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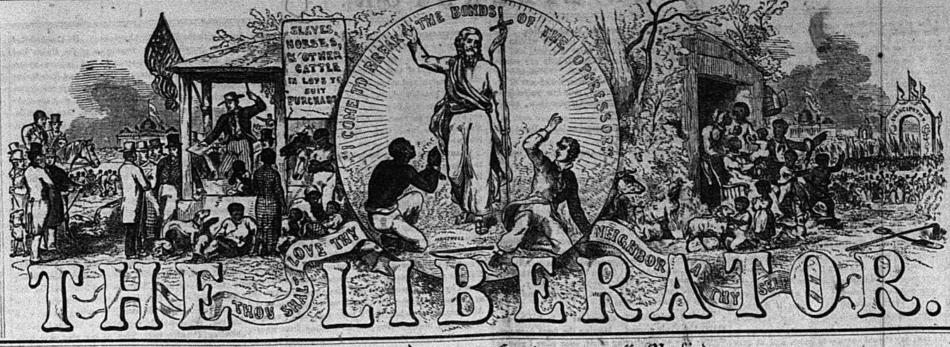
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For In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of per question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXV. NO. 24.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL'

TO Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,

of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES-AR

engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed!... To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It, is doubly tainted with the infection of

riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial

majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY

TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-

UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANDIATING SPIRIT

OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions To

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1855.

WHOLE NUMBER 1093.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

MASSACHUSETTS PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

ESTALIATION RECORDEN DED IN LOUISIANA.

From the New Orleans Bulletin, May 28.

The deed of infamy is done. The act passed by Legislature of Massachusetts, of which are before spoken, styled, 'An act to protect the

have before spoken, styled, An act to protect the rights and liberties of the Commonwealth of Masschusetts, and which had been vetoed by the Governor, has been again passed, in spite of the reto, by a majority of 32 to 3 in the Senate, and reto, by a majority
three to one in the House of Representatives.

The design of this outrageous and infamous proeding is to render nugatory the Fugitive Slave

Law of the United States, by imposing such penal-fies upon individuals, whose services may be repaired to give it effect, and throwing such obstas in the way as to make the execution of it imracticable, and, in fact, utterly impossible.
The Executive of Massachusetts had the indemedence and nerve, with the advice of his official

seller, the Attorney General, who declared the act unconstitutional, to veto it; but over this reto the Legislature has passed the bill, almost unanimously in the Senate, and by a vote of three to one in the House. This assemblage of the degenerate sons of the good old Commonwealth must have been under the influence of the very demon of Abolitionism. They had already debased them-selves and disgraced their State by their flagrant outrages on morals and decorum; and they have put the finishing touch, the cap-stone, to their intany, by an act of aggressive treason against the Constitution and the Union. Modern degeneracy cannot be more glaringly and palpably exemplified. me-honored Massachusetts has become the pesinnerhot-bed of faction, bigotry, and fraternal dis-erd. The soil consecrated by the first blood of the resolution is yielding a late barvest of hydraendel monsters, who are traitorously leagued togather to scatter the dragon seeds of revolution and gener to scatter the dragon seeds of revolution and rain over its fair surface. The glorious old State, with its revolutionary memories clustering around it; the cradle where liberty was rocked, where it raised its first voice, and where its growth where it raised its brist voice, and where its growth was nutrured and sustained, has, in the maturity of its years and strength, rashly stretched out its sarilegious arms to pull down the pillars of the boble edifice which it was so instrumental in

Are there none of the 'solid men of Boston' left are there none of the solid like this fell spirit of fol-brebuke and put to flight this fell spirit of fol-ly, madness, and blind fanaticism! Where are Everetts, the Choates, the Winthrops, and the hasts of patriotic Massachusetts men, whose max-imalways has been, 'One Constitution, one Union, one Destiny,' that they are not lifting up their raice, deprecating, and striving, and fighting against this outrageous violation of the Constitu-tion! How the sacred shade of the 'great expounder' would frown indignantly upon this cursed act of descration of an instrument which he so much loved and revered, and held so sacred!

May there not be some who have taken part in

his infamous procedure, who yet remember the malediction he hurled in burning words upon the fomenters of discord and strife, when, at the foot Bunker Hill Monument, he exclaimed, Woe betide the man who can stand here with the firs of local resentments burning, for the purfee of fomenting local jealousies, and the strifes of local interests festering and rankling in his heart! Union established in justice, in patri-cism, and in the most plain and obvious common interest; Union founded on the same love of liberty, cemented by blood shed in the same common cause; Union has been the source of all our glory and greatness thus far, and is the ground

of all our highest hopes.'
It is this Union which these parricidal miscreasts of the Massachusetts Legislature are endeav-

oring to weaken and destroy.

The question that presents itself to every reflecting mind is. What is to be the upshot of this disorganizing movement! Will the South pas-sively and quietly submit to this desperate assault apon the Constitution, the great bulwark of our ties, without even making a show of resist-The State of Massachusetts is vulnerable in one point; however case-hardened she may be against all appeals to reason, magnanimity or patriotism, there is the exposed part, like the heel of Achilles, where she is assailable. We must attack her here, As she is now governed, it is the only specified in the state of the control of th scusifire spot in which she can be made to feel.
We have a large and profitable trade with Boston: profitable to her, but which can be easily diverted

to some other point, without any prejudice to us.

If Massachusetts persists in this system of gross and absurd injustice, depriving us of rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution, let us retalihard knocks as well as take them. Non-intercourse and reprisals may be established, without committing any breach of the peace, or destroying amica-ble relations; it is a quiet and easy way of ob-taining satisfaction and redress; and, our word for t, let but the pocket-nerve of our Yankee friends he ridely touched, and it will vibrate with such rapidity and force, that conviction will imwe waitely follow remorse, and repentance wait upon both. The odious bill will be repealed on the first opportunity.

From the Mobile Daily Register. MASSACHUSETTS NULLIPICATION.

By the passage of an act called the 'Personal Liberty Bill,' the State of Massachusetts has virtaily thrown off her obligations to the Constitu-tion of the Union, and placed herself beyond the pale of its fundamental law. The act in question aullifies the Fugitive Slave law of the United States, and punishes her citizens who, acknowledging fealty to the Constitution of the United States, aid in enforcing the law. It is breath wasted at this late day, to dwell upon the depth and intensity of the inatical furor, which having taken possession of the legislative body of a State of this Union, could have a state of the Union. eguative body of a State of this Union, could carry so flagrant an act as this, by a constitutional majority, over the veto of the Governor. The insane delusion of anti-slavery has here touched its lowest bottom. So long as its efforts were confined to the agitating machinery of lectures, speeches, conventions, caricatures, Stowe novels and fanatical sermons, the Southern States had nothing to do but to look in wonder and pity at the inatical sermons, the Southern States had notaing to do but to look in wonder and pity at the
folly and ignorance displayed by the crack-brained
theorists engaged in them. But when anti-slavery takes possession of the legislature of one of the
confederates, and is potent enough to pass a law to
nullify a constitutional provision, and to release her
from all obligations to research a principal stipulafrom all obligations to regard a principal stipula-tion all obligations to regard a principal stipula-tion in the compact between herself and her co-States, it becomes the latter gravely to enquire what duties to themselves and to the family o

States are imposed by this revolutionary measure

It is perfectly certain that Massachusetts must expunge this act from her statute book, or she must be herself expunged from the Union. The fifteen slave States, at least, cannot consent to a coninuation of the partnership upon any such terms Of the present confederacy, the Constitution is the only bond and rule of action. If the States cannot live together under it, there is nothing left but

At the New England A. S. Convention, May 31, 1855, to break up, and begin de novo. If we cannot come together on principles of common consent, we must live apart. What is certain is, that we cannot keep together on the basis of the present compact, broken in an essential part by one of the parties

The mode and measure of redress is a matter for the solemn consideration of the Legislatures of the slaveholding States.

In the meantime, a writer for the New Orleans Picayune makes the following suggestions—very good and proper if they could be acted upon, but quite useless unless they could be unanimously adopted, and every community of every town, city, village and neighborhood in the Southern States were pledged to carry them into effect:

one half of the nation—and the degrading vassalage of the entire North to the accursed Slave Power; that no other Union has existed since the adoption of the United States Constitution; that such a Union is to be resisted,

were pledged to carry them into effect:

'MASSACHUSETTS NULLIFICATION.'

Under this head, the Bulletin of this morning called the attention of its readers to an act recently passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, called the Personal Liberty Act. This act has been passed he Personal Liberty Act. This act has been passed by the constitutional majority, notwithstanding the Governor's veto, and it now becomes the people of the whole South to express their opinion of this upon some of the positions taken, this foreneon, by outrage, in a manner which shall not only be heard, some of our friends who are not yet prepared to join ers of goods from and into every Southern port at once hold public meetings, and solemnly pledge themselves that, until the repeal of that nefarious to be the truest of the true. They mean to pursue themselves that, until the repeal of that nefarious to be the truest of the true.

Let them further pledge themselves not to buy

This, sir, is a method of retaliation, legal in all its

From the Nebraska City News. RIVER, BECOME A SLAVE STATE?

called the Missourians there to make that Territory a slave Territory. It is the same voice that re-verberated in the halls of our National Congress, that hissed in the negro-saving mobs of Boston and Chicago, and that now calls slavery to this Terripoliticians. Who desired it to become a slave tate more than all other living men! The oposers of the Nebraska Bill, in order that their

is early as 1856.

If there is one thing more than any other that gives vitality to slavery—that propagates it—that spreads it like an infection, that one thing is the rothing, boiling, rampant Abolitionism Had it never existed, slavery would have died years ago, and the inscription would have died years ago, and the inscription upon its tomb-stone would have recorded a natural death; but, verging towards its dissolution, the galvanic action of Abolition opposition was applied, and it revived to fight and increase in strength, as the battle lengthened, until now it has the family and the strength as the battle lengthened, until now it has the family and the strength as the battle lengthened, until now it has the family and the strength as the battle lengthened, until now it has the strength as the battle lengthened, until now it has the strength as the battle lengthened, until now it has the strength as the battle lengthened, until now it has the strength as the strength as the battle lengthened, until now it has the strength as the battle lengthened, until now it has the strength as the strength grown a formidable foe to those who first threw eth the deep to boil as a pot.

down the glove and the gauntlet.

And now slavery is here, in a small way, a few

This, Mr. Chairman, is the monster with whom we have the control of the co

REV. THEODORE PARKER.

go to the devil!'
And this is another of the Christian parsons of the North!
The ascendancy of sound American principles in the accession to office of a purely American party, bound to maintain the Constitution and defend the Union, may be safely relied on by those who have their country's interests at heart, to defeat all such treasonable machinations as these.—New Orleans

Our friend, Mr. Wasson, objects to the Disunior programs Mr. 20 Picayune, May 20.

ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YECRINTON.

At the close of our forencon session, I submitted the

following resolution to the Convention :-

Resolved, That the American Union is the su-premacy of the bowie knife, the revolver, the slave-driver's lash, and lynch law, over freedom of speech,

It will be in order, at this time, to pursue the dis-

but shall be felt also. Let Southern sentiment be us, in seeking the overthrow of the American Union. aroused. Let the merchants, shippers and import- I give full credit to those gentlemen as desiring to law, they will in every and in all cases refuse to such a course as, in their judgment, they think will ship a pound of freight by any vessel belonging to a port in Massachusetts, provided a vessel from any other port can be had. must express my astonishment that they seem unable, a yard of cotton, or other manufactures made in must express my astonishment that they seem unable, as yet, to comprehend the issue we make before the country; that they fail to appreciate the deep consci-Let the citizens of the whole South abstain from entionsness, the high sense of duty, the imperative entering the State of Massachusetts, or paying one dollar for the benefit of her railroads or hotels. this question of dissolving the existing bonds between the North and the South. My esteemed friend, Mr. bearings, and one which will bring the mad fanat-ies of the North to their senses far sooner than all Wasson, deemed it not worth while for us, who are the political associations that can ever be devised. Disunionists, any longer to occupy such a position.

Let it not be said this would be unfair, as conWhy not, he asks, be more practical? Why not, infounding the guilty with the honest. It will not. stead of rejecting the ballot-box, use it as an instrumentality for effecting the overthrow of slavery? As hold of their legislative affairs themselves, and consign the present infamous members of the Massa-chusetts Legislature to that oblivion from which they have sprung; and wiff assuredly cause the favor of John P. Hale or Charles Sunner, and thus law in question to be crased from the statute books do an effectual work in putting down the reign of the of the once honored State of Massachusetts.

Slave Power? Now, my surprise is that, after so long
Let no one imagine that this cannot be carried a time, and so constant a reiteration of the insuperable out. I am quite sure it can be, for I have conversed with many of our merchants, and all, without an exception, agree that it is a measure which should at once be adopted, and you may rest as is asking us to do what we can neither innocently nor sured that New Orleans is ready to move.

New Orleans, May 26, 1855.

UNION.

honorably perform, whether as Abolitionists or as men, with our present views of the United States Constitu-

He spoke of some of the disastrous consequences that SHALL NEBRASKA, SOUTH OF PLATTE would probably follow in the wake of disunion. Sir, this is not a question of consequences; -whether, by The cry has gone up from abelition throats, dissolving the Union, we shall have a civil or servile 'Slavery shall not enter Nebraska.' It is the same war, or whether, by preserving the Union, we shall yell of fanaticism that shricked in Kansas, and avoid these calamities, and, at some time or other, be permitted to hail the jubilee. The question has every thing to do with principle, and true manhood, and moral consistency. It is-What is the American Union ? Did our friend define it? Did he tell us what it is--where it is to be found-whose freedom is protected cory, by a regular challenge. Kansas is a slave —where it is to be found—whose freedom is protected tory, by a regular challenge. Kansas is a slave —where it is to be found—whose freedom is protected by it? To descant upon an ideal Union is useless nay, a mockery! Dealing in generalities will never abolish slavery. Let me tell my friend, Mr. PIERPONT, edictions might prove true; that they might be that this tremendous conflict is not a philological, is not written down prophets : excite a Northern war on a grammatical one, as he seems to think it is. We are Southern States; sever the Union, or allow each dealing, not simply with verbs and nouns, but with one of them to be President of the United States facts and figures; not only with the dead fathers, but facts and figures; not only with the dead fathers, but with living tyrants of the worst description; not only with dry parchment, but with an awakened leviathan. · Canst thou draw out leviathan with a hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down? Will he make many supplications unto thee ? will he speak soft words unto thee? will he make a covenant with thee?

are contending. Is he to be overthrown by a grammatnegroes, twenty or so, and its supporters are com-ing faster and faster. What sends them here! A ical thrust or a verbal criticism? I tell you nay beautiful country is not all that they seek, but a Sir, we are engaged in one of the deadliest conflicts the slavery victory over those who have challenged them. They seek to drown that hypocritical voice that cried 'slavery shall not enter Nebraska,' and logic, or parchment, or the law of the living God, but prove it false; they seek to conquer those who have taunted them, by making South of the Platte river is the great lawless fiend of the universe, with whom no alliance is to be formed, no peace can be kept, no

The men who started this excitement live in Boston and other eastern cities, and send now and then a handful of deluded mortals to these Territories to carry out the larce, and illustrate their exact truth. It asserts that the American Union is, in devotion to freedom, by attempting to govern all the Southern States, in regard to freedom of speech, of men in and after the manner of doctrine taught by Seward. Wendelf Phillips, Theodore Parker, et id sowie-knife and revolver, the slave-driver's lash, and omne genus. And so we have some excitement in Nebraska City in the way of street debates—dorsteps discussions; and the question is, 'Shall Nebraska south of the Platte river be a slave State?' of that line, it is, and ever has been, the absolute vassalage of the entire North to the despotic commands o This designing demagogue 'was received with much applause,' of course, on the occasion of the American Anti-Slavery Society's anniversary meet-American Anti-Slavery Society's anniversary meeting, at the Metropolitan Theatre. New York, last week. He made one of his blasphemous and traitorous speeches, which he is reported to have closed with a comparison of the Union to a vessel which had lost masts, rudder and all its rigging, which had drifted on the rocks and could not be which had drifted on the rocks and could not be a contending that in such case it was the repaired, contending that in such case it was the part of wisdom to abandon the wreck and save the crew. Like the sailor who was asked what he would do in such a case, he would say, 'Let her go to the devil!'

And this is the sailor of the Christian sail as the content of the something directly the reverse of it, then he is talking about something that does not exist, -that is altogethe

one of the things here objected to.

drawn-battle with the enemy, or that we propose to with hell." make a truce with him under any circumstances. I I admit that there is not a line in the Constitution deny that we are for leaving the slaveholder to do what providing for a slave representation, in so many words. he may with his slaves. I deny that it is to lose sight The language is three fifths of all other persons' our object—to wit, the abolition of slavery—to sep- after feveral classes have been mentioned. arate from the South. Sir, the Union of this country any man deny that that very clause meant the slave is embodied in the Constitution of the United States. population? Did Washington, Jefferson, Sam Adams, Without that instrument, there would be no Union. John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin-did any body, in The terms are synonomous. Now, then, what is the any part of the country, at that time-regard it in any Constitution-what are its bearings upon the destiny of other light? Now to say that the men who made and adthe millions who are in bondage-what are its require- ministered the instrument, and the people who adoptments of the people of the North, with regard to slave- ed it, did not know what they were about, or what they ry-what is implied and understood by the oath taken intended by it, is to say the absurdest thing in the to sustain it? The whole question is compressed in a world. nut-shell. How do we meet it? We look into the his- So, when we come to the article respecting ' persons tory of that instrument; we interrogate the Conven- held to service or labor' escaping from one State into tion that framed and the people who adopted it; we another, it is true that it does not say ' slaves,' but it the United States, its lawful expounder, what, from the constitute in all good faith its binding obligation. It is to slavery; and there has been but one verdict. Be- cute it? Is it not included in the general oath? fore God, that verdict we believe to be true to the facts Here let me bring a parallel case. It is argued that in the case. We know that the people of this country the Constitution is unexceptionable in its language; never did make an anti-slavery Constitution. We affirm it to be 'a self-evident truth,' that they have been therefore, that we ought not to repudiate it, but use it they carried contagion in their touch.

to look; we are carefully and honestly to ascertain what prove this, by the rules of logic, and grammar, and they understood and intended by it; and not to take un- criticism, and an appeal to the ' higher law.' On what due advantage of its letter, even for a laudable pur- ground? Because, in the Fugitive Slave Bill, so call-

him a note which read— For value received, I promise from beginning to end! Yet, if I were to argue in this not to pay Wm. Lloyd Garrison, six months after date, manner, what would be thought of my intelligence or the party holding the note knew that it was thus word- not a word in it about capturing a fugitive slave, and ed, if he thought he could recover.

used in the note was made the reverse of what we both inderstood and meant by it. I ask, in that case, which of us would not stand convicted of a moral outrage, in taking advantage of the literal words, to the injury of the other party? (Applause.)

and of course he ought not to receive it.

o the intentions of the parties. To ignore these-to say man to make. that we will stick to the letter thereof—to treat it as a C. C. BURLEIGH—That is not the point. How comes

judged by its letter. [Mr. Pierpont-Certainly.] Mr. Pierpont-I do not say that it does mean fugin the other points? [Mr. P.—I will take another day for that.] What shall we do, for instance, with the clause providing for slave representation?

