more clearly comprehended the height and depth of the evil, and the vast extent of its blighting influence. I never once lost sight of it, nor were the thoughts of its enormity long at a time absent from my mind. Whenever I reverted to America, I saw the black cloud hanging over its horizon, like a pall, darkening every object on which it cast its shadow, and disfiguring every thing in it that was beautiful.

The tourist abroad is continually reminded of home. In every thing that claims his attention, whether it be natural scenery, political institutions, or social usage, he sees either a contrast or a resemblance; and, with the exception of Slavery and its belongings, I may add, there is nothing in America that he need be ashamed of. Our lakes and rivers, and forests and plains, are on a scale of grandeur and magnificence, with which nothing that he sees abroad can compare. In natural scen-

ry, all that we want is culture and time, and the associations of history and tradition, to make America the admiration of the world. Our material resources are immeasurable, and the undeveloped wealth of the country exhaustless. In theory, our political system is almost all that could be desired, and the practical workings of our really free institutions are such as to commend them to every one's favor. But, over all, hangs the blight and curse of Slavery; retarding the development of our material resources, corrupting the morals and making barbarous the manners of those who cherish it, and counteracting the operation and perverting the use of our best institutions. To a reflecting traveller, this fact, however distinctly it may have been apprehended at home, becomes abroad much more painfully palpable.

There is one feature of our slave system, or tendency of its operation, rather, which is especially striking to a traveller in Europe, and that is, the hindrance that it imposes to the progress of Liberty among the nations of that continent. I would not underrate the influence exerted by this country for good, in this respect. There can be no doubt, that the illustration furnished to the world by the United States, of the possibility of national self-government, of the practicability of a Church, without the support of the State, and of the enjoyment by the people of all social, educational and material advantages, under laws made and administered by themselves, has contributed immensely to the advancement of free principles among the old nations of Europe; and it is true, no doubt, that the influence of this example is still, to some extent, advantageously felt. But it is equally true, that this influence is greatly counteracted, and in some parts of Europe more than counteracted, by the opposite example of our inconsistency, and by the lie which our tyranny over the colored race, bond and free, gives to all our principles and professions. That this point may be better understood, let me state one or two facts that came within the purview of my own experience.

When in Paris, I had my lodgings with a man who, in 1848, had been an ardent republican, but who had afterwards turned reactionist, and, at the time to which I refer, was an earnest supporter of Louis Napoleon and the Empire. He and I had several conversations and some argument on the subject. In the course of one of these, he referred, with exultation, to the existence of Slavery in America, and the prevalence of mob law. "Ah!" said he, "I am no longer a Democrat. Democracy in France means Anarchy; in America, it means Slaveholding."

In Geneva, I met an intelligent Italian, who was living there in exile. He had compromised his safety by the part he took in the Revolution of

1849, and when the Republic which had been there established was overthrown, he left his home, determined never again to return, till he could see his country delivered from the hands of its oppressors. He was waiting in Geneva, hoping that something would occur that would bring about this much-desired event. I fell in with him by accident, and was the second American he had ever seen. He grasped my hand with great cordiality and enthusiasm. He had admired America, and still cherished towards her the kindest feelings. He had read, when a boy, the life of our great "citoyen," as he called him, by his countryman, Botta, and had conceived the liveliest admiration for the republic which he had been the instrument of founding. When he reached manhood, he himself became a republican, and took some part in establishing a form of government of that kind in his own country. This did not last long, however; despotism was reëstablished, and Italy was again in the thrall of the tyrant. He had been looking to America for help. He had watched with great interest the reception of Kossuth there, and had hoped for some kind of interposition that would restore to his country her liberty. But he had been disappointed. He had learned that Slavery, which at first was a comparatively small thing, had swelled to an enormous magnitude, and that its victims were now a nation of more than three millions; and, more than this, that the system had so corrupted those who supported it, that they were incapable of sympathy with oppressed nations in other lands, and unwilling to aid in efforts for their deliverance. This information had affected him with profound sorrow. "I *larmed* over it," said he, coining a word from the French to help out his meagre stock of English; and while he spoke, the tears of unaffected grief stood in his eyes. His emotion was contagious, and I literally wept with him over the sin and shame of my country. I never was further away from Slavery than I was at this point, and yet never did I see its evils more distinctly, nor loathe the system itself with a deeper abhorrence.

On the other hand, while I found that Slavery became more odious the further I receded from it, its opposite, Freedom, or, more specifically, Anti-Slavery, became proportionally more attractive. All the arguments in favor of Abolition seemed to acquire double force. Religion, Humanity, Justice, Expediency, *Patriotism*, seemed to plead with additional eloquence in its favor; but none with more force than the last mentioned—*Patriotism*. Abolitionists are not aware how much love of country they cherish, until they leave their own shores. Such, at least, was the case with myself. Sensible as I was of the sin of my country, I was, at the same time, not unconscious of a heartfelt attachment to

her, and the deepest solicitude for her welfare. For America is, after all, and without cant, a great country. In territory, equal nearly to the whole European continent; though yet in her infancy, a peer of other nations, and among the first powers of the earth; her population, as a whole, brave and enterprising, illustrating their character, where not hindered by Slavery, in stupendous schemes of internal improvement, in the subjugation of trackless forests, and their conversion into smiling plains and flourishing villages; in her immense commercial marine, that whitens every sea with its sails; in her growing literature, her system of popular education, and her many flourishing enterprises for the moral and social improvement of the people. In all these respects, America is truly a great country; and that she is destined to exert a controlling influence on other nations, is a matter on which there is no room for controversy. Whether this influence will be for evil or for good, depends on the way in which this Anti-Slavery question is settled. If Slavery triumphs, and the efforts for its abolition should prove a failure, the ruin of the country is sealed, and the hopes of struggling nations, from this quarter at least, are at an end. But if the Anti-Slavery movement should prove successful, (as I have no doubt whatever it will,) and if this curse and blot is removed from our land, the benefits to accrue to the world, moral, political and material, seem to me to be great, beyond all computation. The man who is laboring faithfully for emancipation, is doing the best thing possible for his country and his kind. He is engaged in one of the most beneficent works that can claim the aid of man.

All this seemed strikingly clear to me when I was abroad. I rejoiced, as I had done a thousand times before, that my eyes had been opened to see the truth of Abolition, and that my heart had been touched by its power. I rejoiced, too, in the communion and fellowship, present and absent, of my brother Abolitionists. My co-laborers at home were never separated from me in spirit. I often thought of them, and thought of them with pride. I remembered their early consecration to the cause, their unswerving fidelity, their cheerfulness under trials, and their patience under persecution; and I rejoiced that my lot had been cast among them, and that I was permitted to enjoy the privilege of their fellowship.

