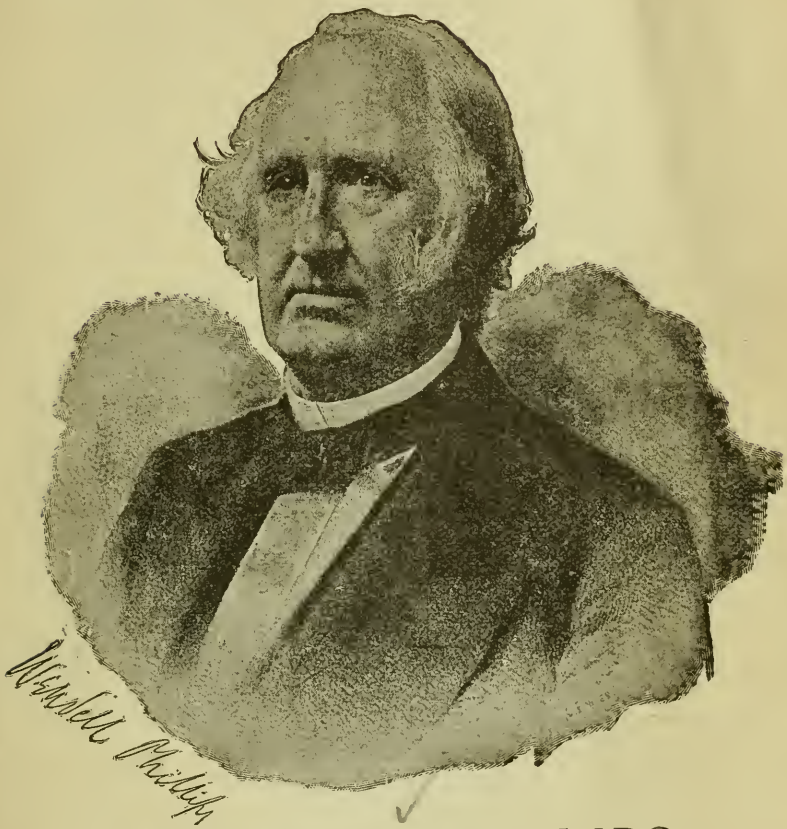
SOLD FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MEMORIAL FUND.

THE

FREEDOM SPEECH

OF



WENDELL PHILLIPS.

FANEUIL HALL, DECEMBER 8, 1837,

WITH DESCRIPTIVE LETTERS FROM EYE WITNESSES.

BOSTON:
WENDELL PHILLIPS HALL ASSOCIATION.
1891.

The People's Tribute to a Great Man.

The Wendell Phillips Hall Association is incorporated for the purpose of erecting a Memorial Building in commemmoration of the life and public services of Wendell Phillips. Gen. B. F. Butler is President, and Ex-Gov. J. Q. A. Brackett, Treasurer, with a representative and efficient Board of Directors.

The building is to be centrally located and contain a large hall and several smaller audience, committee and class rooms, constituting essentially a "Cooper Union" for Boston, with memorial features, which will make it stand to the period it commemorates as Pilgrim Hall and Forefathers' Monument to the settlement of Plymouth, or as Bunker Hill Monument, the old South Church and Faneuil Hall to the Revolutionary era.

In appropriate portions of the building will be stained glass windows, paintings, and bas-reliefs portraying the most thrilling episodes in Phillips' life, including his famous Faneuil Hall speech; also, scenes from the lives of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, John Brown and others, from the shooting of Lovejoy, at Alton, Ill., to the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln. There will be a museum for the preservation of souvenirs, letters and documents pertaining to the period.

A lectureship resembling those of the Lowell Institute, and classes for economic and industrial training, are to be established in connection with the hall, also a well equipped reading-room and library. The movement does not represent any one class, but aims to bring rich and poor, employer and employed, into sympathetic and mutually helpful relations.