Now, I put it to the intelligence and honesty of every cuted for twenty years under our star-spangled banner. a living thing ! (Applause.) want to know where the man is, who will stand up and deny it. I have never yet met him. No man doubts it; no man denies it. Now, would it not be trifling with the common sense of this nation to say-'i defy you to prove that any agreement was ever made with regard to the foreign slave trade'? Literally, it sannot be done because there was never a word inserted in the Constitution, expressly declaring that the foreign slave traffic might be prosecuted for a term of years. Nevertheless, the devil of slavery was hidden in it, in ambiguous terms ; and the more hateful a devil, because robed in language quite unexceptionable. [Mr. Pienpony-That devil has been cast out.] But we want to know whether that devil was ever there, and whether there are not other devils, concealed under

this agreement respecting the foreign slave trade was made and fully executed, it shows, in the first place, rison says that the Fugitive Slave Law, as it is called, sy, a thousand times sooner. (Loud cheers,)

tle with the n emy-allowing him to go off with bag and beggage. Indeed! He says that employed, as the friends of the slave, should not be to separate from the and was not designed to interfere with it, but rather slaveholders, but to avolish slavery. Indeed! Now furnished it with fresh victims for a long period, and let us see how this is. Let us see whether we do any provided national safeguards for its perpetuation. As it has never been altered in these particulars, it still Mr. Chairman, I deny that we are for making a remains 'a covenant with death, and an agreement

inquire of all the courts, of all the legislatures, of all meant slaves, meant nothing else but slaves; and the the Congresses, and, finally, of the Supreme Court of design and spirit, not the mere letter of the agreement, hour of its adoption to the present time, has been the no answer to say that, being an immoral contract, it is intent and meaning of the Constitution, as pertaining null and void. The question is, can we swear to exe-

morally incapable, through prejudice, hatred and op- as an anti-slavery instrument. I want those who reapression, of adopting, delibertely and purposely, a son thus to be consistent. There is, for instance, what Constitution that should instantly emancipate every is called the Fugitive Slave Bill. Now, I know none slave, and receive into the great American family, on more ready to denounce that Bill as infernal than our equal terms, the colored population, bond and free. In our friends here who dissent from our construction of all the States, the colored people have been treated as a the Constitution. It is a Bill which has caused even leprous race. Even in the Church, they have been this wicked nation to shudder; it has sent a thrill of cribed, and forced to occupy the 'negro pew,' as if horror throughout the civilized world. But what is the meaning of all this? What a grand mistake the Mr. Chairman, the Constitution of the United States country and the civilized world have made! For there what the people meant it to be. It is not simply to never has been a Fugitive Slave Bill passed by Conphraseology, or its grammatical acouracy, we are gress! I might stand here, and gravely attempt to ed, there is not one single exceptionable word! It is Mr. Piehronr asked the speaker if he should give the very language of our anti-slavery Constitution, te hundred dollars,' and he should bring an action to candor? How is it, then, that our dissenting friends ecover the amount, and he (Mr. P.) should show that can denounce that Bill as demoniacal, though there is then turn round and pronounce a glowing eulogy on Mr. Garrison-Let us make the case analogous, and the Constitution of the United States, when it is prethen see whether I ought not to recover. Suppose there

Now, I like to see men consistent. I like to see them march up to their own standard. If this is a matter of verbal criticism, be it so to the end! I want our friends PIERPONT and WASSON to thank God that Congress did not succeed in passing a Fugitive Slave Bill, though that body meant to do so. I want them to car-Mr. Pirapont said it was not a question of morals, ry out their own theory, and say, 'The framers of the but a question of law. Suppose, in the case put, there Constitution, whatever their intentions, did not succeed ras no consideration obliging him, on the point of in getting slavery into it, and we will not put it in morals, to pay so much money at the time. The holder there ; Congress failed to get it into the Fugitive Slave might have supposed that he had given him a note pro- Bill, (falsely so called,) and it is not for us to wrest its nising to pay, but he ought not to have supposed so; language so as to make it applicable to fugitive slaves. Both are to be interpreted favorable to liberty.'

Mr. GARRISON-The difficulty is, I submit, that our Mr. PIERFONT-I carry out my theory thus : Void friend has been arguing from false analogies all the way as the clause in the Constitution is, upon which the through. His illustration is not to the purpose. We Fugitive Slave Bill professes to be based, the Bill itself nust take the facts as we find them. We must go back is utterly ineffectual, for two reasons : first, because it o history. Whence came this Constitution? It was is a violation of natural right on the part of the slave, agreed upon by independent colonial sovereignties, and therefore of no force as a law; and secondly, begreed upon by independent any doubt as to cause it is in direct conflict with another clause of the the pro-slavery guarantees contained therein. Well, Constitution, which provides for the judiciary part of how is it to be interpreted? I deny that it is amenable the government, which part declares that all judicial to the common law, any further than that instrument power shall be vested in judges nominated by the Press pleased to recognize the rules of common law. The ident and confirmed by the Senate. Here is a Court Constitution is the supreme LAW of the LAND; it is which the Constitution does not recognize, but which it constitution is the services of the stand before it. In con- has especially prohibited. That Court is as great a straing it, we must be true to the facts of history, and violation of the Constitution as it is in the power of

legislative enactment, in the manner of its interpreta- it to pass that the Fugitive Slave Act, so called, is tion—is equally unfair and preposterous.

Now, let us see whether our friend is consistent with that our friend argues against it as a Fugitive Slave timself. The Constitution of the United States is to be Act, when it uses the language of the Constitution?

Very well; and our friend says that, by its letter, the Constitution is anti-slavery. Now, the fugitive slave given up, though he he a facilitie slave. I say that is Constitution is anti-slavery. Now, the fugitive slave given up, though he be a fugitive slave. I say that is an assumption of the Slave Power, which it makes in tion. [Mr. P.—It is the only point I brought in my direct violation of the principles of construction of law. argument.] Will not our friend relieve our consciences It is a violation of the great principle upon which contracts are construed, namely, that they must have a consideration. Then, again, it is a violation of natural right, and therefore void. But now, after we have shown that part of the Constitution to be a nullity, we man in this nation, whether there can be any doubt are required to look this Fugitive Slave Bill in the face, whatever, that the people of the different States, in alopting the Constitution, did agree, by that instrument, When I have abolished a thing, in God's name, and in to have the foreign slave trade nationalized, and prose- the name of common sense, do not ask me to treat it as

Mr. Gannison-I submit that the point has not been met. It seems to me very clear and very simple, but I may be confused. It is fair to measure our friends by their own standard, if they are unwilling to be measured by ours. Now, we are met broadly, in our interpretation of the Constitution, with the assertion, that, according to the language of that instrument, nothing of a pro-slavery character is to be found in it; that we must adhere to the letter thereof, and not travel out of the record; and that we have nothing to do with the intentions of those who framed it. Well, if this position is good in that direction, it is good in another and what I was endeavoring to show was, that the Fugitive Slave Bill is expressed, from beginning to equally ambiguous terms. I am glad that even one end, in the language of the Constitution; and that, therefore, there never has been such a Bill passed, if this hour regarded as desirable, at the South, and is more than probable, at no distant day.

Now, my argument is this:—It being admitted that

cannot be known to be such, except through the language of the Constitution, which is the very language n which the subject of that law is described, so far, admit the premises. Now, he proves this law to be constitutional, and to be known to be a Fugitive Slave Law, because the language in which the subject of the law is described is precisely the same as the language of the United States Constitution ; therefore, the Constitution must be a pro-slavery instrument. Now, let me show the fault of the logic. The Fugitive S'ave Act is known to be such, because the subject of that Act is described in the language of the clause in the Coustitution providing for the return of fugitive slaves, by the admission of our friend on the other side. I admit that this Fugitive Slave Act is known to be intended as such ; I admit that the subject of the Act is described in the terms of the section of the Constitution-Art. 2, sec. 4. Now, does it follow that the Constitution is a pro-slavery instrument, when I have shown that the very clause of the Constitution on which alone the Fugitive Slave Bill is based is not the Constitution; that, though written with that which is the Constitution, it is itself a nullity? That section may be good, if it is intended under it to return fugitives, apprentices, redemptionists, or minors; but if construed as referring to fugitive slaves, it is fundamentally and immedicably dead, because in violation of natural right,-the 'higher law.' It never had any vitality, it never can have any vitality, as a law; and all the parties making and adopting it knew that it never had, and never could have, any vitality, because, at that very time, these great principles of construction were all settled. There were great lawyers in the Convention that adopted the Constitution, and they knew, in their own souls, that there could be no validity in that clause. Then I say, the logic is false, because it takes the clause which, although embodied in the Constitution, was, is, ever has een, and ever must be, a total nullity as a law for the government of human beings, and judges the whole in strument by that ; and I say, that to judge the whole Constitution, in which there are hundreds of provisions, by the single provision which we prove to be nothing, s, to my mind, not logic. Mr. GARRISON-We are talking about language

ow-about the meaning of words-not about higher law.' Let us keep to the point. If the objecion to our position is, that the language of the Constitution is unexceptionable in regard to liberty, and therefore we ought not to construe it in a pro-slavery sense; then we turn to those who take this ground, and ask-· Has there been a Fugitive Slave Bill adopted by Conress?' Their answer is, 'Yes'-and they go on to xpress their horror and indignation in view of the fact. ludging them by their own rules of interpretation, we sek them when and where such a Bill has been passed; ve challenge them to prove their assertion; and they are dumb! Their very logic-I call it sophistry-is fatal to their position. For if they say the Fugitive Slave Bill was designed to mean the recapture of fugitive slaves, and is therefore properly designated as suchvery well ;-so does the Constitutional provision mean and was designed to mean, precisely the same thing; for the language is the same in both cases. Against the logic, and rhetoric, and grammar, of my respected friend, as to what the Constitution is, I put the uniform judgment and action of this nation for sixty-five years. Every State Legislature is against him; every State Court is against him; all the District Courts of the United States are against him; the Supreme Court of the United States, the Constitutional expounder of the instrument, is against him. Every thing is against him, from beginning to end. The people cannot have erred in so grave a matter; they have neither been deceived nor deluded; the heart of the nation has been inexorably cruel and tyrannical toward the colored population, whether bond or free; and it is useless to deny the fact. ' Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? . Can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit?

Mr. Chairman, I believe, in my heart and consciencecannot believe otherwise, in view of the history of this country, the character of the people, and their treatment of the colored population for two hundred yearsbelieve that, in the formation of the Constitution, provision was made, in deceitful phraseology, for the continuance of the foreign slave trade for twenty years; for a slave representation in Congress; for the recapture of fugitive slaves; and for the suppression of domestic insurrection in the slave States. That is my judgment of it, and I claim that conscience ought to be respected on his-platform. What shocks me is, that while we avow it as our belief, that we should sin against God, and be false to liberty, if we took part in this government, we are still asked to override conscience, to abandon our ideas of duty, for the sake of casting a ballot ! If, in our belief, that ballot is stained with the blood of the slave, how can we touch it? We are not allowed to take an oath that we will support the Constitution as far as we can conscientiously. We are as much bound to support one portion of it, in good faith, as another; or else we must refuse to take the oath, and so avoid perjury. Now, I go from place to place, and plead the cause of ' the suffering and the dumb' in the land. I stand as the humble representative of those who cannot speak for themselves. The people have a right to examine me, to see if I 'remember those in bonds as bound with them'; or whether I am compromising their rights for any purpose, or on any pretence, however plausible. Well, under the Constitution, the following is the obligation imposed upon me as a vo-ter:— Will you swear that slaveholders, because they are slaveholders, shall have extraordinary political power in Congress, in proportion to the number of slaves that they can breed or steal?' No; before God, I cannot do it! Therefore, I put my foot on it, as I would upon a reptile. I cannot take the oath to conform to whatever is good in the Constitution, because I cannot take this damning iniquity with it. Again :- Will you swear that no slave shall find

a refuge on any part of the American soil ?—that even on Bunker Hill he shall not stand in safety from his pursuers? No! rather let my right hand perish, and

et a thunderbolt from heaven smite me to the dust!

Will you swear that, should the slaves rise up, in mitation of our revolutionary fathers, and seek to seare their Treedom by the sword, the entire military and naval power of the country shall be pledged to the oppressors, to put the insurgents back into their chains, or into a bloody grave? No! I would as soon deny my God; I would as soon commit suicide;

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So, then, there is an insurmountable barrier in the way, which prevents me from taking the oath of allegiance :- it is conscience. Away with the oath-it is immoral! Away with the Constitution-it smells of

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that I should feel nonthe less called upon to cry, ' No Union with Slaveholders!' even if the language and object of the Constitution were entirely unobjectionable. We are dealing with a ferocious oligarchy, rather than with a dry parchment. We are ruled by the Slave Power more absolutely than were the colonies by George the Third. It is infatuation to think of preserving our liberties in alliance with that Power. Nor may we hope to bring it to terms. In one thing, at least, let us imitate the example of our revolutionary sires. Of what did they complain? Of parliamentary oppression, of kingly nsurpation, of taxation without representation; not of Magna Charta, not of the British Constitution-for to the spirit and provisions of these they appealed in selfdefence, until endurance ceased to be a virtue. They declared that the time had come for separation-that when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is the right, it is the duty of the people to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.' They did not say, ' We can do better than to secode: let us wait for the repeal of these oppressive enactments: the British Constitution is still ours-Magna Charta and the Common Law still remain, and shall yet be vindicated: other parliaments are to be elected : let us bide our time under the wing of the mother country.' No! But so reasoned the tories of that day, (I mean nothing invidious by the reference,) and denounced the proposition for colonial recession as the wildest fanaticism. Had their counsel prevailed, where would have been Bunker Hill, and Lexington. and Concord, in history-where the Independence of America? Our fathers were men of practical good sense. They had to deal with an overshadowing despotism, against which parchment was powerless, and the Constitution metraw. And so they 'acquiesced in the necessity which denounced their separation,' and solemnly published and declared that these United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all connexion between them and the State of Great Britain was, and ought to be, totally dissolved.' Under the domination of the Slave Power, we of the North cannot do better than to imitate their example. As in their case, so in ours-patience, forbearance, expostulation will avail nothing. If we mean to be freemen, we can never strike hands with those who make merchandise of their fellow-men. The exactions which they demand of us render this impossible. We are asked, ' How is the dissolution of the Union

to be effected? Give us your plan!' My answer is whenever THE PEOPLE are ready for Disunion, they will easily find out a way to effect it. When this sentiment shall spread like a flame, as I trust in God it will, through the length and breadth of the free States, (cheers,) the people will come together in their primary assemblies, and elect such men to represent them in General Convention as they may deem best qualified to devise ways and means for effecting a separation, and to frame a new government, free from the spirit of bondage. In that hour, they will not ask for any plan of mine, or any of my associates on this platform: we shall be as drops in the Atlantic ocean. The chain once broken, the EVERETTS, the CHOATES, the WINTHROPS. will then be as ready to obey the popular sentiment and to take the lead in the cause of freedom, as they have hitherto been subservient to the will of the Slave Power. Our preliminary work is, not to construct a new government, but first of all to make every Northern man see and confess, that our boasted Union is a snare, a curse, and a degrading vassalage; -in strict verity, that there is no Union for freedom to be dissolved, but one to BE CREATED. For where is the man who will venture to deny any one of the allegations contained in the resolution I have submitted to the Convention? Allow me to read it once more :-

Resolved, That the American Union is the suprem ncy of the bowie knife, the revolver, the slave-driver's lash, and lynch law, over freedom of speech, of the press. of conscience, of locomotion, in more than one half of the nation'-[Is it not so ?- 'Yes, yes' ;]- and the degrading vassalage of the entire North to the accursed Slave Power;' [Is not that true ?- 'Yes, yes';]- ' that ideal one-not something yet to be realized]- that such a Union is to be resisted, denounced and repudiated by every lover of liberty, until its utter overthrow shall consummated; and that, to effect this glorious of ject, there should be one united shout of . No Union

with Slaveholders, religiously or politically ! ' This declaration cannot be gainsayed. Let us, then not waste our time in verbal criticism, or legal hairsplitting, as to the meaning of words. Down with SUCH A UNION ! (Cheers, and a few hisses in the gal-

Mr. Chairman, this question does not concern me or the Abelitionists in particular : it concerns every one who means to be a MAN, and to carry a heart in his bosom-every Whig, every Democrat, every Know Nothing, every Free Soller. I take it for granted, whether they have any bowels of mercy for those in slavery, or not, they mean to assert their own right to freedom of speech and locomotion, in every section of the land; or, if not, then they are dastards. Now, is this a right which they possess? Who, of them all, dares venture south of Mason and Dixon's line, and fearlessly rebuke the slaveholder to his face, and openly declare that his sympathies are with the enslaved? In vain shall he make his appeal to the 'higher law'! The Southern substitute for this, in all such cases, is 'lynch law. In vain shall be assert his constitutional right to speak his own sentiments : the Constitution is powerless! He will fare no better than the most radical Disunion Abolitionist. That being so, where is our Northern manhood? Do we always mean to cower under the Southern lash? Is it coolly said by any in reply, We do not want to agitate the subject of slavery '? But what if you did? You cannot with impunity. Men are apt to change their minds; and the Whig, or Democrat, or Know Nothing, who to-day cares nothing for those in bonds, may to-morrow feel constrained to plead their cause, even at the South. In that case, he too becomes an outlaw. Ay, the very men who bow down to the Slave Power here-who fill our pulpits and our editorial chairs-who denounce the anti-slavery movement as undeserving of any support or countenance-are themselves, as the friends of impartial liberty, as much outlaws in the South as any of us. Is such a Union to be perpetuated? By all that is just and equal, no !