True Abolitionists are the same all the world over. They are of the same spirit, and their lives show the informing influence of the same faith. They readily recognise each other, and are attached by a mutual affinity. By true Abolitionists, I mean those who are such from principle, from deep religious conviction, who put nothing above their duty to

the cause, in religion, politics or personal interest, and who reject every thing as erroneous that contravenes its requirements. There are some Abolitionists of this class in England, but, as compared with the great mass, not many. The English people are generally opposed to Slavery, just as all other people are who have no interest in supporting it, because it is abhorrent to justice, humanity, and every right feeling of our nature, an outrage upon man, an insult to God, and an evil in every light in which it can be viewed. In addition to this, they have been educated to hate it, by the long contest that was waged, first for the abolition of the slave-trade, and next for emancipation in their own colonies. But it is only a small portion of them who fully embrace the principle, understand its bearings, and surrender themselves implicitly to its guidance. Some of this kind, however, there are in all parts of the kingdom. I found them in London, Bristol and Leeds; in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth; in Be'fast, Dublin and Cork. These are the leaven that leavens the whole lump. They are the workers of the cause; the reliable ones whose interest in its prosperity never flags, and who are instant in season and out of season, in their efforts for its advancement.

Abolitionists of this class have a strong affinity for the American Anti-Slavery Society. They may have heard the charges brought against some of its leading members, of irreligion and infidelity, and at times may not have known how to reply to them; but their conviction of the Anti-Slavery integrity of these men was not to be shaken, and their better instincts, in the absence of other testimony, always served to satisfy them that charges of this kind could have no just foundation.

But you will want to hear something of the present state of feeling in England in regard to American Slavery, and of the prospects of our cause in this direction. On this point, I can speak cheerfully. Never before was there as living and intelligent an interest manifested in this question, nor so general a desire shown for its early and peaceful settlement. This feeling is the result of influences that have been in operation for the last twenty years. After the act of emancipation in the West Indies, the Anti-Slavery feeling was allowed, to a great extent, to die out. It is true, a British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was formed, with a view to work for emancipation in other countries, which Society retained in affiliation most, if not all, the old Anti-Slavery organizations previously existing; but the operations of this Society were, for a long time, very ineffective, and its influence for good was, in this country, as we know, scarcely appreciable. Nevertheless, there were those, in various parts of the United Kingdom, who watched the progress of the cause in America with the deepest solicitude, and who did all they

could to promote it. The number of this class of persons was continually increased, and their power enhanced by the Anti-Slavery influences that were all the time going forth from this country. American Anti-Slavery papers were received and read, and new light was thus imparted. Much, also, was done by the visits of American Abolitionists. Your several visits, Mr. Chairman, exerted, as is well known, a strong influence in this behalf. And when with your labors were combined those of GEORGE THOMPSON, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, HENRY C. WRIGHT, and JAMES N. BUFFUM, as was the case during the Free Church agitation, the effect was especially salutary. That agitation has ceased some time since, and the cry of "send back that money" is no longer heard; but the Anti-Slavery truth that was uttered during that controversy was seed sown on good ground, which to this day has not ceased to bring forth wholesome fruit.

Since then, other advocates of the cause, equally zealous and faithful, have been at work. WILLIAM WELLS BROWN has traversed the country from one end to the other, delivering lectures in the chief towns and cities, and every where awakening a deep feeling of interest in the Anti-Slavery movement. Himself a colored man and a fugitive slave, and having been long and successfully at work in the lecturing field in this country, and knowing the cause and its chief friends intimately, he was well qualified to interest the hearts of the English people, and to enlighten them on all points pertaining to the question.

REV. EDWARD MATTHEWS, the same that was so cruelly lynched by the slaveholders of Kentucky, some three years since, has been laboring in England as an agent of the Baptist Free (Anti-Slavery) Missionary Society. In zeal and devotedness, Mr. Matthews is nothing inferior to Mr. Brown. I had occasion to see a good deal of him when abroad, and had the pleasure of attending several meetings in his company, and can testify from what I saw and heard, and what I learned from other sources, to the highly beneficial effect of his labors upon the Anti-Slavery cause.

WILLIAM and ELLEN CRAFT, who have been in England since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, have also rendered valuable service to our movement. The story of their remarkable escape from Slavery, which the former has related publicly to large audiences, and both privately to smaller circles, has made a profound and abiding impression.

At this moment, Professor ALLEN and his wife are engaged in the same good work. Mr. Allen, it is well known, had to fly his country for having had the temerity to marry a white wife. The mob, stimulated by a corrupt press, and countenanced by men high in religious position, was

excited against him, and it was not without great personal peril that he escaped their fury. Mr. Allen is now travelling from city to city, telling his story to British audiences. He is a gentleman, in the best sense of that word, well educated, and an able speaker, and his lectures, and especially what he will have to say of our venomous prejudice against color, illustrated as it will be by his own case, will not fail to swell the tide of agitation that is now surging against, and helping to sweep away the foundations of our American slave system.

GEORGE THOMPSON, too, to whose eloquent voice the cause of Freedom is so much indebted on both sides of the water, has again entered the field as a lecturer. At the last intelligence, he was engaged to hold a series of meetings in Manchester, and other towns in the manufacturing districts, and had it in contemplation during the winter and coming spring to visit the chief cities of the kingdom, with the view of arousing the people's attention and enlightening their minds on the subject of American Slavery. Who that has ever heard his powerful appeals on this topic, can doubt of the great good to be accomplished by his labors?

Beside those public champions, there are those who move in the private walks of life, who have contributed in a large measure to bring about the active state of feeling now existing in England—a feeling, too, which I may add is not confined to England, but which extends to some of the nations on the continent. It is sufficient, under this head, that I mention the names of Mrs. FOLLEN and Mrs. MARIA W. CHAPMAN. These ladies, (the former residing in London, and the latter in Paris,) are indefatigable in their devotion to the cause. Their drawing-rooms are ever open to assemblies collected for Anti-Slavery conversation and conference, and their pens are never idle in the work. By private letters, by articles for the press, and by direct personal intercourse with people moving in influential circles, they are all the time contributing to the advancement of our cause in the most effective manner.

