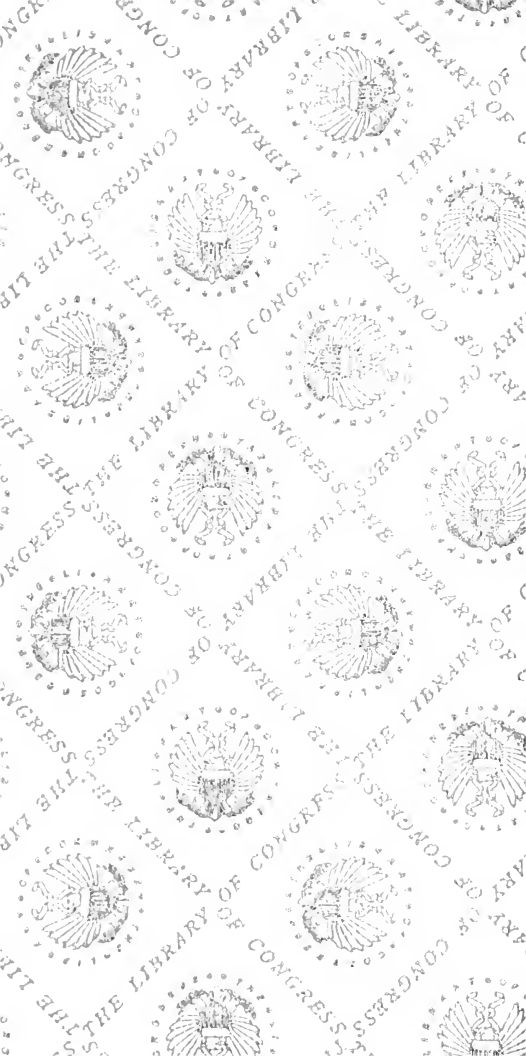
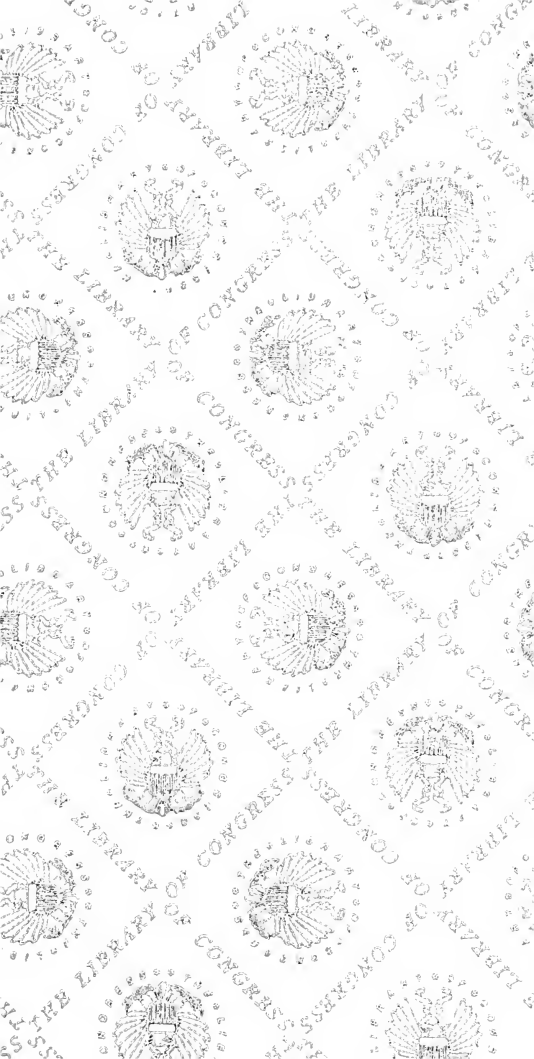


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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

HELD AT

WEST RANDOLPH, VERMONT,

August 24th and 25th, 1858.



NEW YORK:

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

138 NASSAU STREET.

1858.

IN EXCHANGE  
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## PROCEEDINGS.