Mr. Chairman, declamation and rhetoric, on so grave an issue, are worth little ; but facts are irresistible. We are demanding extraordinary action of the people of the North; and in order to induce them to take that action, boldly and understandingly, they need to be shown what are the real facts in the case, especially as affecting their own rights and liberties at the South.

Undeniably, it is a provision of the Constitution of the United States, that ' the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens' in the several States. There are no less than eight thousand recognised colored 'citizens' in Massachusetts taxed and represented as such; many of them legal voters eligible to every office in the gift of the people; all of ther to be protected in their rights by the combined power of the Commonwealth, as much as ABBOTT LAWRENCE, o Chief Justice SHAW, or Governor GARDNER-for it Massachusetts one citizen is, by our Bill of Rights equal to every other; and the faith of the whole people is pledged to stand by each other to the end. there is not one of that large number of citizens who can enter the slave States, whether on business, or in que of health and recreation, without subjecting himself t fine and imprisonment, and even the liability to be sold n the auction-block into perpetual slavery.

'Nor wife nor children more shall he behold, Nor friends, nor sacred home.'

The last number of the New York Tribune calls the at tention of the philanthropic to the fact, that two colorvery, unless persons who know to their being freemen testify to the fact. Their names are Henry Hin and be permitted to take his seat." Isaiab Broomfield. Besides the proof of freedom, money will be required to pay the jail-fees of these men ! * Both of these men were hands on board of a vessel which has broken the laws, by entering the royal dominions of Domocratic Virginia with free negroes on board.'-Within the last eighteen months, no less than three colored seamen, who shipped from this port for Galveston, (Texas.) have been thrust into prison on their arrival at that place, and, on pretence of having attempted to secrete a slave, were sold into life-long bondage, and have disappeared forever! What if this worse than murderous outrage had been done to Abbott Lawrence, to truces, and shallow compromises, have all ha Judge Shaw, to Gov. Gardner! Would not Fancuil their day, and have all fallen beneath the violence Hall have rocked, and Bunker Hill thundered and lightened, with popular excitement? And why not these as well as the victims alluded to? What if Southern slaveholders should be prohibited, by a law of Massachusetts, from coming into this State ?-or, if disregarding the law, any should venture to come, and at once be seized, thrust into prison, compelled to pay the jail fees, and then be banished from the Commonwealth? How many days would transpire before the whole South would rise up as one man, and proclaim the Union at

To show yet more plainly where we stand-to illustrate still further the spirit of our Southern masters. let me present some documentary evidence on this point. First, I will read an extract from a recent letter of the Rev. Henry M. Denison, of Louisville, Ky., (a son-

in-law of Ex-President Tyler,) elicited by the fact that his female slave was declared free, in consequence of his bringing her into Ohio. He says :-

· I know that personal rights are dearer to the people of the South than the barren glory derived from a union with strangers, from which too many already think they have nothing to gain, and much And I know that this growing dissatisfacrich and the poor, the cultivated and the ignorant : that it is found among professional men and me-chanics, godless worldlings and devout Christians, lawyers, and merchants, and clergymen, and judges, and legislators of the State governments. The adherence of slaveholders to their rights of person and property is stronger than all their binations, whether as Whigs political preferences or combinations, whether as Whigs Democrats, or Know Nothings, or even as citizens of the United States.'

Mark the language of this insolent divine- a union with strangers,' meaning the people of the free States What beautiful fraternity! Mark, too, the declaration, that slavery is dearer to the South than all party ties, or even the Union itself.

Hear what the Richmond Examiner says of slavery of its relation to the Union-and of the people of the

· Slavery is the one only and last bond that holds -what a horrible scene it presents! What an every sect, and clime, and people, and nation, under heaven-society utterly degraded, and disorganization universal. The mass of those who have no property legislate for those who have; thus all security for property is gone; and the so-ciety is scarcely comparable to that of the mongrel show, sir, what our feeling ought to be, by supposing been taken, and the abolition of Slavery alone is wanting, that you may be even as they are. But constituents,-suppose that a portion of the States be cherish and preserve this institution, and you may is hope,' it may yet bear the reeling Government safely into port.'

morals, and social condition ! This is the Union!

that place :-

long, and should now be abated.

That the editors, to wit: George S. Park and W. J. Patterson, are traitors to the State and county in which they live, and should be dealt with

3. That we meet here again, on this day three for a moment; but to reduce a man to slavery, O, how weeks, and if we find G. S. Park and W. J. Pat- it outrages his soul, incomparably more than his body terson in this town then, or at any subsequent time, we will throw them into the Missouri river, and if they go to Kansas to reside, we pledge our honor as shall do little here at the North, unless we take a posi-men to follow and hang them wherever we can take tion that shall send home to the hearts of the Southern

friends, we will attend to some other Free Soilers the conviction that we so recoil from the contamination

5. That we will suffer no person belonging to e Northern Methodist Church to preach in Platte county, after this date, under penalty of tar and feathers for the first offence, and a hemp rope for

throughout the State to rise in their might, and clean themselves of Free Soilism.

What was the Parkville Luminary-a sheet imbued vative and national ground,' and was opposed alike to the requirements of the South. Only think of our be the manliness to protest against the ruthless invasion of pared for the Southern market, despoiled of all the Kansas, on the day of election, by the armed ruffians thrilling appeals on slavery, which, had they gone must be so without regard to law?' And for this it who are a few years younger than myself must have bee for their lives ! Glorious Union !

Another atrocious outrage has since been perpetrated. On the 17th of May, Mr. Phillips, of Fort Leaven touching lines on slavery, by Cowper, have been exput worth, a Free Soiler, was decoved to the bank of the Missouri river, where he was suddenly seized and forced into a skiff, and carried across the river to Missouri; thence he was carried seven miles to Weston. An old warehouse stands just below the town; he was taken there, his head was shaved, his face blacked, he was er? Look at it! I entreat you to look at it, as it through the streets of Weston, while music horrible and and then say whether you ought not only to respon hideous accompanied the proceedings. Before the ho- to the resolution, but act in accordance with it. tel they exhibited him, and then a negro was compelled to sell him to the lowest bidder !!

to the next Congress :-

'In the next House of Representatives, the abolitionists will have a majority. Should such a vile and infamous proposition be made; should the vote be taken; should that vote show a majority for the cendiaries of whom we have spoken-then, and we say it solemnly, we would not answer for the consequences. They would deserve, majority administered. As well might they say that Christian though they be, to be driven from the Hall or ity was slave-stealing, slave-buying, slave-whipping LEGISLATION, as Cromwell drove the corrupt men of and all the crimes that grow out of the slave-system his day from their seats in the Halls of English He admitted that men who profess to be Christian

The Richmond Enquirer, in some furious comme the lawless threat of the Sentinel as follows :-

'If the net of Massachusetts goes into effect, i will be the duty of the South to resist the entrance of the members of either branch of Congress from the State into the Capitol, until it is expunged from her code book! The South remains in its bearings to the North precisely where it stood when Washington first entered upon his presidential duties. It has never been guilty of the slightest aggression on any one of the so called free States. (!!!)

tention of the philanthropic to the fact, that two colormining our great political edifice. No member of
ed citizens of New York are now fodged in jail, ineither House who comes from a State which sets at deGoochland County, Virginia, and will be sold into slafiance a constitutional provision, or a law palpably in
very, unless persons who know to their being freemen conformity with that constitutional provision, should

'To this complexion it has come at last.' Down with this slaveholding Union !

Finally, listen to the honest avowal of the Charles on Mercury :-

' From the origin of the Government to the preent time, the antagonism between the North and the South has been steadily developing itself in all the departments of feeling and of thought—in sundering religious associations, controlling litera-ture, and embittering section against section. To counteract this antagonism, all sorts of expedients have been tried. Party organizations, patched up truces, and shallow compromises, have all had of an inborn, incurable, hopeless malady. The North and the South were never one people, and nothing can ever make them so.'

This last declaration is as true as it is frank, and covers the whole ground. Meeting the issue here presented, with an unfaltering spirit, once more I give to the winds the rallying-cry, 'No Union with SLAVE-HOLDERS, RELIGIOUSLY OR POLITICALLY ! (Cheers.)

REMARKS OF REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

OF SYRACUSE, N. T. If I understood my friend, Mr. PIERPONT, he rested his argument touching the article in the Constitution in regard to ' fugitives from labor,' upon the ground that t was an immoral and unlawful act, and therefore not binding upon any one; but does he not know that the

slaveholders do not so regard it? Mr. PIERPONT-That is their fault. Mr. May-Does not my friend know that the laws of the nation do not so regard it? Certainly be does, for I know it and he knows much more of law than I do Does he not know that many moralists have not regarded slaveholding as sin? Certainly he does; and I can tion is confined to no one class of men, but that it is shared in by the vicious and the virtuous, the thousands who do not regard slaveholding as a sin thousands who do not regard slaveholding as a sin This morning, at a meeting where I expected my friend PIERFONT to preside, we had an interesting discussion which brought to his feet a young Virginian there and he said, with an emphasis that I hardly expected from him- You are all wrong in thinking that the people of the South regard slavery as a sin. Many of them regard it as an evil, but none of them are con scious of its sinfulness. I have recently been through Virginia; I have conversed with persons of all classe and conditions, for the purpose of ascertaining what were their sentiments on this subject, and I assure you I did not meet with a single individual who regarded slavery as a sin, morally.' . The pressure on his own soll led our brother to say further, that nothing will induce the South to believe it a sin, until the North treat it as though they regarded it as such. I have seldom been impressed as I was by the remarks of that the bursting Union together. Look at the North young man. I knew what sacrifices he himself, though a Virginian, had made to the anti-slavery cause. By his example of terrible, palpable, contemporary warning! — a wretched, miserable conglomeration of ship of his family and relatives, and had for some time been excluded from his native State; and the tale he told us thrilled my soul as it had not been thrilled before. It seems to me that none of us fully realize the sinfulness of slaveholding : I am sure I do not. I can Mexican Indian and Spaniard. Would ye be like case. Suppose, if you can,-and it is within the reach Mexican Indian and Spaniard. Then abolish Slavery. Each day you are of the imagination, for there is nothing in our Constibecoming more like them. Every other step has tution that touches the religious character of any of its longing to this Union should be idolators, and held that yet be saved. It is the last plank for the sinking the worship of their idol consisted in sacrifices of hu. Union to grasp; and, as while there is life there man beings, and that all of a certain complexion, or who had red hair or blue eyes, were to be so devoted and suppose it was understood by this people that their And this is the estimation in which the freemen of the religious opinions and rights should be respected, and North are held by the slaveholding oligarchy of the that if any of that description of persons should es South! This is the sketch drawn of their manners, cape, and find refuge in our midst, they should be retaken,-I ask you how we should act with reference You have all read the particulars of the destruction to such an enormity as that? Should we continue one of the Parkville (Missouri) Luminary by an armed hour in a Union with such a people? But, Mr. mob-how that the press was thrown into the river, its Chairman, what is that-the sacrifice of a human body editors narrowly escaped being lynched, and the follow- to an idol, -in comparison with making a human being resolutions were adopted by the lawless villains of ing a slave? Does not the question answer itself? Is there a man or a woman here, who would not much mary is a nuisance, which has been endured too the altar, and see his body consumed to ashes, in the worship of an idel, than help to make him a slave? If we felt as we ought, Mr. Chairman, we should so feel; for offering his body as a sacrifice to an idol touches no

I have felt to-day, as I have not felt before, that w shall do little here at the North, unless we take a posithem.

4. That, at the suggestion of our Parkville notwithstanding the thick incrustations over them, people, if they have hearts,-and I know they have of slavery, that we will have nothing to do with thos

his spirit, his soul; it barms him comparatively but

who are concerned in that incomparable abomination. Sir, I shall, at this late hour, detain you but a fe noments longer. The resolution speaks of the terribl effects which slavery is working upon us, here at the 6. That we earnestly call on our sister counties North. It reaches out its hand, and touches us every where. It not only cramps our manhood, it not only abridges our liberties, it not only puts padlocks on our lips, but it emasculates our literature. Some of our with an anti-slavery spirit? No-it occupied 'conser- authors here at the North have bowed in submission to the Abolitionists of the North, and the Nullifiers of the loved Longrettow, of whose glorious strains on liberty South. Why was it destroyed? Simply because it had we have been so proud, allowing his book to be prefrom Missouri. It dared to ask, 'Is the flag of our there, might have found their way to the hearts of the country to be no longer a protection? or are individu- slaveholders! I have heard a fact touching a volume als or companies of men to declare, we will! and it of our friend Plearont—a volume with which all of you was destroyed, and its proprietors compelled to flee familiar as a reading book in our schools, -- which filled me with surprise and pain. I am told that, from that volume,-the 'American First Class Book,'-thou gated! For what? What right had the publishers of that volume to do it, and what motive could they have to do it, but to accommodate it to their Southern patrons? Why, my friends, what will wake us up to the condition into which we are brought by the Slave Powtarred and feathered, and then ridden upon a rail set before you in the blazing light of that resolution,

Rev. John Pienront was the next speaker. He crit-Here is what the Washington Sentinel says in regard icised the remarks of Mr. Garrison, and defined his position with regard to the Constitution. He admitted that the government of the United States, as administered for the last quarter of a century, had been what Mr. Garrison had defined it; but he did not admit that that was the Constitution of the United States, as made by our fathers, and as understood by them to be administered. As well might they say that Christianwere guilty of all these enormities, but they had grown up in contradiction of true Christianity. It only showed upon the Massachusetis Personal Liberty Bill, backs up how much more powerful was an evil element in government than a holy and beneficen tone. It showed great departure from true policy of which our fathers were guilty in framing that article in the Constitution

out of the hand of God. Suppose that whole assembly should resolve, and solemnly swear, no longer to observe the law of gravitation, and all of them go up on the top of the house and leap off; what would be the consequence, but for them to have broken necks? So it pend upon it, he would be saved over the Constitution. under the law of God. We were under his dominion, whether we would or no.

Grant that it was the settled purpose of our fathers to make a provision for the return of fugitive slaves; it was not in their power to do it, and every one of them knew it was not in their power to do it. If it was not in their power to bind themselves, still less was it in their power to bind us. If he could not bind himself to do a wrong, still less could be bind his son to do it. These were great principles, recognized every where but in this government, on the subject of slavery; and the great object he would aim to accomplish was, to disabuse the community of the conviction that they are bound by any agreement of that kind, granting it to be as vile as the slaveholders themselves would suppose it All contracts to violate God's laws were void; and so of all oaths to do it-they had no binding force whatever. Did he bind himself to do a wrong when he took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, even if he took it without qualification ? Certainly not: because those parts of the Constitution were not law; they were the 'idol worship,' paper and ink, nothing more. He might light his lamp with that leaf of the Constitution, or kindle his fire with it; but as a law, as a rule for his moral action, it did not exist. How, then, could he take an oath to support the Con

stitution of the United States? There was but one oath prescribed in the Constitution, and that was the oath o the President. The President says-I swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, according to the best of my ability.' In that oath, the condition which is always implied in an oath is expressed : and if we take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, we take it to support it ' to the best of our ability.' There were two conditions involved-his physical and moral ability. If he bound himself by an oath to do certain things which required physical effort, every body knew, that when he had gone to the extent of his physical nature, even if the thing was not accomplished, he had not broken his oath. But there was a higher condition-his moral ability. He swore to support the Constitution to the best of his ability as a moral being, recognizing the supremacy of God's laws. Was he required by his oath to do wrong, under the name of Constitutional duty? No; that was a thing which he could not do, as a moral agent, responsible to God for all his acts.

Mr. Pierpont said his conscience was as binding upon him as his brother Garrison's was upon him. He (Mr G.) had asked him, would be have him (Mr. G.) take an oath, when his conscience forbids? God forbid ! No! If by the impulses of his nature, by the force of his argument, he had brought himself to the conviction that he could not, in consistency, go to the polls, even though by his vote he could dethrone slavery, let him stand aside. But if he (Mr. P.) by his reason or instincts had brought himself to the belief that he could properly use the talent which God had put into his hand to break the chain of the slave by his vote, he could not stand away. (Cheers.)

Mr. GARRISON-Nor could I.

Mr. PIERPONT-But how do I come to that result, except in the way I explained to you? The meshes which the fathers endeavored to wind around my arms, to drag me into slavery, I will snap asunder as the spi-

Mr. GARRISON-If you should do any such thing. would there be any longer a Union between you and the slaveholders?

Mr. PIERPONT-No!

Mr. GARRISON-Certainly, they will reject you, and there will be no Union, in fact. Your Union is sky high. (Laughter.)

Mr. PIERPONT-Very well ; let it be 'sky high.' (Applause.) But let it be understood as my motion would not hold my Southern brethren one single moment by the button. If the men of Missouri choose to invade the sanctity of the ballot-box with rifles and bowie-knives, and threaten to cut the throat of a Gov ernor who does not quietly submit to their dictation, I say, if there is spunk enough in Yankees to defend their rights, let them fight ; and if they want any help Missouri choose to go into Kansas, as they threaten, and attempt to turn out the Abolitionists, then, I say, let the North show them something they can run their heads against-I mean, cannon balls. (Great applause.)

