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PLATF O R M

OF THE

American Anti-Slavery Society

4265.463

AND ITS AUXILIARIES.

CITY OF BOSTON

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NEW YORK:

Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society.

1860.



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TO THE READER.

THE principles, purposes, and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries having been extensively misunderstood, and quite as extensively misrepresented, its friends would respectfully submit to the candid perusal of the public its *Constitution*, the *Declaration of Sentiments* adopted at its formation, and an *Exposition of its Platform* by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, its President. By these documents, and by its official acts, not by the opinions and acts of individuals upon other subjects, wholly foreign to the object for which it was organized and to which its efforts have ever been scrupulously devoted, the Society asks to be judged. Inviting the co-operation of every lover of human freedom, of whatever sect, party, or sex, in the one great work of abolishing Slavery, it interrogates no person as to his or her views of Theology, or of any other foreign topic whatever; it knows neither Catholic nor Protestant, Orthodox nor Heterodox, Male nor Female, but addresses itself to every human being, and seeks to kindle the fire of Anti-Slavery in every human heart. The documents herewith submitted will, it is believed, be deemed a sufficient answer to those who are attempting to destroy its influence by falsely representing it to be a "Jacobinic" and "infidel" association.

## SOCIETIES AND NEWSPAPERS.

Office of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 5 Beekman Street, New York, where is published weekly the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, its official organ. OLIVER JOHNSON, Editor. Terms, \$2 per annum.

Office of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, 221 Washington Street, Boston. SAMUEL MAY, Jun., General Agent. At this office is published *The Liberator*, edited by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. This paper is not officially connected with any Anti-Slavery Society, but is an independent journal, devoted mainly to the abolition of Slavery, but discussing *pro* and *con*, to a limited extent, other important subjects. Terms, \$2 50 per annum.

Office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, 107 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia. J. MILLER McKIM, Corresponding Secretary and General Agent.

The Western Anti-Slavery Society has its seat of operations at Salem, Columbiana County, Ohio. Its organ is *The Anti-Slavery Bugle*, edited by BENJ. S. JONES. Terms, \$1 50 per annum.

The Michigan Anti-Slavery Society has the seat of its operations at Adrian. JACOB WALTON, Corresponding Secretary.

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# CONSTITUTION

OF THE

## American Anti-Slavery Society.

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*Formed in Philadelphia, December 4th, 1833.*

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WHEREAS the Most High God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas, our National Existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the Declaration of Independence, "that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God and the World, nearly one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens; and whereas, Slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive of the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union, and liberties of the States; and whereas, we believe it the duty and interest of the masters immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas, we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation that will be opposed to the continuance of Slavery in any part of the Republic, and by effecting the speedy abolition of Slavery, prevent a general convulsion;



**ARTICLE IX.**—Any Anti-Slavery Society or Association, founded on the same principles, may become auxiliary to this Society. The officers of each Auxiliary Society shall be *ex officio* members of the Parent Institution, and shall be entitled to deliberate and vote in the transactions of its concerns.

**ARTICLE X.**—This Constitution may be amended, at any annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, provided the amendments proposed have been previously submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committee.

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## OFFICERS FOR 1860-1.

### *President :*

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Massachusetts.

### *Vice-Presidents :*

PETER LIBBY, Maine ; LUTHER MELENDY, JOHN M. HAWKS, New Hampshire ; JEHIEL C. CLAFLIN, Vermont ; FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, Massachusetts ; ASA FAIRBANKS, Rhode Island ; JAMES B. WHITCOMB, Connecticut ; SAMUEL J. MAY, CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, AMY POST, PLINY SEXTON, LYDIA MOTT, HENRY A. HARTT, New York ; LUCRETIA MOTT, ROBERT PURVIS, EDWARD M. DAVIS, THOMAS WHITSON, JOSEPH MOORE, Pennsylvania ; ROWLAND JOHNSON, ALFRED GIBBS CAMPBELL, New Jersey ; THOMAS GARRETT, Delaware ; THOMAS DONALDSON, BENJAMIN BOWN, Ohio ; WILLIAM HEARN, WILLIAM HOPKINS, Indiana ; JOSEPH MERRITT, THOMAS CHANDLER, CYRUS FULLER, Michigan ; CARVER TOMLINSON, Illinois ; CALEB GREEN, Minnesota ; GEORGIANA B. KIRBY, California.

### *Corresponding Secretary :*

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, Plainfield, Ct.

### *Recording Secretary :*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston.

### *Treasurer :*

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.



*Executive Committee:*

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, WENDELL PHILLIPS, ANNE WARREN WESTON, SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, SAMUEL MAY, JUN., WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, HENRY C. WRIGHT, CHARLES FOLLEN.

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## Declaration of Sentiments,

OF THE

## AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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ADOPTED AT THE FORMATION OF SAID SOCIETY, IN PHILADELPHIA, OF THE 4TH DAY OF DECEMBER, 1833.

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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 marshaling 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 taskmasters.

But those for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting, at the present time, at least one sixth part of our countrymen—are recognized 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 enjoying 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 heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offense.

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 unequaled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore,

That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burdens, 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 merchandise—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 law.

That if they 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 the 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 unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede 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.



## EXPOSITION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY PLATFORM.

*Speech of William Lloyd Garrison, President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in Boston, May, 1853.*

[Phonographically reported by J. M. W. Yerrinton.]

MR. PRESIDENT,—I rise to submit to the Convention the following Resolutions, which seem to me specially called for at the present time, when so much misapprehension exists, on both sides of the Atlantic, as to the true character and real position of the American Anti-Slavery Society:—

“ 1. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the condition of membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society is, simply, the recognition of the self-evident truth, that no man can hold property in man, that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master; as that Society neither disciplines nor excommunicates any member on any charge of acting inconsistently with his anti-slavery profession; as its platform is as open to its opponents as to its friends, and free to all; and as the great instrumentality for the peaceful abolition of slavery is the utterance and application of the truth to the consciences and hearts of the people; it follows, that so long as the Society is true to its fundamental principles, it furnishes common ground for all those who claim to be anxious for the overthrow of the slave system, and secession from it is an indication of a factious spirit, or



of conscious unwillingness or inability to meet the responsibilities of the cause and the duties of the hour.