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IN conformity with a published Call for a Convention of all persons interested in the cause of Universal Freedom, a highly respectable number of persons assembled at Granite Hall, West Randolph, Vt., on Tuesday, August 24th, at 10 o'clock, A. M. Rev. N. R. Johnston called the meeting to order, and read the Call.

Rev. Jehiel Claffin, of West Brookfield, Vt., was chosen Chairman, *pro tempore*, and a Committee, consisting of Benj. W. Dyer, of Randolph, N. R. Johnston, of Topsham, and James M. Coburn, of Brookfield, was appointed to nominate a permanent organization. After conference, they reported as follows:

*For President*—Rev. N. R. JOHNSTON, of Topsham.

*For Vice Presidents*—James Hutchinson, Jr., of Braintree; Enoch Hebard, of Randolph.

*For Secretaries*—Jehiel Claffin, of West Brookfield; Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester, Mass.

These were elected unanimately, Rev. Mr. Johnston stating that he took the place assigned him not from choice, (though glad to serve the Anti-Slavery cause always,) but his protest had been overruled.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Jehiel Claffin.

The following persons were chosen a Committee on Resolutions:—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Jehiel Claffin, P. Pillsbury, Benj. W. Dyer, J. M. Coburn.

The Convention was addressed by Parker Pillsbury, while the Committee were preparing business.

Mr. PILLSBURY urged that there was no man or woman here, or in the country, who has not the same interest for the overthrow of slavery that Mr. Garrison himself has,—not one whose duty to be actively laboring for this end is not equally great. Never, said he, has a more important Convention than the present been held in the State of Vermont, nor has the State ever seen a more critical hour than this. The anti-slavery work is needed to save our whole people from a moral decline and death, for it is getting to be a common idea with the young, that it is of little consequence how they live, or how they spend their time and powers.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported a long series of resolutions, affirming the absolute sinfulness of slaveholding in all circumstances, the atheistical character of American slavery, the necessary opposition of Christianity to slavery and all that upholds it, and the actual infidelity of the great body of the American churches;—declaring the Republican party to be destitute of principle, consistency, and moral efficiency, the Northern States to be pursuing a suicidal course while remaining in union with slaveholders, and setting forth the real character of consistent and effective Abolitionism. The reading of the resolutions, which occupied considerable time, was listened to with close attention.



Mr. Garrison addressed the Convention at some length. He explicitly denied that the Abolitionists, as some of the Vermont journals had charged, had been the *assailants* of the churches, or of the political parties. From the beginning, the Anti-Slavery movement had sought the coöperation and help of all men, and parties, and religious bodies; the abolitionists were themselves members in all these various denominations and parties, and had remained in them until all hope of their doing an anti-slavery work was extinguished. When, said Mr. G., we found, to our horror, that they were arraying themselves on the side of slavery, that leading men and clergymen began to justify slavery from the Bible, and that no censure was uttered or discipline exercised for this heinous crime in any of the Northern churches, *then* we said, We leave you, we are against you, because you are against the slave; we will stand by him, and for him, and will never cease to rebuke and denounce you, until you cease from the wrong. When we took this stand, by the side of the slave, immediately the churches began to denounce us as fanatics and infidels. The churches assailed the slave and his friends, and put themselves on the side of the oppressor. For this we arraign them, as enemies of the slave, as false to Christ, and to all the principles of justice and righteousness. He gave a clear exposition of genuine, uncompromising anti-slavery, as advocated by the American Anti-Slavery Society; and concluded with moving—

That all who are present, or who may be present, at our meetings, are hereby invited to participate with us in the discussions of this Convention.

This was unanimously agreed to.

REV. JEHIEL CLAFLIN said there were those in this vicinity who charged the abolitionists with hostility to Christianity. He called on them to come forward here, as invited by the vote, and state their charges and objections openly and manfully.

As the hall was filled, and it became obvious that it would not be large enough for subsequent meetings, the inquiry was made if one of the meeting-houses in the village could not be obtained for the Convention; and Rev. Messrs. Johnston and Clafin were appointed a Committee to procure a larger house, if possible. Adjourned for an hour.