H. C. WRIGHT-I wish to ask a question. Does the Constitution provide an interpreter for itself? That is one question which I would like to have our friend an-

Mr. PIERPONT-Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT-Is that expounder the Supreme Court? Mr. PIERPONT-Yes.

Mr. WRIGHT-When he swears to support the Constitution, does be swear to abide by the decision of the authorised expounders of that instrument?

Mr. PIERPONT-No.

Mr. WRIGHT-Then my conclusion is, that my friend Pierpont is really, thoroughly, out-and-out, a no-government man, so far as the American Union is concerned. (Cheers.)

Mr. PIERPONT said further, in explanation of his position, that, taking the infamous and abominable Fugitive Slave Bill for example, which sought to inflict apon him a thousand dollars fine and six months imprisonment if he refused to aid a Marshal in catching fugitive slave, he would allow the Supreme Court to settle that the meaning was that he should help catch fugitive slaves : but he would not allow the Supreme Court, or any body of men under heaven, to touch his liberty of moral action. (Applause.) He would be very sure, but would do what he thought, before God, he ought. He took the ground of the Apostle, ' Submit to throw off the benefits of the contract, when I throw of the ordinances of man.' They were no where called upon, by the gospel of Jesus Christ, to do what the authorities required of them. Rather than raise his hand in journ. At the opening of the evening meeting, he active, bloody opposition to the government, he would again took the platform, and after recapitulating the suffer as long as the people should say he deserved to points made in the afternoon, proceeded as follows] : suffer. He would go to prison for six months, and if they could find a thousand dollars of his, they might dissolve the Union with the slaveholders, because we take it. (Laughter and cheers.) But as to catching have only to stand upon the Constitutional ground, fugitive slaves, (to go down to a very low point,) he would say, 'Gentlemen slaveholders ! skin your own skunks! I do no such inodorous work as that.' (Laugh- that is to say, they must submit to the execution of the ter and applause.)

In conclusion, Mr. PIERPONT gave an explanation in reference to the expurgation of his 'American First

in the regular proceedings. FRANCIS W. BIRD, Esq., of Walpole, then spoke, the Constitution, as had been conceded there. He declared that it was only the interpreter in certain specific cases, which the Constitution itself prescribed, and that in all others, the States themselves were the final recently passed by the Massachusetts Legislature, in of the constitutionality of that Bill, and not the Supreme Court of the United States. He considered the idea which had been brought forward there a dangerous mistake, which every friend of freedom ought to labor to set right in the public mind.

In reference to the doctrine of Disunion, Mr. Bird said that he had not yet given up all hope through political action, though he confessed that hope grew cor tinually fainter and fainter; and when he was satisfied that there was no hope through that instrumentality,

From this position it must not swerve a line. The metropolis of the Republic is located within its limits. That metropolis is located within its limits. That metropolis is nussed control, and expel herefrom the Goths and Vandals who are undergout of the hand of God. Suppose that whole assembly tomed to look that bugbear in the face, and it no longer

SPEECH OF C. C. BURLEIGH. It is impossible for me to say, at this late hour, what

t was in my mind to say; but bear with me while ffer a few words.

In the first place, in regard to the last point which my friend, Mr. Pierront, alluded to. We are told that n deference to the law, and in deference to the perso nal feelings of individuals in the community, his bool was revised, and the objectionable pieces expurgated. So far as the law is concerned, it may not be amiss to remark, that, if the pieces were good ones, then the law for their expurgation, being a bad law, was, on our friend's theory, no law, and therefore that was a case for him to exemplify his liberty by setting his foot upor that law. (Cheers.) In regard to the matter of politi al feeling, I confess that, keen as my eyes may have been to detect any thing of the kind, I have been una ble to find any political bearing in the pieces which have been omitted. What is there of a political bearing in those beautiful lines of Cowper, addressing themselves to the heart-'I would not have a slave to till my ground,' &c. ?

What of a political bearing is there in that noble speece of Webster, calling upon the ministers of justice and religion to testify to the wrongfulness of all participation, on New England soil, in the illegal traffic in slaves-the foreign slave trade? And the same may be said of the piece by Montgomery. There is no po litical bearing in them. On the contrary, there is not a sentiment which the members of all political parties do not profess to hold; and I believe that, if there were no Union between the States of the South and these of the North, between slavery and that which i mis-named freedom here, there would have been no objection from any party to the publication of such sentiments as are contained in these pieces, or to the reading of them in any part of the Commonwealth. I be lieve that if the Slave Power had not exercised, and did not now exercise, an undue control over the public sentiment of the North, my friend Pierpont would never have suspected that any of these pieces could offend the most fastidious soul throughout the whole Commonwealth.

Now, whether he shares, in this respect, the opinion of the community, is not the question. But here is the proof of the proposition which our friend May was setting forth in your hearing, that this Union with slavery has emasculated the literature of the country, -no matter whether it has taken our friend Pierpont's hand to do it, or somebody's else. It has done the fou deed. That kind of literature has undergone a marked change since I went to school. I used to read pieces that contained, not political allusions, but stirring appeals to the heart of humanity and the sense of right in which we were called upon to sympathize even in an insurrection of the slaves. Lines like these we were accustomed to read in my school days. When

> · Stung by despair, he sought the plain, To heaven upraised his starting eye, Claimed freedom from the crushing chain, Or mid the battle's rage to die! Did not the soul, to heaven allied, Feel the full heart as greatly swell As when the Roman Cato died, Or when the Grecian victim fell?

If later deeds quick raptures raise,

The boon Batavia's patriots won Paoli's time-enduring praise, Or the far greater Washington; If these command thy generous zeal,
Who scorned a tyrant's mad control For bleeding Gambia learn to feel, Whose chieftain claimed a kindred soul

O! mourn the lest, disastrous hour, Lift the red eye of speechless grief, While numbers throng the sultry shore,
And tear from hope the captive chief.
Let sorrow bathe each blushing cheek,
Bend pitcous e'er the tortured slave, Whose wrongs compassion cannot speak Whose only refuge is the grave.

Such were the sentiments we used to read in school books. Why are they omitted now? Because slaslavery has created such a sensitive religious and po-Why, the charge is sustained, and more than sustained, by the evidence afforded you in the explanation

offered here. A word upon another point. Our friend said, in the course of his argument, that the Constitution, in his opinion, is anti-slavery, and that the slaveholders should not be permitted to enjoy the privileges they claim under it,-although he admits that the framers of the Constitution intended they should have them. The ground is not that we have misapprehended the intent of the language of the instrument, but in the very face of his own admission of that intent, he says that, on the ground that it was a sinful and immoral intent, we will not permit them to enjoy the privileges bargained for, with a consideration attached. I wish to say, in regard to that matter, that I admit that an immoral contract is not binding; but then, I hold that when I have bargained to do certain things, for a con sideration, if I repudiate the obligation, I must spur the consideration also. When the South has said-'If you will grant me certain privileges-the continu ance of the foreign slave trade for twenty years-the right to recapture fugitive slaves-a representation based on the number of slaves-then I will allow you to help elect Congressmen and Presidents, and take part in the government,-I say, if the South has made that proposition, and I have accepted it, I hold that as soon as I arrive at the conviction that the compromis was immoral, I am bound to repudiate alike the obligation and the advantage, and refuse any longer to help elect Presidents and Congressmen, and enact laws and administer them, with the people of the South.

[Mr. BURLEIGH here gave way for a motion to ad

The argument is, that there is no occasion for us to that slavery is illegal, because immoral; we have only to compel the slaveholders to come up to that ground-Constitution as an anti-slavery instrument, -and leave to them to decide whether they will dissolve the Union or not. Let the dissolution of the Union, if it is to come Class Book,' an account of which appeared last week, at all, come from them, while we have all the advantages of wielding the government on the side of freedom My answer is, that those who take this ground reveal very briefly. He maintained that the Supreme Court the fact that they are just as much Disunionists as we of the United States was not the final interpreter of are ;-that they are just as certainly on the ground of 'No Union with Slaveholders' as we. They themselves testify, when they talk about administering the government as an anti-slavery government, and leaving the South to withdraw from the Union if she is not satisfied arbiters. He instanced the 'Personal Liberty Bill,' to stay in a Union of that character, that they are not in the Union, and never have been, if their interpreta illustration, and said that Massachusetts was to judge tion of the Constitution is correct. Here the North ha written out its anti-slavery Constitution-supposing the North understood it so, which I believe our friends concede it did not. Our friend PIERPONT, and GERRI SMITH, and GOODELL, and SPOONER, and others, have presented their Constitution for ratification, and Massahusetts has ratified it, we will suppose; Connecticut Vermont, Maine, New England, all the North, has ratified it; but the slaveholders have never ratified it. It makes no difference if it is written in the same words for the words are merely the garment in which the then he would say, 'Down with the Constitution !- thought is clothed; but the thought, the intent which

is clothed in that garment, was never endorsed by the people of the South; for the people of the South brig ple of the country er intended to ratify a Constitution, which considered and treated slavery as illegal; for they never using and treated stavery as integral, for they here and stood themselves as entering into a Union upon the law of the immorality and illegality of slavery. Thus, if of the immoranty and integrated into any such arrangement.

The adoption, therefore, of an anti-clavery integrals. The adoption, therefore, or an authorized interpreta-tion of the Constitution is simply the adoption of a deal of the existence of any Union between startistics of the existence of any control of this county-the and the enemies of interpretation of the Cons. friends of the annual Pienrost is not in a Union via tution. My friend the Balgery of the South the Douglases and Plant Pranklin Pierce in the he is not in a Union with the men of Massachusetts in the Congress of the United State; be is not in a Union with any single State of this coal, eracy, because there is not one which has ever appeal itself to have adopted such a Constitution as he co. tends for; and if it never supposed it, then, of ours, it never did adopt such a Constitution. (Hear, bar it never did acopt such a southeaster. (near, bar)
There can be no contract, unless there has been a drap ing together of the parties. It is a distract; and he distract from almost the entire North, and the North from him; and the attempt to carry out his interprefrom him; and the attention would certainly reveal the da-tion of the Constitution would certainly reveal the da-traction resulting therefrom. It is not, therefor, waling for the South to withdraw from the Union, but it is denying that the South is in the Union, or ever way the Union; and denying, also, that the North energy It is a Union of some few noble-hearted men with strang feelings in favor of human rights; and it does not en take in all the men of that class, for here are some that class who do not belong to it, because they do no believe as my friend does. So much upon that piet. So far as our friend PIERFONT is concerned, then is

nothing particularly to object to, for he has conceded al that we contend for. He has conceded, first, that the Constitution was intended to be pro-slavery in the pa-ticulars referred to; and he has conceded, second, that a Constitution which is pro-slavery ought not he be upheld and sustained by honest, freedom-keing ma; and if we cannot have any Union but a pro-slarery Union, the Union ought to be dissolved. He has, then, fore, conceded the whole ground, since he has, is they concessions, conceded that the only Union we schully have now is a pro-slavery Union. But I will effer use argument, which, although it is not necessary to met als case, will meet the case of some other spales and authorities here. I have not time to examine the various points in detail, but I present this one upment. I hold that the Constitution of a country is what the word means ; it is that whereon the viring portions of the country are set together, not something that they are apart upon; it is something that there agree about. I hold, when men tell me,-as may a though my friend PIERPONT does not, -that the Const. tution was meant to be anti-slavery, that there is this evidence of the falsehood of their position. They almit that, in the administration of the government, the actual execution of the provisions of the Cas. stitution, it has been made pro-slavery from the begoning. The rendition of fugitives, the suppression slave insurrections, the proportionment of slave repre sentation, the maintenance of the foreign slave train for twenty years, these all prove that the Constitution has been practically, be the theoretical meaning what it may, pro-slavery. It has been so used, and make to be such by use. Nobody denies that. Well, who use it? Why, the people, through their recognized offers and agents, they themselves continually assenting to what their officers and agents have done. Remember now, that the assumption I am controverting is, the the Constitution was originally made, and intended be made, anti-slavery. Now, when men set thensive to make any instrument which they desire to us, I believe they generally aim to make just the instructi they want to use. If I wanted to make an are, mi had the crude iron before me, I should go to work mi make an axe. But here the people have found a spite, and have gone to work hewing the forest trees. Do not that prove, that if they had had the crude irea set of which to make their instrument, they would not her used a scythe? If the people were so anxious to last a pro-slavery Constitution that they took an anti-slave ry one and used it for that purpose, does not that from conclusively that they did not intend to make an exislavery instrument? I hold that it does.

I wish to say one word more in reply to a preceding meaker, our friend Wasson. He urged as against the doctrine of Disunion, that we shall leave the South to go on in the perpetration of its enormities, urestrained by what amount of counteraction the North now wields. Then, he says, they will multiply the number of their slaves, and augment their oppresint, without any hold-back by the influence of the North. Why, it seems to me that it is a very easy matter to dash the brains out of that argument. Does not our friend know, does not the whole history of the country prove, that the Slave Power has wan all its triumpis by the might of the Union-by the aid of the North If we had had no Union, do you think Texas weald have been annexed? Do you think the South could have waged a successful war with Mexico for the purposed obtaining new territory for slavery, without the of the North? And do you think the South week have had the remotest shadow of a shade, or the tomotest prospect of a hope of obtaining further additions to its territory, except as it draws that hope from the anticipated aid of the North? The South has succeeded through Northern strength all the way along, and it or derstands how the thing is done. In the case of the Mexican war, the South knew better than to make a bold and frank proposal to go to war with that country; she knew the North would never consent to it; so she just jogs the elbow of President Polk, and says-'Get up a war with Mexico now. Compile some aggression; and then, when Mexico reseats it proclaim that war exists by the act of Mexico, which, of course, you know is true. If I said you in the face, Mr. Chairman, that is not a bal tle-there is no war as yet; but if you rise up and return the blow, then war exists by your act, and I may turn round and complain that war exists by your act, and call on every body who knows me to give me the aid. That was what the South did; and then, with the profane doctrine of our insane and atheistic pe triotism, 'Our country, right or wrong!' the South knew very well she could enlist the strength of the North to win her victory, in the name of patrioting for the honor of the nation, and the maintnance of

The South relies upon the same thing in regard to our rights. Cuba. When even Spanish patience can endure in more, and Spanish composure is disturbed to the pint of resistance, then she will declare that war exists by the act of Spain, and summon the North, as well as the South, to defend the cause of the country. So, Cals is to be seized, and Hayti, and Mexico, and Central America, to open new fields to the rapscious Sare

Now, let the Union be dissolved, and the South need can get another inch of slave territory. Let this Union be dissolved, and the South cannot hold what she has got. She cannot send her armed ruffians into Kanna, to trample on the rights which she herself was so classe rous for the nation to set up; and we shall have all the territory of the country, which is not now actually co cupied by slavery, for the service of freedom. Weshall have a country in which a freeman, once setting his foot, is free for ever. And, when this is accomplis what will slavery be worth all along the border! Is the course of a dark night, the slave could fy to a country where he would be safe from his master. would slavery be worth there? Not the trouble of retaining it. Slavery dies there; and not there only, but the disposition to escape will spread from province province, from county to county, until the value of slave property will not pay the trouble of keeping it. Slavery would die without the help of this Union

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS. Mr. Panlars, on coming forward, was greeted with

Mr. Phillips, on coming forward, was greeted with but and repeated cheers. When the storm of applause had subsided, he addressed the audience as follows:— Mr. Chairman - Our distinctive policy is the neces Mr. Castrana Cal assistance policy is the necessity of a dissolution of the American Union, in order t sity of a masses, sharery; and although the subject has the aboution of theroughly discussed to-day, yet I trust the

been tery man of whom, perhaps, may not have been streadance during the morning and afternoon see is attenuable to the same further remarks from me, be nos, if for no other reason, -in my opinion, it is the sot esential point of the anti-slavery movement—the one principle which needs to be firmly fixed, out of which merining and purpose and system must grow.

In the first place, I would clear away some of the in the arm point of the metals and some of the he objections urged against the doctrine of Disunion the seperature Society. We are bound, there ire, to show that the dissolution of the America nies is a measure leading to the abolition of slavery. I think we are bound to show more than that ;—we are cand to show that it is not only probably to lead in that direction, but that it is an essential preliminary the abolition of slavery, or at least the only probable nshed of ending it. No man has a right to disturb be government of his country, even by discussion, unss for grave reasons. The abolition of slavery is the see thing sufficient to justify a movement to rend these sates asunder. We have nothing to do here with the desolution of the Union, in regard to its securing for s at the North greater liberty. We are not here to enefit the white man ; we are not here to protect ourgives ; we are not here to honor Massachusetts ; we are not here to raise her to the higher level of a safe govrament; we are not here to criticise the churches of Massachusetts in order that they may be better religious estitutions for us-that may be a very good purpose fe individuals, and for other organizations, but not for n. Our purpose is single—the Abolition of Slavery. The only aim, therefore, for which we can criticise the adition of Massachusetts churches, Massachusetts relities, or Massachusetts government, is in order to redel and direct it in such a way as will secure the polition of slavery. I have not demonstrated my problem, if I do not show that I must abolish this Union first, in order to get the means to abolish slavery. We to not tear down merely for the pleasure of tearing down. We do not tear down merely because we our elver are trodden down. Patriotism might dictate that-many other motives-but not anti-slavery mofree. I tear the parchment of the Union asunder be case it stands between me and my duty to the Caro has slave. (Cheers.) For that reason alone-in order te get at him-in order to right him-in order to do my day, under God to him-that is my reason for advocat ing the dissolution of the Union.