Believing that many will esteem it a privilege to contribute something in aid of the model memorial and educational institution of the age, convenient envelopes have been prepared, and you are earnestly invited to do what you can to promote this worthy and great undertaking.

It is fitting that at least a hundred thousand persons should be represented in this tribute to Wendell Phillips.

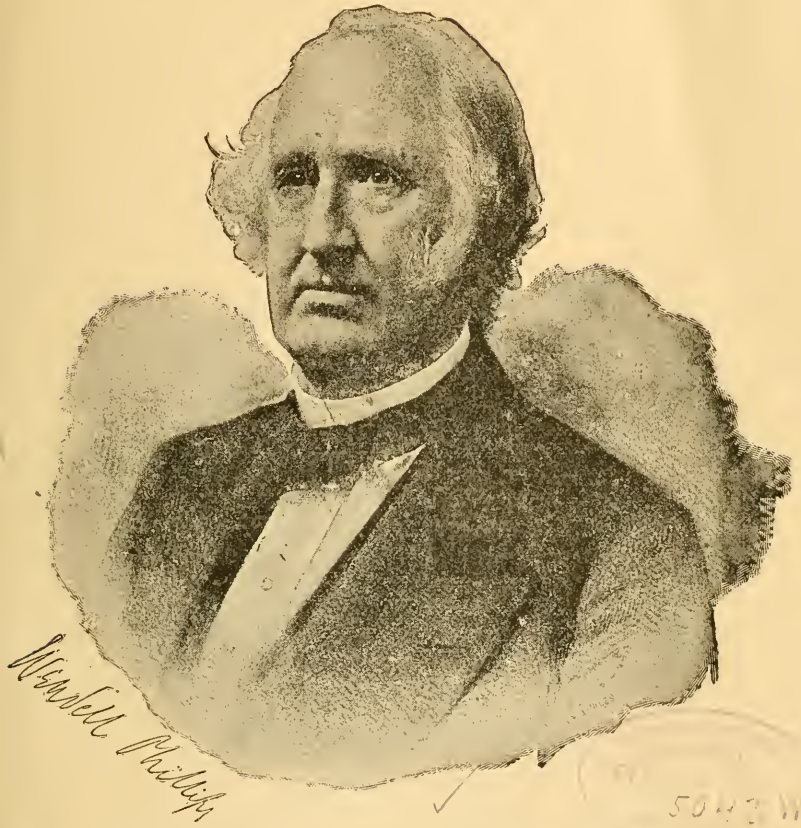
Why not do your share now?

Sold for the Benefit of the Memorial Fund.

THE

FREEDOM SPEECH

OF



WENDELL PHILLIPS.

FANEUIL HALL, DECEMBER 8, 1837.

WITH DESCRIPTIVE LETTERS FROM EYE WITNESSES.

BOSTON:
Wendell Phillips Hall Association.
1891.

THE SPEECH ITSELF IS FROM
"LECTURES AND LETTERS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,"
BY PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHERS,
MESSRS. LEE & SHEPARD,
BOSTON.

INTRODUCTION.

Viewed in the light of subsequent events the meeting in Faneuil Hall, Dec. 8, 1837, was an occasion of such supreme significance as to determine the management of the Wendell Phillips Hall Association to give its fifty-third anniversary fitting commemoration within the same pictured and time-honored walls. A call was accordingly issued in November of 1890, with a special invitation for all surviving participants in that memorable meeting to communicate with the secretary of the association by letter in the event of not being able to be present in Faneuil Hall Dec. 8th. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather there were spirited and highly interesting sessions both afternoon and evening, which were addressed by a large number of distinguished and enthusiastic speakers.