Nothing, however, has contributed so much to interest and excite the people of England on this subject, as Mrs. STOWE's wonderful tale of "Uncle Tom." As you know, nearly a million copies of this work have been published in that country. These have been read by people of all classes, high and low, rich and poor, and the impression produced has been most profound. The hearts of old Abolitionists have been revived, and new ones have been added to the ranks. The good done by the book cannot be estimated, and its work is not yet accomplished. There, as well as here, it is still on its errand of mercy.

Mrs. Stowe's visit to England, too, was another source of advantage

to the cause. Besides her direct personal influence, she was the means of Anti-Slavery meetings being held, and of Anti-Slavery speeches being delivered, that otherwise would never have been thought of. Her presence, and the eclat with which she was every where received, increased the demand for her book, kept up the public interest in the subject, and greatly enhanced the good impression that had previously been produced.

I have thus far been speaking chiefly of American influences that have been at work on the other side of the water. I am not unmindful, however, of the British agencies that have been in operation at the same time. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society I have already referred to, intimating, however, that in times past, their operations had not always been very effective. I would not revive old controversies, or refer unnecessarily to unpleasant things that are past, but it is a matter of historical fact, that for years, the influence which this Society exerted was of very little advantage to the Anti-Slavery cause. Its affairs were administered by men, some of whom were persons of circumscribed views and strong religious prejudices. Its newspaper organ was conducted in an exclusive spirit, and by an editor who seemed incapable of appreciating the broad and liberal genius of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. Something more than a year since, however, a change took place, that has exerted a happy influence on the usefulness of the Society. LOUIS A. CHAMEROVZOW, Esq., was appointed Secretary and *ex-officio* editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in place of John Scoble, Esq., resigned. Mr. Chamerovzow is a man of ability, of enlarged and liberal views, and an earnest Abolitionist. Under his management, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* has undergone an immediate change for the better. New life has been infused into its columns, and added usefulness imparted to its circulation. At the same time, better counsels have seemed to prevail in the Committee, and for the year past, the Society has manifested such signs of liberality and returning life, as to warrant the hope, on the part of some of our friends, of its becoming such an instrumentality as will be entitled to the confidence and coöperation of all true Abolitionists.

Beside the British and Foreign Society, there are provincial organizations in different parts of the kingdom, that have contributed their part to bring about the state of feeling at present existing. Principal among these is the Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society. In thoroughness of principle, consistency of action, and in the zeal and Anti-Slavery intelligence of its members, this Society will compare well with any other, on either side of the water. Then, there are the old Anti-

Slavery organizations at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth; and at Belfast, Dublin, and Cork, all of which have been unswerving in their devotion to the cause. Lately, a new Society has been formed at Leeds, that has commenced its career with a busy activity; and, still more recently, another at Bridgwater, and a third at Manchester, both of which give promise of being efficient helpers in the good work.

These organizations are all more or less in sympathy with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Their mission is, by agitation and the diffusion of light, to elevate and strengthen the tone of public sentiment in England on the subject of Slavery, and to bring this public sentiment to bear, in all proper and available ways, upon the people of this country, for the abolition of the evil. It is a fact worthy of notice, that the most active members of these Societies are women, and that they do most of the work. They write letters, collect funds, prepare the contributions for the Bazaars, and, in short, do the main part of all the work that is performed. The amount of labor accomplished by some of these ladies is really quite remarkable.

Among the chief Anti-Slavery instrumentalities abroad should be mentioned the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, published in London. This paper was started a little more than a year ago. It is a small sheet, and only appears once a month, but it is one of the most readable and instructive prints in circulation. Its articles are almost all original, and are prepared with sound judgment and marked good taste. It has many readers, and their number is still increasing; so is also the influence of the paper. The impression it has already produced in favor of thorough Abolitionism has been distinctly felt on both sides of the water, and its career of usefulness has only just begun.

Lately, a new paper has been started, in the city of Manchester, called the *Anti-Slavery Watchman*. It is edited by F. W. CHESSON, Esq., a young man of fine talents, ardent Anti-Slavery zeal, and truly liberal spirit. The paper exhibits in its columns the characteristics of its editor, and whether regarded as a proof of the progress already made by radical Anti-Slavery principles, or as a sign of what is destined yet to be accomplished, its appearance at this time is truly cheering.

There are other papers in England, not specifically devoted to the cause, that do a great deal of Anti-Slavery work. Indeed, this may be said of the British press generally; but there are two journals, of which it is more especially true. One is the London *Morning Advertiser*, and the other the London *Daily News*. The former is edited by a man of distinguished ability and uncompromising fidelity on the Slavery question. His articles on this subject are written with characteristic

vigor; and when it is stated that his paper is inferior in circulation only to that of the *Times*, it will be seen how greatly our cause is indebted to his agency. The *Daily News* enjoys a reputation for soundness of judgment and correctness and extent of information, that makes it second to no other paper in England in the control it exerts over the minds of intelligent and influential people. Its articles on American Slavery show a familiar acquaintance with the subject. They are statesmanlike in their scope, and at the same time thorough in their Anti-Slavery spirit.

In enumerating the various Anti-Slavery agencies in England, I must not omit to mention the Tract enterprise of WILSON ARMISTEAD. Mr. Armistead is a member of the Society of Friends, living in Leeds. He published, some years since, a large octavo volume, entitled a "TRIBUTE TO THE NEGRO," and since then he has been issuing, at irregular but frequent intervals, a series of valuable Anti-Slavery Tracts. This series embraces upwards of eighty different varieties, running from two to twenty pages each. A half a million of these Tracts have already been published, and more are forthcoming. They are circulated by sale and gratuitous distribution, and are finding their way all over the kingdom. Such broadcast dissemination of Anti-Slavery truth cannot fail to bring forth fruit abundantly in the cause of Humanity and Justice.

Of course, in this sketch, I only enumerate the Anti-Slavery agencies that fell within my own purview, or that claimed my particular attention. That there are others, many others, at work abroad, which I have not enumerated or alluded to, will be readily inferred. It has been owing, however, to influences such as I have specified, that the present state of Anti-Slavery feeling has obtained prevalence in Great Britain. This feeling is, every day, under the operation of the same influences, becoming deeper and more widely extended. The work of agitation is going on in England in the same way as in this country, and with the same results. Its effect is seen in all the forms in which public sentiment is wont to manifest itself. It is visible in the literature of the country, in the policy of the government, in the action of religious bodies, and shows itself in a great variety of ways, in the ordinary intercourse of private life. The influence it exerts in this country, Mr. Chairman, we know to be most beneficent. It cheers the hearts and strengthens the hands of Abolitionists, and disturbs none but slaveholders and their abettors. None object to it but those who are interested either in the support or excuse of Slavery; and this is only a proof of its adaptation to its purpose, and an argument in its favor.