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It was observed this afternoon, that there was a tim when the first Abolitionist for the first moment awoke to the real character of the Constitution, and it seemed to be intimated that therefore we ought to be patient with those who are in the same position that such an Abolitionist was before he came to that conviction. Doubtless we ought to be ; and the very object of this meeting is patience; the object of all this discussion is pasence with our brethren of the community, to endeavor to drag them up, or down, to the right, or to the left, our own position-to convince them. What have we done? Argued, or tried to argue, this question. W are as patient with the community as it is possible for men thoroughly convinced to be. That is why we devote day and night, all our energies, our influence, our purses, our voices, our lives, to the inculcation of the dectrine which has been brought home to our convictions. We do not suppose or expect that a community this will receive so radical a doctrine tolerantly, much less gratefully. We presuppose from the beginning that it will create repulsion; that in many ninds it will close the door almost against argument, that others will listen to it hesitatingly, falteringly. Pusch says that a cat, even if she be most kindly, never approaches you in a straight line-she comes up sideways-turning round your stupidities, rubbing against your antipathies; and when she reaches you, perhaps be begins to scratch. (Laughter.) So it is with truth. It comes up sideways ; it turns round old habits, makes its way through narrow views, bigotted attachments to things we have never examined, faith in words, not things,-cutch-words, that have kept our infant minds in leading-strings, though we be eighty years old; and when it gets near us, we repel it. I was alluding last night to this point, in connection with the touching story told us by Mr. Higginson of the last words of Joux Davis, uttered almost tearfully in his private room at Washington-the conviction of his life. What was it? With his arms resting on the table, and his face half covered in his hands, he said- Mr. SUMNER, do you wish to know the experience of my long official life? It is, that slavery rules every thing here ! What said ADAMS? The same. Your venerable father, Mr. President, (EDMUND QUINCY,) after a life that had ttered the same truth, with eighty years on his brow, omes to tell us, in his recent letter, that with the capital, and the prejudices, and the Constitution of the country against the anti-slavery movement, he hardly sees where there is any ground for hope of its success. These are remarkable testimonies. They are not young men, turned aside by present interests, or led astray by passion. They have reached that epoch when, as Chanteller Kent says, 'Men begin to act less from the promptings of ambition, and more from a profound wase of duty.' As Young said of the value of time, so

may we of the character of politics-'Ask the death-beds-they can tell.'

hak the octogenarians, who have outlived ambition, outfivel every thing but the love of country-they can tell you. It is from voices like these that we learn the hidlen disease that eats out our nation's life.

Dissolution then is proposed by us solely as the means toward the abolition of slavery. In the first place, it the simple dictate of experience—nothing more. In politics, there is no testimony like that of experience. The country has lived under this government sixty or serenty years, with as good men as we can hope in times to come. We have had every variety of questions, forega and internal, the enactment of laws, pecuniary policy, and all others. Is there a man here who can point to a single question, -one single question-where the South has put forth its strength, in which it has not bern victorious? I said the South ; I mean the Slave Power, which resides as much in State street as in Richmond; in the bosom of Lemuel Shaw, as in South Carolina. That poem to which you have just listened * is the voice of a triumphant heart over the nullification of Massachusetts. Massachusetts cannot nullify lequel Shaw rests like a nightmare on her Judiciary. and the Legislature itself cannot get over the colossa institution, the Judiciary—the Supreme Court, anchor ed in the prejudices of a past generation, and which the prejudices of a past generation, and the continent to discussions, nor the change of sentiment of the present day, can reach. We must elect our judges, before they will answer back to the enactats of the people. (Loud and repeated cheers.) The Massachusetts of 1812 and 1820—the Massachu-

* On the Personal Liberty Bill. By GEORGE W. PUX-lin. See Liberator of last week.

setts of Prescott, and Cabot, and Story-the Massachu- broke up their Union with England. What was the

of abolishing slavery, up to the level of reforming the of '89. They had no right to do so The Confedera Union, up to the level of changing the Constitution, tion of '83 was to be perpetual- to be inviolably ob sooner than you can raise it to the level of breaking up the served by every State. The union shall be perpetual Union itself.' I do not think so; and I will tell you mark you! Go read it! It provides for no amendwhy. The dissolution of the Union is Revolution. The ment, for no secession, for no alteration, unless such dissolution of the Union is a thing that will take place, alteration be agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by when it does take place, in the enthusiasm of the mo- the Legislature of every State'! 'Esto perpetua' ment, -- in the indignant burst which will sweep from written all over it. No change, unless unanimously al-Berkshire to Barnstable, and sweep the Custom House lowed. Our fathers found the parchment too narrot abolish the Judiciary-we will do it; we need to get up ed their constitution. They announced their purpose an Anti-Slavery party-we will do it ; we need to con- to secede if nine could agree, and eleven of the thirteen quer State street-we will do it ; we need to bury old States actually seceded, leaving two to shift for themthrone of his fathers; and the struggle of the people against the Aristocracy, the struggle of the masses and the anchored calm of the Peers, recommenced as a political question, and has been going on until to-day. It is not finished yet. Victoria reigns on the throne of the Guelphs. The wealth of the House of Commons, the arbitrary privileges of the House of Peers have been that the store of pamphlets left us from the time of setts cannot afford to be out of fashion. Charles the First is as rich in thought and as multitu- But, seriously, it is the political creed of the day dinous in number, as any issued from the press since ; that men and pations and countries and states have for every political theory that ever man entertained or the right to arrange their form of government for dreamed of, bubbled up in the universal activity of that themselves. My dissolution begins first in my own era of sane giants and giants gone mad. They knew person. Nobody can make me a citizen; God made m what they were about—the Sydneys, the Hampdens and a man first. You can—you nineteen of the twenty the Russells. They knew what they were about when get together and form a Constitution-write it out or they sent Royalty to the scaffold. Their children made parchment in large letters—seal it with heavy scalingthe mistake, when they set up the throne again, made wax, and say, 'It is a law-it is a law of God ; kneel the struggle a political question, allowing it to be cor- down and kiss it!' but I, the twentieth, may refuse t rupted and smothered by the influence of wealth and obey you, and you have neither the right nor the power hereditary position. Shall we be wiser than that gen- to oblige me to obey. To be sure, you are the majority, eration? We have to do battle with similar antago- and you may take this portion of territory, and set u nists. Our House of Nobles are the slaveholders of South | what government you please ; but, in the mean time, Carolina; our House of Commons are the owners of two shall exercise the supreme right of each individual to thousand millions of dollars of slave property, and their say, 'I will not enter into your government ! Is not co-partners, the bankers and merchants of State street. that good sense? ('Yes.') Is it bad law? ('No.' These are our House of Commons and House of Lords. Is not all government based on the consent of the go Some cry ' Personal Liberty Bill ! ' PERSONAL LIBER- erned ? At least, that is the American idea. Jefferso was, a year ago, I verily believe, unless muskets save the Constitution.' I reply, 'I don't like it; I won't We have a better remedy than that-dissolution is a bet- (Applause.)

ter one. (Applause.)
Men say, 'If you would abolish the Union, you must vait until three-quarters of the States consent to it.' Who laid down that rule ?-where is it to be found? Give me a Convention up to Worcester, with ROBERT C. WINTIROF in the chair, and such men as will follow never shall do any such vile thing. I am going to take him sitting by his side-not for the words they would speak, not, in any true sense, for the weight of charac- have a right to do so, I have a right to be a Senator ter they would carry there, but for the sake of those Judge, Commissioner, and not return slaves, although who have had their thinking done out of their own house acknowledge that the nation understands me to agree as they are wont to have other irksome tasks accom- to do so.' That is what Abolitionists say-those who plished, and have got these men to do it. (Laughter call themselves 'Abolitionists'! So far as we have yet and cheers.) An old authority on Parliamentary law heard from Mr. Charles Sumner, he says so; and Josuin the English House of Commons says that there is always a struggle betwirt the Ayes and Noes as to which risonians stay outside? Why don't you come in and shall be obliged to go out to be counted, and which exercise your influence, to convert the people, and turn shall stay in ; because, he says, the laggards always sit the government into your channel?' Let us look at it! in their places, and are counted with those who stay in. You say, 'We don't mean to return slaves'; but, in So it is with political questions. The Scotch have a the mean time, you hold out that Constitution to us, proverb, that 'a pudding can charge down hill.' So which it is allowed on all hands now, for the sake of the clique of men of wealth. In 1845, when the Texas plot have I a right to swear to support it, to get influence? was brewing, the evening before the Anti-Texas meeting in Fancuil Hall, I met a warm, cozy citizen in the church in Essex street—Dr. Adams's. I go to the clerstreet, who had just taken his tea. 'Do you know,' gyman, and I say, 'Dr. Adams, what is your creed?' musket, if Nebraska is to be given up to alavery; and thing for me to say I mean to support the Constitution, when a man eighty years old, a Professor of Chemistry, when I mean to do no such thing.' [Applause.] talks gunpowder, certainly we may advise Conventious. Do you suppose that when Rhode Island and Wisconsin when they go to Congress? I do not stand here to are traitors, or prepared to be such, that there is any pluck a leaf from the laurels of Adams, Giddings, gun yet cast, or any sword yet forged, that this Union

I was asked to say how Disunion begins. Begin it manly service. No brave, honest word or deed is ever yourselves! Shut your own door, and say to Marshal lost. But there is in all things a wise way and a wasteside it, you shall have me first!' (Great cheering.) made great speeches; they have presented elaborate ar-Get your next door neighbor to say the same—then guments; they have shown sleepless vigilance; they there are two; and so go on from house to house, and have warned the country;—but where is the measure street to street, through the peninsula. Stretch out they have arrested? Giddings devoted himself life-long Worcester till she covers Boston and Suffolk, and spewa to prevent the Government paying for slaves killed in Butman out of her mouth! (Enthusiastic applause.)

setts of the last generation—is dead and buried, and Declaration of Independence but a dissolution of the sealed down in the grave at Marshfield. Its epoch is over. The time of the Massachusetts of the middle of little barren territory—'our colonies,' as the Loudon the nineteenth century has come, but it must rend porters called us, as they labored along the street, away the cerements of a Judiciary rooted in the preju-dices of the past, before it can rise and take its place. dissolution of the Union. Hancock signed it in large (Loud cheers.)

Just here let me reply to the argument used this afternoon, in regard to the dissolution of the Union. Men confederation of '83 grew too small to hold them, they say, 'Why, you can get public opinion up to the level assembled at Philadelphia, and formed the Constitution where the tea went-into the harbor. (Applause.) If in 1787. They blotted the 'esto perpetua' with 'salus you make it a political question, there will be no end. populi, suprema lex'—the safety of the people is the Secondary and minor issues will be raised. We need to final and highest law. They came together and adoptpoliticians—we will do it; we need to bury old ques- selves. 'Little Rhody' and North Carolina cried out, tions-we will do it. If we begin to make it a political 'O, the Articles of Confederation! they are to be perquestion, it will last forever. In 1649, the English petual. What right has Massachusetts to secede,lanted, under the scaffold of Charles the First, before what right has South Carolina to secode, -what right Whitehall, the principle of popular sovereignty-the have New York and Pennsylvania to secode from Rhode idea that the people have a right to call their kings up Island and North Carolina? (Laughter.) New York to judgment. For a year it endured, but it went down replied as Connecticut did in old colony mes, when the when Cromwell died, and Charles the Second took the charter of the King run that Connecticut stretched west as far as the Pacific coean, and so they claimed to hold. But the Dutch, looking on the map, saw that against capital, against the oligarchy of the Commons such a Connecticut took in all New York, and cried-Why, gentlemen of Connecticut! where then is New York?' And Connecticut replied, very coolly, ' We don't know! (Laughter.) That 's no business of ours.' And so New York, when Rhode Island asked, 'Where is your right to secede ? ' answered, 'We don't know able to bind down in the grave of the first Charles, the but we have seceded '; -- and they staid seceded. Sup doctrine of popular supremacy. It is working its way pose we try it again, and see if they won't let us stay silently, but taking two centuries to succeed. It is a out. It is the genius of the age-it is 'manifest des fair type of the progress of ideas against wealth and tiny.' (Laughter.) Every body is secoding. The against institutions. Nations are not born in a day, foundations of the great deep are broken up all over It takes a long time to leaven the masses. Do not say the continent. Mexico has been broken up; Cuba is to they did not read so much as we do. Coleridge says be broken up ;-every body is seceding. Massachu-

TY BILL!' but if a man is arrested next mouth in Bos- said so; every body said so in '76; they said so i ton he will becarried down Statestreet as Anthony Burns '89; all the Constitutions say so. You say, 'There is him-and that is a clumsy remedy in the nineteenth vote under it; I shall do just what I please with it century, and in the United States of America. Our I think it stands in the way of my reaching that slave fathers have left us but poor institutions, if they have in the Carolinas. I think it gives unjust power to his left us now, with public schools, with the right of bal- master. It sets up a government that has always lot, with freedom of discussion, no remedy but bullets. turned its strength against him. I will not join it!

But, says my friend, 'I am going to join it. I know that you have put a certain construction upon it that I do not put ;-no matter-I am going, to join it. know you understand my promise to be that I will return fugitive slaves-but I do not so understand itoffice, in order to bring the nation over to my mind. these easy, laggard men can only face a certain set or argument, does agree that slaves shall be returnedsaid he, " who called that meeting? '-(the advertise- He hands me a little book, containing it-the trinity, the ment had no signatures.) 'No,' said I, 'I do not.' atonement, and all the other Orthodox doctrines, and, says Well, I should like to know,' said he, 'because I he- Do you believe that?' I reply, Yes.' 'Do you thought if Abbott Lawrence called it, I would give it my want to join the church?" 'Yes.' Will you sign that countenance.' 'Yes,' said I, 'that would be just the creed and swear to maintain it?' 'Yes.' 'Then you care that would not need your countenance.' Just such are a member.' Having thus entered the church, the men as would go to Worcester to assert the sovereignty exercises are finished, and I walk into the street, and I and majesty of the State. I mean, those men who 'live meet one of these friends here who knows me, and he in decencies for ever,' and never offend any body but says, 'I hear you have joined Dr. Adams's church.' I Abolitionists. (Laughter and cheers.) The tide is say, 'Yes.' 'I thought you was a Unitarian.' 'So high when all the drift-wood of the last storm floats. I am.' 'How did you get in there, then?' 'Why, I Let such men go up to Worcester, and resolve that no signed the creed.' 'Did you say you believed in the officer of Massachusetts shall take the outh to support trinity?' 'Yes.' 'Did you say you believed in the the Constitution of the United States, and send a body atonement, &c. &c. ?' 'Yes.' 'What did you do it of men down State street to nail up the door of the Cus- for?' 'To get influence.' (Laughter and loud tom House, and what is the nation going to do about it? cheers.) Perhaps he pauses a little, looks puzzled, and And when the State says- Here I stand, come and asks me what I mean; and suppose I should say, 'I take me !' on the same hills our fathers planted, with have gone in there to convert those gentlemen, and my the pine tree for our banner, who is to oppose her? If first object is to tell a lie, and say I agree with them—she says, I shall trade with all the world, and whoever then they will respect me. (Laughter and cheers.) sets his foot upon my soil, let him be black or white, he You know that would not be manly; you know it would owns himself-let every other man beware before he not be honest; you know it would not gain influence sets hands upon such an one's shoulders, before he un- you know it would do no good. Well, now, the country dertakes to claim him as a slave, -who shall march stands exactly like that church. It holds up to us against her? Where would the troops come from? Not Constitution. It says- Mr. A. B., do you believe from Vermont. ('No !') Certainly not from our that !- that is, do you swear to support it ? '-and to daughter, Maine. Not from Ohio-Giddings stands swear to support a thing of course includes the affirms between us and that. (Loud cheers.) Not from New tion that we think it right, otherwise, we must think York, surely, unless the city itself should come, for being wrong, it ought not to be supported. Old Fletch-Central and Western New York never would put on er of Saltoun said- I would die to serve my country armor in such a cause. Where would they come from? but I would not do a wicked thing to save her.' So Not from Yale College, even, surely not when its patri- say to this nation, 'I will do any thing I can to save arch Professor Silliman, eighty years old, declares that my country, but no man can ask me to do a wicked the time has come to buckle on armor and shoulder the thing to get influence; and certainly it is a wicked

Let me ask, Do these men really get any influer could turn against them? No! Our State is but a they have done and will do all that men in their situahandful of soil, to be sure-only a garden patch, and tion can do; but I do not believe that they have done half rock at that, but it is large enough to block the or can do any thing effectual, standing where they are They have stood there at Washington; they have done Preeman. This is my castle; if a slave once gets in- ful one-a right path and a wrong one. They have

never been able to checkmate or stop, for a single year, verish child, long enough. She has always broke purpose, on with unfaltering energy, the Slave Power one, and we have given it to her; but she never has gone; just as fast since they have been there as before. Where are the proofs of their success? Every Let these sovereign beggars of Carolina earn their own man must allow, that, standing upon that platform. living—that is what Disunion means. Massachusetts, with the sounding-board of official position over their with a million of working men,—all Yankees, shrewd, heads, they have preached noble anti-slavery lectures, and have had magnificent audiences. That is a great benefit; and if a man could get it honestly, who would not covet to stand in the position Henry Wilson occupies to-day—a great nation for his audience, and the conscience of Massachusetts at his back? No man is insane enough not to value that noble position before the world which makes his service glorious. But these men can do nothing—have done nothing; they are only not profit to law we cannot not a very most to law to the world which makes his service glorious. But these men can do nothing—have done nothing; they are only not profit to law we cannot not a very most to law weeking men,—all Yankees, shrewd, active, industrious—getting up by candle-light, and active industrious—gett men can do nothing—have done nothing; they are only nett profit to lay up—every one of as working men. sentinels on the watch-tower, to warn us of the danger South Carolina has more black men than white—they they can neither diminish nor avert.