AFTERNOON. The hall was filled, many standing. *Voted*, That the hours of meeting be 10 A. M., half-past 1, and 7 P. M.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., addressed the Convention. After invoking a spirit of candor and fair judgment, he glanced at the position occupied by the churches and religious bodies of the country relative to the Anti-Slavery cause, and showed that as the 'American churches' have been and indeed are the 'Bulwarks of American Slavery,' it becomes the absolute duty and necessity of the Abolitionists to expose and rebuke them. He declared his conviction, from twenty years' knowledge of the Anti-Slavery cause, that its identity with Christianity, in its spirit and objects, is complete. He regarded the true anti-slavery men and women of the land as emphatically the Church of Christ in the land, and that the opponents of the cause are the real enemies of Christ and his religion.

The following were appointed, on motion of B. W. Dyer, a Committee on Finance:—James Hutchinson, Jr., L. H. Spear, G. C. Fargo, Justin Smith, Avery Fitts.

The President made a brief statement respecting the expenses of the Convention, and the claims which the American Anti-Slavery Society has for support and aid at the hands of the people of Vermont.

W. L. GARRISON vindicated the Anti-Slavery Society and cause from the aspersions of their foes, showing that their intrinsic truth had given them a life that none can destroy, and a power that will eventually overthrow all their enemies. Daniel Webster, Father Mathew, and Kossuth, were all named as men who had once advocated and served the cause of freedom, but who had betrayed it, and from that moment *fell*, hopelessly, out of the sight and respect of men. ‘Whoso shall fall on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.’ These things, he said, are for our warning; they show what peril and folly there is in endeavoring to withstand the Right. Now, our country is pledged to slavery; the slaveholders rule us; we have no freedom, nor even a country. The government is the tool of slavery. The national flag waves over the execrable commerce in African slaves. Against such a government I am arrayed,—I trample on such a flag. I desire a country of freedom and freemen. Let Vermont pioneer the way of freedom, and lead us all to triumph. (Warm and protracted applause.)

PARKER PILLSBURY said—There is no freedom in Vermont, though you boast of the freedom you enjoy

among your green hills : if you had it, your churches would not be shut against the Anti-Slavery cause. You talk of your glorious country, while it contains four millions of imbruted slaves, and hundreds of thousands of tyrants, wielding over them the bloody lash. The other day, I saw that an Agricultural Society in Georgia had offered a prize of *twenty-five dollars*—for what, think you ? For one of the beautiful horses which your State raises ? No. I will tell you—it was for the best specimen of a live *African young man*, imported from Africa during the present year ! Can that advertisement be matched any where in the wide world ? No, sir, not even in Russia ; she is, even now, abolishing her feudal serfdom, while this hypocritical and shameless country is re-opening the accursed traffic in African slaves ! Vermont is in fellowship, in union, political and religious, with Georgia, and enables her to do these deeds of unutterable villany, which were impossible but for Northern support. Horace Greeley says (and who in the Republican ranks speaks so loud as he ?) that Kansas must now be discontinued, and the election of 1860 provided for ; and the party is now being dieted, to prepare it for voting for a slaveholder in 1860, or that worse than any slaveholder, a Northern dough-face. So low has the political anti-slavery party sunk, since that repentant Kentucky slaveholder, [James G. Birney,] with *Immediate Emancipation* on his banners, was their Presidential candidate ! Even the Republican party is now pledged to slavery. And the popular religion of the land is pledged to cover this abomination, to excuse, to palliate, to justify it.

Your ministers don't tell you these things ; if they did, it would have taken more than brazen hinges, or bolts of iron, to have held those church-doors to-day closed against this meeting. This bloody sacrifice—the immolation, body and soul, of the slave—is the condition and price of this union with the slave States. And this price, Vermont, with her Collamores and Foots, New Hampshire, with her John P. Hales, and Massachusetts, with her Sumners and Wilsons, are ready to pay !

Rev. Mr. Claffin reported that the meeting-house of the ' *Christian* ' (!) Society could not be obtained for the use of the Convention on any terms ; and the Congregational house has no committee authorized to grant its use for any purpose.

Adjourned.