Let, then, our brethren on the other side of the water go on in the

work in which they have done so well. Let them continue their labor of diffusing light throughout the country, and multiplying friends to the cause, assured that all the aid, moral and material, that they can bring to bear for its support, will be hailed with the liveliest joy by the friends of Freedom on this side the water, and at the same time will be helping to bring on the day of final and unconditional Emancipation.

The President, (Mr. GARRISON,) said, in reference to the discussion which had preceded the remarks of Mr. McKim, that he thought it would be obvious to all present, that there had been a very jealous desire, on the one hand, not to restrict individual freedom of thought, and on the other, to prevent the Society from losing sight of its legitimate object. No one who had spoken doubted the honesty and sincerity of any other speaker on that platform; no one suspected any other of attempting to draw the meeting aside from its appropriate work; and nothing but kindness and the best spirit had prevailed in the bosoms of those who had addressed the audience.

Mrs. MOTT said, she thought it was due to herself to say, that she could not understand what Mr. Phillips wished to protest against in her remarks. She only mentioned her sentiment incidentally, and there left it.

Mr. PHILLIPS said that his protest was not against the speech of Mrs. Mott of the night previous, although he thought she overstepped the limits of "incidentally;" it was against the theory she proposed that morning, where she spoke of their bearing with each other from mutual love. He (Mr. P.) did not suppose the question to be one of toleration or mutual love. He had no objection to any question or argument which she might introduce; but he felt that it was opposed to the theory of the Society, and unjust to the general public, whom they invited to attend their meetings, and to contribute to their funds, for them now to spend their time in discussions on the Bible, or the Sabbath, or any theological question. He contended that such a course was "keeping the promise to the ear, and breaking it to the hope." Whenever they entered upon such topics, their discussions would not be within the limit they had originally prescribed to themselves.

Mrs. MOTT. There has not been a word from me advocating the propriety of discussing the Bible, the Sabbath, Total Depravity, the Church, or any other doctrine, only as far as they shall be incidentally introduced as tending to strengthen the hands of the slaveholders.

Mr. PHILLIPS. I certainly misunderstood her.

Mr. GARRISON. I think we are all agreed. There is no difference between us.

The following Resolutions on the Colonization Society were reported from the Business Committee:—

Resolved, That in regard to the Colonization enterprise, we make no issue on any of the following points—whether Africa ought not to be reclaimed from barbarism and idolatry; nor whether black missionaries are not better adapted to its climate than white ones; nor whether it is wrong to assist voluntary emigration to the shores of that continent; nor whether the slave trade has not been crippled, or driven from its localities by the colonies already established; nor whether the settlement of Liberia has not attained, in the same period, as high a position as did the Plymouth or Jamestown colony; nor whether the condition of the free colored people in this land is not one of great hardship, and surrounded by many afflicting circumstances; nor whether, to those who are held in bondage, exile, with penniless freedom, is not preferable to a life of chattelized servitude; but it is, what are the doctrines, designs and measures of the American Colonization Society, and is it worthy of the countenance and support of a civilized and Christian people?

Resolved, That we abhor and repudiate the Colonization Society, for the following among other reasons:—(1.) Because it sanctions the infernal doctrine, that man can rightfully hold property in his fellow-man—(2.) Because it is managed and controlled by slaveholders, whose aim is to give quietude, security and value to the slave system, by the removal of the free blacks—(3.) Because it declares that the leprous spirit of complexional prejudice is natural, and not to be removed even by the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the heart—(4.) Because it is the bitter, malignant and active enemy of the Anti-Slavery enterprise—(5.) Because it stimulates and sanctions the enactment of soul-crushing laws and proscriptive edicts against our free colored population, under the pressure of which they shall find it impossible to stand erect on this their native soil, and may therefore be induced to emigrate to Africa—(6.) Because the motives it avows, the sentiments it inculcates, the means it uses, the measures it sanctions, are base, cruel, demoniacal—and, (7.) Because, from its organization to the present time, the objects of its professed commiseration have unceasingly borne the strongest testimony against it, as uncalled for, hateful, persecuting, and unnatural.

As the time had expired for which Sansom Hall was engaged, the Society adjourned, to meet, without delay, at the hall corner of Ninth and Arch streets.

Reassembled according to adjournment, the President in the chair.

The Resolutions on Colonization being taken up, GILES B. STEBBINS spoke in their support, briefly, but to the point.

J. J. Kelly, Esther Moore, Josiah Bond, Samuel J. May, Harriet Hood, Charles C. Burleigh, Elizabeth Williams, Sojourner Truth, Jarena Lee, Mr. Glasgow, and James Walker, offered brief but emphatic and convincing remarks in support of the Resolutions, and, the question be-

ing called for, a strong and unanimous vote was given in their favor, and against the American Colonization Society.

The question was called for on the remaining Resolutions, and action being taken upon them, separately, they were adopted.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY then came forward and said :

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

It was my earnest hope, Mr. President, that, in the record, which is to go down to posterity, of the progress of the cause of impartial liberty, during the twenty years that have passed since the formation of this Society, a certain statement, that has gone the round of the newspapers, would have been preserved as a veritable fact. I allude to the statement that the Unitarian Church of St. Louis, as a body, one and all, had emancipated each and every one of their slaves. But, I am grieved to say, it is not true. I hold in my hands a paper—the Christian Register, published in Boston—in which the minister of that St. Louis Church, Rev. Mr. Eliot, declares that no such deed of righteousness and mercy has been done by the people, to whom he ministers. That gentleman is regarded by the denomination, to which he and I belong, as one of the most successful expositors of our most precious faith. But he tells us the members of his church have not proclaimed liberty to their captives, have not set their bondmen free. Not only so, but he adds, “I know of instances, in my own Society, in which I would not advise the present emancipation of those held in bondage.” Still further, he goes on to repeat the opinion which has so often been shown to be foolish as well as untrue, that the movements of the friends of liberty in the free States have retarded, rather than expedited, the deliverance of the enslaved.