efficiency; fidelity is not success. Men say of CHARLES liberal margin—call it one half. Here, then, we have SUMMER, 'His shield is all white; no sword has ever the equivalent of one fourth laboring population, and touched, much less marred it.' I admit it—I know the remaining three fourths live on the difference. SUMMER, 'His shield is all white; no sword has ever he is houest. (Loud cheers.) Oh, yes; they are all How much will they lay up? They do not make the most faithful. But fidelity is one thing, efficien- year's end meet. Now, then, send out this prodigal by sometimes quite another. Some dozen years ago, I son, who has never paid his tailor's bill, and see what stood in the once buried city of Pompeii, on the spot his tailor's bill will be. Send out that State to shift for where a Roman soldier, the sentinel at her gates, allow- herself. Where is she to get her taxes? The New ed himself to be buried in the falling ashes, rather than York custom-house is closed, the Boston custom quit his post. So stern was the discipline of the Roman is closed. The North has gone off; the South, with traveller from a then undiscovered country pauses to worth fifty per cent. more than a European, because he

So stand our sentinels, our Sumner, Giddings, Chase. History will guard their names as rare instances of elcepless vigilance, of unfaltering loyalty to right. Fraud cannot cheat, danger cannot fright, office cannot buy them. But, alas! like the Roman soldier, all that fidelity cannot lift one feather's weight from the yoke of the bondman, or arrest, for one moment, the shadow of despotism as it steals over the troubled mirror of the republic. (Loud applause.)

are tied hand and foot. It is in the nature of the thing out of them.' They did so; but their Southern brethren they are contending against. It is the wealth of the said 'No! that cannot be allowed. Our negroes are country, it is the literature of the country, it is the aristocracy of the country, it is the political arrangements ics.' Mechanics !- it has an awful sound! Why, i of the country. In one scale you put two thousand millions of dollars, the aristocracy of the three-fifths slave ish chain. It was the mechanics of France that check basis, the wealth of State street, the servility of the mated Louis the Grand. It is the mechanics of England Daily Advertiser-a press bought and paid for-a pulpit bought, and not worth paying for-(great cheering)-literature emasculated, as we saw in that sad inin the reform field-even in the cold atmosphere of New England-(can it be that one whose banner bears the obedience to the laws of South Carolina, that his book might sell?) -all this in one scale, and in the other, the Sermon on the Mount.' Give it time-yes! give it centuries, and it will make all that wealth and prejudice kick the beam! But, in the mean time, God commands that we should so arrange circumstances that men shall be free. What shall stop this perpetual helocaust of genius in Massachusetts sacrificed to the demands of the We always toil up, up, up the hill, until we touch the soiled sandals of some Governor Gardner, and then the rock rolls down again. Always some miserable reptile that has wriggled into power in the corruption of parties- reptiles that creep where man disdains to climb'; blocks our path, and dashes our hopes in the last mo-Chief Justice for baptism, and he will fling it from the window, and Massachusetts will stand just where she

did before. While a slaveholder sits in the Presidential chair at Washington, and appoints offices in State street, slavery Pay your own bills ! '-that is equivalent to a dissolu will rule in State street. We want to make literature and the press independent-what the Liverpool and London press is. They are just as much connected, commercially, with New Orleans, as we are; but Englishmen dare to say that a slave is a slave, and a slaveman on the top of a pillar, and left him there, a hermit.

spurs from her false knight, broke his sword, and re-century. (Loud and repeated cheers.) luced him to a private citizen, -then he had a tongue of his own! Oh, keep every Massachusetts man a private citizen, if he must barter his tongue for office ! this be the single motto, the sole rallying-cry, the com (Cheers.) I do not like sinning in the Senate House, and confessing my repentance in an upper chamber! All other issues are comparatively worthless, and will (Renewed cheering.) I do not like sinning for twelve surely end in shame and disastrons defeat. By the every ears in acts that doom millions to slavery, and then whispering the confession of my mistake into the ear those who are for fastening the galling chains of slaver of a sympathizing young man, that he may tell it in upon human limbs, and those who are for setting the mercy to my memory! That single aneodote is enough captives free, there can be no union. How absorbing to justify the dissolution of the Union. Keep our John was this subject, at the recent New England Anti-Sla Davises at Worcester! Let them listen to the preach- very Convention, may be seen by the speeches which ing of an independent pulpit; let them read out of old occupy so large a portion of our present number, and a do ; let us go back to the frightful wood-cuts of those reader of THE LIBERATOR. Mr. PHILLIPS argues the old school books, and put aside the tempting novelties borrowed from a larger country. Keep our Senators at Bunning with consummate logical ability and clear A B C of our national politics.

Union ; this is why we seek for it. I do not believe knows, for no party purpose, in no sectional spirit, it will do any harm to the North; but I do not care with no hollowness of pretence, but emanating from whether it does or not. When we meet as citizens of hearts deeply conscientious and utterly unconquerable Massachusetts, we will attend to that; but in the from bosoms fired with a love of universal liberty, from

just as much as we do now. Garnison can print night. Hurrah for the jubilee! the Liberator in Boston then, and I do not think he So well is this understood by Southern men, that is can print it in Charleston, S. C., now. (Applause.) that truly damnable conclave, the 'National Know do go. (Renewed applause.) Perhaps foreign litera-

THREE GREAT BATTLES BEFORE SEBASher bauble, thrown away her rattle, and wanted a ne are nearly equally divided. The whites do not work, Mark me! I am not unjust. I allow they are faith- and it is proved beyond dispute that one slave's work ful-never were men more faithful; but fidelity is not is worth about one-third that of a freeman. Give it a quit his post. So stern was the discipline of the rolling armies, so entire the fidelity of her soldiers, that not the dissolution of nature herself, as the cruption of the mountain must have seemed, could fright him from his post. Seventeen hundred years have passed, and the admire that lone and nameless man's unqualling loyalty is better educated. The South says, 'I must educate to his Eagle and his oath. Yet not all that sublime these negroes. Put a hogshead of gunpowder under fidelity could turn back one flake of the ashes of Vesuvius, or arrest for one moment the doom of that fated for your Capitol ! (Cheers.) Educate the slaves ! A Cowper says-

One ray of heavenly light * Melts all the chain away.' (Applause.)

No man has been allowed to sit with a lapstone on hi knees, who has not hammered out something besides leather; never has one been allowed to throw the shuttle, who has not wrought out a halter for the neck of tyrant. The mechanical trades cannot be taught to rude and vulgar people. The slaveholders of Virginia said, . There is a demand for mechanical labor; we will No, they can do nothing. It is not their fault. They send our slaves into Norfolk navy yard, and make money not safe, if you turn these farming slaves into mechanthat have worked up and up, until, like the gnawing ocean against Massachusetts' rocks, they have understance to-day, by one who had done such noble service Spanish Courtier told Philip, 'an etiquette.' Set up a mill in Carolina! the plainest knell of the slaveholder i the weaver's shuttle. Educate your slaves, and their motto, 'A wicked law is no law,' blotted out Cowper in exodus from bondage is sure. Open their books, you open their Red Sea. But you must ; you cannot keep your government without it. That is the reason why the slaveholders will never let us separate, if it is in their power to prevent it. Instead of one Anthony Burns, we should have thousands. They would never go back; and it would not need Hallett's fifty dollars to restore them to the freedom their own daring had won They would swarm here in crowds. The whole work Slave Power. Our course is a perfect copy of Sisyphus. ing population would rise up some sunny morning, and walk away, and leave the gentlemen to get their break fasts! (Applause.) 'Why,' you say, 'this sort of thing would not do: i

would create civil war.' Not so. The slave does no

ask us to give him that old musket which hangs in our some slight thing, of no consequence, till its foul mess friend PARKER's study, rusty with the blood of Lexington. He asks a better thing than muskets in the nine ment. That is always our history. We have got a teenth century—the might of political economy, and the Personal Liberty Bill. We shall carry it up to the laws of industry that God fixed. Wickedness is not only wicked but weak ; and unless you can seduce fre labor and freedom into bulwarking slavery, it cannot stand in the light of the nineteenth century. Le Massachusetts, therefore, say to Carolina-Go off tion of the Union. She threaten to leave the Union Why, she cannot walk ! (Applause.) Nobody will go out, unless we go. She cannot go. ' An empty sack cannot stand alone,' says the proverb. She has not yet stood alone. (Renewed cheers.) When they tell us, Let us make it possible for a man to make an honest because we are Abolitionists, it is nonsense; but when living in Boston, without expurgating school books. they deny our right to go out, that is another question. That is what we mean ;- a change of circumstances, so I will not, however, detain you longer. ('Go on,' that our great men and little men, preachers, and edi- 'go on.') I will only say that the laws of political tors, and all, may have a public to which they may economy, the laws of industry, which rest on the laws look, and which will support them. We do not believe of God, are stronger than parchments, and that when in a virtue superior to circumstances, in the masses. I we ask for a dissolution of the Union, we only ask that know there are martyrs—men virtuous in spite of circumstances. If comstances; but they are exceeding few. Saints do Carolina civilization is better than ours, let her gird up not travel in batallions. In old times, they put such a her loins and show it; but do not let her shield herself behind Massachusetts. I remember once standing on Half a dozen such pillars would be ample for all New the quays of Genoa, and seeing the frigate Ohio at England. (Laughter and applause.) The masses are anchor in the harbor; and half Italy, with gay banners made by the circumstances behind and around them, and floating pennants had come out to see her, to adand we must change the circumstances to attain our mire the proportions and gaze at the star-lit banner as the emblem of the liberty of the West; and I thought We are only little men; 'rub-a-dub agitators,' then, what is it gives to our country its strength and ' mice,' Mr. Webster said. But it was a mouse which name in Europe? It is not bankrupt Carolina—she is gnawed the net in which the lion was encaged. That is what we are doing. (Applause.) We want to make —who speaks of her? It is the fresh blood of the it possible for our great men to stay at home in young giant of the North; it is Pennsylvania, New achusetts, and not wait until their official days are York and Ohio; it is free labor that tells its tale the ended, before they confess, in private, when their man- world over. It is the resources, the industry, the ac tle has fallen upon their successor, that their life has tivity, the vigor of free labor that makes America what been one great hypocrisy and mistake, and 'slavery she is among the nations. Slavery averts her doom by rules the country.' JOHN DAVIS never broke voice hiding herself behind it. Dissolution drags her out into such a confession, until Massachusetts struck the to the light, and she dies in the blaze of the nineteenth

Alden's Reader,' if the 'First Class Book' will not careful perusal of which we earnestly solicit of every point with irresistible force and eloquence, and Mr home, and they will not need eighty years to learn the ness of demonstration. There is nothing so terrifying to the South as the cry of Disunion-affect what she This, then, is what we mean by a dissolution of the may, and rave as she will—a cry raised, as she well mean time, we are Abolitionists, and have only to in- spirits as resolute and unyielding as ever waged war quire, Will it have a tendency to abolish slavery? and with the powers of darkness. Dissolve the Union, and the political, moral and religious power of the North People say, 'Why, you have left the slaves there will be increased a hundred fold. Dissolve the Union, and the abolition of slavery will follow 'as the day the

'No Union with Slaveholders ! Henceforth, le

ston books will go just as far in the Southern coun- Nothing Convention,' which has been in session the try as now, for you have to expurgate them before they do go. (Renewed applause.) Perhaps foreign litera-Butman out of her mouth! (Enthusiastic applause.)

That is dissolution! Wait for three quarters of the States!—wait till Kentucky comes? Wait like the fool old, who stopped by the river's side, thinking to see of old, who stopped by the river's side, thinking to see it run away! (Cheers.)

Why, dissolution is not an uncommon problem. Our fathers dissolved two Unions. In the first place, they

The steamship Atlantic, Capt. West, from Liverpool, arrived at New York on Wednesday morning. Her news is the most important since the battle of Alma. Three great battles have been fought before Sebastopol ; eight thousand troops have been killed and wounded; the Russian line has been seized by the Allies, who have also taken Kertch, and 746 Russian prisoners. A present account says the Russian between the country of the second second that the second the second that the second the second that the second tendence is the second tendence that the second tendence that the second tendence that the second tendence that the second tendence the second tendence that the second tendence the second tendence that the second tendence the second tendence that the second tendence the second tendence the second tendence that the second tendence that the second tendence that the second tendence the second tendence that the s also taken Kertch, and 746 Russian prisoners. A French account says the Russians burned thirty of their transports, as well as their four steamships, and destroyed 360,000 sacks of corn. 160,000 sacks of oats, and 100,000 sacks of flour. Fourteen steamers of the Allies had entered the Sea of Aroff. The number of guns found at Kertch by the Allies exceeded 100.

TOPOL-8000 TROOPS KILLED !!

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF THE POURTH OF JULY AT PRAMINGHAM.

A MASS CELEBRATION of the FOURTH OF JULY, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in the unrivalled Grove at FRAMINGHAM ;-to which the Friends of IMPARTIAL FREEDOM, wherever they reside, are most cordially invited. Let that day be rescued from the popular desecration to which it has so long been subjected by a spurious patriotism and a time-serving religion ; let it be consecrated to the work of breaking the yokes and fetters of the enslaved in our guilty land ; let 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS' be the watchword now, as ' No Union with England' was in the days of '76; let the flag which waves over four millions of slaves, no longer be allowed to float over the heads of freemen; and let there be such a blending of means and efforts, such a gathering of stout hearts and true spirits, as THE CRISIS in which we are living imperatively demands.

SPECIAL TRAINS of cars, on the Boston and Worpester Railroad, will be run to the Grove, on that day, leaving Boston and Woncester, at 94 o'clock, A. M. The Boston train will stop at Brighton, West Newton, and Grantville. The Worcester train will stop at Millbury junction, Grafton, Westboro', Southboro', and Cordaville. The Milford train will stop at the stations on that branch.

FARE.-Persons attending this celebration will be carried at half the usual fare. From Boston to the Grove, and back, for adults, 60 cents. From Worcester, and back, 65 cents. From Milford, and back, 30 cents. Children between 4 and 12 years of age, half

Our friends in Essex and Plymouth Counties, &c., will notice that the hour of departure from Boston will accommodate them in attending the meeting.

Among the speakers at Framingham may be expected WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES L. REMOND, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, EDMUND Quincy, Andrew T. Foss, WM. W. BROWN, and C. C.

The pic-nic plan will be adopted-persons and parties carrying their own provisions. Refreshments can also be purchased on the ground.

In case the weather shall prove rainy, the meeting will be held in WAVERLY HALL, adjacent to the depot at Framingham.

FRANCIS JACKSON. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, SAMUEL MAY, JR. HENRY ORNE STONE, AUGUSTINE C. TAFT,

Committee Arrangements.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Executive Committee of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY invites the friends of freedom in New Hampshire, without distinction of party, to meet in CONCORD, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, June 21st and 22d, 1855, at 2 o'clock, P. M., on the day first named. The objects of the Convention will be to consider the whole subject of Slavery, in its relations to the Politics and the Religion of the country, and to adopt the most efficient measures for the regeneration of public opinion, and the destruction thereby of the whole slave system, root and branch. The signs of the times indicate the approach of a grand Moral and Political Revolution, which shall array the whole power of the Free States in uncompromising hostility to the Slave Oligarchy. In this movement, the people of New Hampshire have important duties to perform, and it is meet that they should come together in Convention to examine the principles by which those duties must be deter-

Among those who may be expected to attend the Convention are William Lloyd Garrison, Stephen S. and ABBY K. FOSTER, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and A. T. Foss. For the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, SAMUEL MAY, JR Boston, May 30th, 1855.

WENDELL PHILLIPS and WM. LLOYD GAR-RISON will address the citizens of CONCORD, [Mass.] and vicinity, on the subject of Slavery, on FRIDAY AFTERNOON and EVENING, June 29, at 2] and 73 clock, in the Town Hall. Come and hear.

ABINGTON.—An Anti-Slavery meeting, for the town of Abington, will be held on Sunday next, June 17th, at the Town Hall, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON and CHARLES LENOX RE-MOND, on behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will attend the meeting.

WILLIAM W. BROWN, an Agent of the Massa-chusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows: North Dennis, Sunday, June 17.

WORCESTER NORTH ANTI-SLAVERY SO-TWORCESTER NORTH ANTI-SHAREM SOCIETY.—A regular quarterly meeting of the Worcester Co. North Anti-Slavery Society will be held at HOLDEN, commencing on Saturday evening, June 30th, and continuing through the day and evening of Sunday, July 1st. Further particulars next week.

D. M. ALLEN, Secretary.

The annual meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held at PEMBROKE, Sunday, July 1st. Further particulars of place, &c., next week.

ANDREW T. FOSS, NATHANIEL H. WHITING, and other speakers will attend speakers will attend. SAMUEL DYER, Secretary.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the EASTON, on Sunday, June 24th, at 104 A. M., and 1 P. M., and at STOUGHTON, same day, at 5 P. M. SITUATION WANTED.

A young colored woman of excellent family desires to learn the dress-making business. WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

MARRIED-In Andover, 11th inst., by George Fos-ter, Esq., Mr. Thomas W. Dunn to Miss Many E. B. Kent, both of North Andover.

DIED-In Salem, 25th ult., Mr. JOSEPH C. SMITH, DIED—In Salem, 25th ult., Mr. Joseph C. Salffl, aged 26. His many amiable traits of character endearded him to a choice circle of friends, who anticipated on his recent return from California a long season of renewed enjoyment. But his young and much-bereaved partner, together with the family connections, can derive solace from the belief that his exchange of worlds has proved an incalculable gain to him.

N. Joseph Noves

In Boston, on the 5th instant, Mr. Joseph Noves, aged 76, formerly of Newburyport.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the

To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the
new series of Tracts.

Nathan Heaton, Waterloo, Wisconsin, 50 cts.; R. G.
Wilson, Craftsbury, Vt., 50c.; Anna Howard, New Bedford, Mass., S1; D. P. Harmon 2, V. B. Hoyt 1, Whittier & West 2, B. D. Haskell 50c, W. A. McCrillis 50c,
John Gardner 1, Lyman Worthen 50c, G. W. Davis 1,
Johnson Noyes 50c, Warren Ordway 2, C. W. Wentworth 50c, Addison Brown 50c, Edmund Fletcher 50c,
Hazen Morse 1, O. W. Osgood 50c, George Ames 50c.
C. B. Lebosquet 1, L. C. Wadleigh 25c, all of Haverhill,
Mass.; Benj. Chase 1, J. Clark 1, Amberst Coult 50c,
Zacheus Colby 50c, all of Auburn, N. H.; Charles C.
Beck, Sterling, Mass., 1; Hiram A. Morse, Holliston,
Mass., 1; Deborah Kimball, Hanover, Mass., 38c; Abby
K. Foster, collections in Fall River, Mass., 88c; George
Miller, Trenton, Henry Co., Iowa, 5; Worcester County
South Anti-Slavery Society, in part for pledge, by Samuel May, Jr., 25.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

BY B. CLARK, SEN. These slaves I now possess are mine, Sanction'd by laws of earth and heaven :-We thank thee, oh ! thou Great Divine, That unto us this boon is given !