EVENING. After a portion of the resolutions had been read again—

Mr. PILLSBURY said that, as a matter of policy, even, nothing could be more weak and mistaken than the plan of the Republican party, to limit their efforts to prevent the *extension* of slavery, while agreeing, as it constantly does, through all its Senators and Representatives at Washington, to the constitutional support of slavery in even one of fifteen States. The death of the old Whig party was a case of deliberate suicide ; the fate of the Republican party, as now existing, cannot long be delayed. A lady said to me the other day that, were she a voter, she would vote for no man for President but a Christian ! Why, sir, this nation has made it quite impossible that any Christian can be its President. Sir, could you put a

man there who would observe the rules of common decency, with the ordinary strictness of a Seminole savage, you would have a far better and more Christian President than you have had for many a year past, or than you can ever expect to have while this Union continues. Let us not talk of sending *Christian* men to do the devilish deeds which this Constitution and government require. Let your Bully Brookses be your Presidents. When Charles Sumner entered the Senate, he took the oath to maintain the constitutional rights of the citizens, slaveholders included—the right of Preston S. Brooks to whip his slaves as he thought proper. Then the avenging angel hovered over, and I seemed to hear her shriek as that fearful oath was recorded, ‘With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again!’ And when the brutal and cowardly Brooks sprang upon Charles Sumner unawares, and felled him to the ground, nearly murdering him, I could not but see how close, and how awful, was that retributive justice which had not spared him.

Rev. N. R. JONSTON (Mr. Hutchinson being in the chair) said that he made it his aim and rule to look upon the Constitution, and upon all institutions and men who support slavery, just as an intelligent slave would look. And he happened to know how such a slave did look upon these things. A few years since, he knew such a slave man in Kentucky; he longed so earnestly for freedom, that he resolved to seek death if he did not soon obtain it. That man abominated and hated the political arrangements and ecclesiastical influences which uphold slavery. If we would intelligently and effectually serve the cause of Anti-Slavery, let us make it our habitual rule to take the

slave's stand-point, and try every thing by the tests which he applies.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON said—I hardly know what to say to convince the people of the North of the terrible wrongs inflicted on the slaves, and arouse them to act for their rescue. Suppose, sir, I should go about New England, advocating the withholding of the Bible, the annihilation of marriage, and the refusal of all compensation for their labor, with regard to the whole population of New England. What would you say of me? Why, one universal cry would be raised against me. You would denounce me as a villain, and would probably drive me from all your towns. Yet how would my act, in such case, differ from that which is every where done, or defended, in this land, in regard to the whole laboring population of the South? The whole population of New England does not equal the slave population of the South, in numbers. Yet to these last is every one of the outrages done, daily and hourly, which would excite your extremest indignation and abhorrence, if only proposed to be done to you. Why should you not, one and all, speak of the slaveholder, and to him, and act towards him, as truth and justice demand? He is, by every rule of justice, human and divine, a thief and a tyrant. And who is safe from the slaveholder's diabolical pursuit of his victims? Once the slave's color was a security that no white person would be enslaved. It is so no longer. The slaveholder now declares his utter indifference to that matter, and proclaims that all the working population should be enslaved, of whatever color. A filthy amalgamation

has been going on, and now a vast number of white persons are in slavery. And the slaveholders are seeking such, more and more, for the vilest purposes. I have heard of the case of a beautiful young white woman, sold for \$1000! In these circumstances, who, I ask again, is safe? Scores of white persons, children included, have disappeared from the North within a few years. Doubtless very many of these were swallowed up in slavery,—we *know* that some have been. Oh! sir, the wickedness of the land is unspeakable! What terrible doom awaits it for these things! But there are some who are true, some who have truly washed their hands in innocency, some in all communities and communions who truly purpose and aim to serve God aright. I honor the true church—the Church of Christ in truth. I honor it all the more, when I expose and denounce the corrupt churches which falsely take his name. But the true church is no outward and visible body; it is composed of all who are in spirit and life true to Christ. Outward and visible organizations are man-made corporations, and I deny the right of the whole, from the Romish church down to the smallest sect of yesterday, to claim for themselves the name of *the Church of Christ*, and set up a claim to control my course, or to be exempt from my criticism. But the theme is boundless, and I close. (Great applause followed.)

