

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held on the 8th of May, 1849, at the Broadway Tabernacle. The meeting was called to order by the President of the Society, William Lloyd Garrison, who remarked that, in a good cause, the benediction of God might confidently and successfully be supplicated. That there was such a cause, there could be no doubt: it was the best of causes—a cause for the promotion of universal liberty—and they were sure, therefore, that the smiles of God were upon it. If, therefore, any person in the assembly felt like offering a vocal petition to God in behalf of the cause, an opportunity would be given for that purpose.

Rev. Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester, Mass., then addressed the throne of grace.

Mr. GARRISON then said that as his name had been unexpectedly set down for a speech, unwilling to encroach upon the time of others who were to address the assembly, the only speech he would make would be to read from the testimony of those whose reputation, unlike his own, was excellent, whose authority no one would question, and whose description of oppression and oppressors, as applicable to our own guilty land, no one could honestly doubt or deny. He referred to the prophets of old, and wished the audience to listen for a few moments to the following—

SELECTIONS FROM THE SCRIPTURES.

This is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the Lord; which say to the seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophecy not unto us right things; speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits; get ye out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One to come from before us. Wherefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and say thereon; therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall; whose breaking cometh suddenly, at an instant, so that ye shall break it as the breaking of a potter's vessel; he shall not spare.

Hear now this, O foolish people, and without understanding; which have eyes, and see not; which have ears, and hear not: Fear ye not me? saith the Lord. Will ye not tremble at my presence, which have placed the snare for the foot, cause the Holy One to come from before us? and though the waves thereof toss themselves, yet can they not prevail; though they roar, yet can they not pass over it? But this people hath a revolting and a rebellious heart; they are revolted and gone. Neither say they in their heart, Let us now fear the Lord our God: they lay in wait for the snare that we set for them, they set a trap, they catch men. As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit: therefore they are become great, and waxen rich. They are waxen fat, they shine; yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked; they judge not the cause, the cause of the fatherless, yet they prosper; and the right of the widow do they not judge. They despise the word of silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord; shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor, and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart. But they refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears that they should not hear. Yea, they made their hearts as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in his Spirit by the former prophets; therefore came a great wrath from the Lord of hosts. Therefore it is come to pass, that as he cried, and they would not hear; so they cried, and I would not hear, saith the Lord.

Thus saith the Lord concerning the prophets that make my people, that they bite with their teeth, and say, Peace; and he putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him: therefore, night shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine. The seers shall be ashamed, and the diviners confounded; yea, they shall all cover their lips, for there is no answer of God.

Hear this, ye that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity; that build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. The head thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? none will come upon us. Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps.

Is it not for you to know judgment, who hate the good and love the evil; who eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them, and break their bones, and chop them in pieces, as for the pot, and as flesh within the cauldron?

For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord. I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.

In continuation, Mr. Garrison said, that, from the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it had been one of its distinctive objects to brand slaveholding as a sin of the deepest dye, and therefore to make a profession of Christianity, or rather the possession of it, morally incompatible as respects slaveholding. The American Anti-Slavery Society had assumed that no slaveholder ought to be recognized as a member of Christ's body; that every church, claiming to be the church of Christ, ought to be without blood-guiltiness; and that any man who dared to call his brother man his property, stood convicted of being destitute of the spirit of Christ, and without the love of God in his soul. For taking this ground, the Society had been extensively denounced as an infidel organization, as making war upon the church of Christ, as wishing to dishonor the Christian name;—and no marvel that this cry had been raised on the part of professed Christians, whose hands were stained with innocent blood; on the part of the church, on the part of the clergy, who were slaveholders, or guilty of striking hands with slaveholders in Christian union and fellowship. But, on the other side of the Atlantic, the eyes of those who professed to believe in Christ were not blinded to this great sin, and they agreed perfectly in the sentiments and views propagated by this Society, in regard to the exclusion of all slaveholders from a church calling itself by the name of Christ. They had had their testimony from the other side of the Atlantic sent over to them on various occasions, numerous signed, and in various forms. He had before him one recently received from Scotland, signed by upwards of one thousand persons connected with the religious bodies of that country, and by a number of the ministers of the various denominations there. The appeal was a very brief one, but said every thing that need be said on the subject.

FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston, the Treasurer of the Society, read the following report:—

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

The American Anti-Slavery Society in Account Current with Francis Jackson, Treasurer.—Dr.

Table with financial entries: To Standard and Donation Account, \$6952 30; To balance from Old Account, 2 50; To Publication Account, 37 78; Total, \$6992 57. Includes entries for By Standard Account and Salary Account, By Expense Account, By Interest and Discount Account, By Loan Account, and By Balance in Treasury.

[R. E.] S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer. New York, May 1st, 1849.

We have examined the vouchers and additions of the above account, and certify the same to be correct, leaving a balance on hand of four hundred and seventeen dollars forty-four cents (\$417 44).

J. S. GIBBONS, OLIVER JOHNSON, Auditors.

EDMUND QUINCY presented, by request, the following series of resolutions as the subject matter of discussion during the day and subsequent sessions of the Society:—

Resolved, That (in the language of Rev. Dr. Young of Scotland,) 'the grand error of the American church was, opening the door of their fellowship to the admission of slaveholders. It was this which, by an obvious moral sequence, sophisticated their consciences, lowered the tone of their testimony, led them to tamper with the Word of God, and involved them in all their present troubles. They excluded the thief or the robber, who happened in theft and robbery, whose guilt was far greater, they took to their bosom as brethren in Christ. This was their error—their great, their primary, their stupifying error; and till this error be retrieved—till they are brought to feel, and to act on the feeling, that the pure morality of the gospel is opposed, and opposed alike, to every "want of conformity to, or transgression of, the law of God," their recovery is hopeless.'

Resolved, That from the first hour the Abolitionists espoused the cause of the slave, they necessarily, as a matter of principle, broke their alliance with the slaveholders; and if any of them are found clinging to churches which give the right hand of Christian fellowship to a slaveholder, or opposing the doctrinal fellowship to a slaveholder, it is simply because they are yet blind to their whole duty, or, seeing it, are guilty of betraying that cause to which they sacredly pledged themselves.

Resolved, That if, at the close of our revolutionary struggle for independence, when the fire of liberty was burning brightest in every breast, and but half a million of slaves were on our soil, the American Union could be formed only by throwing around slavery and the slave trade national guarantees of protection; it follows that, with a slave population of three millions, and the number of the slave States more than doubled, and the national conscience seared as with a hot iron by a long and frightful career of oppression, the Union can be maintained only so long as those guarantees are recognized as binding on the whole country.

Resolved, That that which is giving strength, extension and perpetuity to slavery—to wit, the Union—on being overthrown by a peaceful withdrawal from it by the non-slaveholding States, for conscience sake and for self-preservation, must necessarily weaken, limit, and speedily extirpate slavery from the American soil.

Resolved, therefore, That the motto of every Christian and of every Patriot should be, 'No Union with Slaveholders, either religiously or politically.'

Resolved, That this is not a question of expediency, on which action may be innocently deferred 'till a more convenient season,' but one of absolute morality—of obedience to God and fidelity to mankind—to be met and carried out to the letter without delay.

Eloquent speeches were made by PARKER PILLSBURY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Mr. PILLSBURY, after a few prefatory remarks, said: The resolutions cover much ground, and may well be said to be before us for two, three or four days. One point he would refer to; slavery exists, not because the people are in love with it, but because the people of the North are ignorant of it. There is enough of intelligence in the present assemblage to overthrow it within a year, but no interest is taken in the matter. A great many present have no doubt attended this morning for amusement's sake, as they would a theatrical exhibition; but the anti-slavery cause is not of this character. We are all, every one, concerned in the extinction of slavery in this country; in fact, there is no being in the whole universe who is not interested in the overthrow of slavery in this country—even the natives of the Feejee Islands. Yet most of us are here as spectators; but there is not one present of whom God does not require that the slave shall be liberated through his agency. The great mass of the people live for no specific purpose, and if we are, as we think we are, God could have been better employed than in our creation. He saw before him many who might wield the destinies of the nation, yet he had no doubt that they had yet to learn that God created them for an especial purpose; that they are any thing but retailers of other men's ideas, or followers of demagogues, of some religious or political organization. How many young men there are, who think that they are nothing but vulgar fractions constituting the universe! Too many of us aim at being no higher than parts of organization or association. We never dream of being any thing but Presbyterians, or Episcopalians, or Whigs, or Democrats. The clergymen of all denominations look upon young men and women as so much raw material, to be worked up and added to their respective congregations; and the politician treats them in a similar way.