Fifty-three years, as life runs, is a good span of time and probably but few of those who heard Wendell Phillip's speech in 1837 are now alive, and those of necessity well advanced in years. Two, J. Valentine Sullivan of Newton and Edward Whitney of Belmont, were present. Two others, Sarah H. Southwick and Rev. Artemus B. Muzzey, D. D., sent highly interesting letters that are printed herewith together with the freedom speech of which George William Curtis says: "In the annals of American speech there has been no such scene since Patrick Henry's electrical warning to George the Third. It was that greatest of oratorical triumphs when a supreme emotion, a sentiment which is to mould a people anew, lifted the orator to adequate expression. Three such scenes are illustrious in our history: that of the speech of Patrick Henry at Williamsburg, of Wendell Phillips in Faneuil Hall, of Abraham Lincoln in Gettysburg,—three, and there is no fourth. They transmit unextinguished the torch of an eloquence which has aroused nations and changed the course of history, and which Webster called 'noble, sublime, godlike action.'"

JOHN LATHAM.

LETTERS FROM EYE WITNESSES.

Wellesley Hills, Nov. 17, 1890.

Mr. John Latham:

Dear Sir,—In reply to your communication asking information in regard to Mr. Phillips' speech at Faneuil Hall, Dec. 8, 1837, I can give you very little in addition to what is already contained in his Biographies. It was not then the custom for women to attend any kind of meetings in Faneuil Hall, but Mrs. Maria W. Chapman and twelve other women of whom I was one, attended that meeting. From that day Faneuil Hall has always been open to women. I suppose there are others in the community who were present that day, but I can think of no one to whom to refer you. We sat in the front seat of the right hand gallery as you enter the hall and listened to the proceedings with intense interest! The death of Lovejoy had produced a great excitement in the community. People, who were not abolitionists, felt the necessity of maintaining Freedom of Speech and of the Press, and the indignation was great at the refusal of the Mayor and Aldermen to grant the use of Faneuil Hall to a meeting of citizens to express that indignation. I recall my own delight and that of others when Dr. Channing, who did not call himself an abolitionist, came to the rescue, and by allowing his name to head a petition for the use of the hall, the requisite names of "one hundred legal voters" were obtained, which by the City ordinance compelled the Mayor and Aldermen to grant it, *nolens volens*. The meeting was called in the forenoon and the hall was packed with an audience of men, mostly standing, and from the beginning it was seen to contain a large mobocratic element, who listened with ill-concealed impatience to the temperate but earnest addresses of the chairman and Dr. Channing. But when Mr. Austin, the Attorney-General, rose in the gallery and with loud and impassioned voice and gesture addressed himself to the worst passions of the audience, declaring that Lovejoy "died as the fool dieth," the storm of applause and hisses was deafening. We, listening to it from the gallery, held our breath with fear, for it really seemed as though the resolutions in behalf of Free Speech and a Free Press, which had been presented to the meeting would be voted down. Imagine our surprise and delight, when we saw a young man, a stranger, rise and administer such a scathing rebuke to Mr. Austin, and imagine the relief we felt, as we saw him subdue and control the crowd below and heard the hisses give way to cheers. I think Mr. Phillips' power over that audience was one of the most

so thrilled me with the majesty of true eloquence. "Who is this young man?" was the whisper from side to side. A stranger to nearly all present, we were startled and overpowered by the man, his language and his manner. Such was his power, that the speaker's voice was overwhelmed by cries on all sides, "Take that back, take back the word 'recreant.'" Others exclaimed, "Go on!" "Go on!" Two men, evidently friends of the speaker, came to the front of the platform. Some shouted "Phillips or nobody!" Others screamed "make him take back that 'recreant.'" "He shan't go on till he does take it back." One of the two I mention raised his hand, and the excitement for a moment stopped. This friend of the speaker conjured the audience, by their regard for the hall and everything they held sacred, to "listen to every man who addressed them in a decorous manner." And now the young orator, whose voice had stirred such wrath, renewed his speaking. "Fellow citizens," said he, "I cannot take back my words. The Attorney-General," he went on, "so long and well known here, needs not the aid of your hisses against one so young as I am—my voice never before heard within these walls."