“2. *Resolved*, That no man, who consents to stand on the anti-slavery platform,—or standing where he may, no man who professes to be the friend and advocate of the slave, especially if he occupy a high, responsible station,—has a right to claim exemption from anti-slavery criticism, or to construe it into a personal affront, or to plead his unquestionable and unquestioned anti-slavery acts as entitling him to go unrebuked in cases where he is regarded as found wanting.

“3. *Resolved*, That it is not only the right, but the duty of the professed friends of the slave to be watchful and jealous, lest there be any compromise of his rights, and to admonish each other whenever or wherever there seems to be a dereliction from the strict line of anti-slavery principle ; and whoever takes offense at this, or withdraws himself from our platform in consequence thereof, shows himself to be consciously in the wrong, and unable to vindicate his position.”

These Resolutions are so comprehensively expressed as to render it unnecessary for me to occupy any considerable portion of the time of the Convention in their elucidation.

Sir, for what are we assembled at this Anniversary ? It is to bear anew our testimony against chattel slavery in our land. That sin is so palpable, that crime is so enormous, that no man can honestly doubt in regard to its real nature ; for God never yet made a human being who felt in his soul that he ought to be a slave ; and, therefore, the universal heart of our common humanity, in all ages, in all climes, has rejected the idea that man can be made the property of man.

Well, then, we are all opposed to slavery—so we say ; we all desire its abolition—such is our profession. But how shall we the most effectively proceed, to accomplish its overthrow ? What shall be the mode by which we shall co-operate, in order to achieve this great and sublime object ? Or is there no common bond of union to unite us together on the side of liberty ? Why, sir, the slaveholders of the South, divided as they are by sectarian and party lines,—divided, in these particulars, just as we are at the North,—are not divided on the subject of slavery. They readily combine their means and influences for its preservation and perpetuity, making every other consideration subordinate. Now, is it not possible for the true friends of freedom to be as united in



the defense and extension of her sacred cause, though differing in their religious and political opinions? I affirm that we can unite; that we ought to unite; nay, that the true in spirit *are* united, all over this country.

But, surely, it is desirable to organize; it is better to work together than to work singly; for by concentrating our forces we can operate all the more powerfully upon public opinion. But how shall we organize? What should be the platform laid down, on which to invite every opponent of slavery to stand?

In the first place, it ought not to be a religious organization, technically speaking—Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or any other; for that would be exclusive and sectarian. It would leave a vast multitude of the friends of freedom outside of it, for various reasons; and, hence, there would be great loss of strength, and an unwise division of forces.

In the second place, it must not be, simply or mainly, a political organization; for as only a small portion of the people are permitted to vote in this government—as one half of the population, on account of their sex, are politically disfranchised—as many persons are conscientiously opposed to upholding a government of violence and blood—as many others are precluded from the ballot-box by their views of the pro-slavery compromises in the Constitution—a mere political organization must necessarily be exclusive, and therefore contracted in its sphere of activity and influence.

Sir, we want something better than either the one or the other, something more catholic, more philosophical, more comprehensive. Can we get it? What ought to be its leading characteristic? What should be the condition and test of membership? I add—

In the third place, the organization must not exclude women either from membership or from active participation in its affairs; because women abhor, and have reason to abhor slavery, as intensely as men; and because as many women are clanking their chains, and crying for relief as men. Every member must be permitted to “plead the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction,” on his or her own responsibility, as a sense of duty may determine.

Lastly, the object of the organization must be MORAL AGITATION—the promulgation of the truth, and its application to the consciences of a people who are “laden with iniquity,” and



“whose hands are full of blood.” It is a MORAL REGENERATION which is to be effected, as much now as in apostolic times, and by the same instrumentality—the foolishness of preaching.

It is evident, moreover, that such an organization should be based upon a SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH, and animated by A VITAL PRINCIPLE, appealing alike to the understanding and conscience of every human being, without regard to religious or political opinions. That truth is, that slaveholding is, under all circumstances, a sin against God; and, therefore, that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master. What is self-evident is all-embracing, and may be held in common by men and women; by Christians and infidels; by those who belong to religious bodies, and by those who do not; by those who exercise the elective franchise, and by those who are disfranchised for conscience' sake. We can all give our hearty indorsement to the principle,—requiring nothing beyond this, *that each one shall apply and carry it out, with conscientious fidelity, at whatever cost, and wherever it may lead, according to the light that is in him.*

Well, what next? The platform of the organization must be free to all, and speech upon it left untrameled. There must be a willingness to hear not only those who are friendly to its object, but also those who are hostile to it; for the truth has nothing to fear in an open encounter with error, and ever courts inquiry and examination—ever coming out the better and stronger for it.

Now, sir, this is the spirit, the freedom, the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society. That Society is willing to hear, at its own pecuniary expense, in its own meetings, whatever may be said against its principles or measures, in whatever temper or language. If it has any favors to grant, they are granted especially to those who are disposed to assail it—giving them (in the greatness of its magnanimity) not only an equal chance, but more than justice requires, if desired. This is the secret of its freshness and power. If ever the time shall come when this lofty trait in its character shall be blotted out, then you may write “ICHABOD” upon its walls, and proclaim its downfall.

Sir, we resort to no disciplinary measures. We put forth no bulls of excommunication. We neither exclude nor suspend any member, on any ground whatever. Every one is as free to go as he is free to come, incurring no censure for his withdrawal. As a condition of membership in the Society, we are agreed simply



as to the abstract principle ; we are agreed, also, that it is the duty of each and all to adhere to it, as its legitimate application may be perceived, "remembering them that are in bonds, as bound with them." Whenever any thing is found hostile to its progress, then whoever makes the discovery is bound to cry out against the obstacle, and attempt its removal. If, in the course of the conflict, he shall find himself called upon to cut off his right hand or pluck out his right eye, there must be no hesitancy—the hand must come off, the eye must come out.

Sir, we are sometimes accused of being narrow and exclusive in our organization,—of imposing tests and requiring conditions which interfere with individual conviction and personal freedom. No accusation can be more unjust, no opinion more erroneous. Do we say that the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society must agree in proclaiming the Constitution of the United States to be "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell"? Do we say that none shall be members who vote for such men as Franklin Pierce or Winfield Scott? Do we say that they shall be excommunicated, if they remain with the Whig, or Democratic, or Free Soil party—or with a pro-slavery church or denomination, or support a pro-slavery clergy? We say no such thing ; we make no such requirement ; we let every man stand accountable to his God.

