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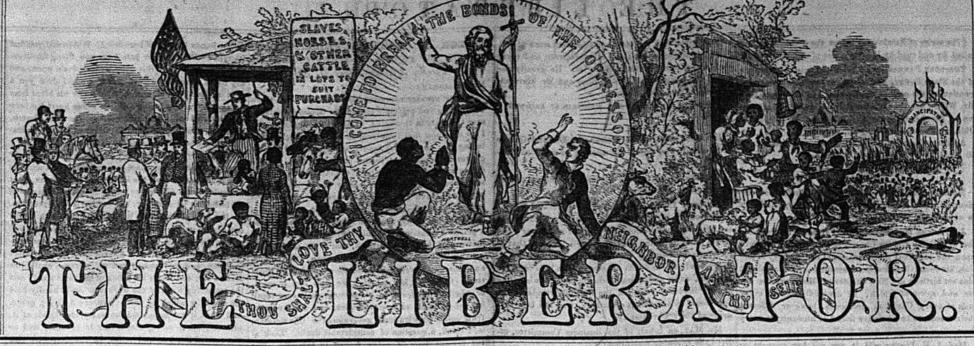
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, leania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are aupersonal and one control of the Liberator. or The following gentlemen constitute the Financial tee, but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray LEGG, EDNUND QUINCY, SANUEL PHILBRICK, and

That he columns of The Liberaron, both sides of nery question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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.'

Tes! IT CANNOT DE DENIED—the slaveholding

lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their sesent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro

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

THE STIPULATION TO SURBENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES-AL 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 representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted 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-

VATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."-John Quincy Adams.

of preserving the African slave trade; the second

VOL. XXVI. NO. 23.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1144.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CON-VENTION.

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Kancas as bert there, ed by precensus, it is the census, it is the census, it is to be it now at annihilating as high as a condition of the census of the

The annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention membled at the Melodeon in Boston, on Tuesday, May Th, and was called to order at half-past 10 o'clock, samuel May, Jr., who, on behalf of the Committee Arrangements, proposed that FRANCIS JACKSON be mantel to preside over the deliberations of the Contion. The unanimous AYE of the Convention con-

Mr. Jackson, saying that he should have much prebered that some other person should occupy the place, sessed his readiness always to serve the Convention

Mr. May, from the Committee of Arrangements, reertel the remaining officers and committees of the

Vice Presidents-Edmund Quincy, of Massachusets; Peter Libby, of Maine; Jehiel Claffin, of New-Sampshire ; Asa Fairbanks, of Rhode Island ; James Whiteomb, of Connecticut ; Robert Purvis, of Pennelisais; Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester; Robet Hassall, of Haverhill ; J. B. Swasey, of Newburypet; Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford.

Serdaries-William H. Fish, Samuel May, Jr., and

Committee on Finance-Lewis Ford, Joseph A. Howhad Ebridge Sprague, Nathaniel B. Spooner, Sallie Biller, Reuben A. Ober.

Barinest Committee-Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Philips, Parker Pillsbury, Marius R. Robinson, Maria V. Chapman, Eliza L. Follen, Charles Lenox Remond. Sephen S. Foster, Andrew T. Foss, Charles C. Bur-

The Convention unanimously accepted the proposed equiration, and the persons named were elected ac-

Rev. Robert Hassatt, of Haverbill, offered a most freet and impressive prayer, full of the spirit of uni-

The Business Committee having retired for consultain the Convention was addressed by Samuel May, k, who gave a brief account of the meeting held in Per Street Church, last Sunday evening. | It was the fet appearance in Boston of the ' Southern Aid Sociey -- Society organized in New York city, a few years ime, for the purpose of supplying the South with just sata pro-slavery Gospel as it demands,—for the pur-pos of supporting such missionaries in the slaveholdig States as may be appointed by the slaveholders flemeles; and which justifies its existence by the but that the South has become suspicious of the agents places sent forth by the Home Missionary Asis, lev. Harvey Woods, of Mississippi, who declared limelf's slaveholder, and hoped there would be no tolk between the Christians of the North and the Origins of the South. Mr. May said he regarded the Southern Aid Society as the most brazen-faced, applent, heartless, God-defying association among all be associations of the land, whether professedly re-