Parker Pillsbury called attention to the claims of the Anti-Slavery papers—the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and *The Liberator*.

Adjourned to Wednesday.



## WEDNESDAY—MORNING SESSION.

The day was beautifully bright and warm, and at the time to which the Convention was adjourned, (10 o'clock, A. M.,) the hall was well filled with a most intelligent audience of men and women. Rev. Mr. Johnston took the chair, and a fervent prayer in behalf of the oppressed was offered by Rev. Mr. Baldwin, of Randolph.

D. TARBELL, of Granville, depicted the present alarming condition of the country, in reference to the elements of slavery, of the corrupt and extravagant expenditure of money by the government, inflicting a tax of one hundred millions of dollars for the present year, &c., and said that the speedy downfall of the country seemed to him certain.

Mr. GARRISON read again several of the resolutions before the Convention.

Rev. N. R. JOHNSTON read an article from the *Christian Messenger*, of Northfield, which claimed that Vermont is a strong anti-slavery State, but declaring that it could not unite with those who cry, 'Down with the Constitution, and Down with the Church, to get rid of Slavery.' He closed with presenting the following resolutions, which he said he had himself drawn up, and was glad that they came from himself, an Orthodox Presbyterian minister, rather than from any other one in the meeting:—

Resolved, That we have no quarrel with any church, as such, but only in so far as that church may be pro-slavery; and we owe it to God, to the slave,

and to our common holy religion, to testify against those religious denominations which fellowship slaveholders by receiving them to the communion table, voting for them to office, uniting with them in religious associations, and recognizing their Christian character, as pro-slavery in *position*, whatever may be the anti-slavery profession of the members.

Resolved, That slaveholding is the worst kind of practical infidelity, and that those ministers, editors and professed Christians who cry out 'infidel' against those who are laboring for the deliverance of the slave act very inconsistently—not to say, in an unchristian manner—so long as they voluntarily continue to sustain a slaveholding government, or have membership in pro-slavery churches.

Resolved, That as the Anti-Slavery reform is eminently moral and religious, the ministers of religion should be active leaders in it; and it is to the hurt of the cause of pure and undefiled religion that they do not come 'to the help of the Lord against the mighty'—to the deliverance of the slave from the power of the oppressor—on the alleged excuse that those who are active in this reform do not agree with them on other questions.

Resolved, That we cannot hope for the full redemption of Vermont from the spirit and power of slavery, until her press be true to the cause of the slave, and rises above the fear of sectarian disfavor and party condemnation.

P. PILLSBURY made some admirable remarks upon the various misrepresentations of our movement which we are sure to encounter every where, and have already encountered from some in Vermont.

Rev. Mr. BALDWIN was called upon to speak. He said he had not expected to speak. He had long heard of some of the speakers here, especially of Mr. Garrison. He had never seen Mr. G. until yesterday; he had heard him with pleasure, and could give a hearty *Amen* to nearly all that he said; a majority of his speech he endorsed in full; his arguments they could not gainsay. I have, said Mr. B., regarded myself for a long time as an abolitionist, and I should like to tell you just where I stand. I have long been connected with the Baptist church, and see no necessity of leaving it. Should a slaveholding Baptist, D.D. or otherwise, come to my church, I would not ask him to my pulpit, nor to sit with me in the desk,—I would not. The press is a great lever, and Mr. Garrison is using it powerfully. The ballot-box is another lever, which many are using well. I belong to the Republican party, and I believe that, had it not been for the Republican party, Kansas would have been admitted as a slave State. Mr. B. spoke at length and approvingly of the course of the Republicans in Congress.

Mr. J. Hutchinson proposed the following resolution :—

Resolved, That as anti-slavery men, we are anxious to do all in our power to overthrow the abominable institution of slavery, and while laboring for this end, we will do all in our power to build up and sustain the present Republican party, believing as we do that through that means we can most directly and effectually aid in securing freedom to the slave.