The discovery of organic sin has had an extremely prejudicial influence in this respect; for, under its operation, as the physical body under the influence of chloroform, no pain or twinge of conscience can be felt; and the conscience of the country may now be cut into slices, without any feeling. The church has said that slavery is an organic national sin, and therefore could not be touched. The church is the light of the world. She may do as she has done, raise her light on some reef of fatal rocks; but she has yet to raise her voice, and say that slavery is an evil not to be borne. There is not a clergyman in the city who does not shake hands with the bloody slaveholder. The city is now black with clergymen—many of them are present; but there is no class of the country who need more instruction than those religious teachers of the people. (Laughter and hissing.) The other day, he met three Methodist clergymen, and expressed to them his regret that slavery existed in that church. The remark surprised them; but they asserted that there was no such thing in the Methodist Church North. He then went on to prove that there are twenty thousand slaves and four thousand slave owners in that branch of the Church. The denial was, no doubt, honest; but, in his opinion, (the speaker,) they belonged to that class of whom, probably, the Almighty will not expect much responsibility.

Mr. Pillsbury then read a communication in the Southern Constitutionalist, attacking Henry Clay's letter on emancipation, and challenging the Kentucky statesman to show him any passage in the New Testament, proving slavery to be at variance with Christianity. In the communication, the Rev. writer accused Mr. Clay of attacking, not only the Constitution of the United States, but God's own institution of slavery, which Christ ad in all holy men of old sanctioned as, next to redemption, the most sublime system in the world. The speaker here made some remark which he did not hear, but it elicited a great deal of hissing, which, however, in no way disconcerted him. These evidences of disapprobation being continued, looking round the building he said: 'This is interesting to me—well, every one in his own vernacular.' (Much laughter.) Now, the object of reading this letter was to substantiate the charge he made against the northern clergy; and he would go further and say, that there are not half a dozen clergymen in New York, who would not welcome the author of those sentiments to their pulpits.

VOICE.—Wrong, Sir; I'm one, and I would not do it.

VOICE.—No, Sir; there are more than half a dozen in this room, who would not do it.

Well, I can assure you I know something of the Northern clergy, and there are not half a dozen among them who are not in communion and loving fellowship with the Southern clergy. So it is with the religious press. There is not a journal of this kind that will not denounce the meeting as one of infidels. The New York Observer will do it, and others will do so. But the secular press will not do so. The New York Herald will not call this an infidel meeting. (Laughter.) The Express will not do so. But I tell you I care for no infidelity but that which is in the church. I care nothing, said he, for the atheism or infidelity that is being imported from France; we can overcome every thing but the organization of the church. But the conflict will come, and the church will be overthrown, and liberty will be triumphant. The politics of the country are giving way, but the church is strengthening its opposition, and that is the reason we attack the church. Henry Clay writes on prospective emancipation; and his letter, even on that subject, is denounced by the church. He joined the church a few years since; but if he goes on in this way, assailing 'one of God's institutions,' he will be excommunicated, and he may as well prepare for it, on account of his anti-slavery opinions. Politics are giving way, but the church has thrown herself in the breach, and it is therefore against the pulpit that we shall direct our attacks. The next subject touched upon was the union of these States, which he characterized as another strong hold of slavery. Mr. P. concluded his speech with applause.

WENDELL PHILLIPS next took the platform. He would gladly be excused from speaking, but he would not shrink at the call of Duty from standing forth as the advocate of the American Slave. It was by no means a pleasant position which the Abolitionist assumed in warring against the prejudices, the habits, and even the religious convictions of his fellow-citizens; and nothing short of a stern regard for principle could induce him to take so unpopular a stand. We come not, said he, to utter startling sentiments, or to disgust you with our ultraism, because we love to startle or disgust you; but because our souls are stirred by a truth which we dare not suppress. You must take our lives as the only evidence we can give of our sincerity and devotion.