I may be excused for saying that I rejoice that we are to have a Hall built to the memory of Wendell Phillips. I am not a recent convert to the cause in which and for which he lived and labored until the glorious result of his work was consummated in the freedom of the slaves on our soil and their elevation to the rank of full citizenship. Long before the horrible event which brought Phillips forth as the champion of this glorious work I was a believer in and, in my humble way, an upholder of Abolition. In my parish was one, who, seeing my interest in this cause, said to me, "You must either give up your connection with Abolition or give up your parish." I had introduced the subject in my pulpit, had taken part in the discussion of it for five successive meetings of our Lyceum, and had even dared to bring it up for conversation in our parish ladies' association. This was too much. He was laboring for the colonization of slaves, and gave of his time and money for that purpose. I said that to think of abolishing slavery in that way was like attempting to bail up the ocean with a basin. He went on with his course and I with mine. He lived to see the day when he could cause my withdrawal from my society, but I have never ceased to rejoice that I did all I could to hasten that blessed day when Abraham Lincoln spoke, and it was done.

Artemus Bowers Muzzey.

Cambridge, Dec. 1, 1890.

remarkable scenes on record. I suppose he was known to some people present, but to the Abolitionists generally he was a stranger. To me, excited as I was, he seemed the impersonation of manly beauty, grace and eloquence.

Very respectfully,

SARAH H. SOUTHWICK.

THE BIRTH SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

In reply to a request of the Wendell Phillips Hall Association, I would state that I was present at the meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Dec. 8, 1837. Although now in my eighty-ninth year, I recall distinctly the events of that occasion. The Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy had been killed by a mob Nov. 7, while attempting to defend his printing press in Alton, Illinois. On the news of this, Rev. Wm. E. Channing headed a petition to the Mayor and Aldermen of Boston for the use of Faneuil Hall for a meeting of indignant remonstrance. Hon. Jonathan Phillips was chairman of the meeting, and after a few remarks by him, Dr. Channing followed in an address, brief but most eloquent. A series of resolutions by him was supported by Mr. George S. Hillard. Everything so far was decorous, in perfect harmony and sympathy with the great cause of human freedom. In an instant, however, rose in the gallery, James T. Austin, Attorney-General of Massachusetts, a well known lawyer. With a voice harsh and discordant, and a face full of wrath he affirmed that Lovejoy "died as the fool dieth," and he ought to have been killed, for he assailed the rights of the people of Missouri to their property in slaves, and he should have been treated as a wild beast of the menagerie. He justified those mob murderers by comparing them to the fathers of the revolution. Many of the assembly applauded, but in a moment a change followed.

Standing near me was a young man, his face radiant, his eye directed toward the chairman and his voice, as he addressed the grave man in the chair, thrilling with indignation. Stepping forward he at once mounted the platform and broke forth in the commanding strain: "Sir, when I heard the gentleman just seated, lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips, (pointing to the portraits in the hall) would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead." Since the day when I heard Webster in this same hall, on the death of Jefferson and Adams, I had never heard word there or elsewhere, that

THE MURDER OF LOVEJOY.

On November 7, 1837, Rev. E. P. Lovejoy was shot by a mob at Alton, Illinois, while attempting to defend his printing-press from destruction. When this was known in Boston, William Ellery Channing headed a petition to the Mayor and Aldermen, asking the use of Faneuil Hall for a public meeting. The request was refused. Dr. Channing then addressed a very impressive letter to his fellow-citizens, which resulted in a meeting of influential gentleman at the Old Court Room. Resolutions, drawn by Hon. B. F. Hallett, were unanimously adopted, and measures taken to secure a much larger number of names to the petition. This call the Mayor and Aldermen obeyed.

The meeting was held on the 8th of December, and organized, with the Hon. Jonathan Phillips for Chairman.

Dr. Channing made a brief and eloquent address. Resolutions, drawn by him, were then read and offered by Mr. Hallett, and seconded in an able speech by George S. Hillard, Esq.