Rev. Mr. JOHNSTON (Mr. Hebard being in the chair) said—Our venerable friend who spoke last referred to two levers to be used in the anti-slavery work. There is another lever, said Mr. J., which I regard as far more powerful than either of these.

Mr. BALDWIN. I beg to say that I did not mean there was no other lever.

Mr. JOHNSTON. But you enlarged upon two, which led me to suppose that you regarded them as the most important. Was not that a proper inference?

Mr. BALDWIN. I regard them as very important.

Mr. JOHNSTON went on to show, that the faithful utterance, by preaching, writing and speaking, of God's truth, was the most powerful and most needed instrumentality. He considered that the great body of the churches and ministers had utterly neglected this instrumentality. He was deeply attached to his church; but did he believe it to be helping to hold the millions of slaves in their chains, or conniving at it by silence, he would instantly be a come-outer from it for ever.

Mr. GARRISON said the reason he did not go South to speak on slavery was not because his life would be sacrificed there, but because he saw that the support and life of the Slave Power was in the North. He came to speak to this Convention, not as Vermonters, but as men and women; and he wished to call all who are supporting slavery to immediate repentance, keeping back no truth. It was a most significant fact, that our friend, in speaking of his levers against slavery, omitted the *pulpit* altogether. It was no

where. I do not wonder that he left it out; for the pulpit has been so tame, so submissive to wrong, so impotent for good in this land, through all this anti-slavery contest, that it might easily be forgotten. I have long ago lost all confidence in, and respect for, the religion of this land—mark me, sir, I say the *American* religion, not the religion which Jesus Christ preached and lived. Our friend said that, if called upon to leave the Church of Christ, in order to be an abolitionist, he could not do it. Is our friend an abolitionist? Does he believe it to be God's truth? How then can it be at variance with the Christian religion? And why should he allow the intimation that it possibly can be to escape from his lips? I was struck by our friend's position in regard to remaining in a corrupt church. He acknowledged the church to be corrupt, but would stay in it and purify it. Would he advise a Baptist brother to that course, who should be found in a Presbyterian church? No, he would say to him, 'Come out at once and for ever!' Our friend referred to the Bible as the word of God. He had no right to make this assumption in an anti-slavery convention. But, said Mr. G., for thirty years, I have gone to the Bible, quoting it and using it probably more than any other man in the land on this subject, and I have gone to it for the support of justice and of freedom against oppression. Meanwhile, the pulpits and ministers of the land have gone to the same Bible for the *support* and sanctioning of slavery, and they are Christians, forsooth, and I am an infidel! I think he best honors the Bible who uses it best, and for the best purposes and ends.

Mr. Garrison gave way for an adjournment.

AFTERNOON. Mr. GARRISON resumed. We ought to be united. There is no excuse for us, if we are not united on a subject so palpably clear and unmistakable as this of American Slavery. When I first saw the slave and his wrongs, and my soul was fired on the subject, I went at once to my minister, and to other ministers; they all discouraged me, and raised difficulties. I waited long for them to open their mouths for the dumb; but when I found they would not act, and would be dumb, I could do no less than leave them. So you see we do not ask you to do what we have not already done ourselves. We ask you to forsake for ever every pro-slavery church. The spirit of *compromise* has been the bane and curse of the land; it is the continual and ever-present evil spirit of this people; and therefore Slavery has always been the conqueror, and the Right always driven to the wall. Expediency is well enough in cases where no moral principle is involved; never where it is. Men come to the abolitionists and ask them to give up something of their demands, to lower the standard of Right a little, and to take away some of the rigor of the Golden Rule. Mr. President, they come to the wrong quarter. Let them ask God to do that, and if he consents, they can act accordingly. We rejoice to hear our friend Mr. Baldwin say, that in his view, no slaveholder can be a Christian, and that he would admit none such to his pulpit. That is good, and is right, and we have no word of fault to find. Now, as to the Republican party;—it is undeniably the best political party we have, the best result we have been able to get after nearly thirty years of agi-