We are accused of introducing new tests, of making unreasonable and illegitimate demands upon those who desire to co-operate with us in all reasonable measures for the overthrow of Slavery; but we affirm that the fundamental principle which the American Anti-Slavery Society first announced to the world is the germ whence have sprung all the doctrines and measures which it has since proposed. What is that principle? It is this: That Slavery is a sin, and that it is the duty of the slaveholder immediately to repent. As we went lower and lower down into the strata of the American mind and American institutions, we found the roots of the tree of slavery coiled around the altars of the popular religion, and deriving their support from the national Constitution; and what have we done but proclaim the truth? No matter how broad may be the professions of the Church, if we find it tainted with slavery, we write upon its forehead, 'CHAMION'—the glory has departed! Of what avail are its protestations of innocence, when all over its surface, we see breaking out the leprous spots of its contamination? Blame us not, if, like the man in the classic fable, we come to you, year after year, with a lantern lighted by this truth. Blame us not for assailing the Church—for how can we avoid it without proving false to our cause?

The friend who has preceded me has presented in part the evidence of the Church's degeneracy, but there is a shorter method of determining her relation to the cause of Freedom. The American Church is not a pigmy, stealing out of sight in the shadow of a Colossus. She is not a shriveled and shrunken body, whose voice it is difficult to hear. She is mighty; she stands at the fountain-head of national education and influence, swaying the minds of the people at her will. The statesman who goes forth, in opposition to her, to declare the eternal truths of Freedom, is weak and powerless. When the Church speaks, no car-trumpet is necessary to enable us to hear her voice. The poet Wendell Holmes speaks of a time when all the world, at a given signal, was to see how much noise it could make by vociferating 'Boo!' When the moment arrived, all except one blind man were so intent on hearing the noise, that they forgot to utter the word! Such will not be the case when the American Church becomes heartily enlisted in the work of Emancipation. The fact that men are doing nothing. When she utters her voice, it is not in a corner. When she wakes to her voice, she will shake the solid earth with her tread, and our puny associations will be whirled into nothingness by the sweep of her magnificent garments. She should be like Sarah's wife, above suspicion. If her hosts were marshalled on the side of Freedom, infidelity could not peep or mutter. Now, when we come forth from our obscurity and insignificance, and find the path of liberty with 'here and there a traveller,' blame us not if we conclude that the Church has taken some other road.

The friend who preceded me quoted the declaration of a Southern clergyman, that 'Slavery is an institution of God,' and said it took a clergyman to say that. But I will show you that a politician can go quite as far, if not still further. A colporteur of the American Bible Society went, some time since, to New Orleans, and, forgetting the sublime 'compromises' of American morality, gave a Bible to a man of color. He had read in the Book itself, that it was intended for all—he had heard of its translation into the various languages of the world—and, simple-hearted man as he was, he did not dream that it could do any harm to a colored man, until he felt himself under the cold shower-bath of the Law. Mistaken man! he had taken counsel only of Duty—he had not imbibed Dr. Wayland's ideas of human responsibility, nor heard of the declaration of Rev. Dr. Adams of Boston, that even the Golden Rule must sometimes be suspended! He was made sensible of his error when the Judge, having first excused him on the ground of ignorance, said to him, 'Sir, you should know that there are here in New Orleans, domestic institutions which we value more than we do the Gospel.' I am far from believing, said Mr. P., that this sentiment is a fair expression of public opinion, but it shows us how, in general, slavery is made to override all the solemn obligations which God has imposed upon man.

There are questions which we stop not to settle by the cold deductions of logic, and this is one of them. Why need we argue with the American people that a man has a right to himself? Have they not agreed to take that for granted? There is an argument that addresses itself to the eye more potently than words, however eloquent, fall upon the ear—and that is the argument of example, of life. When we find the American people affecting to doubt whether the colored man is their brother, we disdain all logic, we take him to our hearts; we say, Come to us for shelter! We open our arms to the flying fugitive from Southern oppression, and lo! a Douglass starts up before the country and the world, A MAN! Is not this better than cold deductions of logic?