The letter, Sir, is too long to be read in this, the last half hour of our meeting. I shall probably notice it, more at length, elsewhere. I am happy to assure you, that, in other respects, the letter is kindly and courteously worded. But, Sir, in these respects, does it not wound us to the quick, stab us to the heart? And yet, Sir, more even than the injustice he has done to us and our labors, do I deplore the lamentable ignorance he evinces of the principles of the Society, which he thus ventures to condemn so utterly. He does not even understand our primal doctrine—*immediate emancipation*. He has not yet come to perceive that the first thing to be done for the improvement and elevation of the enslaved, is to recognise and secure to them their rights as human beings. If he had, he would not hesitate to concede that what must first be done for

them, should be done without delay—done immediately. He probably understands, as many others understood twenty years ago, that we demand for the enslaved, that they shall be cut loose from all relations to those who have been their oppressors, set free from all constraint, abandoned to themselves. But how often have we repudiated such an idea! We have demanded for the objects of our compassion, something more and much better. Emancipation from chattel slavery—the recognition of their rights as human beings—is only the beginning of the work of their redemption. They must be guided, helped, educated after they have been set free. (Applause.)

Mr. President, I may not detain you and the meeting longer on this subject, at this late hour. Of course, the gentleman, to whose letter I refer, must desire that the contents of his letter should be known to those whom he condemns. I therefore have manifested, as I have meant, no unkindness to him, in communicating to you the substance of his letter. But I must, Sir, in connection with this sad record, add an expression of my heartfelt regret, that a man who is a minister of religion of that denomination which is so distinguished for its professions of regard for humanity, should have penned such an epistle as this. I do not ask, I do not think that a minister of our denomination should be measured and judged, in his action or his indifference to the Anti-Slavery cause, by the same standard that might be applied to other religionists. More ought to be expected, more demanded of Unitarians in behalf of humanity, than of others; and I feel the keenest disappointment, that that glorious announcement respecting the Church in St. Louis is not a fact, but a misrepresentation. God grant, that ere another decade meeting of this Society shall be called together, not only one but all the Unitarian (humanitarian) Churches in the land shall have wiped from their skirts the damning stain of Slavery! and their glorious example be emulated by every other church that presumes to call itself Christian!

Mr. GARRISON offered the following Resolution:—

Whereas, among the endless devices of the pro-slavery spirit, is the attempt to divert attention from the great issue now before the country, and to baffle the operations of this Society, by raising against it the most false and malignant outeries—such as, that it is an Anti-Sabbath, an Anti-Bible, an Anti-Government, and an Infidel Society, &c. &c.; therefore,

Resolved, That the only views which are sanctioned and promulgated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, on these topics, are—That it is lawful on the Sabbath day to remember the millions of our fellow-countrymen who have been plunged into the horrible pit of Slavery, and to combine to extricate them therefrom:—That

the Bible is most foully and wickedly perverted, by the great body of the American clergy, to the sanction and support of American Slavery:—That any Government which makes merchandise of human beings, and hunts fugitive slaves, is to be execrated and repudiated for ever:—That the only Infidelity which the Society endorses is that which breaks the yoke and lets the oppressed go free, — and the only Christianity which it rejects as spurious, is that which vindicates Slavery as compatible with justice, humanity, and the love of God.

After brief remarks by Messrs. GEORGE SUNTER, JOSEPH BARKER, and C. C. BURLEIGH, the Resolution was unanimously adopted.

J. M. MCKIM stated the facts in reference to the protracted and harassing prosecutions to which Daniel Kauffman and Stephen F. Weakley, of Cumberland county, had been subjected during the past six years, for harboring a family of alleged fugitive slaves, resulting in the conviction of Mr. Kauffman, and the acquittal of Mr. Weakley, in the United States Circuit Court, after which, Judge Grier granted a new trial in the case of Mr. Weakley. Mr. McKim then read a letter from Mr. W., stating that he had, by advice of his counsel and friends, settled the suit by the payment of a large sum, and desiring the aid of all who sympathised with him in bearing this burden. Mr. McKim appealed to all present to assist individually this worthy and suffering man.

The Secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society were instructed to obtain, if practicable, the original copy of the Declaration of Sentiments, as engrossed on parchment by Dr. Abraham L. Cox.

LUCRETIA MOTT urged attention to that portion of the Declaration of Sentiments, which relates to our giving the preference to the products of *free labor* over those of *slave labor*. She begged the friends to consider also, whether they did not compromise their principles by aiding in the purchase of individual slaves, thereby enabling the slaveholder perhaps to buy two fresh slaves in the place of the one sold.

THE PRESIDENT. I wish to suggest to friends the importance of once more petitioning Congress for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and for the Repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law; and especially as our friend GERRIT SMITH is to be an additional member of that body. It will be a legitimate mode of bringing up the subject afresh, and will, I think, produce a good deal of agitation. I merely suggest this as one means for advancing our cause.

Beloved friends, and faithful coadjutors, there are none in this country, who desire so longingly to know when the jubilee is to come as those who are in bonds; and, next to them, I am sure we are most desirous to know when that glorious event will come to pass. Shall we all of us, or any of us, be spared, here on the earth, to witness it? God only

knows. I trust many of us will. But, whether we shall see it here or not, we have no doubt of its coming. All we have to do is to go on—be uncompromising in our principles, find out what our duty is, faithfully discharge it, and leave the event in the hands of an all-wise God.

EDMUND QUINCY. I rise, Sir, to express the gratitude we all feel for the generous hospitality which has been extended to us by the friends in Philadelphia, and for the great kindness with which they have increased the pleasure of our temporary residence here. I move you, Sir, that we now adjourn.

S. J. MAY. In accordance with the laws of our physical being, it is not to be expected that we shall ever meet together again on an occasion like this. Let me say, then, in parting, that

“ ’Tis not the whole of life to live,
Nor all of death to die ”:—

That life is to be measured, not by the number of days or years we may be permitted to remain here, but by the number of good deeds we do, and the true and noble words we utter; that it matters not whether our lives be narrowed to a span, or length of days be given to us, but that it matters everything, that while we do live, we live in deed, in truth, in spirit, and in love to God and our fellow-men. (Applause.)

The Convention then adjourned, *sine die*.

Thus ended a meeting, which, for ability in the discussions, a world-wide spirit of liberality on the part of the speakers, deep and growing interest on the part of all present, fidelity to the cause of the enslaved, and a spirit of undisturbed and unfaltering reliance upon the truth of God, has scarcely been equalled, and perhaps never surpassed, by any in the history of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *President*.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,	}	<i>Secretaries.</i>
OLIVER JOHNSON,		
CYRUS M. BURLEIGH,		
SARAH PUGH,		
GILES B. STEBBINS,		

APPENDIX.

Declaration of Sentiments

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

ADOPTED IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, DEC. 6, 1833.