In Scripture thou hast bade us make Slaves of the heathen and the stranger; And if we heathen 'niggers' take, There is no harm, nor any danger. Slavery's a system that's ordained

On earth to be, and to us given; This can be seen in language plain :-And thus we thank thee; Lord in heaven That in thy wisdom thou made us

The instruments to show thy power; And thus fulfil on them the curse Of ' Cain,'-nay, ' Ham,' until this hour. What care we for the Northern fools,

Who talk about the rights of ' niggers '? We know that we were made to rule, And they ordained to be the diggers.

Besides, it can be seen at sight, Our slaves, if freed, would turn out lazy; And if the fanatics are right, The Scripture 's wrong, or we are crazy ! Then hold on, brethren of the South-

This cry's in almost every mouth, Unless you think the rascals lying. Whether or not this 'corner-stone' Of our republic shall e'er crumble, Our laws and niggers are our own,

They tell me abolition 's dying;

So let the poor fanatics grumble. York, Pa.

From the National Era.

MASSACHUSETTS. On the Passage of the Bill to Protect the Rights and Liberties of the People of the State against the Fu-gilive Slave Act.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER I said I stood upon thy grave, My Mother State, when last the moon Of blossoms clomb the skies of June.

And, scattering ashes on my head, I wore, undreaming of relief, The sacksloth of thy shame and grief. Again the moon of blossoms shines

On leaf and flower and glancing wing, And thou hast risen with the Spring ! Once more thy strong maternal arms

Are round about thy children flung-A lioness that guards her young !, No threat is on thy closed lips, But in thine eyes a power to smite

The mad wolf backward from its light. Southward the baffled robber's track Henceforth runs only; hereaway The fell lycanthrope finds no prey.

Henceforth, within thy sacred gates, His first low howl shall downward draw The thunder of thy righteous law.

Not mindless of thy trade and gain, But, acting on the wiser plan, Thou'rt grown conservative of man.

So shalt thou clothe with life the hope, Dream-painted on the sightless eyes, Of him who sang of Paradise-

The vision of a Christian man, In virtue as in stature great, Embodied in a Christian State.

And thou, amidst thy sisterhood, Forbearing long, yet standing fast, Shalt win their grateful thanks at last;

When North and South shall strive no more, And all their feuds and fears be lost In Freedom's holy Pentecost. Sixth mo., 1855.

> From Putnam's Magazine for June ROBERT OF LINCOLN. BY WM. CULLEN BRYANT.

Merrily singing on briar and weed, Near to the nest of his little dame, Over the mountain-side or mead, Robert of Lincoln is telling his name : Bob-o'-link, bob-o'-link, Spink, spank, spink: Snug and safe is that nest of ours. Hidden among the summer flowers.

Robert of Lincoln is gaily drest, Wearing a bright black wedding coat; White are his shoulders, and white his crest; Hear him call in his merry note : Bob o'-link, bob o'-link, Spink, spank, spink. Look! what a nice new coat is mine! Sure there was never bird so fine.

Chee, chee, chee,

Chee, chee, chee. Robert of Lincoln's Quaker wife. Pretty and quiet, with plain brown wings. Passing at home a patient life. Broods in the grass while her husband sings : Bob o'-link, bob-o'-link, Spink, spank, spink ;

Brood, kind creature: you need not fear Thieves and robbers while I am here. Chee, chee, chee.

Modest and shy as a nun is she, One weak chirp is her only note; Braggart, and prince of braggarts, is he, Pouring boasts from his little throat : Bob-o'-link, bob-o'-link, Spink, spank, spink; -Never was I afraid of man; Catch me, cowardly knaves, if you can. Chee, chee, chee.

Six white eggs on a bed of hay, Flecked with purple, a pretty sight There, as the mother sits all day, Robert is singing with all his might : Bob-o'-link, bob-o'-link, Spink, spank, spink; Nice good wife, that never goes out, Keeping house while I frolic about.

Soon as the little ones chip the shell. Six wide mouths are open for food : Robert of Lincoln bestirs him well, Gathering seeds for the hungry brood. Bob-o'-link, bob-o'-link, Spink, spank, spink; This new life is likely to be

Chee, chee, chee.

Hard for a gay young fellow like me. Chee, chee, chee. Robert of Lincoln at length is made

Sober with work, and silent with care; Off is his holiday garment laid, Half forgotten that merry air, Bob-o'-link, bob-o'-link, Spink, spank, spink; Nobody knows but my mate and I Where our nest and our nestlings lie. Chee, chee, chee. Summer wanes ; the children are grown

Fun and frolio no more he knows;

Robert of Lincoln's a humdrum crone; Off he flies, and we sing as he goes : Bob-o'link, bob-o'-link, Spink, spank, spink; When you can pipe that merry old strain, Robert of Lincoln, come back again. Chee, chee, chee

THE LIBERATOR

A VOICE FROM THE SPIRIT LAND! At the recent anniversary of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Mr. John Onvis, of Boston, said he would read, as a part of his speech, and pertinent to the subject under consideration, a communication that be had received from a deceased friend, with a request that he would lay it before the Convention. As some of our subscribers may feel curious to know the purpor of the paper which was read by Mr. ORVIS, we publish it in this connection. It was as follows.

OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

Individualities and socialities have their respective circles. Before the second can be commenced, the first must be complete. What, then, are man's individual rights? Each individual person should be able to an swer an interrogative of this character, so that socialities may not conflict with individualities. Man must attain to clear views of individuality, before he can comprebend sociality. First, then, man has an individual right to live ; not only a right to live, but to live as he pleases, without consulting other persons. Second, ushered into being on this material planet, he has an will necessarily be, by every reflecting mind,) form a substantial basis, on which broad superstructures may be reared.

Whoever, then, interferes with either of these individual rights is an usurper, a tyrant,-not only claiming individual rights for himself, but usurping the rights of

other, to think, and act, and do. Among the nations on this planet, no single one has made louder profes sions of liberty, talked bolder of human rights, than this, the American nation. Tried by its own broad professions, tested by its favorable conditions, examined in the light of its surroundings, it is now among the most corrupt, degenerate and hypocritical nations of this earth. Yearly, nay hourly, its tendencies are downward. It has ceased to be a beacon-light to other mations : in fact, it is an obstacle to their onward progress. Little hope can be reasonably indulged of its preservation as a nation. The ship has foundered. Its officers are neither statesmen nor revolutionists, much less are they moralists. Mere pigmies in comparison with their predecessors, they have no ability to save the ship of State from falling to pieces. Weak, enervated, hampered by party ties, they are unable to move hand or foot. The hour has arrived when man, in conjunction with woman, should strike a blow for freedom It is useless longer to hope for the deliverance of the oppressed, while the present United Confederation exists. There is one door, and only one, over which emancipation can be written :- that is the door of confederation -a union of persons, who, comprehending individual that the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society rights, are willing to socialize with a view of promoting emancipation, and of securing the blessings and advantages which may be derived from a just union.

It is time now to raise the flag, and fling it to the breeze, on which shall be written these words :- Unt-VERSAL LIBERTY! The liberty to live—the liberty to (Hear, hear.) The slaveholders of America made move—the liberty to speak—the liberty to seek one's inmove-the liberty to speak-the liberty to seek one's individual happiness! Sooner or later, the rallying-cry should be heard throughout the free States, 'UNION, that emancipation may be secured.' Left alone, the slaveholder and abettor would feel their weakness ; the oppressed would feel an increased strength, and be encouraged to strike a blow for freedom. Both of these classes need to feel that the friends of universal liberty are in earnest; that they not only intend to be heard, but they mean to act-to co-operate with all persons who are ready to labor for and in behalf of unconditional emancipation.

will assemble, make this subject a prominent theme of any challenge. eliberation, discussion, action. Designate a day, and favorable location, when and where prominent theme of allowing Mr. Young to be heard, and added:—I a favorable location, when and where prominent persons, both men and women, can assemble, that the whole subject, in all its length and breadth, may be thorough-

There is no one measure which would so thoroughly arouse this slumbering nation, so startle the governments of the old world, as an effort of this bold and somewhat treasonable character. As a mere measure of agitation, it would be a mighty instrumentality.

Prominent persons in the old world having great breadth of thought, and having reflected deeply upon governmental structures, might be cordially invited to this assembly. Politically speaking, it would be the most august assemblage ever convened on this planet. Persons who revisit earth for lofty purposes would co-operate, suggest, prepare bases of action, unfold plans, and, in every feasible way, aid a work of this character.

From the Vermont Chronicle.

THE SO-CALLED ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY. It seems almost a total waste of words to say thing about what is known as the Garrison Anti-Slavery Society ; yet as you, as faithful chron iclers of passing events, felt obliged to notice the denunciating character of the language used by that party in New York, perhaps it may be allow-able to enlighten the public by a still further no-

The Traveller of this evening, though the most

candid of business papers, remarks, in reference to the anniversaries now taking place in this city, With a single exception, perhaps, we may regard these benevolent combinations as salutary and hope-ful. That exception is the Anti-Slavery Convention, where even the good of the slave seems to be lost sight of amid the bitterness of party rancor and personal crimination.' At the last semi-annual meeting, the same course was pursued, though perhaps to a still more shameful extent. John Quincy Adams and Charles Sumner and others, who have been counted as belonging to that side of the question at least, were denounced in un-measured terms. There were some consoling features, however, in that demonstration. Wendel Phillips, who might occupy a more respectable po-sition, but as a submissive follower of Garrison, chooses to be that 'great man's great man,' re-marked, that 'after the labors of a quarter of a century, they found that they had made no progress whatever, as a party c' and the whole drift for 'God's curse on the Constitution of the United States.' His frankness in defining the position of the party, which really seemed dwindled down into the dimensions of a corporal's guard, struck me as being a hard hit at his favorite, who was once so much of a Colonizationist as to deliver an address in behalf of that cause one Fourth of In.

Who the writer of this sneering effusion is, we are left to guess. We think it not unlikely that it is tend to stop Mr. Thompson, but I have stated my from the pen of the Rev. Joseph Tracr, of Boston, the feelings. (Cries of 'Thompson!') slippery General Agent of the Massachsetts Colonizaslippery General Agent of the Massachsetts Coloniza-tion Society, whose vocation it is to barrow mischiese ously in the dark. 'H.' stands for 'hypocrite'; and ceeded to say: On coming to this meeting, I dewhoever he may be, he is true to his signature. The quotation from the Boston Traveller is a vile slander upon the Convention. The statement, that John Quintaken to her straint, that I might say nothing calculated to hur the minds of those with whom in years long past I have labored in this sacred cause, and who, what cy Adams and Charles Summer 'were denounced in un-measured terms,' is a falsehood. The language of Wen-dell Phillips is growly perverted: he is no man's fol. lower, and his 'respectability' will take care of itself. cy Adams and Charles Sumner ' were denounced in un-

From the London Anti-Slavery Advocate. ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND POREIGN A. S. SOCIETY.

The London Empire of May 19th has just com The London Empire of May 19th has just come to hand, containing eight large columns of a report of the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was held in Crosby Hall on the evening of the preceding day. There was a large and respectable attendance, the hall being crowded to excess. Amongst those who were present, whose names are best known to our readers, were Messrs. G. W. Alexander; Joseph Sturge; George Thompson, editor of the Empire; L. A. Chamerovzow, secretary of the society; Robert Forster; William Craft, a fugitive slave: L. A. Chamerovzow, secretary of the society; Robert Forster; William Craft, a fugitive slave; Professor W. E. Allen; Elihu Burritt; F. W. Chesson; and the Revs. H. Solly, Cuthbert Young, and Edward Mathews of Wisconsin. The chairman was Samuel Gurney, Esq., the wealthy banker.

The secretary read the report, of which an abstract fills two columns of the Empire.

The Rev. B. Hill moved, and the Rev. Dr. Hewlett seconded a resolution to the effect that the re-

lett seconded a resolution to the effect that the report now read be adopted, and that the gentlemen whose names have been read be the committee and

whose names have been read be the committee and office-bearers for the ensuing year.

The Charman was about to put the resolution, when the Rev. Cuthbert Young, Secretary to the Western Turkish Missions Aid Society, having asked permission to speak, stated that the society he represented comprised the names of gentlemen familiar to all present as associated with religio familiar to all present as associated with religion and liberty; and to prove that they were decided abolitionists, he mentioned the names of Lord Shaftesbury, Sir E. N. Buxton, Hon. Arthur Kin-naird, and the Rev. Thomas Binney. The mis-sionary effort which he represented differed somewhat from the feeling of many present, but it was no less devoted to the cause of taking off the ushered into being on this material planet, he has an individual right to a portion of the planet; else life could not be sustained. Third, he has an individual right to pursue such occupations, to engage in such plans, as are most agreeable to his individual inclinations. These three points being conceded, (as they will necessarily be, by every reflecting mind,) form a the meeting that the committee, as well as himself would tremble at the notion of perpetrating the crime of American slavery. They were not an auxiliary to the American Board of Missions, although they associated with their ministers. The money raised in this country for the Turkish mis-sion was not sent to the United States at all. He believed the American missionaries to be very much opposed to the system of slavery. (Hear, hear, and disapprobation.) When himself at Bey-rout, these American missionaries had importuned him for copies of Mrs. Stowe's work; and he might go of to mention other incidents confirmatory of his opinion. What he wished to suggest, there-fore, was that those passages in the report which made reference to such matters might fairly be omitted. (Cries of 'Hear, hear,' and 'No, no.') Mr. CHAMEROVZOW craved permission to say that

the time of the meeting ought not to be occupied by the discussion of such a question as that which Mr. Young had introduced. The committee felt it their duty to declare that slavery was a crime be fore God, and if they held out the right hand of fellowship to those who patronised pro-slavery principles, they would have to forego this declaration. (Applause.) They said that the American Board was a pro-slavery Board. The American Board declared that the gospel did not forbid the separation of children from parents, and husbands from wives. The American Board tolerated, if it did not defend, polygamy and caste. (Mr. Young 'No. no.') Mr. Young denied it, and he (Mr. C.) would be glad if it were not true. It was perfectly true, as Mr. Young had said, that the names of a Shaftesbury, a Buxton, a Kinnaird, were found in connexion with this view of the case; and all could say to that was, 'We deeply regret it.'
(Hear, hear.) They deeply regretted what these
distinguished men had done in this respect; and
this regret was increased by the fact that the proslavery party go about, and cry, 'See what' Buxton, and a Kinnaird, now say. they (the committee) were anxious to use all their efforts to get them to renounce the error into which they had fallen. (Cheers.) If the Rev. Mr. Young denied these facts, and would take another opportunity and another day, he (Mr. C.) would be to go into the whole question with him. (Cheers.)
And if Mr. Young could clear the American Board of the serious imputations he had made, he would frankly acknowledge how much he had been mis-

taken. (Loud cheers.)
Rev. Ситивект Young said that the committee o his society would not certainly be disposed that he should involve himself in a public controversy; Let, then, the friends of emancipation who this day and therefore he did not feel called upon to accept

> as Binney, and James Sherman are truly devoted to the cause of truth and righteousness; and have given their adherence to the society in question (the Western Turkey Missions Aid Society) under a hope that the present position in which Turkey is placed, may be the means of opening the door for the light of the Holy Scriptures to descend upon that country, (hear, hear,) and I sincorely hop that their efforts will be followed by a Divine bless ing. Whether it is right or wrong to ally our-selves with the American Board is a question which we have nothing to do with here; and I hope the efforts that are now put forth will carry the gospel into that unhappy land where war is raging on its

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, in a speech which oc cupies two columns of the Empire, then gave an able and eloquent résumé of the progress of the anti-slavery cause in England and in the United States in which he instanced the extraordinary change in public opinion in America, since the mobbing of Mr. Garrison in 1835. He spoke of the quashing of the indictments against Messrs Phillips, Parker, and others; of the efforts for the removal of E. G. Loring from his position of Judge of Probate, for having, as a Fugitive Slave Com-missioner, sent back Anthony Burns into boudage: of the progress of a better anti-slavery feeling ever within the walls of Congress; of the growth of an anti-slavery literature, and the increasing demand for anti-slavery lectures; and of other unmistake able evidences of the progress of anti-slavery senti-ment throughout the United States.

I will now (continued Mr. Thompson) endeavo briefly to answer the question, what can we do here in England to assist the great and glorious movement on the other side of the Atlantic ! First, and beyond all other things, let us maintain our great anti-slavery principle with uncompromising puri-ty. Should we corrupt this principle, we should do infinite harm instead of good to the American movement. We must keep clear of all connexion with those who in any way support slavery—we must oppose any such connexion as that which has been entered into with the American Board of Mis-

sions. (Applause.)

Mr. Sanuel Gurney (interrupting:) I do think that subject has been sufficiently alluded to, and I hope it will not be continued. Mr. Thompson: I will, sir, refrain from discuss

ing it at this time. (Loud cries of 'Go on,' and considerable confusion.)

once so much of a Colonizationist as to deliver an address in behalf of that cause one Fourth of July. in Park street church, many years ago, where he appeared in a style a la Byron—save the anticipated applause.