I.C. Churn commented upon the various newspaper sports of the doings of the Society, and expressed his corn of the hollow and hypocritical piety of the men the appeared at its late meeting. He referred to the afe assault upon Charles Sumner, at Washington, with

Mr. Garrisbx, from the Committee on Business, repatied the following resolutions :

[The first eight of this series, relating to the recent anly and elequent speech of the Hon. CHARLES SUM-Im on the Kansas question, and the dastardly assault apen his person in the Senate Chamber by PRESTON S. kooks, of South Carolina, having been published in THE LIBERATOR of last week, we omit them here, and gite the remainder.]

2. Resolved. That a false oath is not to be taken, nor wickel law obeyed, nor a blood-stained compact upell; that what can be secured only by perjury or contiving at sin, is not worth possessing, and not to be copted to secure any amount of good whatever ; that there is but one rule of duty, the law of God-but one seject of consideration, the liberty of man-but one tet of character, fidelity to principle; and that the in of every honest man will be, ' Let justice be done, bough the heavens fall.

10. Resolved, That we deplore the moral blindness and amossteacy of those who are seeking to transform the ub-lavery cause into a mere territorial struggle, in templance with the Missouri Compromise-making it as longer a question as to the liberation of four milloss of imbruted slaves at the South, but only one of hinds and longitude-basing it on a corrupt bargain, tel not on the rights of man-sacrificing one race for be benefit of another—and consenting to the constitufenal protection of slavery in fifteen States of the lain, where it now exists, and to the outlawry of the ligitre slave in every section of the land.

Il. Resolved, That slavery in a Territory is no worse actime than slavery in a State; that Kansas is no bee entitled to freedom than Carolina; and while we field to none in zeal and effort to prevent the extension d that most hideous system, and appreciate at its true time whatever is said or done to baffle the designs of to State Power in regard to future territorial acquisiwas, we declare every other issue to be deceptive and hells, except that of the liberation of every slave, and the separation of the North from the South as a moral bi religious duty, and as a sure method of effecting he special downfall of slavery universally.

12 hesolved. That the successive invasions of Kan-taby the Missouri bandits—their seizare of the ballotas and asserpation of governmental authority—their brible enactments in regard to slavery, surpassing a nurderos) atrocity any code yet devised by human Sability—their numberless crimes and bloody outtions after victim having been assassinated with appairy-their introduction and establishment of dand slavery, at the point of the bowie-knife and rethe extensive co-operation given them by the

portray and no language express, and in comparison prove true, and if so, it was a most encouraging with which the grievances suffered by our revolutiona-

ry fathers are as dust in the balance.

13. Resolved, That the government of the United States is in the hands of as unscrupulous and traitorous gy, we should be likely to be better abolitionists. a conclave as ever yet sought to dethrone God and to viency to the Southern oligarchy, and, instead of being of bandits and the incarnation of Border Ruffianism, more deserving of execration than Benedict Arnold, and more worthy of being brought to the block than

14. Resolved, That the primary cause of the growth, extension and perpetuity of slavery-of all the heartburnings, antagonisms and feuds between the North and the South-of whatever has been oppressive, perfidious and dishonorable in our national career-is to be found in the attempt to unite Liberty and Slavery, the institutions of freedom and those of absolute despotism, the interests of freemen and those of menstealers and slave-drivers, in one compact-an experiment wild, desperate, and God-defying, from the beginning, and naturally ending in the subversion of the liberties of the people, the inauguration of 'Border Ruffianism' in the Presidential chair, and the complete supremacy of the Slave Power.