The Hon. James T. Austin, Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, followed in a speech of the utmost bitterness, styled by the Boston Atlas a few days after "most able and triumphant." He compared the slaves to a menagerie of wild beasts, and the rioters at Alton to the "*orderly mob*" which threw the tea overboard in 1773, — talked of the "conflict of laws" between Missouri and Illinois, — declared that Lovejoy was "presumptuous and imprudent," and "died as the fool dieth"; in direct and most insulting reference to Dr. Channing, he asserted that a clergyman with a gun in his hand, or one "mingling in the debates of a popular assembly, was marvellously out of place."

The speech of the Attorney-General produced great excitement throughout the Hall. Wendell Phillips, Esq., who had not expected

to take part in the meeting, rose to reply. That portion of the assembly which sympathized with Mr. Austin now became so boisterous, that Mr. Phillips had difficulty for a while in getting the attention of the audience.

FREEDOM SPEECH.

MR. CHAIRMAN: — We have met for the freest discussion of these resolutions, and the events which gave rise to them. [Cries of "Question," "Hear him," "Go on," "No gagging," etc.] I hope I shall be permitted to express my surprise at the sentiments of the last speaker, — surprise not only at such sentiments from such a man, but at the applause they have received within these walls. A comparison has been drawn between the events of the Revolution and the tragedy at Alton. We have heard it asserted here, in Faneuil Hall, that Great Britain had a right to tax the Colonies, and we have heard the mob at Alton, the drunken murderers of Lovejoy, compared to those patriot fathers who threw the tea overboard! [Great applause.] Fellow-citizens, is this Faneuil Hall doctrine? ["No, no."] The mob at Alton were met to wrest from a citizen his just rights, — met to resist the laws. We have been told that our fathers did the same; and the glorious mantle of Revolutionary precedent has been thrown over the mobs of our day. To make out their title to such defence, the gentleman says that the British Parliament had a *right* to tax these Colonies. It is manifest that, without this, his parallel falls to the ground; for Lovejoy had stationed himself within constitutional bulwarks. He was not only defending the freedom of the press, but he was under his own roof, in arms with the sanction of the civil authority. The men who assailed him went against and over the laws. The *mob*, as the gentleman terms it, — mob, forsooth! certainly we sons of the tea-spillers are a marvellously patient generation! —

the "orderly mob" which assembled in the Old South to destroy the tea were met to resist, not the laws, but illegal exactions. Shame on the American who calls the tea-tax and stamp-act *laws!* Our fathers resisted, not the King's prerogative, but the King's usurpation. To find any other account, you must read our Revolutionary history upside down. Our State archives are loaded with arguments of John Adams to prove the taxes laid by the British Parliament unconstitutional, — beyond its power. It was not till this was made out that the men of New England rushed to arms. The arguments of the Council Chamber and the House of Representatives preceded and sanctioned the contest. To draw the conduct of our ancestors into a precedent for mobs, for a right to resist laws we ourselves have enacted, is an insult to their memory. The difference between the excitements of those days and our own, which the gentleman in kindness to the latter has overlooked, is simply this: the men of that day went for the right, as secured by the laws. They were the people rising to sustain the laws and constitution of the Province. The rioters of our day go for their own wills, right or wrong. Sir, when I heard the gentleman lay down principles which place the murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips [pointing to the portraits in the Hall] would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, — the slanderer of the dead. [Great applause and counter applause.] The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principles of these resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up.

[Applause and hisses, with cries of "Take that back." The uproar became so great that for a long time no one could be heard. At length

G. Bond, Esq., and Hon. W. Sturgis came to Mr. Phillips's side at the front of the platform. They were met with cries of "Phillips or nobody," "Make him take back 'recreant,'" "He sha'n't go on till he takes it back." When it was understood they meant to sustain, not to interrupt, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Sturgis was listened to, and said: "I did not come here to take any part in this discussion, nor do I intend to; but I do entreat you, fellow-citizens, by everything you hold sacred, — I conjure you by every association connected with this Hall, consecrated by our fathers to freedom of discussion, — that you listen to every man who addresses you in a decorous manner." Mr. Phillips resumed.]