We make no secret of our determination to tread the Law and the Constitution under our feet. Shall I tell you why? Society in this country is a pyramid resting upon its base, while that of the Old World tumbles upon its apex. Public opinion here is mightier than laws and constitutions; and where the statute favors oppression, we take an appeal against it directly to the conscience and moral sense of the nation. The American people do not dare to be logical—they shrink from carrying out their own theories. When those theories come in conflict with some favored interest in Church or State, they turn a short corner, and bow submissively to the Devil of Compromise! Not so, however, with the Abolitionists.—Laws and constitutions are nothing to them, when they are found conflicting with the higher, the eternal Law of God! When Thomas Garrett, of Dela-

ware, was reduced from a competence to utter poverty, and saw his last chattel sold under the hammer to pay the penalty incurred for aiding a family of fugitive slaves, the tyrant prosecutor said to him: 'Well, Garrett, you see now the consequences of violating the Law. You will probably refrain, in future, from helping negroes to escape from their masters.' 'Friend,' said the noble-hearted man in reply, 'if you know a fugitive who this night needs succor, send him to me.' Do you believe the public mind is dead to such an example? That is genuine, old-organized Abolitionism—that is Anti-Slavery living and teaching by the most potent of all arguments.

Men talk of Southern chivalry! It is mere froth and syllabub! We oppose to it the old Puritan idea of Duty. It is by this alone that anything can be done. They talk also of Free States! What a mockery! I see a man behind me, (W. W. Brown, a fugitive slave,) to whom, if his master were present, you could not offer a night's lodging, without exposing yourself to fine and imprisonment. A few days ago, a man came to the North, packed in a box like a bale of goods. Another endured the stifled air in the run of an American schooner that he might obtain the qualified freedom vouchsafed to those of his color at the North. O, let us gaze up to the heavens that bend over us, and ask whether we are in Algiers or New York, that men of one complexion are thus compelled to skulk and hide away from the vengeance of another!

The speaker here denounced the term Free States in this confederacy, for there are none, and never will be, so long as one portion of the people have to skulk from the other, lest they be arrested and sent into slavery. Daniel Webster says you are a law-abiding community; but, thank God, you are not. Massachusetts, at least, is not. She is not quite so low as her statute book, for we defy despotism there by disobeying the law. If then reviewed the career of political parties for twenty years past, and denounced them all, as having done nothing for the extinction of slavery, and paid his respects to John C. Calhoun and Joshua L. Giddings; the former for obvious reasons, the latter for calling himself an abolitionist, and swearing at the same time to support the Constitution, and taking a seat as legislator in Washington. If J. R. Giddings means to say that he hates and despises the laws, let him say so. He has said a great deal, for which he (Mr. P.) thanked God, but would to God that he would say he would trample on the Constitution, because it is contrary to the law of God. Mr. Phillips, however, passed a compliment upon Joshua R. Giddings, and placed him higher than John Q. Adams, or any who had mingled in the muddy waters of politics, in some respects. The abolitionist would shelter the negro, and acknowledge his equality, though the Constitution, the laws and religion were against it. He thought Mr. Giddings's speech, of February last, recognized too much authority in human law, and bowed too low to that 'magnificent conspiracy against justice,' which Americans call, The Union.

'Man is more than Constitutions; better rot beneath the sod. Than be true to Church and State while we are doubly false to God!'

It is said we attack the Church and the Constitution. We do it to make the people take sides. The moment the Church takes an interest, the people will tread down the minority which supports slavery.