tation. It contains many good anti-slavery individuals, and on the other hand very many selfish, adventurous men, who care nothing for the colored man or the slave. It is a piebald party. It is without principle. It opposes slavery in Kansas, but supports it in Carolina. It agrees to slavery and supports it in fifteen States, but when you ask for sixteen, oh! no—then it has a tender conscience! It goes for all the slavery that really exists, but against it where it does not but may exist. Talk of limiting sin, of localizing sin, it is absurd; it is wretched morality, and I know it is not good Christianity. And this is Republicanism,—trimming, compromising, lukewarm. ‘Because thou art lukewarm, says God, and neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth.’ Now, if we cannot honestly support this Union and Government, let us forsake it, and take an honest, just and Christian position. If the Government is corrupt, put it away, and make a new government. When government has become subversive of its just ends, it is the right and duty of the people to alter and abolish it; this is what I was taught by George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, and I thank them for it.

I glory in the thought that the sovereignty of God is against this stupendous iniquity of slavery. The Democratic and Republican parties and a corrupt church may hold it up as they will—they shall be put to shame. Gird themselves as they will, they shall be broken to pieces. If we will, we can have a just and glorious Union, and the cause of God and man shall be abundantly vindicated.

Remarks were made by several speakers on a pe-

cuniary contribution in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause and the expenses of the Convention.

PARKER PILLSBURY reviewed the positions of Rev. Mr. Baldwin, and of the Calvinistic Baptist church to which he belongs, in a searching and powerful manner.

Rev. Mr. BALDWIN took the stand to reply to some of the criticisms upon his speech this morning. Because I did not notice the pulpit as a lever, said he, do not think I disregard its power; I could not mention every lever which might be used against slavery. When I said I would stay in a corrupt church to purify it, I did not mean I would tolerate any wrong. The church to which I belong is composed of persons as strongly anti-slavery as myself, and therefore I stay in it. I have heard of the state of things mentioned in regard to the Rowe street Baptist meeting-house, Boston, and I utterly disapprove of it, and I would frankly reprove its minister, should I meet him. I would make just as strict a test in regard to slaveholding as I do about baptism. As to the Republican party, I do not claim that they have made Kansas a free State, for it is not that yet, but I do claim they have saved it from being a slave State.

Adjourned to evening.

EVENING. The Convention was first addressed by PARKER PILLSBURY, who dwelt particularly upon the character of the recent revival of religion, especially as having from the first and throughout totally avoided recognizing the great national and individual sin of slavery.

Rev. N. R. JOHNSTON interrupted Mr. P. to call in



question the relevancy of the topic he had chosen ; but subsequently admitted that he was in part mistaken, as Mr. Pillsbury made his object and aim more clear.

G. C. SAMPSON, of Northfield, contended that the error of the Republicans is their admission that the United States Constitution guarantees the rights of the slaveholders. They acknowledge that their hands are tied.

Mr. PILLSBURY closed the discussions with some admirable remarks upon the specially Christian character of our movement, and of the office of the anti-slavery lecturer and teacher.

The resolutions before the Convention were laid upon the table.

Benjamin W. Dyer, Jehiel Claffin, N. R. Johnston, Enoch Hebard and James M. Coburn were appointed a Committee to call future Anti-Slavery Conventions in the State.

On motion of Rev. J. Claffin, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are offered to the friends of freedom from abroad, for their earnest and eloquent speeches and addresses in vindication of uncompromising abolitionism, and to the proprietors of this Hall for its use.

Mr. GARRISON called attention to the Massachusetts petition for prohibiting slave-hunting on the soil of that State, and urged that Vermont should undertake a similar work. And, on motion, it was unanimously *Voted*, That the Committee just raised be requested to

prepare and circulate a petition to the coming Legislature of Vermont, to the effect that no person shall be put on trial in this State, on the claim or pretence that he is a slave in any other State.

The Convention then adjourned, *sine die*.

The attendance at the Convention was large, and increased in numbers to the close of the second day. The discussions were exceedingly interesting, upon topics of the deepest importance, and cannot but have been profitable to all hearers.

N. R. JOHNSTON, *President*.

JEHIEL CLAFLIN, }  
SAMUEL MAY, JR., } *Secretaries*.