But there is one thing we do, and mean to persist in doing : we keep our platform open to all, and free to all, without respect of persons. We utter our convictions fearlessly and independently as to who and what is pro-slavery, and allow nothing in Church or State to pass unchallenged respecting its position to the anti-slavery cause ; we mean to criticise, reprove, and warn, and are ready to be criticised, reprov'd, and warned in turn.

Of course, the American Anti-Slavery Society is as much bound to make a faithful application of its distinctive principles as each individual member. To be effective in its operations, it must cherish and promulgate definite opinions—the collective opinions of its members, as expressed by a majority on any given point, for the time being. True, it may sometimes err in judgment ; it may not always come to a right decision ; still, as it ever holds itself open to reproof and conviction, as it gives the minority every desirable opportunity to expose its fallacies or errors, this affords no good reason for refusing to coöperate with it, unless it palpably discards its fundamental principle. All that



can be done, among fallible human beings, under the circumstances, to arrive at a true result, is assuredly done; and where this spirit prevails, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, rely upon it, that result will be satisfactory—such as duty demands. Welcoming the light, from whatever quarter it may shine, how is it possible for the Society to evince a stronger conviction of the rectitude of its course,—or, if in error, a more manly desire to be set right,—or a more unselfish consecration to the cause of the enslaved in our land?

No step has the American Anti-Slavery Society ever taken backwards. Not that it is conceited, dogmatical, unwilling to yield when in error; but because there has been no occasion for retracting or going back. We have abandoned many of our steps, but it is the abandonment of conquered outposts in our onward march, to grapple all the more vigorously with the enemy in the citadel of his strength. We do not stand precisely where we did twenty years ago, or even ten years ago; we are all the while finding new issues and making fresh advances; and all this is essential to the abolition of slavery.

Now, then, if we do not dictate to any man to what party he shall belong, to what creed he shall subscribe, to what church he shall give in his adhesion, or from which he must withdraw, or what he shall think or say of the Constitution or government of the country—if we allow him free speech, and he *professes to agree with us in principle, and in the duty of adhering to it under all circumstances*—what excuse has he for absenting himself from this platform? How can he justify himself in lifting his heel against us? Why should he run away? Here is the place to maintain his position. What if the Society deem him to be unsound in some of his views, or pro-slavery in some of his relations to Church or State? *He* believes his position to be a tenable one. Then, as a conscientious and sincere friend of the slave, he will be serene and unmoved, instead of getting angry and furious. Instead of impeaching the motives or spirit of the Society, he will say, “You give me all I ask—all that any man, who has a soul, can desire—the opportunity to state my convictions freely, and to defend my conduct; and that is enough! Believing that I am right, I have full faith that, ultimately, I shall have the satisfaction of seeing the Society espouse my side of the question.”

And yet, Mr. President, what secessions have taken place from our ranks, from time to time! All the way through, following



all along the track of our march, are to be found the carcasses of multitudes who have perished by the way. They ran well for a time, and then they fell to the earth, and perished. Others, growing hateful and personal in their spirit, placing their sectarianism above and beyond the anti-slavery cause itself, have become embittered against the Society, and sought to destroy it; and evidently far more anxious to cripple the efforts and blacken the character of the uncompromising Abolitionists, than to bring slavery into disrepute.

Again I ask, what is it that we exact? Not conformity in judgment or practice as to the *application* of the principle to which we subscribe, in order to membership in the Society, but only as to the *principle itself*—an indorsement of its soundness and paramount importance. We make due allowance for the fact, that mankind make progress, if sometimes rapidly, more commonly by a slow process. We know in the nature of the case, that all men do not leap to the same conclusion, logically, or by intuition, at the same moment. We know that, among those who are equally honest, there may be justifiable hesitancy on the part of some, and honest doubt on the part of others, as to where the principle fairly applies. We admit that there will be cases where men the most clear-sighted may, for a time, be somewhat troubled to decide whether this or that step is really a compromise of principle. But then, sir, all these things must be tolerated, if we would work together for the overthrow of slavery. Ultimately, we may all see eye to eye.

Sir, if a member of our organization can belong to the Whig or Democratic party, and feel that he occupies a true anti-slavery position in so doing, let him remain with the party. To his own conscience let him be true. To his own master he must stand or fall. What we shall do is, when he comes upon our platform, to endeavor to show that his position is inconsistent with the principle he has accepted, and is practically pro-slavery. As Lot was commanded to flee out of Sodom, that he might not be destroyed with its inhabitants; as God says to his people in Babylon, "Come out of her, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues;" so we think anti-slavery demands the abandonment of every pro-slavery sect and party. Still, if any one does not feel called upon to leave his party, or church, or the government, he is at liberty to remain in it; and he will manifest his sincerity by exhibiting a manly front, and evincing



his readiness to be examined as to his conduct. He will endeavor to show that he is actuated by the highest regard for the cause of those in bondage, and that in the position he occupies, he sincerely believes he can do better service to that cause than in any other way.

Now, sir, can you conceive of any thing more charitable than this—more magnanimous than this—more sublimely courageous than this—a higher evidence of a desire to be in the right, and a wish never to be in the wrong, on the part of our Association? Where is there such liberty conceded on any other platform, religious or political? What other enterprise—except the little, despised Non-Resistance enterprise—has ever been so constituted, or so indulgent on the score of freedom of speech to all? The Free Soil platform is not free; the Free Soil meeting is not free—(I say it not invidiously, of course—I only deal with the fact.) It is exclusively for Free Soilers; it does not say, “We welcome every man to this platform, to show us wherein we are in the wrong,” No; what is the reason? I have my own opinion about it—what do you think?

“Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.”