Mr. Phillips then spoke of Martin Van Buren and Daniel Webster—moderate men, who want to reform the world by the use of Cologne water—who wish to do it so cunningly and quietly that, on the next morning, the people will wake up and find slavery gone. The work will never be done by such means; it is by the fanatics, as they are termed, that it will be accomplished. John Q. Adams would have died a 'dough-face,' but that he was insulted and goaded by the South; for the last ten years of his life, however, he was true to himself. The great men of the country were at fault. Daniel Webster spoke so low, no person could hear him. And there were many who could not be found or located. Mr. Calhoun had changed his tone. The South Carolina thunder had ceased to roll. Let us go on, then; let us do our duty. It is compromising, the joining with sin, that paralyzes the religion of this country. And the only political party that does any thing, is that of the Slave Power. Those who have hitherto undertaken to grapple with it politically, have had no heart and very weak hands; so that we may say of our Politics what the French novelist said of Europe—'Despotism does great things illegally, and Liberty does nothing at all, according to law.' The principles of the 'fanatics' have done a great good; for they have forced politicians into measures which show that they are waking up. The free soil measure was their first failure; but let the 'fanatics' go on in their duty, and God will take care of the consequences.

We are charged with deferring emancipation; but it must be borne in mind that there must be no sacrifice to expediency; for if we once adopt that as a principle, we shall lose our foothold, and will never be successful. We have forced the Democrats into defeat; we have forced the Whigs into alliance with slaveholders; and this alliance of the lash and the loom is a natural one. [Hissing.] We have drawn the lines between allegiance to thought and allegiance to the palpable. We have defined the slave power, which is not confined to the South, for the South is powerless without the North. The slave power is among us. It is in our tainted churches, in our proscribed literature, in our school-houses. It is not in the South—it is in Giddings, who swears to support the Constitution. It is not in the South. The South could not have annexed Texas, could not annex Cuba. Let her rise, and see if she would stand without Northern crutches. We are the slave power, and as long as we belong to this government—as long as we do not protest—so long do we throw into the scale of the slaveholder our energy. It is the Union which makes it possible for John C. Calhoun to be a villain. The South—why, it is an incubus—no, not an incubus, but a disease; it is a minus quantity that diminishes the strength of the nation. The capital of New England is engaged in burnishing the escutcheon of South Carolina, so as to make it decent. But do not let the South call us up to join with them; that is all the abolitionists ask.

In conclusion, he said, the Christianity of the new world ought to be the same as that of the old—equalizing society, and renovating all; and we only ask the Protestantism of America to do in the new, what Christianity is doing in the old, for only one sixth part of our population—that it will be the pioneer of humanity, the vanguard of freedom in our country. Beautiful theory, may be exclaimed; but God never permitted man to conceive anything which he could not bring into being. Religion, properly interpreted, means something that our noblest conceptions cannot reach; but we have now-a-days to turn back and see whether the church will follow us in the depths of benevolence. Like Leggett, we believe that there is nothing good that cannot be reduced to practice. We may die in the attempt; but the work will be done; and, if we be remembered at all, it will be as those who have labored faithfully in their generation.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS spoke next. He was not surprised, he said, at the good sense of those who were leaving the house after Mr. Phillips's speech, for he was sure that all he could say, could make no addition to the impression which had been produced on the audience. Meetings like this, he supposed, would be necessary as long as slavery exists in this country, for the mirror of slavery must be held up to the nation. We have had a dark picture this morning of American morals and religion, but he saw it in a darker and more polluted state than do those who had spoken before him. He did not owe this to the possession of any keener faculties; but he was not only one of those who suffered under the Southern lash, but also had to endure the ignominy and insult

which are heaped on the so-called free colored men in the North. He proposed to look at the state of American morals and religion, as illustrated in the character of the nation's great men. It has been said that no country is found better than its laws. It might also be said, that no nation produces a better morality than that which characterizes its great men. The character of the constituency is reflected in that of the representative, and he believed our great men to be the fairest illustration of our morality. Who, then, are our great men—how have they distinguished themselves? In a truly Christian country, the man who is foremost in works of good, will be the most popular and the most respected. Thus, in a country which loves freedom, he who sheds the blessings of freedom will be the most popular. Are we such a people? Let Zachary Taylor answer. How has he distinguished himself? He is not a peace man, nor a fireman; but the only thing which has made him popular was, that he was a successful instrument in the hands of this blood-thirsty government in carrying on a war for the furtherance of slavery against a half-civilized people, who had previously abolished the vile institution. Hence he made himself popular, and was elected to the Presidency. The letter of Henry Clay, it will be perceived, craftily written, and full of most detestable sentiments, has been received at the North with applause.