15. Resolved, That a Union in which one seventh por tion of the population is so much personal property; in more than one half of which, the freedom of the press and of speech is cloven down, and Lynch law is the only code by which the friends of impartial liberty are tried; which nourishes the wickedest and most tyrannical oligarchy known in any land : which demands obedience without giving protection, and renders freedom of conscience and equal rights impossible; is a Union which was 'not fit to have been made,' which ought not to be perpetuated, and which cannot be more occurately described than as 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.' Therefore,

16. Resolved, That to this people is fearfully applicable the language of the prophet : - Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us ; for we have made lies our refuse, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves : therefore, thus saith the Lord God. Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-Resting, and other similar Societies. Mr. May men- place; and your covenant with death shall be annulled,

> complexional distinction or geographical boundary; only practical method for us to adopt. and having outlawed every one who denies the right to | Rev. Mr. Conway, of Washington, D. C., next took merable outrages upon the persons and liberties of as follows :-Northern citizens caught within her limits, even selling nany of them into interminable bondage ; no other al-

onre Christianity

the deepest attention, and was often interrupted by ilies, by our course on that matter.

n despair ;-he never could despair of such a cause as closed last night. The country we lived in last week ours. In reply to some of his anti-slavery friends, who was not the country we live in now—not by any means. frequently told him that deeds and not words are now I have always been willing to say, that so long as I could Rifles and other deadly instrumentalities may some- might redeem it, any force which we might exercise as times effect, moral agitation, the preaching of the truth individuals, which should not be at all checked or reof God, uncompromisingly and faithfully, must be our strained by any outward political associations, we might chief reliance. The better elements of the human soul have hope ;-that so long as government force did not must be aroused before anything can be effectually ac- at all checkmate the full and free exercise of the indi-Wrong views of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in the always willing to say, that I did not care even to disway of the cause of Liberty. That book is made to sanc- cuss the question of the Union, or of political action. ion slavery. But a different view must be presented, and To do the duty that lay next to us seemed the best polthe authority of the deep and humane convictions of icy, trusting, like the great German, that light would the soul be recognised. He had his own theological rise on the next. opinions, but he held humanity paramount to all the- What is the news that comes to our reluctant ears to-

rention a piece of information, which had just come to Northern power, all its authority, all the force that the is knowledge, which he regarded as quite encourag. North has, -I do not mean all the force that the North ing. At the meeting of the American Tract Society has, simply, but that the anti-slavery men of the work this morning, in this city, Dr. Nehemiah Adams lost bave to represent them in the capital of this nation,—
his election as a member of the Publishing Committee, all that force is destroyed under the heel of the Adminand Rev. A. L. Stone was elected in his place. The istration, What is to be the result of putting down vote, he was told, stood 56 for Mr. Stone to 42 for Dr. all the anti-slavery action and power that there is there, Adams. Dr. Adams appeared at the meeting, and which is thus eradicated? Why, just so surely as you. pleaded his own case, and told his brethren that he sir, sit there, and I stand here, the result is to introwas much the more suitable man to be on that Com-mittee, as he had more influence at the South, and his representatives—with Congressional powers greater, views accorded fully with those of the Northern States. far greater, that New England has ever had. Just con States, and now by the army of the United ject a good friend to anti-slavery! But all would not slavery being instantly checkmated by the superior fact, by order, by order. Sizes, by order of the President and his Cabinet, to do. The Society voted to dispense with his services.

circumstance. Mr. G. expressed his high regard for his friend Mr. Hassall, but differed from him in his view that, if we could all come to agree in our theolo-

Mr. Hinton, of England, said that that which he crucify Liberty; that American democracy is but the loved most in his native land was that Wilberforce had synonym for political villany intensified, toryism run lived and labored there, and that, by the labors of himto seed; that FRANKLIN PIERCE has perfidiously be-self and his associates, slavery had been abolished trayed the liberties of the North by his ready subser- throughout the dominions of Great Britain. He declared himself to be a republican in heart, that he lovthe lawful President of the United States, is the chief ed and desired liberty-every where, that his countrymen were all mankind. He pledged himself with all his strength to-the Anti-Slavery cause.

spoke with great earnestness of the Christian spirit and work of the anti-slavery cause and expressed her gratitude to Mr. Garrison and others. who had labored so faithfully in that cause.