H. Boston, May 31.

Mr. Thompson: 1 have, sir, been in too many meetings not to know what is due to a Chairman, and so long as I find you supported in that position by the meeting, I deem it my duty to bow to your decision. (Mr. Thompson then resumed his seat, and a scene of great excitement followed, during which Mr. Thompson and the Chairman remained

The CHAIRMAN again rose, and said : I do not in

Mr. Thompson then proceeded, in connection with a resolution which he was about to road in reference to the slave trade and slavery. We denounce the African slave-trader, but how much worse is the highly professing Christian who joins hands with him! Yet in America you have hundreds of men filling the pulpits of the land, who, while they hold the New Testament in their right hand, have, at the same time, their foot upon the neck of those for whom they profess to believe Christ died, and even work, and whip, and sell the members of the very church to which they belong. (Cheers.) Shall we concentrate our displeasure upon Sir John Young, and apologise for those who prostitute Christianity itself to the base purpose of upholding slavery! I say, emphatically, no.—(Cheers.) Spare whom besides you will, but let such men be denounced as the worst enemies of God and humanity. (Cheers.) What do these men do! I will mention no names. They assist to hold three millions and a half of their country men in chains; they keep from them the word of God, they leave them to perish in darkness, and yet they belong to societies for spreading the Gospel in foreign parts, they desire to send the Bible to all the regions of the globe, and they send their contributions to a board for the purpose of evangelizing Afric and the South Seas, and perhaps for missions to Turkey. (Cheers and laughter.) Shall we have connection with such men and boards!

No! it would be better that we abandoned this cause. we have connection with such men and boards!
No! it would be better that we abandoned this cause altogether, than that we even seemed to connive a such hypocrisy and crimson guilt. (Cheers.) If the Christians of this country desire to co-operate with their co-religionists in America, let them stipulate, in the first place, that their connection with slavery shall cease; that they reject blood-money; that they do for the heathen at home what they propose to do for the heathen abroad, and then let them join them in every good work, whether in Africa, in India, or in Turkey. (Loud cheers.) I perceive it is wholly unnecessary for me to make any special application of this principle. (Laughter.) What is it that the abolitionists of America want you above all things else to do ! It is not to send them silver and gold; it is not to send them missionaries; but it is to preserve the purity of your own anti-slavery sentiment, and to maintain uncompromisingly the standard of Christianity. Above all things, we want you to be faithful to those who are recreant to the Christian principles of liberty, and to disown them as long as they commit such vile outrages upon the religion you pro-fess to revere. (Cheers.) Let me warn you against all comprises in this cause. Either carry out the principle irrespective of persons, or abandon it entirely. Be not led away by the alleged respectability of the offender. Rather be the more faithful with such a man, for the injury he does is faithful with such a man, for the injury he does is in proportion to his respectability. I would warn Mr. Cuthbert Young against the spirit of compromise which he has defended to-night. It was the fatal compromise entered into by the spirit of compromise of the spirit of compromise which he has defended to-night. It was the fatal compromise entered into by those who framed the Constitution of the United States that led to the evils which we have been contemplating. It is ever the first compromise that does the mischief. Let us avoid it, and at any cost abstain from fel-lowship with the unfruitful works of darkness.— (Cheers.) It is possible that, in sternly pursuing this course, we may sometimes seem to be unchar-itable; but it is far better that we should incur this charge, than that we should appear to give countenance to those who support slavery. I shall not say the things I intended to say when I was interrupted, but at once submit the resolution confided to me. I cannot, however, sit down with-out expressing my regret that any collision should have taken place, nor without assuring the chairman that I have no desire to dispute his lawful authority.

Mr. Thompson was followed by Mr. W. O. Wil-

cox, of New York, Mr. Baldwin, William Craft, Mr. Burke, of Montserrat, and the Rev. Benjamin Millard, when the following extraordinary scene concluded the proceedings of the meeting:-The Chairman's order of business was now exhausted, and something was said about a vote of

The Chairman arose, and said : Give me no vote of thanks. I must say I did not like sitting in the chair during such a tirade as we have heard tonight, and I heartily wish I had not been here to have listened to such an attack upon men like Thomas Binney and the Earl of Shaftesbury.—

(Voices—' No, no.')
Mr. Thompson begged to ask the chairman if his remark implied that any attack had proceeded from him against these distinguished men?

confusion, and expressed his belief that Mr. Thompown account, (as I pass through their town to fill
son had no intention to attack any individuals; other engagements,) and the book-store man in the
and he expressed his regret that the subject which
town should aid in making it a hit, as it will help the had divided them had been introduced.

Mr. Thompson explained that the official report submitted to the meeting made reference to the American Board of Missions; that the Rev. Mr. me ten cents for each of his tickets. 12 1-2 or 15 American Board of Missions; that the Rev. Mr. In the Service of the secretary explained himself in reply. In consideration of these circumstances, and also that his own resolution spoke of the outrage that slavery inflicted upon Christianity, he (Mr. Thompson) receive \$25 or more for it. I have thought of send-did not down himself at the control of the send-did not down himself at the control of the send-did not down himself at the control of the send-did not down himself at the control of the send-did not down himself at the control of the ry inflicted upon Christianity, he (Mr. Thompson) did not deem himself at all out of order in the mainstenance of a principle which seemed to involve censure upon certain individuals. (Cheers.) It may suit the chairman to mark me out as having assailed the noble lord and his associates. ('No, no,' from the Chairman.) But he (Mr. Thompson) repeated he had done no more than assort and enforce a great general principle, and if in so doing he had seemed to imply censure upon any inhalf of the chairman of the control of the chairman out of the chairman of the chairman of the chairman out of the c son) repeated he had done no more than assert and enforce a great general principle, and if in so do-ing he had seemed to imply censure upon any in-dividuals, it was not his fault, but the fault of those who had disregarded that principle. (Hear.)
The Chairman, taking off his hat: I should not

choose to take the chair under such circumstances I again say I regret that I was here, and that I did not vacate the chair, rather than listen to such a speech.

The chairman retired.

Mr. Chamerovzow proceeded to explain that he was responsible for anything that appeared in the report. The meeting then separated.

Now mark the difference between a meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, or any of its auxiliaries in the United States. In England, the chairman is Mr. Samuel Gurney, a wealthy banker, a millionaire, a munificent donor to public charities, a man of high social position, intimate with peers, and one who has ready access to the government, whatever party may happen to be in power. He is an important person, whose be in power. He is an important person, whose presence adds weight and respectability to its annual meeting. He has a certain anti-slavery character as a member of the Society of Friends, and as a princely subscriber to the society's funds. But his intimacy with such men as Lord Shaftes-bury, Sir Edward N. Buxton, (his nephew,) and the Hon. A. Kinnaird, makes any remarks on their course in giving countenance to the pro-slavery American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, extremely distasteful to him. He infers that since they have taken a certain course, it

obscure printer, without wealth, position, or infinence, discountenanced by church, state, and all the 'upper crust' of the community, it has forced its way into respect and influence by following principle as its guiding star; showing fear or favor to no man; choosing its presidents and officers with regard not to their social or commercial eminence, but to their anti-slavery labors and fidelity; never turning to the right hand or the left from respect to persons, but simply in obedience to the value of counsels estimated by the standard of fidelity to the cause. Such a scene as this which has just occurred in Crosby Hall could not have happened in any meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society; because they would have placed no one in the chair, so feeble in his anti-slavery zeal, so much swayed by merely personal considerations, as to be likely to object to the sternest fidelity of the speakers in bringing all men up to the best of consistency with their professions.

From the Toronto ' Provincial Freeman.' THE 'NATIONAL COUNCIL!

hoped there will be a return to reason. (1)

Mr. Frederick Douglass presented the following esolutions from the Business Committee:

resolutions from the Business Committee:

Whereas, Long years of oppression and slavery
have debarred colored youth from gaining a practical knowledge of mechanical science, and have
doomed them to menial avocations for a livelihood;
and whereas, a bitter and persecuting prejudice
against colored people (peculiar to our Republican against colored people (peculiar to our Republicar community) stands as with drawn sword ready to strike down the aspiring colored youth the mo ment he advances toward the work-shop, with a view to attaining a respectable trade; and whereas, the only escape from degradation for our people is to be found in a renunciation of the position of servile class, and in turning our attention to edu cation, productive industry, and a practical knowledge of mechanical sciences: therefore,

Resolved, That it is the first business of this

Council, charged with the duty of looking after and promoting the well-being of the colored people, to establish some means whereby our youth may no longer be deprived of useful, honorable and lucrative trades.

Which were adopted by the following :

Aves.-Frederick Douglass, S. Myers, Frank-lin Turner, S. Smith, J. N. Still, Jas. D. Bonner,

Mr. Downing presented the following, which were adopted :

Whereas, It has been shown in the discussion before this Council, that there are a number of col ored youth who seek employment and instruction tions of the country employers and mechanics willing to receive colored youth as apprentices of workmen; and
Whereas, It is most desirable that these two

classes should have a medium of communication Resolved, That the members of this Council con

titute themselves a Committee on Trades and Em loyments, whose duty it shall be to receive and nvestigate the wants of those seeking apprentice ships and employments, and of those willing to employ or instruct colored youth. [The latter, at one blow, obviating the need of

From the Cleveland Leader.

LETTER PROM P. T. BARNUM.

We have in our possession a letter from Phineae T. Barnum to a person in this city, which is a curiosity worth preserving. It is a commentary character. In truth, it is too good to keep; so we give it to our readers, hoping that it may afford them amusement, if not instruction. It is evident that the letter was not written for publication, and this fact makes it all the more valuable to the pub-

remark implied that any attack had proceeded from him against these distinguished men?

The Chairman said he understood the whole spirit of the attack was certainly launched against them. (Cries of 'No, no.')

Mr. Thompson remarked that it was not in his mind at all to make any such attack, and that he had done nothing more than to lay down and illustrate a principle. (Cheers.)

Dran Sin:—Having a few minutes leisure, I concluded to write you the gist of what I have written.—I would like to lecture all season, or nearly so; but I don't think it will do to advertise me through the country like a show. The only plan is to have a judicious man go ahead and arrange had done nothing more than to lay down and illustrate a principle. (Cheers.) The Chairman, putting on his hat: I leave the chair, and hope I shan't have to hear this again.

Mr. G. W. Alexander rose amidst considerable ing citizens to invite me to give a lecture on my sale of his books considerably. (where I have never been.) and also in many towns in Ohio and Indiana. Truly yours,
P. T. BARNUM.

[A letter so palpably mercenary as this is should ead to 'a plentiful scarcity' of applications for the ecturing services of this professional humbug.

Goop! The Washington Union thus raps Gov. Gardner over the sconce for vetoing the decision of the people in the case of Judge Loring:—

But the whole outrage from the first was one of Gov. Gardner's own planning. It originated with him and his friends, the Abolition Know Nothings. It was in accordance with his wishes and pledges. He could have stopped it at once by aiding the bold men that denounced it. But he gave it his early and eager vote and sanction, and thus prepared the way for the second wrong! Who can doubt, that if the first was to help abolition fanaticism in the North, the second is designed to help the Know-Nothing colleagues of Abolition in the South! We can imagine how this exposure will disgust the high-toned people of Virginia, for whom Gov. Gardner's 'last card' was specially in-tended!' That is a grand exhibition of Southern contemp

or Northern dough-faces.

'THE GLORY DEPARTING.' Under this caption, the New York Observer utters a pious whine over the fact that many of the New England pulpits that since they have taken a certain course, it is not likely to be far wrong, and that their conduct should not be impugned by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, its secretary, or any of the speakers at its meeting.

In the United States, on the other hand, the course of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its staunch adherents, has been signalized by the sternest adherence to principle. Originated by an obscure printer, without wealth, position, or influence, discountenanced by church, state, and all the

MOTORPATHY.

MOTORPATHY.

D.R. H. HALSTEAD, the present proprieter of the Round Hill Motorpathic Water Care, at Morth, and the property of Rochester, New York, well nown for his success in the cure of chronic decisions on the cure of chronic decisions of the specially those incident to moning, will be at the least the success with the cure of chronic decisions, and the success with the main until Saturday, the 18th of Morth they will be happy to receive calls from their bright of they will be happy to receive calls from their lines, and those who wish to consult the Dr. professionally as on enquire into the merits of his new system of treing diseases, without mechanical appliances, or any of the usual remedial means. Dr. H. most positively among from past experience that he can cure the work cases Prolapsus Uleri and kindred diseases; for which he torpathy is the only quick, efficient and reliable transposed through the success in every case, basing conditions to the confident is he of success in every case, basing conditions of the confident is the of success in every case, basing conditions of the confident is the of success in every case, basing conditions of the confident is the of success in every case, basing conditions of the confident is the of success in every case, basing conditions of the confidence of the So confident is he of success in every case, having carel some thousands without a failure, that he is willing to enter into an agreement to board, longeand trut the patient, without charge, if he fails to perform secrets to agreement. He has treated within the past run, some fifteen hundred cases at his institution; when some fifteen hundred cases at his institution; which though by far the largest institution for the sick in the country, has been found wholly inadequate for the sick and country, has been found wholly inadequate for the sick commodation of invalids seeking admission. He is not adding to his already 300 feet front, a large four stary building. His bathing-rooms occupy 150 by 40 feet Motorpathy is particularly adapted to the cure of Chronic Diseases of either sex, and it is the only fisher that restorer of the constitution, from the effects of a sipation, indulgence and over-exertion. Many form of disease heretofore considered unmanageable are twelved by its aid. Inhalation for lungs and throat disease he long been practiced at this Institution. The recognitive consultations. Induced others to make it a speciality.

ality.

Consultations, [hours from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M.]

without charge. His work on Motorpathy will be an postage free to any address, on the receipt of the post age stamps; or it can be had of him at 25 cents. References :

References:

Rev. Dr. Cleveland, Northampton; Captain Willis Howes, and E. M. Baker, South Boston; Mrs. Samuel Dana, Bulfinch Place, Boston; Rev. Nathaniel Hal, Dorchester, and Hon. C. C. Dyer, Hanorer, Man; Hon. F. Cushing, and Lady Frankfort, and H. Bernet, Waterville, Me. A. G. Dana, M.D., Branden, Vt.; J. B. Treadwell, St. Nicholas's Hotel; Joseph S. Techn, Proc. Stewart's Store, Broadway, New York; as B. Esq., Stewart's Store, Broadway, New York; and Professor George Bush, Editor N. C. Repository, Brokly, Mew York.

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nity. MR. M. L. AND MRS. S. L. BLOOM

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The first Summer Term, consisting of twenty-in weeks, will commence Thursday, May 3, 1856. TERMS.

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board, meterection and Lieutenary Agets, is ementary Drawing, Rudiments of Veal News, board, washing, mending, fuel, lights, use of tet-books, necess to the Library, stationery; (alieu-nics or Gymnastic exercises, use of velocipedes, usons, sleighs, bats, balls, hoops, grace toop as pointers, battledoors and shuttlecocks, disected games, puzzles, etc., (per quarter of cleven weeks) EXTRAS. (WITH USE OF TEXT-BOOK.)

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Oil-Painting, Mono-Chromatic Drawing, and all-other

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For other extra branches, see Circular.

ARTICLES NECESSARY TO BE FUR-(And which, if not convenient to obtain, may be had at the Institution at the retail price.)

Hair-brush and comb, tooth-brush, and a caled Cas tile soap, four toilet towels, a pair of slippers of ph shoes, umbrella, blacking brush and blacking, Web ster's School Dictionary, and a Pocket Bible. All articles and wearing apparel must be plain

All pupils must come provided with pieces of cita corresponding to their clothes—as we cannot age a piece their clothes unless this is done.

Each pupil must bring a complete list of article brought by him, a duplicate of which will be required by the Principals.

A Linkson way to Day Desire with a recur-

A LIMITED NUMBER OF DAY PUPILS WILL BE BECHT A LIMITED NUMBER OF DA.

ED. For terms, see Circular.

For Circulars, containing full infermites, please address the Principals.

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Boarding for Children,

MRS. CATHARINE LEWIS has located herself in North Bridgewater, Mass., where she can access
modate a few children with Board, on reasonable terms
Good school in the neighborhood. Apply to JOEL w.
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April 27.

A DDITIONAL SPEECHES, ADDRESSES, AND OCCASIONAL SERMONS. IN two volumes. By Theodore Parker. Price, \$2.50.

Just published, and for sale by BELA MARSH,
No. 15 Franklin street.
May 11.

4w

LETTERS ON SLAVERY. A DDRESSED to the Pro-Slavery Men of America, showing its Illegality in all Ages and Nations: in destructive war upon Society and Government, Menla and Religion. By O. S. Freeman. Price, 25 cents Postage, 3 cents. Just published, and for sale by May 11.

BELA MARSH, No. 14 Franklin street.

Worcester Hydropathic Institution. THE Proprietors of this Institution aim to make it a comfortable home for invalids at all seasons. The location is elevated and healthy, yet easy of access from all parts of the city. For particulars, address S. E. Ers., M. D., or E. F. ROGERS, Sup't, Worceste, Mass. Worcester, April 13.

IMPROVED METHOD OF Champooing and Hair-Dyeing

284, WASHINGTON STREET. MADAME CARTEAUX, having removed to 284
Washington Street, avails herself of this median
for tendering thanks to the Ladies of Boston and viels
ity for the liberal patronage awarded her, and webli
respectfully assure them that, by unremitting endearors to please, she hopes for a continuance of their isvors.

vors.

Her arrangements for cutting and dressing Lader
and Children's Hair, for Dyeing and Champooing, are
such as win the tribute of praise from all.
She has a Hair Restorative which cannot be excelled,
as it produces new hair where baldness had sales
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Her chemical researches have developed and ble Hair Dye, warranted not to smut, (a desiderstup ble Hair Dye, warranted not to smut, (a desiderstup blooked for.) Her Ne Plus Ultra, for renovating the looked for.) Her Ne Plus Ultra, for renovating the complexion, removing freekles, &c., is fast commenting testle to favor. For all her compounds and their application she warrants satisfaction, or demands no payout the compounds of the compound of the compounds of the compound of the compounds of the compound of the compounds of the At her room, which will be open defined from the P. M. She has numerous recommendations from the fashionable circles of Boston, Providence, and class her which can be seen by those who desire.

Boston, May 13.

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