There are those in our ranks who deem the position of the Free Soil party not the highest and best for the cause of the slave. *They* might come on to the platform—and if it were a free one, they certainly would come—and there would be a searching examination. Is it to prevent such an examination that their meetings are not as free as our own? Why, sir, if at any of their gatherings they can get a Webster Whig, or a Hunker Democrat, to undertake the defense of his party, or to make an assault upon theirs, there is great rejoicing, and they are quite ready to shout, “To the platform—to the platform! Hear him—hear him!” Why is this? Because, as against the Webster Whig or the Hunker Democrat, the Free Soilers know that they occupy the vantage ground, and can cover him with confusion of face. But with regard to the radical, uncompromising Abolitionists, their presence is not welcomed, and they are not invited to occupy the platform.

WM. A. WHITE, of Watertown—Does Mr. GARRISON mean this Convention to understand, that the meetings of the Free Soil-



ers are not open to all who claim to be the friends of the slave, or whether they do or not ?

Mr. GARRISON—I will answer that question by asking another, which is the Yankee method, you know. Does our friend WHITE mean to say that the Free Soil meetings *are* thus free ?

Mr. WHITE—I do ; and I hereby invite Mr. GARRISON to attend the next Free Soil Convention, and make a speech. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. GARRISON—Very good ! But is our friend authorized, in behalf of the party, to make the invitation ?

Mr. WHITE—No, sir ; I make it on my individual responsibility.

Mr. GARRISON—I doubt if such an invitation would receive the sanction of the party as such. At any rate, it has never yet been proclaimed to the world. But I am not the man to quarrel with that spirit, but will ever give it the right hand of fellowship.

Mr. President, adopting the fundamental principle of the American Anti-Slavery Society, what have we done with it in our organization ? In a faithful application of it to men and measures—to the religious and political institutions of our land—to constitutions and laws—we have made many discoveries—discoveries that have filled us, sometimes with amazement, sometimes with deep regret, sometimes with heartfelt anguish ; because we started at the outset, mixed up with the old parties and with the religious sects, ardent in our attachment and earnest in our support of them. We did not know where we were going ; we could not tell what was before us ; for who foresaw, when he gave in his adhesion to the cause of the oppressed, that he would be called upon to give up his party, his church, his minister—to lose his reputation and jeopard his worldly interest—to the extent he has been required to do ? But we took the pledge of fidelity to the slave. We declared his cause to be good and true—yes, divine ; and hence, whatever obstructed his triumph, must be from the adversary, and not from God. At what hazard and cost all this has been done, let posterity decide.



On many points, slowly but surely, we have arrived at great unanimity of sentiment. We are generally agreed in the opinion, the Whig party of the country is foully pro-slavery, and therefore ought to be abandoned. We are equally convinced, that the Democratic party is utterly subservient to the Slave Power, and thoroughly polluted, from which it is the duty of every pure-minded man and every true Democrat to withdraw. We also affirm that a Church, claiming to be the Church of Christ, and yet having no bowels of mercy for the oppressed, nay, receiving slaveholders and slave-breeders to its communion-table, is a Church with which no Christian abolitionist ought to be connected; and that, if there be one thus associated with it, he is bound, by his fidelity to God and the slave, to withdraw from it, and register his testimony against it as an anti-Christian body.

To such conclusions, after careful examination and mature consideration, we have come, with but few dissenting voices in our ranks, but not without great hesitancy and reluctance on the part of some, for a time. All did not see the duty at the same moment; at first, perhaps, only a solitary member saw the guilt of the relation, raised the warning cry, and called for consistent action. Then another and another apprehended it clearly, and the discussion went on, until nearly the whole body became satisfied as to its reality, and pronounced sentence of condemnation accordingly.

We come now to the question of withdrawal from the government, in consequence of the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution. On this point, while the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society are now generally agreed, the professed friends of the slave, acting in other relations, are very much divided. They advocate various and discordant notions about the Constitution. Some say they hold it to be thoroughly and intentionally anti-slavery, and so they can vote and hold office under it without any compromise of principle; others acknowledge its pro-slavery features, but argue that as it provides for its own amendment, the ballot may be innocently thrown with that object in view; while others think that, if nothing more can be accomplished by the elective franchise than the election of men to Congress who will exert themselves to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and to prevent the further extension of slavery, it justifies political action. Here is a wide difference of opinion; but what then? What if we differ



*ad infinitum* as to the application of the principle by which we profess to be governed? I want to know who the man is who is going to run away from the anti-slavery platform on that account; and if he runs, I want to know what is the matter with him. He says that his own position is sound and practical; that his conscience is satisfied; that his judgment is confirmed, and he has not a doubt troubling his mind. What cause has such a man to run from any body? Is not he who is in the right the "one man who shall chase a thousand," and one of the "two who shall put ten thousand to flight?" But if he be not in the right, even then he will manifest no disposition to flee, if he sincerely believes he is right, or desires to be so if in error. The language of his heart will be, "Search me as with a candle, and see if there be any thing wrong in me." Being fallible, he may honestly mistake his way, or misapprehend his duty; but he is not the man to keep from a free arena because somebody will impeach his judgment or censure his conduct—far otherwise! Who that is really satisfied that he ought to remain connected with the Whig or Democratic party, pro-slavery though it be—with the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or any other Church, pro-slavery though it be,—who, I say, that believes it his duty to do this, *as a friend of the slave*, has any just cause to complain of the liberty exercised on this platform, or to stand aloof from our meetings? Hence, the resolutions I have submitted, Mr. President, seem to me to warrant the conclusion, that he who refuses to take his lot with us, who walks no more with us, or who seeks to excite popular odium against us, gives conclusive evidence that he knows "there is something rotten in the state of Denmark," and that that state is inside of himself. (Laughter and cheers.) He furnishes ample proof of the fact, that he is not able to endure free discussion, and consequently "flees when no man pursueth."

I told you that the American Anti-Slavery Society excommunicates nobody, disciplines nobody; but it does far better than that. It is not without a winnowing machine, which separates the chaff from the wheat with wonderful discrimination. It has an instrument by which it detects the false, unmask the hypocritical, exposes the compromising, almost as by an infallible power. It is FREE, UNTRAMMELED SPEECH, ON A FREE, UNTRAMMELED PLATFORM! Whoever cannot stand the trial, is either a coward or a consciously corrupt man. (Loud cheers.)