THE Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the TEMPLE OF FREEDOM was broadly this — “that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.” At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number — poor in resources; but the honest conviction that TRUTH, JUSTICE and RIGHT were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed

to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. *Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of Slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task-masters.

But those for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting, at the present time, at least one sixth part of our countrymen—are recognised by the law, and treated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities, as goods and chattels, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in leathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slaveholding States.

Hence we maintain,—that in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore,

That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain,—that no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandize—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law, and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an AMERICAN as an AFRICAN.

Therefore we believe and affirm—That there is no difference, *in principle*, between the African slave trade and American Slavery:

That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary

bondage as his property, is, according to Scripture, (Ex. xxi. 16,) a MAN-STEALER :

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of the law :

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity :

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of Slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void : being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments — and that therefore they ought instantly to be abrogated.

We further believe and affirm — that all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others ; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves :

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man ;

Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD :

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim : freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owners ; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave — restoring him to himself ;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property : it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but, by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers ; and

Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation, which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of Slavery.

We fully and unreservedly recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the Slavery which is tolerated within its limits ; we contend that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject :

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish Slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove Slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force, to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave-owner to vote on three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to Slavery is criminal and full of danger: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles—these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of divine revelation as upon the Everlasting Rock.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village, in our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, Anti-Slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of Slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions: and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of Liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of Slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the

United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation—whether we live to witness the triumph of LIBERTY, JUSTICE, and HUMANITY, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

Done at Philadelphia, the 6th day of December, A. D. 1833.

DAVID THURSTON,
 NATHAN WINSLOW,
 JOSEPH SOUTHWICK,
 JAMES F. OTIS,
 ISAAC WINSLOW,
 DAVID CAMPBELL,
 ORSON S. MURRAY,
 DANIEL S. SOUTHWAYD,
 EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON,
 JOSHUA COFFIN,
 AMOS A. PHELPS,
 JOHN G. WHITTIER,
 HORACE P. WAKEFIELD,
 JAMES G. BARBADOES,
 DAVID T. KIMBALL, Jr.,
 DANIEL E. JEWETT,
 JOHN REID CAMPBELL,
 NATHANIEL SOUTHWARD,
 ARNOLD BUFFUM,
 WILLIAM GREEN, Jr.,
 ABRAHAM L. CON,
 WILLIAM GOODELL,
 ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr.,
 CHARLES W. DENISON,
 JOHN FROST,
 GEORGE BOURNE,
 EVAN LEWIS,
 EDWIN A. ATLEE,
 ROBERT PURVIS,
 JAMES McCRUMMELL,
 THOMAS SHIPLEY.

BARTHOLOMEW FUSSELL,
 DAVID JONES,
 ENOCH MACK, 2d,
 JAMES LOUGHEAD,
 JOHN McCULLOUGH,
 EDWIN P. ATLEE,
 JAMES M. MCKIM,
 WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
 RAY POTTER,
 JOHN PRENTICE,
 GEORGE W. BENSON,
 SAMUEL JOSEPH MAY,
 ALPHEUS KINGSLEY, Jr.,
 EDWIN A. SPILLMAN,
 SIMEON SMITH JOCELYN,
 ROBERT BERNARD HALL,
 BERIAH GREEN,
 LEWIS TAPPAN,
 JOHN RANKIN,
 AARON VICKERS,
 JOHN R. SLEEPER,
 LUCIUS GILLINGHAM,
 JOHN SHARP, Jr.,
 JAMES MOTT,
 JAMES WHITE,
 JONATHAN PARKHURST,
 CHALKLEY GILLINGHAM,
 JOHN M. STERLING,
 MILTON SUTLIFF,
 LEVI SUTLIFF,
 THOMAS WHITSON

LETTER FROM HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

CENTREVILLE, Ind., Nov. 20, 1853.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON :

DEAR SIR—I have received your letter of the 10th instant, inviting me to be present at the twentieth Anniversary of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in Philadelphia, on the 3d and 4th December next. For this distinguished and unmerited honor, please accept my thanks. Most gladly would I be with you, and avail myself of the catholic invitation of your Society, to occupy its platform, “untrammelled in regard to thought or speech.” Nothing could afford me more heartfelt gratification than to imbibe afresh the resolute purpose and martyr spirit of our great movement, by a friendly communion with its heroes; and it is therefore with unfeigned regret that I find myself precluded by other engagements from attending your celebration.

The object of your Society is “the speedy and eternal overthrow of chattel slavery in our land.” The magnitude of such a work requires a faith in those who undertake it commensurate with its achievement. They must have faith in Providence, in Rectitude, in the triumph of the Right, through the sincere strivings of men. All good causes lag and languish through lack of this faith; through a lurking suspicion which finds its way into our hearts, that injustice is a necessity under the government of the Most High. If we really believe in the truths to which we subscribe in words; if, in our judgment, we could find “but one strong thing in this earth, the *just* thing, the *true* thing;” if we could fully realize that justice is omnipotent, and that Slavery, and every other refuge of lies, *must* perish, because opposed to the beneficent ordainments of the Universe; and if men every where would acknowledge and practically apply these truths, humanity would be redeemed from its woes, and the millennial day would be ushered in upon the world. Here lies the grand difficulty with our movement. There are even many professedly Anti-Slavery men, who, I believe, are scarcely half converted, who manifest no confidence in the power of truths they profess, by efforts or sacrifices for their advancement, and whose hearts falter and grow cold when the signs of promise are all around their pathway. For myself, I believe the Providence of God, availing itself of the blindness and wickedness of men, is hastening on a great crisis in the history of our country, and that the cause in which we are engaged is passing through a transition period, from a feeble and unpopular, to a powerful and dominant movement, among the great forces that are shaking the world.