Fellow-citizens, I cannot take back my words. Surely the Attorney-General, so long and well known here, needs not the aid of your hisses against one so young as I am, — my voice never before heard within these walls!

Another ground has been taken to excuse the mob, and throw doubt and discredit on the conduct of Lovejoy and his associates. Allusion has been made to what lawyers understand very well, — the "conflict of laws." We are told that nothing but the Mississippi River rolls between St. Louis and Alton; and the conflict of laws somehow or other gives the citizens of the former a right to find fault with the defender of the press for publishing his opinions so near their limits. Will the gentleman venture that argument before lawyers? How the laws of the two States could be said to come into conflict in such circumstances I question whether any lawyer in this audience can explain or understand. No matter whether the line that divides one sovereign State from another be an imaginary one or ocean-wide, the moment you cross it the State you leave is blotted out of existence, so far as you are concerned. The Czar might as well claim to control the deliberations of Faneuil Hall, as the laws of Missouri demand reverence, or the shadow of obedience, from an inhabitant of Illinois.

I must find some fault with the statement which has been made of the events at Alton. It has been asked

why Lovejoy and his friends did not appeal to the executive, — trust their defence to the police of the city. It has been hinted that, from hasty and ill-judged excitement, the men within the building provoked a quarrel, and that he fell in the course of it, one mob resisting another. Recollect, Sir, that they did act with the approbation and sanction of the Mayor. In strict truth, there was no executive to appeal to for protection. The Mayor acknowledged that he could not protect them. They asked him if it was lawful for them to defend themselves. He told them it was, and sanctioned their assembling in arms to do so. They were not, then, a mob; they were not merely citizens defending their own property; they were in some sense the *posse comitatus*, adopted for the occasion into the police of the city, acting under the order of a magistrate. It was civil authority resisting lawless violence. Where, then, was the imprudence? Is the doctrine to be sustained here, that it is *imprudent* for men to aid magistrates in executing the laws?

Men are continually asking each other, Had Lovejoy a right to resist? Sir, I protest against the question, instead of answering it. Lovejoy did not resist, in the sense they mean. He did not throw himself back on the natural right of self-defence. He did not cry anarchy, and let slip the dogs of civil war, careless of the horrors which would follow.

Sir, as I understand this affair, it was not an individual protecting his property; it was not one body of armed men resisting another, and making the streets of a peaceful city run blood with their contentions. It did not bring back the scenes in some old Italian cities, where family met family, and faction met faction, and mutually trampled the laws under foot. No; the men in that house were regularly *enrolled*, under the sanction of the Mayor. There being no militia in Alton, about seventy men were enrolled with the approbation of the Mayor. These relieved each other every

other night. About thirty men were in arms on the night of the sixth, when the press was landed. The next evening, it was not thought necessary to summon more than half that number; among these was Lovejoy. It was, therefore, you perceive, Sir, the police of the city resisting rioters, — civil government breasting itself to the shock of lawless men.

Here is no question about the right of self-defence. It is in fact simply this: Has the civil magistrate a right to put down a riot?

Some persons seem to imagine that anarchy existed at Alton from the commencement of these disputes. Not at all. "No one of us," says an eyewitness and a comrade of Lovejoy, "has taken up arms during these disturbances but at the command of the Mayor." Anarchy did not settle down on that devoted city till Lovejoy breathed his last. Till then the law, represented in his person, sustained itself against its foes. When he fell, civil authority was trampled under foot. He had "planted himself on his constitutional rights," — appealed to the laws, — claimed the protection of the civil authority, — taken refuge under "the broad shield of the Constitution. When through that he was pierced and fell, he fell but one sufferer in a common catastrophe." He took refuge under the banner of liberty, — amid its folds; and when he fell, its glorious stars and stripes, the emblem of free institutions, around which cluster so many heart-stirring memories, were blotted out in the martyr's blood.