But the inquiry is frequently made, "Why criticise and



arraign such men as Charles Sumner, Horace Mann, and John P. Hale?" Why not criticise and arraign them, if they are at any time found wanting? Who are they, to claim or to desire exemption from the strictest scrutiny? Are they infallible? Are they demi-gods? If they stumble in the dark, or we believe them to be stumbling, shall we raise no warning voice, acting as they do the part of political leaders? Not criticise them!—let them go, forsooth, because they make good anti-slavery speeches now and then—help the fugitive slave now and then—and manfully resist the usurpations of the Slave Power! Why, sir, do we not gratefully acknowledge all that they do for the slave, and give them full credit for it? The anti-slavery speeches of Mann, of Sumner, of Hale, of Giddings, I have always gladly printed in the columns of *THE LIBERATOR*—(loud applause); and I think I have not been chary in my tribute to those gentlemen for the anti-slavery work that they have done. For one, I must be beside myself, if I can quarrel with them for being faithful to our cause. But when, in my judgment, they fail to carry out their principles, or stand in a pro-slavery relation, what shall I do, as an honest man—as their friend, and as the advocate of the slave? Shall I be dumb? Shall I say, "No matter—they mean well; they have said and done many very good things; let them run"? Why, nobody should let them run. I hold the slaveholder to the strictest account; shall I not hold every other man? Am I not so held by this nation? To such an account God will hold us all.

Do you recollect the case of the young man in the Gospel—the *good* young man—who had lived so exemplary a life, who came to Jesus, saying, "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? there is none good, but one, that is God. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not commit adultery, Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Defraud not, Honor thy father and mother. And he answered and said unto him, Master, all these have I observed from my youth. Then Jesus beholding him, loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, take up thy cross, and follow me. And he was sad at that saying, and went away grieved; for he had great possessions." So in regard to our Free Soil friends. Have they not made good anti-slavery



speeches?—what lack they yet? Have they not contributed to the funds of the anti-slavery cause?—what lack they yet? Have they not assisted fugitive slaves to escape?—what lack they yet? One thing; and that is, they are in a political union with bloody-minded oppressors, and they ought to come out and separate themselves forever from it. (Loud applause.) But they turn away sorrowful, for they almost idolize the ballot-box.

Sir, we are bound to watch over each other, and to admonish each other in love, and with all fidelity. But what if a man does not admonish me in love—does that justify me in getting angry? What if, on this platform, I am unjustly censured by him? Shall I leave it in a passion? No, sir. It is for me to bear with him; to bear with everybody; to let patience have its perfect work; and to be satisfied with the liberty granted to me to show that my accuser is in the wrong—if I am able.

Such is the American Anti-Slavery Society. *Honest Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers*, you can be members of it. *Honest Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Catholics*, you need not stand aloof from it. You have equal rights here—free speech here—and the object is worthy of your united support—**FREEDOM FOR ALL, AND CHAINS FOR NONE!** The ground occupied by the Society is catholic, broad, comprehensive; yet stringent in that kind of criticism to which I have alluded, namely, free speech and free investigation. This is the only vital organization in our land to overturn slavery. The political one is narrow, and its action is spasmodic and limited. A sectarian organization can never meet the wants of the great heart of our common humanity. I therefore glory in the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the spirit which animates it, in the noble and unsurpassed example it is giving to the world of faith in the truth, in its willingness to be searched, in its determination to make the liberation of the slave **PARAMOUNT TO ALL OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.**

One word further. By membership with that Society, we indorse the views of no man on politics or religion,—no, not even the anti-slavery soundness of any member of the organization. We acknowledge simply an abstract principle, adverse to the institution of slavery, and agree that we will be true to it, as light is given us. **THAT IS ALL.** As to the hue and cry on this side of the Atlantic, and in England, that the American Anti-Slavery Society is a no-Bible, no-Sabbath, no-Government Society, &c.,



&c., it has never come from a heart beating in deep sympathy for the perishing slave. It is both a sectarian and a pro slavery device. As a Society, we debate no other question, decide no other question, than that pertaining to slavery. As for the holiness of the Sabbath, or the inspiration of the Bible, or the rightfulness of government, we never have assumed to settle any of these things. In discussing the subject of slavery, it is to be expected that every man will speak in his own dialect, and after his own method of thinking; and illustrate his ideas in his own way. He is entitled to do this, and no one has a right to complain. The Calvinist who occupies this platform will talk of slaveholders going down to a never-ending hell, if they do not repent; and no Universalist has a right to take offense, and say—"I do not believe that doctrine, and it shall not be uttered here; it is extraneous." No, it is not. It is proper for the Calvinist to assert it, because, with his moral training, with his conviction of the sin of slavery, it is the natural expression of his idea. So the Universalist, standing on this platform, may affirm that he believes in the final restoration of all to God—even slaveholders not excepted—if he chooses to do so, in illustration of an argument against slavery; and the Calvinist has no right to take offense, and say, "I will not hear such a declaration, nor be connected in any association with such men." So if a word is incidentally uttered here in regard to the Bible, or the Sabbath, or any other subject, that may be deemed heretical, remember, it is the speaker who is to be held responsible, not the Society; nor is he to be blamed, if he evidently means to give no offense. When the Society itself shall bring in any extraneous question, and attempt to settle it, forgetting the slave, then denounce it as false to its professions,—and not till then. (Cheers.)

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## WHAT IS MEANT BY IMMEDIATE ABOLITION ?

It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease; because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle. Is there any thing terrific in this arrangement ?



It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law. Is this unreasonable?

It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents. What is there sanguinary in this concession?

It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment. Can this be productive of evil?

It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away. Is this undesirable?

It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination. Would this prove a calamity?

It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages. Would this recompense infuriate them?

It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others, by cruel drivers and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men. Is this diabolical?

It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism. Is this wrong?

This is our meaning of Immediate Abolition.

