

address unflinchingly, contended that the philosophy of the resolution was irresolute and imperfect; and that it did not meet the exigencies of the case, or that it was raised against the cause. He considered it of vital importance to deny unhesitatingly and unequivocally the charges alleged against the societies of attempting to interfere in the political relations of any class; and particularly that there should be a specific denial of the charge of proclaiming abolition, or essaying emancipation. They should fearlessly pronounce on these charges, and at once nail the falsehood to the counter. They have been permitted to agitate the South, and have shaken the stability of the Union at its center. The banner of the cause should be unfurled, and wave spotless from the allegations. The cause is one and single; the truth should prevail over all. It has been said that money is power, that knowledge is power, but he affirmed that truth is power; and the truth should be emblazoned on the dome of the dome. The threshold may instantly perceive the nature of the protection sought. A determined disclaimer on the subjects should be made (if intended to have effect) at this stage of the proceedings. He therefore submitted a preamble with resolutions, as additions to the resolution of the committee, deprecating the allegations mentioned.

Dr. Brantley of Philadelphia, a delegate from a Georgia Temperance Society, strenuously opposed such an amendment. He did not think it necessary to enter a protest, or make a disclaimer against any sinister insinuations. The consciousness of rectitude can always support itself in its own dignity and purity, and should never descend to a practical or paltry explanation. That private jealousies or petty piques should have originated and disseminated such animadversions and base falsehoods, was to be expected; but that any person or society exulting and proud in the consciousness of its own integrity, should descend to explanations, endeavoring to obviate the aspersions of malignancy or error, was not to be expected of dignity or propriety. The convention, like the societies, should preserve a single, and simple, and dignified course, and treat the charges as subjects of ridicule or contempt. Like the Bible Societies, sending the book into the world without any comment, so should be the convention. If an explanation were now given, commentaries would abound, and embarrassment or obscure; and all the snapping and snarling of inferior minds should be made the objects of solicitude, explanation and annoyance. They must then resignance of all that modicum of respectability may suggest or surmise, of every species of mischief, latent or manifest. The resolution of the committee is simply comprehensive to satisfy impartial and interested judgments. More than this need not require to be said. The removal of obliquity is not so essential as an honorable, determined and straightforward course; and the objects of the Convention should not evaporate in idle words or magniloquent denunciations which the Temperance Societies are determined to keep themselves secure in their own native dignity, trusting that their conduct would afford the best answer to all aspersions or idle rumors.

Mr. Graham of New York, supported the amendment of the gentleman from Washington. He was aware that it is not indispensable for the convention to enter a disclaimer against all aspersions or allegations that prejudice might propagate. He is satisfied that it is not necessary that a specific answer should be given to each charge, but that the societies are vehicles of money or of infidelity. But the charge of interfering in the question of slavery, and of seeking to produce a dissension in this respect by the northern states against the south, is of manifest and paramount importance from the positions or consequences involved in its consideration. In the charges of money or infidelity, no demerit of localities can be drawn; but in the question of slavery sectional jealousies can operate manifestly to the detriment or destruction of the best interests of this country. The cause of temperance will be impeded or annihilated, unless a specific denial in this respect is entered by the National Convention.

Dr. Brantley briefly remarked that a disclaimer would be an implication of guilt.

Mr. Graham resumed, and said that to denounce or deprecate the charges made, would be a silent sanction of their accuracy; and will militate against the interests of the Union, and the objects of the temperance societies.

Mr. Pitkin of Conn., V. P., expressed a desire that all the gentlemen present from the slave-holding States should express their sentiments and feelings on the subject.

Mr. Adams of Virginia considered that the allegations had been injurious to the temperance cause; and had pained many conscientious devoted and attached to the cause, by co-operating in the reforming cause, and determined as they otherwise might have done. That the charges were made, he regretted; but that, having been made, been propagated extensively, and having been the source of anxiety and dissension, he considered it would be advisable to meet them with a distinct denial. They appeared (he said) in their present form—as alluded to by adequate in the early part of the day's proceedings—in the *Richmond Whig*.

Mr. Keenan of Maryland is determined against the amendment, and thinks that the original resolution is sufficiently comprehensive and satisfactory. To deprecate or deny any charges would establish a very bad precedent, that might invoke a thousand evils in its train. All differences would require to be thus compromised; and the Convention would have to stop to squabble with all, with masons and anti-masons, Jackson-men and Anti Jackson-men—with all parties, political, religious or social. But the motto of the convention and of the temperance societies is that of the philosopher of old who, when on being told that some persons had calumniated him—“Give yourself no trouble about it: for I will live so that nobody shall believe them.” So should it be with the convention. Their acts, not their words, should demonstrate their objects. They have not interfered with slavery; they have not determined to interfere; but it is not indispensable nor would it be useful to affirm that they are not determined to interfere. The quietus is best given in their conduct. He hoped that opinions of any kind will not dissolve the harmony of the convention, nor of the temperance societies, or their objects. They should not be as the Israelites, not proceed while under the cloud; but as they are now emerging from the clouds of ignorance and prejudice and dissension which have been dispelled by the sun of temperance, let us proceed onward steadily in our march, till we arrive at the land of promise, the Canaan of reformation. Obliquities should be considered no obstacles; and where charges are base and unfounded, they will soon be detected, and will refute and kill the cause they had been intended to disparage or impede.