Rev. JEHIEL CLAFLIN, of New Hampshire, raised the question whether deadly weapons should be used in carrying on the anti-slavery cause. He thought not He had long been an uncompromising anti-slavery man, but could not fight, even for freedom.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH spoke of the case of Mr. Sumner as a foreshadowing of the fate that awaits us all, it slavery should triumph. He was glad, however, that some idea of freedom was being beaten into the people through the shattered skull of the distinguished Senator. But no new thing had happened, he said; such cowardly and iniquitous acts-infinitely more iniquitous and cowardly acts-were daily perpetrated by the Slave Power. The ruffianism of the United States Government, acted out in Kansas, he insisted, is worse than that which struck down Mr. Sumper, and the ruffianism of the slave plantation still worse. But he hoped that such infamous outrages would yet rouse Massachusetts to action. He was often told that the question of the dissolution of the Union, was only a question of time : and he thought it ought to be a question of time, but of an infinitessimal portion of time-the clock ought

not to strike again before the result should come. Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON. FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

ANDREW T. Foss said that it had happened most re markably, for many years past, that some unusual and striking occurrence had taken place just prior to our annual anti-slavery assemblage here. This year we meet, while the hearts of the people are astonished and indignant at the recent murderous assault upon Charles. Sumner, and while our friends and brethren in Kansas are shot down by ruffians, and the new and flourishing town of Lawrence laid waste by the forces of Slavery, totel Rev. Drs. Blagden, Nehemiah Adams, Water- and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when armed and authorised by the President of the United by, and Joel Parker, as actors in the late meeting; the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye States. But, though he regarded Mr. Sumner as a great 17. Resolved, That the South having boldly thrown with him, in his suffering, he nevertheless rejoiced, away her mask, and avowed her determination not on- looked at from some points of view, in the brutal assault ly to eternize slavery on her soil, but to extend it as upon him. It would help arouse the nation. But what her natural and constitutional right wherever the are we to do? No political party, not even the Repub-American flag shall be carried; and proclaimed her lican can do much in the Union and under the Constitupurpose to wage deadly war against the free institutions tion. For all that these parties can do, in such a posiof the North, to their utter subversion, and the en- tion, slavery will extend itself all over the land, as it slavement of the working classes, without regard to now threatens. Dissolution of the Union is now th

make man the property of man, and committed innu- the platform, and spoke in an earnest and manly strain

SPEECH OF REV. MR. CONWAY.

I do not stand here, this afternoon, because I expecternative is left the North but to separate from her, or ed to stand here ; nor because I take precisely the views o wear the chains of degrading and abject vassalage. which have been expressed by the last speaker; not because I have any union with any particular associa-18. Resolved, That a delegated Convention of the tion of any kind, religious or social. I profess only to Free States should be held at as early a period and at be a worker in the sphere in which it seems to me God point as central as practicable, for the purpose of has put me, down in my own little church of some four aking measures to effect a peaceable withdrawal from or five hundred persons at Washington. There we an alliance which an experience of more than three have gone on in our own way, doing what seemed to us core years has demonstrated to be as impracticable as the best; and I have not come to Boston to make speechit has been disastrous to genuine republicanism and a es or attend any anniversaries. I have come to Boston because our church in Washington has given way-19. Resolved, That, to secure this desirable object, physically, not spiritually, not vitally. The walls, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery which had been standing some thirty-five years, gave Society is hereby respectfully requested to appoint way, just as our church was getting strong, inwardly ommittees of correspondence and vigilance in the sev- and I may add, that if any of you are disposed t ral Free States, who shall be duly empowered to make take the hint, my address is at Little & Brown's. We all necessary arrangements to secure a full representa- have found that we have lost the purse of the church by taking anti-slavery ground, having shed eight or The reading of these resolutions was listened to with ten of the richest men in the Society, with their fam-

But, sir, I came here to say, what may be obvious Rev. Mr. HASSALL said that he had come, as many to all of us, that the country on which our eyes openthers doubtlessly came, to the city in sadness, yet not |ed this morning, is not the country on which our eyes seeded, he insisted that however much good Sharpe's see that there was any force acting in this country which omplished : and this work is not to be done by force, vidual strength of any one in the government. I was

day? Why, most probably, that Lawrence lies in Andrew T. Poss said he rose to give to the Con-