## A P P E N D I X .

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THE following Resolutions constitute a portion of the series presented to the Convention, but not acted upon :—

1. Resolved, That as no man can, in reason, show a better title to be a freeman than any slave at the South—so, he who maintains the rectitude of slavery, in any instance, strikes a blow at the freedom of all mankind, and becomes an oppressor on a world-wide scale.

2. Resolved, That chattel slavery is delineated in its whips and chains, its yokes and thumb-screws, its paddles and branding-irons, its drivers and blood-hounds, its scourgings and mutilations, its bloody persecutions and horrible cruelties, its abrogation of the marriage institution and enforced licentiousness, its atheistic assumptions of power above all that is called God, its devilish nature and accursed aim, its thronging perjuries and shocking blasphemies.

3. Resolved, That the only Abolitionism we promulgate, and call upon the nation to reduce to practice, is embodied in the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, and in the Golden Rule of the Gospel—nothing more, nothing less.

4. Resolved, That we have but one object in view—the immediate liberation of the slave; and we pronounce that statesmanship to be folly which leaves

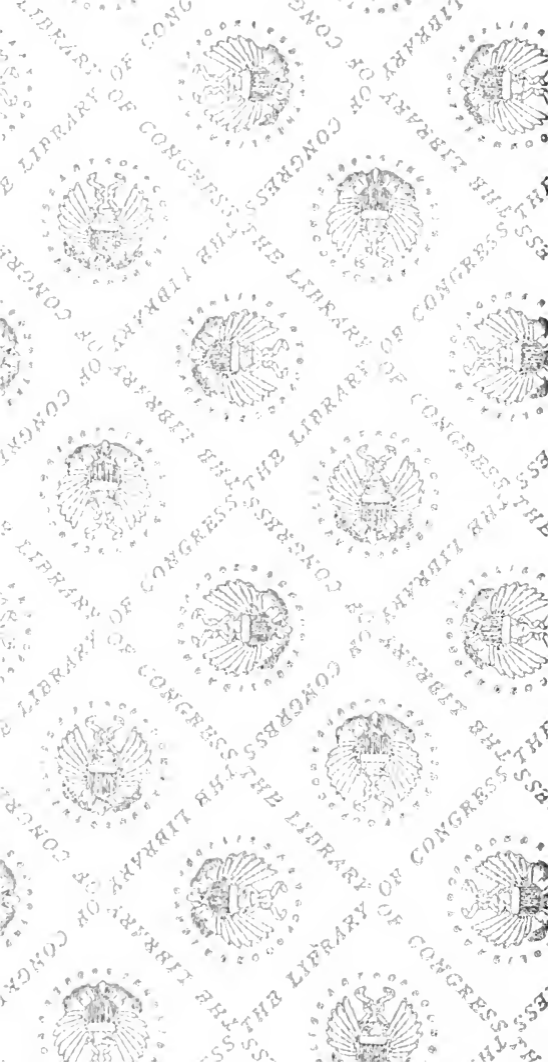
the freedom of the slave out of sight; that patriotism to be hollow which does not break his fetters; and that piety to be spurious which does not hail him as a man and a brother.

5. Resolved, That he who was before all institutions, and is to survive them all, is greater than them all; hence, that he is never to be sacrificed that they may be preserved; and whenever they come in conflict with his God-given rights, they are to be modified or abolished, and he is to stand crowned with glory and honor, as one created but a little lower than the angels.

6. Resolved, That we shall allow nothing to stand between the slave and his emancipation—neither political party nor religious sect, neither parchment nor compact, neither Constitution nor Union; but we shall press through them all, or over them all, diverted by no side issue, intimidated by no menace, appalled by no danger, till we break his yoke, and place him, redeemed and disenthralled, upon the world-wide platform of a common humanity.

7. Resolved, That if to make human liberty paramount to all other considerations be fanaticism, then we glory in being fanatics; that if to be in deadly antagonism to a pro-slavery religion be infidelity, then we are infidels; and if to declare that a slaveholding Union ought to be dashed in pieces be treason, then we are proud of the title of traitors; for 'the head and front of our offending hath this extent—no more.'







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