Where is the individual who is base enough to avow that, on these terms, he is hostile to the liberation of the slaves? who dares to say, in a public and responsible manner,—“I am still for giving to the planters unlimited dominion over their slaves, that they may treat them like cattle, deprive them of instruction, mangle, starve, and pollute their bodies, rob them of their earnings, and buy and sell them on speculation, as they do at present”? Where is the individual animated with a soul, having



parents, or relations, or children, or friends, who would not exclaim, "I am for the rescue of two millions of enslaved countrymen! To talk of the danger or injustice of giving them the protection of wise and equitable laws, and relieving them of their heavy burdens, is an insult to my understanding. I contend for the sacredness of the marriage relations, which are now violated by oppression—for the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners—for the enforcement of that clause in the Declaration of Independence which asserts '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 for the instant recognition of every American-born citizen, as a countryman and brother" ?—*First Report of the N. E. A. S. Society.*

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## SAFETY OF IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

The 1st of August, 1834, is universally regarded in Antigua (W. I.) as having presented a most imposing and sublime moral spectacle. It is almost impossible to be in the company of a missionary, a planter, or an emancipated negro for ten minutes, without hearing some allusion to that occasion. Even at the time of our visit to Antigua, after the lapse of nearly three years, they spoke of the event with an admiration apparently unabated.

For some time previous to the 1st of August, forebodings of disaster lowered over the island. The day was fixed! Thirty thousand degraded human beings were to be brought forth from the dungeon of slavery and "turned loose on the community!" and this was to be done "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye."

Gloomy apprehensions were entertained by many of the planters. Some timorous families did not go to bed on the night of the 31st of July; fear drove sleep from their eyes, and they awaited with fluttering pulse the hour of midnight, fearing lest the same bell which sounded the jubilee of the slaves should toll the death-knell of the masters.

The more intelligent, who understood the disposition of the negroes, and contemplated the natural tendencies of emancipa-



tion, through philosophical principles, and in the light of human nature and history, were free from alarm.

To convey to the reader some idea of the manner in which the great crisis passed, we here give the substance of several accounts which were related to us in different parts of the island, by those who witnessed them.

The Wesleyans kept "watch-night" in all their chapels on the night of the 31st of July. One of the Wesleyan missionaries gave us an account of the watch-meeting at the chapel in St. John's. The spacious house was filled with the candidates for liberty. All was animation and eagerness. A mighty chorus of voices swelled the song of expectation and joy; and, as they united in prayer, the voice of the leader was drowned in the universal acclamations of thanksgiving and praise, and blessing, and honor, and glory to God, who had come down for their deliverance. In such exercises the evening was spent, until the hour of twelve approached. The missionary then proposed that when the clock on the cathedral should begin to strike, the whole congregation should fall upon their knees and receive the boon of freedom in silence. Accordingly, as the loud bell tolled its first note, the crowded assembly prostrated themselves on their knees. All was silence, save the quivering, half-stifled breath of the struggling spirit. The slow notes of the clock fell upon the multitude; peal on peal, peal on peal, rolled over the prostrate throng, in tones of angels' voices, thrilling among the desolate chords and weary heart-strings. Scarce had the clock sounded its last note, when the lightning flashed vividly around, and a loud peal of thunder roared along the sky—God's pillar of fire, and his trump of jubilee! A moment of profoundest silence passed—then came the *burst*—they broke forth in prayer; they shouted, then sung, "Glory," "Alleluia;" they clapped their hands, leaped up, fell down, clasped each other in their free arms, cried, laughed, and went to and fro, tossing upward their unfettered hands; but high above the whole there was a mighty sound which ever and anon swelled up; it was the utterings in broken negro dialect of gratitude to God.

After this gush of excitement had spent itself, and the congregation became calm, the religious exercises were resumed, and the remainder of the night was occupied in singing and prayer, in reading the Bible, and in addresses from the missionaries, explaining the nature of the freedom just received, and exhorting the freed people to be industrious, steady, obedient to the laws,



and to show themselves in all things worthy of the high boon which God had conferred upon them.

The 1st of August came on Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the next Monday. The day was chiefly spent by the great mass of the negroes in the churches and chapels. Thither they flocked "as clouds, and as doves to their windows." The clergy and missionaries throughout the island were actively engaged seizing the opportunity, in order to enlighten the people on all the duties and responsibilities of their new relation, and, above all, urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free. In every quarter we were assured that the day was like a Sabbath. Work had ceased; the hum of business was still, and noise and tumult were unheard on the streets. Tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. A Sabbath indeed! when the wicked ceased from troubling, and the weary were at rest, and the slave was free from the master! The planters informed us that they went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged the most hearty good wishes.

The churches and chapels were thronged all over the island. At Cedar Hall, a Moravian station, the crowd was so great, that the minister was obliged to remove the meeting from the chapel to a neighboring grove.

At Grace Hill, another Moravian station, the negroes went to the missionary on the day before the 1st of August, and begged that they might be allowed to have a meeting in the chapel at sunrise. It is the usual practice among the Moravians to hold but one sunrise-meeting during the year, and that is on the morning of Easter; but as the people besought very earnestly for this special favor on the Easter morning of their freedom, it was granted to them.

Early in the morning they assembled at the chapel. For some time they sat in perfect silence. The missionary then proposed that they should kneel down and sing. The whole audience fell upon their knees, and sung a hymn commencing with the following verse:—

" Now let us praise the Lord,  
With body, soul, and spirit,  
Who doth such wondrous things  
Beyond our sense and merit."



The singing was frequently interrupted with the tears and sobbings of the melted people, until finally it was wholly arrested, and a tumult of emotion overwhelmed the congregation.

The missionary who was present on the occasion said that the scene was indescribable.

During the day, repeated meetings were held. At eleven o'clock the people assembled in vast numbers. There were at least a *thousand* persons around the chapel who could not get in. For once the house of God suffered violence, and the violent took it by force. After all the services of the day, the people went again to the missionaries in a body, and petitioned to have a meeting in the evening.

At Grace Bay, the people, all dressed in white, assembled in a spacious court in front of the Moravian chapel. They formed a procession, and walked arm in arm into the chapel. Similar scenes occurred at all the chapels, and at the churches also. We were told by the missionaries, that the dress of the negroes on that occasion was uncommonly simple and modest. There was not the least disposition to gayety.

We were also informed by planters and missionaries in every part of the island, that there was not a single dance known of, either day or night, nor so much as a fiddle played. There were no riotous assemblies, no drunken carousals. It was not in such channels that the excitement of the emancipated flowed. They were as far from dissipation and debauchery as they were from violence and carnage. GRATITUDE was the absorbing emotion. From the hill-tops and the valleys the cry of a disenthralled people went upward, like the sound of many waters—"Glory to God! glory to God!"