dominion of the Slave Power,-with all Kansas subjected to slavery, with a slave representation in Congress laughing at its case with a majority for five centuries ahead,-then I would say that individual force, which in Luther broke the institution that had gathered up in its folds the strength of ten centuries, -individual force, which spoke with the authority of Hampden and Sydney,-that that force should again be nan that looks upon hostility to wrong as a more sacred ever venerable, or strong, or wealthy, even though it truthfulness to rectitude. Let the men who thus feel gather together with solemnity, in the fear of God, and, standing together, look into each other's eyes, and say, What is to be done? We must not do wrong. When we contribute to the treasury of the State, when we support our State government, we are supporting that which, as over to the spirit of slavery, beyond hope of redemption.' And I do believe, on my soul, that a few men,-I do believe that ten or twenty men, whose character i pright, who are faultless in their community, who ave friends who love them, who have influence, coming together as the Quakers of old, when they stood against war, and allowed their cattle and furniture to be sold without stint, and would not consent to support it,-I believe that if such men would take that stand the future, and calculates the events of coming years. strikes one is, that, with the exception of a few, the If it must come, let us be brave, true-hearted, and people here have no idea, not the remotest, of what slafaithful to our duty If we are irretrievably bound, as very is. They do not realize it. They have a certain individuals, then must we balance our individual soul thing called liberty, which they believe to be right, and

individuals. I say that no man can reach the individual development in this country that he would if he were a free man. As long as one man is a slave in this land, of something. We are all afraid of some prejudice, some feeling against color, or animosity of some kindwith great and grand exceptions, many of which I see around me. We must feel that man cannot reach the truest and noblest perfection under a system which, at geological periods, and see those vast electric currents, see those great monsters down there before man appeared on this earth ;-and we decide that such things as were there—the transition rock, the primeval forest, -could not, in their very nature, have produced man. Man was to be the associate of higher stages of vegetation and animal life-these lower strata could not have produced them. And I say, the presence of slavery here, the apathy I find even in Boston, when a Massa chusetts Senator is struck down by a coward hand in the Senate Chamber at Washington, the existence of that feeling which does not realize that slavery is wrong,

and really, in its heart, chuckles over this outrage,

-I say, all this indicates a sort of lower strata of life,

a primitive formation, and such a primitive formation

cannot produce the best men and women. So it is for

each man to feel this, that in freeing the slave, he is

Nothing can resist it.

possibility of obtaining a majority in Congress that I am afraid that many things that are charged upon should resist slavery, who should stand there as Charles them by what are termed the Garrisonian Abolitionisis, Summer has stood there, were ready to act without are too true. They want to nominate Col. Fremont for respect to taking such ground as now seems to be al- President. What is the reason? I believe Col. Fremost necessary to many minds. I will say, for one, ment is opposed to slavery. He is a remantic young that I never could. I trust you will allow me my man; an ambitious specimen of young America; a nefrankness, my freedom, on this platform. I cannot see ble-hearted, chivalrous man - if that word has any the consistency, quite-I do not say others do not-I meaning now. (Laughter and cheers.) But I have know it is meant with perfect consistency, and is taken yet to see the first word he has said that commits him to with great sincerity-I say I cannot quite see the any principle on this subject. It is true, he does symconsistency of those, who hold the idea of no political pathise with the struggle to make Kansas a free State, action, ever paying taxes to the State that supports and with Gov. Robinson. I know the effort is being the Union. I say that if we, as men, finding that made to induce him to commit himself to some princithere is before us, for five centuries, inevitably, the ple on this subject, and it may be successful. But many Anti-Slavery people think that men at Washington cannot be trusted on this question. They cannot There is too much corruption in the air there, too many influences are brought to bear on men to make them yield on this question. Individuals who come down to Washington with strong Anti-Slavery feelings, find this out in a way that would astound even the most superstitions of you. Why, Senator Sumner himself has told brought to bear. We should gather together, every me that the influence was so great that he had no idea of it. The way in which Southern men would slip their duty than anything else; who respects nothing, how- bands in the arm, and walk along, and beg whoever it is not to waste his tremendous talents, his great learnbe a country, that stands in the way of their personal ing, his brilliant prospects, on this question !- (laughter) - to wait awhile, and see how it was ; - and the man would scarcely know where he was. I do believe that there is a taste of blood that a man gets in office that is very corrupting. It is like the taste of blood that a tiger gets, which he never forgets. There is a power of corruption all around men at Washington, State, supports a Union that is irretrievably given and throughout the country, in regard to this matter of slavery, because there are great proprietory interests at stake. And these men all get their individual development subject to those influences; and you depend or them, and they depend on you; and unless each person,-which is my point,-unless each person, man or woman, feels that it is against his or her true development, that this thing should exist : unless he or she takes it to heart, and tries to count the cost-how much bitterness it has cost, how much it has injured the senow, their influence would be so strong that the whole renity of his or her soul, how much has been yielded, in world would come round to them. I believe that this youth, in manhood, or old age, to the influence of slavolcanic power never was resisted. I believe that al. very, he or she will not be properly sprung on this most any one man, taking that position, would shake question; and we all need that now. We need that there the whole community; and that a large number of should be a great and noble enthusiasm rise within us men, a number that I know can be got taking that po- in view of the new and thrilling events of the day, and sition, would be utterly irresistible. That is the action call us to fresh endeavors. I, for one, am willing to we will have to take at last. We will personally secede. stand for ever, and give my heart and soul to all that (Cheers.) It is an awful fact, that this country has will be for the good of the poor down-trodden slave, as reached a condition that now writes this dreadful word | well as for the good of the whites, and also of this counon every heart, as it comes with pain and blood from try. (Loud cheers.) I tell you, my friends, it is a Washington. With pen of flame, the Kansas iniquity dreadful thing that I see in the city of Boston. I am a writes on our hearts the word—We must not do wrong.! stranger here, almost. Although I lived here a year or so awful that the imagination faints as she looks into the minds of the people. But I say, the first thing that