Mr. Wood considered that the temperance societies had no sinister objects in view, and that it is a ridiculous to impute a desire of connection between church and a state, as between these societies and questions of politics or of slavery.

Mr. Kennedy of Virginia is pleased with the amendment, and considers it highly essential that an opinion deprecative should be expressed by the Convention of the charges, and considered that such an avowal would have a salutary effect. Even if a disclaimer was made not in the minute manner of the preamble and resolutions of the gentleman from Washington, but on the slave-question alone, it might prove sufficient or satisfactory.

Mr. Bayler of N. York did not think it possible to have a resolution more comprehensive in its terms than that proposed by the committee; and that a general assertion of that kind implied all particular disclaimers. To state in general terms what our objects are, is to state indirectly what our objects are. He does not therefore perceive the necessity for any particular disclaimer, and considers it would be humiliating to submit to one.

Mr. Hunt of North Carolina has been an active agent in the cause of temperance societies in the south, where he has found that charges of the kind alluded to, have not impeded the reformation which has met with its principal embarrassments from the love of money and the love of rum. No one believes the charges referred to in the paper; but to those who wish to believe them. They are notorious falsehoods; and the greater the lie, the more easy is it to perceive those children they are who tell it. No one believes that the temperance societies have ulterior objects in view, but those who wish it were so, are driven to frenzied desperation, by seeing at the bottom of the glass, total abstinence. The lie in this case, they have the cause for the reaction produced by the magnitude or prevalence of the lie, when eventually detected and exposed, will more than counterbalance the prejudices that might be excited by its dissemination. It does not temper the dignity or simplicity of a Christian to deny in words what his conduct will best refute.

Dr. Brantley again opposed the amendment disclaiming any interference with this or that.—Those who are at present disposed to believe or make such unfounded charges, will not believe a denial from those of whom they are made, however such a refutation may be enforced for those whom they consider base enough to act so, they will imagine base enough to conceal their faults by a falsehood; and those who are base enough to make the charges without adequate reason, will fancy that similar motives operate on others; and they cannot be convinced against their own will. But he is not satisfied that any such apprehension of interference is prevalent in the South, among any pretending to intelligence or impartiality; for, he has repeatedly and regularly corresponded with them, in and personal communication with those from the South, and has unceasingly read all the periodicals published there, and yet he has not seen that any such agitation exists, except a few malcontents who have no character or influence. If then the charges are not prevalent or relevant, is it consistent with the dignity of the convention to meet half-way every idle rumor, when contemptuous silence should afford the best answer? Reformation every where has been invariably impugned by its introduction; and its advocates maligned; and the temperance reformation cannot expect to be exempted from a similar obloquy. He remembered having read the slander cast on Melancthon, when that good man was asked what he would reply to them, he said he would reply in the words of his own child, who on being asked what he would say when his mother would chide him for some late fault, simply answered nothing. Such should be the answer to the insidious obloquies, however they are cast; and such should be the determination of the convention with regard to the irritating question of slavery. If there are some northern papers which advocate the cause of

emancipation, at the same time that they advocate the cause of temperance, our brethren of the South are not to be deceived, that the questions are amalgamated; but, that being distinctly such works as are obnoxious to the temperance cause, they must therefore necessarily interfere with the practice of slavery. Their resource is to discontinue subscribing for such periodicals; they can prevent the dissemination of their doctrines; such works as are obnoxious, and forward those which are temperate in their advocacy, and devoted solely to the cause of temperance. The School Societies in the South are various and of a complex nature; yet do they merge all differences, and unite in the grand object each pursuing it according to its own peculiar persuasion. So can it be with the temperance societies. The members may differ in political and religious opinions; but if in the object of the reformation of the imperate habits of the community, all are unanimous, they should they as bodies or individuals agree to disagree on other topics. The proper course of the Convention is to preserve a dignified silence.