The testimony of the planters corresponds fully with that of the missionaries.

Said R. B. Eldridge, Esq., after speaking of the number emancipated, "Yet this vast body (30,000) *glided* out of slavery into freedom with the utmost tranquillity."

Dr. Daniell observed, that after so prodigious a revolution in the condition of the negroes, he expected that some irregularities would ensue; but he had been entirely disappointed. He also said that he anticipated some relaxation from labor during the week following emancipation. But he found his hands in the field early on Monday morning, and not one missing. The same day he received word from another estate, of which he was



proprietor, that the negroes had to a man refused to go to the field. He immediately rode to the estate, and found the people standing with their hoes in their hands doing nothing. He accosted them in a friendly manner: "What does this mean, my fellows, that you are not at work this morning?" They immediately replied,—“It's not because we don't want to work, massa; but we wanted to see you first and foremost, *to know what the bargain would be.*” As soon as that matter was settled, the whole body of negroes turned out cheerfully, without a moment's cavil.

Mr. Bourne, of Millar's, informed us that the largest gang he had ever seen in the field on his property, turned out the *week after emancipation.*

Said Hon. N. Nugent,—“Nothing could surpass the universal propriety of the negroes' conduct on the 1st of August, 1834! Never was there a more beautiful and interesting spectacle exhibited than on that occasion.”—*Thome and Kimball on W. I. Emancipation.*

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## THE FINAL TRIUMPH.

PUBLIC opinion cannot be walled in. The people of the South cannot shut it out from their borders. It knows no barriers—is not arrested by geographical boundaries—is not hemmed in by State lines or imprisoned by State legislation. It is a moral atmosphere which spreads itself noiselessly throughout the domains of intellect and intelligence. Like electricity, it mingles itself with all the elements of the moral world, and imperceptibly becomes a part of the mental constitution. Neither its progress nor its power can be staid. Its course is onward, and its conquests are unceasing. It will infuse itself into the bosoms of our Southern brethren, and disentomb the buried spirit of liberty there. It will awaken again in them those generous sympathies, those noble purposes, and those elevated sentiments, which they once so gloriously exhibited, and which have no fellowship with slavery. Their pulses will yet beat in unison with those of their Northern brethren on this subject. The pleadings for the oppressed, which stir New England hearts, will yet find a response



in Carolinian bosoms; and the shout for emancipation which shall go up from Bunker's Hill, will be echoed from the field of Guilford and the heights of Yorktown.

The day that shall witness the triumph of public opinion over slavery is fast approaching. From the eminence on which I now stand, I see in the far-off distance the great prison-house of death. Its gloomy walls, built up on human hearts, and cemented by human tears and blood, tower up into the skies with an heaven insulting glory. Its impious spires and unhallowed domes, bur nished with the gold wrung from the sweat and toil of the defenseless, flash defyingly in the sun. It seems to mock the power of the earthquake and the storm. But while I gaze, I see the heaving of the ocean of public opinion beneath my feet. The great fountains of its deep are breaking up. I hear the moan of the coming tempest as it musters its storms afar off; and the skies gather blackness above my head. The billows go sweeping on in majesty and might. The surge beats upon the base of that proud edifice. The indignant tempest goes careering over the face of the moved waters. The roar of the roused ocean comes thundering upon the ear. The waves, crested with fury, beat with resistless energy upon its massive structures. The waters and the storm are up in their wrath, and speak now with an "earthquake voice." I see that Bastile of human hearts tremble from its very base. Its walls are shaking in the elemental war. Behold its towers and turrets nod and topple to their fall. See! its foundations give way—it reels, it sinks, it plunges, is gone, and the waters pass over it and hide it for ever! The spirit of peace and love broods over the tempest, and it is hushed. The ocean sinks into unruffled calmness, and the fury of the storm is stilled. And hark! strains of the sweetest harmony break upon the ear. A chorus of millions of voices comes swelling upon the calm, still air, hymning praises and thanksgivings. It is the music of redeemed hearts and disenthralled spirits. Oh! the sublimity of the song of the free! How its strains are caught from lip to lip, from the valley to the hill-top, from mountain to mountain, until the whole land is wrapped in its melody, and the skies reverberate with the pealing anthem.—*E. D. Barber.*



## THE INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.

\* \* \* \* It taints the whole country.—The existence, the perpetual presence of a great, prosperous, unrestrained system of wrong in a community, is one of the sorest trials to the moral sense of the people, and needs to be earnestly withstood. The idea of justice becomes unconsciously obscured in our minds. Our hearts become more or less seared to wrong. The South says, that slavery is nothing to us at the North. But through our trade we are brought into constant contact with it; we grow familiar with it; still more, we thrive by it; and the next step is easy, to consent to the sacrifice of human beings by whom we prosper. The dead know not their want of life, and so, a people whose moral sentiments are palsied by the interweaving of all their interests with a system of oppression, become degraded without suspecting it. In consequence of this connection with slave countries, the idea of human rights—that great idea of our age, and on which we profess to build our institutions—is darkened, weakened among us, so as to be to many little more than a sound. A country of licensed, legalized wrongs, is not the atmosphere in which the sentiment of reverence for these rights can exist in full power. In such a community, there may be a respect for the arbitrary rights which law creates and may destroy, and a respect for historical rights, which rest on usage. But the fundamental rights which inhere in man, as man, and which lie at the foundation of a just, equitable, beneficent, noble policy, must be imperfectly comprehended. This depression of moral sentiment in a people is an evil, the extent of which is not easily apprehended. It affects and degrades every relation of life. Men, in whose sight human nature is stripped of all its rights and dignity, cannot love or honor any who possess it, as they ought. In offering these remarks, I do not forget, what I rejoice to know, that there is much moral feeling among us in regard to slavery. But still, there is a strong tendency to indifference, and to something worse; and on this account we owe it to our own moral health, and to the moral life of society, to express plainly and strongly our moral abhorrence of this institution.—  
*Channing on Emancipation.*



## A SABBATH SCENE.

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B. J. G. WHITTIER.

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SCARCE had the solemn Sabbath bell ceased quivering in the steeple,  
Scarce had the parson to his desk walked stately through his people,

When, down the summer-shaded street, a wasted female figure,  
With dusky brow and naked feet, came rushing wild and eager.