and sense of right against the whole world. The hy- they believe that slavery, in the abstract, is wrong,drostatic paradox will hold here, wherein the smallest but the idea of the immense practical evil that slavery capillary tube of water balances a whole ocean. A inflicts on the country seems never to have affected single soul, resting firmly on the laws of God, by that them at all. That great evil has been feebly portrayed same hydrostatic power, balances the whole world. in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'; some of its most deplorabl results have been proclaimed by the poet Whittier ; but I know that this view may not strike you as a true no tongue has yet been shaped which can truly write on one. We are very much given to routine, even at An- the hearts of the people, who do not know it and who ti-Slavery meetings. We are very much given to a have not seen it, lived in its midst, the awful evil of certain round of thoughts. We have them in theology, American slavery ; - (applause) - that vast domestic we have them in politics. But the facts of to-day call corruption, which led a noble woman of Virginia to once to us with a strong voice, which we cannot resist. say to me, with tears in her eyes, though she had de-When a great crime, hitherto unknown on the page of scended from a long line of slaveholding ancestors, ' No, history, rises up before us, such as this against Kansas. I never would have you compromise an inch with it! which gives a death-blow to all the hopes we had cher- (Cheers.) She had seen her children, her nephews, labed, it calls for a new treatment altogether, and that grow up in this atmosphere of slavery, with the a new force be exerted. There is need now that some great power which God has seen fit to make that instinew power shall dart down into our hearts, -that there tution capable of, -warmed out, like a nest of vipers, shall be an entirely new entrance of feeling and force by this intense heat,-this great evil, and she would not into the Anti-Slavery enterprise. We must look to it have me make terms with it. The evil of it! I would that we give our whole souls to the great fact that we tell you some things I know, but I cannot - I cannot must be personally true to ourselves; that we cannot All I can say is, that I have never met a man who hatbe clogged and weighed down, as individuals, whose ed it too much. (Cheers.) I have never yet met the duty in this universe is to seek perfection, and the de- heart that throbbed too strongly against it. I wish to velopment of our minds and hearts, by this fact of sla- say, that if those who do think slavery wrong will exvery. Why, up here in the North, what do you get? amine this question more deeply, they will find that People at a distance see that ! like dry rot in wheat. they do not realize half its enormity. They will become, t comes forth in the North, and you see the highest and not men of one idea, but I think they will have a great noblest men falling before it. What men think on this many ideas they never had before. The more they exquestion of slavery is the test of the moral honesty of amine its history, its bearing on social life, the more all. Yet slavery is not here, it is in the South; and they will find out its evil effects; and I do wish that yet, it is more of a test question here than at the South. there was some system by which Southern newspapers This is the terrible power that hangs over all of us, as could be spread abroad at the North. I know the 'Refage of Oppression ' in the Liberator does a great deal : but I know there is much that does not come to your ears. There is certainly a literature of modern times. we are all slaves, to a certain extent. We are all afraid |- I think the most superior literature of this country,the biographies of fugitive slaves, -a literature which can never fail to have readers where there are any hearts,-which show them to be the only heroes of the age ; glorious men, who have braved all things,-risked life, property, health, - who have put themselves on the same time, produces slavery. Look down at the old the chase before the deadly bloodhounds, human and canine,-and all for what? For this abstraction that we call liberty! (Applause.) If that is not heroism,