It has been stated, perhaps inadvertently, that Lovejoy or his comrades fired first. This is denied by those who have the best means of knowing. Guns were first fired by the mob. After being twice fired on, those within the building consulted together and deliberately returned the fire. But suppose they did fire first. They had a right so to do; not only the right which every citizen has to

defend himself, but the further right which every civil officer has to resist violence. Even if Lovejoy fired the first gun, it would not lessen his claim to our sympathy, or destroy his title to be considered a martyr in defence of a free press. The question now is, Did he act within the Constitution and the laws? The men who fell in State Street on the 5th of March, 1770, did more than Lovejoy is charged with. They were the *first* assailants. Upon some slight quarrel they pelted the troops with every missile within reach. Did this bate one jot of the eulogy with which Hancock and Warren hallowed their memory, hailing them as the first martyrs in the cause of American liberty?

If, Sir, I had adopted what are called Peace principles, I might lament the circumstances of this case. But all you who believe, as I do, in the right and duty of magistrates to execute the laws, join with me and brand as base hypocrisy the conduct of those who assemble year after year on the 4th of July, to fight over the battles of the Revolution, and yet "damn with faint praise," or load with obloquy, the memory of this man, who shed his blood in defence of life, liberty, property, and the freedom of the press!

Throughout that terrible night I find nothing to regret but this, that within the limits of our country, civil authority should have been so prostrated as to oblige a citizen to arm in his own defence, and to arm in vain. The gentleman says Lovejoy was presumptuous and imprudent, — he "died as the fool dieth." And a reverend clergyman of the city * tells us that no citizen has a right to publish opinions disagreeable to the community! If any mob follows such publication, on *him* rests its guilt! He must wait, forsooth, till the people come up to it and agree with

* See Rev. Hubbard Winslow's discourse on *Liberty!* in which he defines "republican liberty" to be "liberty to say and do what the *prevailing* voice and will of the brotherhood will allow and protect."

him! This libel on liberty goes on to say that the want of right to speak as we think is an evil inseparable from republican institutions! If this be so, what are they worth? Welcome the despotism of the Sultan, where one knows what he may publish and what he may not, rather than the tyranny of this many-headed monster, the mob, where we know not what we may do or say, till some fellow-citizen has tried it, and paid for the lesson with his life. This clerical absurdity chooses as a check for the abuses of the press, not the *law*, but the dread of a mob. By so doing, it deprives not only the individual and the minority of their rights, but the majority also, since the expression of *their* opinion may sometimes provoke disturbance from the minority. A few men may make a mob as well as many. The majority, then, have no right, as Christian men, to utter their sentiments, if by any possibility it may lead to a mob! Shades of Hugh Peters and John Cotton, save us from such pulpits!

Imprudent to defend the liberty of the press! Why? Because the defence was unsuccessful? Does success gild crime into patriotism, and the want of it change heroic self-devotion to imprudence? Was Hampden imprudent when he drew the sword and threw away the scabbard? Yet he, judged by that single hour, was unsuccessful. After a short exile, the race he hated sat again upon the throne.

Imagine yourself present when the first news of Bunker Hill battle reached a New England town. The tale would have run thus: "The patriots are routed, — the redcoats victorious, — Warren lies dead upon the field." With what scorn would that *Tory* have been received, who should have charged Warren with *imprudence!* who should have said that, bred a physician, he was "out of place" in that battle, and "died as the *fool dieth*"! [Great applause.] How would the intimation have been received, that War-

ren and his associates should have waited a better time? But if success be indeed the only criterion of prudence, *Respice finem*, — wait till the end.

Presumptuous to assert the freedom of the press on American ground! Is the assertion of such freedom before the age? So much before the age as to leave one no right to make it because it displeases the community? Who invents this libel on his country? It is this very thing which entitles Lovejoy to greater praise. The disputed right which provoked the Revolution — taxation without representation — is far beneath that for which he died. [Here there was a strong and general expression of disapprobation.] One word, gentlemen. As much as *thought* is better than money, so much is the cause in which Lovejoy died nobler than a mere question of taxes. James Otis thundered in this Hall when the King did but touch his *pocket*. Imagine, if you can, his indignant eloquence, had England offered to put a gag upon his lips. [Great applause.]