This opinion is based upon facts which, to some, indicate the decline of free principles. The passage of the Compromise measures, now more than three years since, and the decree which simultaneously went forth that there is no higher law than the wicked enactments of men, the preaching of multitudinous heaps of lower law sermons, and the joining hands of Castle Garden politicians and atheistical Doctors of Divinity in the endeavor to dethrone Jehovah and inaugurate the Devil in his stead; the holding of grand

Union meetings throughout the country, after the Union had been already saved by the plasters and nostrums of its political doctors; the calling out of the Army and Navy by the federal authorities to assist in the return of a fugitive slave, and the effort to drag from the grave of tyranny, and foist into our jurisprudence, the infernal doctrine of constructive treason; the cold-blooded conspiracy of the Whig and Democratic parties, last year, at Baltimore, against Republicanism, Humanity, and God; the recent case of John Freeman, at Indianapolis, and the reeking villany of the Marshal of Indiana, in stripping the body of his victim, so that a Christless squad of perjured miscreants and kidnappers might swear according to the pattern, which they did; the still more recent case of William Thomas, at Wilkesbarre, set on foot by bloodthirsty assassins, acting in the name of the Government, and the heartless and high-handed judicial ruffianism of Justice Grier; — these, and many other kindred facts which I might name, are not the tokens of disaster to our cause, but the sure prophecies of its triumph. As the natural fruits of the Slave Power, appealing to the hearts and consciences of the people, they were demanded by the times; for it has been said truly, that wrong institutions must grow to their full stature, and display all their diabolical enormity, before men will engage earnestly in the work of their overthrow. We should not desire to have Satan act with a prudent circumspection, and enlist the world on his side, or disarm its opposition by disguising himself in the drapery of decency. Let him show his cloven foot, and make palpable the fact that he is a devil, and his empire will be subverted.

Hercules should the enemies of Slavery thank God and take courage. We have unmasked the dragon. We have shorn it of its long-permitted immunity from the right of search, and compelled it to stand up in its unveiled ugliness before the judgment-seat of the world. The Slave Interest itself has become a most efficient helper in its own destruction. Its unhallowed rule has at length set the world to thinking, its great heart to beating, and its great voice to agitating. The Anti-Slavery spirit has pervaded our literature, and millions of hearts, in the old world and the new, are now throbbing responsive to the sufferings of the American slaves. It is rapidly moulding the public opinion of the civilized world, which Mr. Webster used to tell us is the strongest power on earth. It is remorselessly breaking into fragments the great political parties of our country, and, at the same time, extending its dominion into the churches and hierarchies, which it will either purify, or scatter to the four winds, as a preliminary to the establishment of other systems, wherein shall dwell righteousness. These facts, and the glorious future of which they give promise, should animate us with courage, constancy, and an unflinching faith, in our continual labors for the oppressed. You, I am sure, and those who constitute the American Anti-Slavery Society, will not be blinded or disheartened by the irregular ebb and flow of political currents, or by facts which drift about upon their surface; but you will penetrate beneath it, to those great moral tides which underlie and heave onward the politics, the religion, and the whole frame-work of society.

With an assured trust in the progress and triumph of our cause,

I am, yours, very truly,

GEO. W. JULIAN.

FROM HENRY C. HOWELLS.

ROSE DALE, (near Alleghany, Pa.) Nov. 23th, 1853.

MY BELOVED FRIENDS IN THE CAUSE OF UNIVERSAL RIGHTEOUS FREEDOM:

Twenty years have passed since it was my happiness to address you, on the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Twenty years of patient, persevering and enduring toil in the happy service of the God of Love. Twenty years of persecution and denigration, with all manner of evil spoken falsely of you for the name's sake of Him who pities the poor and destitute. Taking joyfully the spoiling of your goods and the jeopardy of your lives, the execration of tyrants, and the anathema of a hireling priesthood, you have been thus far sustained by Omnipotence, shielded in the hour of danger, and cheered onward with the promises of Him who cannot lie, that Truth (and your cause is Truth) shall finally triumph over every obstacle — whether it proceed from the grosser forms of vice, or from the phylacteries of what has been emphatically called, “American Christianity.” The Lord and Master, in addressing the latter class, said, that “Publicans and Harlots shall enter the Kingdom before you.” What do we see? The Church, (with some happy exceptions,) which has shut up her bowels of compassion, deaf to the wailing of millions of the human brotherhood not more unworthy than themselves, and dumb in the cause of those appointed to destruction; therefore, she is losing her moral influence in the world, and from her time-serving policy, sinking in the estimation of common honesty. Yet, in her God-dying position, to cover her own shame, she points at you, with the finger of affected scorn, and with a mendacious tongue cries, “Infidel.” Would to God that the charge could not be retorted, with fearful reality, and tremendous power! Again she shouts, “Atheist!” So did the idolaters of Rome to the primitive Christians, because they would not worship their gods. But the practical Infidels and Atheists are those who handle the word of God deceitfully, who honor Him with their lips, but in works deny Him, and His power defy. They form a league with the enemies of God and man. They deceive the South by false representations of their best friends. They deceive the Nation, by representing those who would exalt it in righteousness as enemies of their race.

But what do we *now* see? When the professed friends of the Redeemer are false to their trust, He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him. The Fugitive Law, black as the pit with moral pollution, is working a mighty change. The Theatre, too, burdened, like Balaam's ass, with the sins of the nation, now, with the tongue of Humanity, rebukes the madness of the prophet! as in various places, Uncle Tom's Cabin, with all its thrilling, heart-breaking realities, is acted to the life, before crowding, weeping thousands. The same class of the community who once were proud to be your persecutors, will yet rejoice to do the roughest work of breaking the chains of Slavery. Lastly, if human testimony is of any value, you have coadjutors among the spirits of the just made perfect, who, from the upper world, are teaching a purer morality than that taught by the churches generally.

Dear friends, my heart's desire is, that the God of love may endue you with heavenly wisdom in all your deliberations, make you zealous and faithful to do His will, and preserve you in peace.

I must regret it is not in my power to be with you. The loss is mine. But should any of my old friends, or any friends of progression, journey this way, I shall be happy to give them a passing home and hearty welcome.

I cannot close this letter without expressing my joy at the successful and happy results of the first lectures given in the Slave States by those excellent women, Lucretia Mott and Lucy Stone. Much of the mighty work of reform is, I believe, yet to be accomplished by women, disenthralled from ages of oppression. Southerners have often been represented by their false friends as incapable of any motive but sordid interest, but they have shown and will yet evince all the susceptibilities of Humanity, and that they are capable of receiving and carrying out the truth nobly. All honor to those female champions in the cause of Righteousness!

Your friend,

HENRY C. HOWELLS.

FROM CASSIUS M. CLAY.

CINCINNATI, (Ohio,) Nov. 21, 1853.