At this point, as many of the audience were leaving on account of the lateness of the hour, Mr. Douglass stopped—promising to finish his remarks at the adjourned meeting, which would take place in the Minerva Rooms, at 3, P. M.

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TUESDAY AFTERNOON. According to adjournment, the society met on a Tuesday afternoon, at 3 o'clock, at the MINERVA ROOMS, 406 Broadway; and the Chair was taken by the President, Mr. GARRISON. At the commencement of the proceedings, he made a few remarks. He hoped the liberty of discussion accorded to all present would not be abused by any indecorum or unbecoming conduct on the part of those who might differ from the Society as to its principles and measures. A manly and honorable bearing was all that was solicited, and any one, no matter what were his opinions, would be heard with due deference.

On motion, Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester, Mass., and Wm. C. Nell, of Rochester, N. Y., were chosen Assistant Secretaries. The following were elected a Committee to report a nomination of officers of the Society for the ensuing year, viz: Edmund Quincy, of Massachusetts; Edward M. Davis, of Pennsylvania; F. Pillsbury, of New Hampshire; S. May, Jr., of Massachusetts; Samuel Brooke, of Ohio; Alfred G. Campbell, of New Jersey; and Lucretia Mott, of Pa. Samuel Brooke, J. M. McKim and Wm. W. Brown were elected a Finance Committee.

On motion of Wendell Phillips, of Boston, the following persons were nominated as large, and afterwards accepted by the Society, as a Committee of Conference on the state and prospects of the cause: Wendell Phillips, S. S. Foster, C. M. Barleigh, Parker Pillsbury, Nicholas Hallock, Frederick Douglass, J. M. McKim, Edmund Jackson, Francis Jackson, George Doughty, Edward M. Davis, Lucretia Mott, John Ketchum, Abby Kelley Foster, W. W. Brown, Coates Preston, Henry Villette, Lucy Stone, S. H. Gay, Samuel Brooke, W. L. Garrison, Elias Smith, C. L. Remond, W. C. Nell, A. G. Campbell, Lydia Mott, Amy Post, Edmund Quincy, Samuel May, Jr.

S. BROOKE, from a Committee appointed two years since, made a report, recommending to the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society a more perfect system of co-operation for the purpose of carrying the anti-slavery agitation forward to its final triumphs.

Voted, That the Report be referred to the Committee of Conference. The President read the Resolutions before the Society, as presented at the Tabernacle in the morning, and said that the discussion of them was now in order.

WILLIAM W. BROWN, once a slave in Missouri, first addressed the meeting, showing how numerous and how barefaced the aggressions of the Slave Power had become during the past year, and, also, what progress and success had attended the labors of the Abolitionists. PARKER PILLSBURY, of New Hampshire, next addressed the Society in a few impressive and stirring remarks. MR. HAYDOCK, of Hudson, who announced himself as the 'ex-wood-sawyer of Hudson,' addressed the Chair. He made a humorous and forcible speech, of which the Secretaries can give but a very imperfect sketch. He said: I am, Sir, a young convert, made so only a year since, and then by one of those slaveholding priests that we have been told of to-day. I was going up the Hudson, sir, and on board the boat with me were several men from the South, wearing other men's coats on their backs. One of them who was a preacher, and who seemed the chief spokesman of the party, was denouncing the North for interfering with Southern rights. The Northern Abolitionists, said he, even go so far as to condemn the Christian slaveholder. What, sir, said I to him, did you say? Did you speak of a Christian slaveholder? I did, said he. Sir, said I, I'd as soon take a voyage round the world to find a moral devil; and if the whole of you, I said, don't go to the devil, there's no use of one! Mr. President, I'm an uneducated man, and I hope you'll pardon me if I speak truth, rather than grammar. I have been an out-and-out Loco-foco, voting for whatever measure, and for whatever candidate the party put up. I have voted for a slaveholder, because I didn't stop to think about it. The name of Democracy had a magic for my ear, and without stopping to look into the nature of their doings, I thought it my duty to uphold the Democratic party. But I have learned better now: I have learned to regard every man, however suffering and however degraded, whatever his condition or his color, as my brother, and I will vote no more for his oppressor. Sir, I have been in another bondage—in a legalized bondage to intemperance; but I shook off that vile bondage, and I now stand to shake off other chains. Let all unite to wipe out these two blots, licensed rum-selling and American Slavery. I heard something said, sir, in your meeting this morning, about 'trampling upon the Constitution,' which I did not fully understand; I am for changing what is bad in the Constitution. I conclude with saying, that whatever may be my future lot in life, even though I die in the poor house, I trust I will die a sober man, contending for liberty. I thank you all for your attention, and say, I'm on hand against Slavery and Rum. [Loud and emphatic cheers during the speech and at its close.]