The question that stirred the Revolution touched our civil interests. *This* concerns us not only as citizens, but as immortal beings. Wrapped up in its fate, saved or lost with it, are not only the voice of the statesman, but the instructions of the pulpit, and the progress of our faith.

The clergy "marvellously out of place" where free speech is battled for, — liberty of speech on national sins? Does the gentleman remember that freedom to preach was first gained, dragging in its train freedom to print? I thank the clergy here present, as I reverence their predecessors, who did not so far forget their country in their immediate profession as to deem it duty to separate themselves from the struggle of '76, — the Mayhews and Coopers, who remembered they were citizens before they were clergymen.

Mr. Chairman, from the bottom of my heart I thank that brave little band at Alton for resisting. We must remem-

ber that Lovejoy had fled from city to city, — suffered the destruction of three presses patiently. At length he took counsel with friends, men of character, of tried integrity, of wide views, of Christian principle. They thought the crisis had come: it was full time to assert the laws. They saw around them, not a community like our own, of fixed habits, of character moulded and settled, but one "in the gristle, not yet hardened into the bone of manhood." The people there, children of our older States, seem to have forgotten the blood-tried principles of their fathers the moment they lost sight of our New England hills. Something was to be done to show them the priceless value of the freedom of the press, to bring back and set right their wandering and confused ideas. He and his advisers looked out on a community, staggering like a drunken man, indifferent to their rights and confused in their feelings. Deaf to argument, haply they might be stunned into sobriety. They saw that of which we cannot judge, the *necessity* of resistance. Insulted law called for it. Public opinion, fast hastening on the downward course, must be arrested.

Does not the event show they judged rightly? Absorbed in a thousand trifles, how has the nation all at once come to a stand? Men begin, as in 1776 and 1640, to discuss principles, to weigh characters, to find out where they are. Haply we may awake before we are borne over the precipice.

I am glad, Sir, to see this crowded house. It is good for us to be here. When Liberty is in danger, Faneuil Hall has the right, it is her duty, to strike the key-note for these United States. I am glad, for one reason, that remarks such as those to which I have alluded have been uttered here. The passage of these resolutions, in spite of this opposition, led by the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, will show more clearly, more decisively, the deep indignation with which Boston regards this outrage.

A FEW EXTRACTS FROM OUR MANY LETTERS

"I sympathize with the object."

E. H. CAPEN, *President of Tufts College.*

"I will gladly do what I can to carry forward your movement."

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

"I am heartily in sympathy with the purpose of the Association, and shall be glad to aid it." REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM.

"I enclose my check for $50, for my subscription to the building fund, wishing you entire success in the laudable undertaking in which you are engaged." DANA ESTES.

"We will increase our subscription $50, making a total of $100 to Wendell Phillips Hall Association."

DENNISON MANUFACTURING CO.

ALBERT METCALF, *Treas.*

"I heartily sympathize with your object, and subscribe $50 for the Wendell Phillips fund." JOHN G. WHITTIER.

"Enclosed please find my contribution to your Association. I heartily sympathize with its purpose, and wish for it all success."

HON. WM. E. RUSSELL.

"I take pleasure in handing you herewith check for one hundred dollars to perpetuate the memory of so great a mind and character as Wendell Phillips." A. SHUMAN.

"I enclose herewith check for $100, amount of subscription of The Boston Herald Company to the Wendell Phillips Hall Association, with best wishes." A. H. BINDEN, *Cashier.*

"You have on hand a large and very noble project. I am much interested in it. There should be erected in Boston some worthy memorial of her great-hearted son, who loved his native city so inexpressibly that he endured persecution, and wrought mightily to make it so free that the foot of a slave should never press its soil.

"You may put me down for $100 toward the building fund."

MARY A. LIVERMORE.