Mr. Talmage of Georgia, is also against any disclaimer on any subject. True, he had been persuaded before he came to this Convention, and heard that the disclaimer of some kind would be useful, even if it were not essential. In his route here, he had passed through the Carolinas, and had been spoken to on the subject by some of his acquaintances there—and they had somewhat expressed their opinions also that some disclaimer would be acceptable. Yet when these learn what aspect the discussion has worn; when they see that there has been no real or contemplated interference, they will not demand an unnecessary, and therefore a ridiculous pledge. If one disclaimer on the topic of slavery be given, the same disclaimer on other subjects will be required; and if they are unavailing, they will be supposed true. But he thinks that unextraneous topics should entwine round the grand subject; and that the object of temperance should be held out in bold relief and prominent. The sole object being stated as in the resolution of the committee of which he had the honor to be a member, and of which he sincerely approved, would be enough to satisfy any calm and dispassionate, and impartial or intelligent mind; and it certainly would satisfy the people in the Carolinas, who are men of reason. No other disclaimer should be given by or required from this venerable body.

Mr. Brace again advocated his amendment. The arguments he had heard were insufficient to convince him of their validity. He had brought forward the subject from the purest and best motives, yielding to none in anxiety for the cause of temperance; but still solicitous that the good of the societies should not be evil spoken of; and that the charges which were made in this respect should be as publicly refuted. The Lord Jesus Christ did not refuse to answer by a denial, charges that had been made against him—and shall the judgment of the child of man be put in opposition to that of the son of God? He does not consider it to be derogatory to any number of party openly to disavow any unjust accusation that may be made; and he considers that the cause of temperance should be as Caesar expressed of his wife—not only pure, but also suspicious. Considering that the rumors are prevalent, and that they have produced sectional jealousies that may distract the interests or dissolve the bonds of union between the States, he considers it would be a gratification as well as an indispensable requisite to make a disclaimer as a silver speck the agitation. It can do no harm; and it may produce much good. The cause of the lie—as urged by one speaker—was no reason why it should not be denied; for the greater the lie, the greater (in his opinion) is the necessity for denial.

Mr. Gray, of Virginia, is satisfied with the original resolution.

Mr. Breckenridge, of Baltimore, affirms there has been no just cause for the suspicion, and that therefore there is no necessity for a disclaimer. The true state of the objection of the charges is, not that they are strictly applicable to the Temperance Societies as such, but that the same men who are connected with these societies are also connected with some other societies, whose real and professed object is or may be the question of abolition or emancipation, or any other topic, whether mission, masonic, religious or political;—but if such a connection exists, is it reasonable to demand of such persons a disclaimer on this or that subject, when a disclaimer would be a sort of advocacy or a silent sanction of the subject so disclaimed? It would be an injustice, and an insult, and a pledge would endanger the cause in the eyes of God and man. A disclaimer on slavery would be a prop to slavery. The resolution is all that any have a right to seek or demand; the resolution is all that the prudence of the Convention should permit it to grant. Better not touch the question of slavery.

Rev. Dr. Hewitt made a circumstantial statement of what he supposed originated the charges. In the *Journal of Humanity*, believed to be immediately and entirely the organ of the American Temperance Society, had been published some letters of Penn concerning the Indian question, and also some articles on slavery; and these being in the publication of that Society, were supposed to have had their sanction. It was very easy to connect—indeed, unavoidable not to connect—the cause of temperance and slavery and the Indian question together in men's opinions, when they had thus been connected together in the same publication. The auxiliary questions were there—loosely supposed to have had the avowed countenance of the American Temperance Society; and therefore caused the suspicion involved in the charges. But if the American Temperance Society would distinctly disavow that they had not countenanced the publication of them, he supposed the differences might be thus compromised, and this he thinks easily effected. For according to the former statement of Dr. Edwards, the official organ of that Society, nothing is immediately sanctioned by that Society which does not bear the signature of their agent. Such a disclaimer is all that is necessary. It is referred also to the course pursued by the *Georgetown Temperance* in a similar manner combining several topics; so that these publications had to be banished from the houses of the planters in the South.

Mr. Watkins of Maryland, considered that disclaimers would multiply accusations, and begot renewed denials. With many there will always be a lion in the way. The cause of temperance has nothing whatever to do with the negro question; but there are many who will not be convinced though an angel should descend to dispel their doubts; for, if they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead. The time of the Convention will be spent in idle talk, if they are to debate every idle rumor that may be broached. They will have to answer objections, and attention will therefore be diverted from the main point. This is what is desired by the enemies of the temperance reformation; but the Convention should in its entirety give to the single point. Those who will not be satisfied with the original resolution, will be satisfied with nothing; and none believe the charges but those who are predisposed to believe them; but to gratify these should be beneath the dignity of any august assembly or judicious body. The lives of the lives of the temperance will afford the best commentary on their opinions. Those who do not choose to subscribe for publications in which are blended a diversity of subjects, can very easily procure one solely devoted to the cause of temperance; and thus may the evil be eradicated or obviated. Mr. Kennedy explained.