GENTLEMEN:

Your kind letter of the 10th inst., inviting me to attend the Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, is received. I should be proud to be with the pioneers of the cause of Liberty, on such a day, did time allow; but it does not. There is something significant in your going South. You have "conquered a peace" in Boston. When you were driven from New York, a few years ago, you immediately came in close sympathy with a large class of stern men and women, who before stood aloof in their countenance of your movement. New York is now won; and Philadelphia must now determine whether gracefully, or no, she will submit to the unconquerable truth, and the progress of the age! You are right when you class me with those who contend for "the speedy and eternal overthrow of Slavery in our land, by all rightful instrumentalities." I value it above all other questions. You fight outside of the Union; I within. So long as we agree in purpose, we will agree to disagree in the means. I love "the Union" as much as the "Silver Grays" or Southern cantors; but I love it not for itself. I love it as the means to an end. I love it as the exponent and conservator of the principles of man's equality and self-government. I love it as the legacy of fathers who avowed that government had only its authority from the consent of the governed. I love it as the guardian also of religious liberty, and the true Christianity — that religion is between man and his God, and that no man can rightfully, in this respect, exercise cen-

sorship over others. I love the Union as the banner-bearer of the aspirants of Freedom of all lands and nations—lovely in order to be loved. But when it fails in these “glorious” ends—and in these only “glorious”—then, say I, *let it perish for ever!*

And as I thus love it, I shall make eternal war upon all those canting scoundrels, whether in Church or State, who would pervert its true prestige to the retainment of Slavery, and its extension and perpetuity. I return the war of lynchers and “respectable” mobs! I return the war of those, however powerful, whose main business it is in these States to “crush out Abolitionism!” I return the war of those who would, by sermons, tracts, or literature, aid the reaction of anti-revolutionary avowals. I return the war of those, who, under the hallowed names of Democracy and Republicanism, stand by foreign despotisms, and who, amid blood and prisons, bear banners inscribed with “law and order!” I return the war of the Supreme Courts of the United States, who, under the pretence of devotion to law, pervert every principle of justice; of the President, of the Slave Power, and of a servile Congress! With a manly heart, which may be beaten down, but never conquered, I shall stand by you and all true men; and my voice shall ever be, “*Don't give up the ship.*”

I am, truly, your friend,

C. M. CLAY.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

W. PHILLIPS, E. QUINEY, S. H. GAY, *Secretaries.*



FROM REV. T. W. HIGGINSON.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) Dec. 2, 1853.

DEAR SIRS:

I thank you for the honor done me by your invitation to attend the Anti-Slavery celebration at Philadelphia, and regret that I cannot accept it, in consequence of other engagements.

I regard the Anti-Slavery movement as *the moral school of his generation*. Beyond all other questions of the time, this *tests* every man first, and then *educates* him. I do not see how there can be, among generous and conscientious persons, more than one opinion respecting its principles, or more than two opinions respecting its destiny. And whichever of these two last opinions we may adopt, our practical duty remains still the same.

My meaning is very simple. This nation struggles under one terrible disease, growing with its growth, and strengthening at the expense of its real strength. Now, every disease has one of two results. Either the disease kills the patient; or the patient, after all, outlives the disease.

First, there are those, (and I am one of them,) who think that the patient in this case will outlive the disease. These point to the increasing mental and moral education of society, to new inventions, to better laws,—to the decided improvement, especially in the condition of the Southern slave pop-

ulation, and the amelioration of slave codes. (in spite of all assertions to the contrary :) they point, finally, to the great sudden birth of an Anti-Slavery Literature, — to prove that the moral power of the world is at last beginning to produce an effect. Certainly, if these things be true, they should put a heart of faith into every American man and woman, enabling each one to fight more strongly on the side of Freedom.

Second. But there are those who deny all this, and believe that Slavery is gradually gaining a larger and larger control of our National Government; — that the nation is too utterly prostrated ever to recover from the moral contamination; — that the United States, “the Rome of the Dollar,” is destined to fall as the other Rome fell; — that, in short, the disease will kill the patient. I do not believe this; — but let it be so. How does this affect our practical action? *It is remarkable, that it is in periods when States are declining, that individual virtue always shines brightest.* It was so in Greece, — it was so in Rome. Seneca said, “Was there ever any State so desperate as that of Athens under the Thirty Tyrants, when it was a capital crime to be honest” [it is politically a capital crime to be honest now] — “and when the Senate was a College of Hangmen? — [who was it whom a United States Senator threatened to hang?] — “Never was any time so wretched and hopeless; and yet Socrates, at that very time, preached moderation to the Tyrants, and courage to all the rest.”

It was Seneca who wrote this, and lived to act the same part himself in the decline of Rome. What a waste of virtue it seemed to them! But now that Greece and Rome are long fallen, and the very names of their tyrants faded, Socrates and Seneca still live, to guide and encourage a younger race, on another continent. So it is always with true Reformers, in the worst of times; the immediate result of their labors is uncertain; the distant result is sure.

It was an ancient maxim, that “*it is far easier to conquer a nation, than one wise man*”; and it is so now.

I am, yours, very respectfully,

T. W. HIGGINSON.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, }
EDMUND QUINCY, } *Secretaries.*
S. H. GAY, }

FROM WILLIAM G. W. LEWIS.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 20th, 1853.

DEAR SIRS:

My father, SAMUEL LEWIS, has received a letter requesting his presence at your Anniversary, at Philadelphia, on the third and fourth of December.

Mr. Lewis's health will prevent him from leaving home at present, while a severe attack of illness prevents his even answering your letter in the manner you suggested.

He wishes me, however, to say, that his opposition to Slavery and the spirit that sustains it is still unceasing and uncompromising. He never expects to cease in his exertions to banish it from the land while he lives, or until it is driven entirely from our borders. The time has come, when Christians, whether in the organized Church bodies or out of them, must, if obedient to the faith, rally in defence of God's truth and of Humanity, in opposition to oppression of every kind and every where.

Yours, for the cause of Humanity,

WM. G. W. LEWIS.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, }
EDMUND QUINCY, } *Secretaries.*
S. H. GAY, }

FROM HON. GERRIT SMITH.

Messrs. GARRISON, QUINCY, PHILLIPS and GAY:

DEAR FRIENDS,—Your invitation finds me suffering under rush of blood to the head. My reply must therefore be brief.

I should indeed long to be with you on the 3d and 4th proximo, but I cannot be. I hope to be able to be in Washington at that time.

Truly yours,

GERRIT SMITH.

FROM REV. E. H. CHAPIN.

NEW YORK, NOV. 24, 1853.

GENTLEMEN:

You rightly apprehend my desire for the speedy overthrow of Slavery in our land, and my sympathy with every movement which tends to accomplish this object; but absence from home, and numerous engagements, render it impracticable for me to be present at the meeting on the 3d and 4th of December.

Yours truly,

E. H. CHAPIN.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

W. PHILLIPS, }
E. QUINCY, } *Secretaries.*
S. H. GAY, }