She saw the white spire through the trees, she heard the sweet hymn swelling;  
O! pitying Christ! a refuge give that poor one in thy dwelling.

Like a scared fawn before the hounds, right up the aisle she glided,  
While close behind her, whip in hand, a lank-haired hunter strided.

She raised a keen and bitter cry, to Heaven and Earth appealing;  
Were manhood's generous pulses dead? had woman's heart no feeling?

A score of stout hands rose between the hunter and the flying;  
Age clenched his staff, and maiden eyes flashed tearful, yet defying.

"Who dares profane this house and day?" cried out the angry pastor;  
"Why, bless your soul! the wench's a slave, and I'm her lord and master!"

"I've law and Gospel on my side; and who shall dare refuse me?"  
Down came the parson, bowing low, "My good sir, pray excuse me!"

"Of course I know your right divine to own, and work, and whip her;  
Quick, Deacon, throw that Polyglot before the wench, and trip her!"

Plump dropped the holy tome, and o'er its sacred pages stumbling,  
Bound hand and foot, a slave once more the hopeless wretch lay trembling.

I saw the parson tie the knots, the while his flock addressing,  
The Scriptural claims of slavery, with text on text impressing.

"Although," said he, "on Sabbath day, all secular occupations  
Are deadly sins, we must fulfill our moral obligations;

"And this commends itself as one to every conscience tender;  
As Paul sent back Onesimus, my Christian friends, we send her!"

Shriek rose on shriek; the Sabbath air her wild cries tore asunder;  
I listened, with hushed breath, to hear God answering with his thunder!



All still!—the very altar-cloth had smothered down her shrieking,  
And, dumb she turned from face to face, for human pity seeking!

I saw her dragged along the aisle, her shackles harshly clanking.  
I heard the parson, over all, the Lord devoutly thanking!

My brain took fire: "Is this," I cried, "the end of prayer and preaching?  
Then down with pulpit, down with priest, and give us Nature's teaching!"

"Foul shame and scorn be on ye all; who turn the good to evil,  
And steal the Bible from the Lord, to give it to the devil!

"Than garbled text or parchment law, I own a statute higher,  
And God is true, though every book and every man's a liar!"

Just then, I felt the deacon's hand my coat-tail seize on,  
I heard the priest cry "Infidel!" the lawyer mutter "Treason!"

I started up;—where now were church, slave, master, priest, and people?  
I only heard the supper-bell, instead of clanging steeple.

I woke, and lo! the fitting cause of all my dream's vagaries—  
Two bulky pamphlets,—Webster's text, with Stuart's commentaries!

But on the open window-sill, o'er which the white blooms drifted,  
The pages of a good old Book the wind of summer lifted.

And flower and vine, like angel-wings around the Holy Mother,  
Waved softly there, as if God's Truth and Mercy kissed each other.

And, freely, from the cherry-bough above the casement swinging,  
With golden bosom to the sun, the oriole was singing.

As bird and flower made plain of old the lessons of the Teacher,  
So now I heard the written Word interpreted by Nature;

For, to my ear, methought the breeze bore Freedom's blessed word on:—  
Thus saith the Lord, **BREAK EVERY YOKE, UNDO THE HEAVY BURDEN!**



CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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**PREAMBLE.**—Believing that Slavery is a sin against God and a wrong against man, under whatever circumstances it may exist; that Immediate Emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master; and believing, moreover, that the abolition of the system demands the combined efforts of the friends of Humanity and Freedom, without regard to sect, party, or sex; the undersigned agree to form a Society, to be regulated according to the following articles, viz.:

**ARTICLE I.**—The Society shall be known as the New-York Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

**ARTICLE II.**—The object of this Society shall be to coöperate with the American Anti-Slavery Society in the diffusion of light and truth on the subject of Slavery, particularly in the city of New York and its vicinity, by means of Anti-Slavery lectures, books, pamphlets and newspapers, by procuring subscribers to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and by such other instrumentalities as the exigencies of the cause may, from time to time, seem to require.

**ARTICLE III.**—Any person who consents to the principles set forth in the preamble may become a member of this Society, by signing the Constitution,—or by requesting the Recording Secretary, verbally, in open meeting, or in writing, if the Society is not in session, to append his or her name thereto,—and contributing to its treasury.

**ARTICLE IV.**—The officers of the Society shall be, a President; two Vice Presidents; a Corresponding Secretary; a Recording Secretary; a Treasurer; and an Executive Committee, consisting of these and five other members; to be chosen annually by the Society. These officers shall perform the duties usually incident to their respective positions. Vacancies occurring in any of the offices may be filled by the Executive Committee.

**ARTICLE V.**—It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to devise and execute plans of Anti-Slavery effort, especially in the city and its vicinity; to provide for the collection of funds; to call meetings of the Society, or of the public, whenever and wherever they may deem best; and to do whatever they may think necessary and right to extend a knowledge of Anti-Slavery principles, and to correct the public opinion from which Slavery draws its life. They shall hold frequent meetings for business and consultation, and five of their number shall constitute a quorum. They shall keep a record of their doings, and make a Report of the same to the Society at its annual meeting.

**ARTICLE VI.**—The annual meeting shall be held at such time and place as the Executive Committee may appoint, when the officers of the Society for the ensuing year shall be chosen. Special meetings shall be called by vote of the Executive Committee; or, by the Recording Secretary, at the request in writing of five members of the Society.

**ARTICLE VII.**—This Constitution may be amended by a vote of two thirds of the members in attendance at any annual meeting; provided, that the auxiliaryship of the Society shall not be changed, unless notice of intention to move such change shall have been given, in writing, to the Executive Committee at least one month previous to such meeting.

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*President:*

DR. HENRY A. HARTT.

*Vice-Presidents:*

EDWARD W. GILBERT, ERASMUS D. HUDSON, THEODORE TILTON.

*Corresponding Secretary:*

OLIVER JOHNSON.

*Recording Secretary:*

JAMES B. RICHARDS.

*Additional Members of the Executive Committee:* S. H. GAY, ABBY H. GIBBONS,  
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, J. F. CLEVELAND, ELIAS SMITH.









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