Mr. Goodell rose to make some observations, concerning the remarks that had been made on his periodical, the *Genius of Temperance*; but this was considered unnecessary, and the hour of adjournment was declared.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The business was resumed this afternoon by some observations from Dr. Atlee; and a proposed amendment from Mr. Collier of Washington, altering the amendment of Mr. Atlee; but, on the suggestion of Mr. Linnard, of Philadelphia, it was declared not to be in order to receive an amendment essentially different in its principles from the original proposition.

Mr. Stockton of Maryland is decidedly in favor of the original resolution unaltered. He is in favor of temperance and temperance alone. It contains the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. It is not necessary to mix up with it other questions of slavery or politics; temperance is prominent and alone. Mr. Randall of Maryland confessed himself in favor of the amendment. The charges have been made not only by enemies to the Temperance Societies; but actually by the friends, and it had been avowed even in this convention that such suspicions are allud among the very members of Temperance Societies. The promotion of the cause of temperance therefore requires a distinct denial. The amendment can do no harm, its omission may lead to evil. Mr. Farley of Providence sees no necessity for any disclaimers. It would be improper to enter into details even were it not impossible.

Mr. Skilman of Kentucky, affirmed that an amendment of the kind proposed, so far from having any beneficial effect in the state whence he came, would be attended with the most injurious results. He considered that it should be confined to one object. He gave an interesting account of the progress of temperance in his neighborhood, where the societies had increased of late from 10 members to 3000. Mr. Hubbard of Maryland, Vice President, spoke at considerable length, and with evident ability, against the amendment. He considered it irrelevant and unnecessary to introduce a disclaimer of any kind not comprehended in the original resolution. He is aware that the feeling of suspicion exists; but it is circumscribed, and not likely to prove injurious to the objects of the cause, or the interests of the Union. It is impossible that a body so large and so capable of influencing public opinion should not give offence; and those who are incapable of wielding its mighty influence, will desire to have it placed in an odious light; and therefore in an antagonistic position. The doing this was found to be, by imputing to it that it had ulterior views in prospect, not thought proper to be avowed. But will therefore the convention what the edge of a slander, and give a tongue to scandal and suspicion, by meeting such sinister accusations halfway, when they should be treated with the contempt of silence which they so justly merit? He is a slaveholder by inheritance and marriage, yet he does not demand or think necessary any disclaimer of his rights as pure, and he thinks their conduct should be dignified. If localities and sectional differences or jealousies be pacified in one instance, turmoils will perpetually rise, that must be similarly ap-

passed by repeated denials. Now the resolution shows what objects are to be pursued, and what to be promoted. Let them temperance, singly and separately, be engraven on their banner unfurled over the world, and then the genius of the cause may adopt the motto of old, in *hoc signo*.

Mr. Brace, with the consent of the Convention, with drew his amendment: several other gentlemen having spoken in decided opposition to it, and with an earnestness that evinced they meant what they said.

THE TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

The General Society for the U. States assembled in Philadelphia, and adjourned on Tuesday last. The Convention was organized in the Hall of Independence.—Near 400 members attended—11 from Virginia—132 from Pennsylvania, &c. &c. Chancellor Walworth of N. York, was chosen President, and the following as Vice Presidents, viz: Robert Vaux, Penn.; John Tappan, Mass.; Hon. Timothy Pitkin, Conn.; Hon. P. D. Vroom, New Jersey; Judge Hull, Del.; John C. Herbert, Md.; Col. Lumpkin, Geo.; Dr. Wm. McDowell, S. C.

We shall present hereafter a Summary of their Proceedings—but for the present, we must content ourselves, with laying before our readers the following sketch of the Debate which took place on a subject touching which, a strong effort has been made to agitate the Southern States.—It will be seen, that the Convention absolutely refused to disclaim all connection with the emancipation of our slaves, on account of the very absurdity of such a supposition—and that the rumor of such a design was pronounced by several of the members as an egregious falsehood, unworthy of the slightest contradiction. Dr. Edwards submitted two other resolutions as prepared and sanctioned by the committee, based on some resolutions offered by some of the delegates. The first was the propriety of all young men of every rank, forming themselves into temperance societies, and exerting their utmost endeavors to promote the paramount objects of the temperance reformation. This was unanimously adopted. The second resolution was simply stating that the sole object of the American Temperance Society, and the numerous societies which have been formed in accordance with its principles, ever has been, is, and ought to be the promotion of the temperance reformation throughout the world, and to this alone should their efforts be invariably and perseveringly directed. Mr. Brace (or Breese) of Washington, in an eloquent