LUCRETIA MOTT, of Philadelphia, hoped we should not rely for the interest of these meetings upon our agents and our habitual speakers, but that every one present, like our friend who has just sat down, would speak, 'as the spirit gave him utterance.' We need, she continued, that our confidence in the might of Truth should be enlarged and strengthened. Much had been said to-day of the tremendous power of the Church and the Government, in obstructing the anti-slavery work; and yet, as was said of old, 'Wine is strong, and woman is strong, but truth is stronger than all,' so would she now say. The Constitution is strong, and the Church is strong, but the Truth is stronger than both; it is omnipotent, and it will yet triumph.

Many now are glorying in the Church, and exulting in her strength, her majesty, and her fair proportions; and they proudly say of her, as some did to Jesus of the temple, Master, see what goodly stones and what buildings are here! But there is a Jesus now, there is a well-beloved Son of God in the present, who says to her self-deluded admirers, 'I tell you, there shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be

thrown down!' Mrs. M. went on to enumerate the successive points gained in the Anti-Slavery contest—manicipation at home in numerous cases, full emancipation in the British West India islands, prejudices vanquished, the eyes of so many morally blind opened, so extensive an interest awakened in behalf of the slave, so many colored men welcomed to the ranks of our most eloquent and able speakers and as editors, colored men admitted to the bar and to the medical profession, and to posts which no woman as yet was allowed to fill. She spoke with much respect and interest of the Louisville Examiner, and several other journals in the slaveholding States, of the hope she felt of the coming Convention in Kentucky, &c. &c. WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston, wanted to say even to what Lucretia Mott has just said to us. There is nothing, he said, higher than the individual conscience; that is the corner-stone of the Reformer. Let us not be bullied by powerful associations; they are men—no are we. We will try them all, large or small, by the great rule of right, and feel our full equality with them, mighty and overshadowing as they may appear in the sight of men. We must each learn to feel in determining a moral question, as if there was no one else in the Universe but God and ourselves. Our friend from Hudson said he would support the Constitution, and seek its amendment; but he don't mean that! Will he help to send William Brown back to St. Louis? Will he help seize Ellen Craft, and hurl her back to slavery in Georgia? No! he will not. Will he then support a Constitution which requires him to do this, till it is amended? It may be in his grave, long before any amendment takes place.

MR. HAYDOCK again spoke in explanation of what he had before said; he declared himself a recent learner in the school of freedom, but avowed himself open to new light. He had a heart, thank God, to feel for the sufferings and wrongs of humanity, and he would ever speak out in their behalf, according to the best light he had. S. S. FOSTER, of Massachusetts, spoke of the power which he believed to reside in the ballot, a power which he thought would yet revolutionize the world. In itself considered, said he, the ballot is a simple expression of individual opinion, and I rejoice to see even the humblest man in the country eager to express his opinion in opposition to slavery and in favor of humanity, by means of the ballot. Only let your vote be an unqualified condemnation of slavery, and I hail it; but no vote given to elect any man to an office under the Constitution can be such a condemnation of slavery.

Adjourned to meet at the same place at 7 1-2 o'clock.

In the evening, a large audience completely filled the spacious hall. WILLIAM W. BROWN was called to preside. The meeting was successively addressed by Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, and W. W. Brown; the attention of the audience being awakened and completely sustained until the adjournment, at a late hour.

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