I wish to say a word more in reference to such books. I wish to say, that the people of the North should enter more deeply into them, and then, when they have realized what this oppression is personally, when they have put themselves in the same circumstances, they will be-gin to feel what slavery is; and when they have asked themselves how much better they would feel if they had done their duty to God and man, if there were no slavery at the South, and how much easier it would be to do their duty to God and man if there were no slaves really freeing himself; he is asserting his own individ- at the South, they will begin to feel whether they are ual force, and his right to live in the country, and take nobler in the midst of slavery, whether they are really things on the same terms with all other men, and not have anything which is selfishly had, and which his brother cannot have.

The midst of six-very, whether the land. It would have constitutionally done it. Mr. Forms said, let Charles Summer take the high-reptiles and monsters. I know that there have been est ground possible, and he would become the man of

what is heroism? That which is impassioned with a

noble idea, that which forgets all fear of death, of any

thing, a passion for liberty, a passion for the heart's

best love, that is heroism, and these are the men who

represent it this day. (Loud cheers.)

THE LIBERATOR.

the utter overthrow of all natural and legal rights, and the extinction of all the hopes of freedom—constitute 'an assemblage of horrors' which no pencil can him almost too good to be true. He hoped it would book forward to the great the utter overthrow of all natural and legal rights, and the country to enter, as it will now, inevitably, as slave. I know that there are many persons in the country to enter, as it will now, inevitably, as slave. States:—what shall be the result of that? Why, there who have a disposition to be quiet on this question. States:—what shall be the result of that? Why, there who have a disposition to be quiet on this question. Intelligence Mr. Poss had communicated. It seemed to are men who, so long as they could look forward to the say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble are men who, so long as they could look forward to the say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, that the mass of people are fundamentally ignoble say, the say is the utter overthrow of all the overthrow of all th height as men ; that they cannot, as long as they allow this great crime to exist in their midst, and with which they themselves are connected by political and moral ties; that the neglect of a single moment wherein a estimony might have been uttered that would have reached any ear, makes them less men, because they are not lovers of men, because they are not free, because they are indolent, and any such moment you may put down in your life as just as much lost as if in that moment you had been dead.

Let us, then, be true on this subject, whatever else fails. This is no time for apathy; this is no time for speaking any thing but that which is on our hearts. However much we may differ as regards methods, that is no fault. It is time for us to offer our opinions franky, honestly-saying just what we feel. I have told you that I believe we are to take some new, decided action. now that we find that this country is irretrievably sold to the Slave Power for five centuries before us. I tell you, I am not willing to live in a country under these circumstances. (Cheers.) I know you may not feel so strongly as I do about it ; but I am not willing, after what I know of slavery, to live in a country which is tied for five centuries, by the admission of Kansas, to the dominion of slavery.

It was on my mind when I left Washington to talk to men on this subject; to see whether individual force could be brought to bear on this country, such as has been brought to bear in times past, and has shattered encient churches, has raised up new powers of life, simply by men standing still and waiting for the salvation of God ; standing still in the midst of all,-not helping the government or authority in any way,-but standing still and waiting the result, whether it be their martyrdom, their imprisonment, or whether it be to see the powers themselves trembling and crumbling to pieces before the simple truth which ages ago announced to the world, -what so few of us believe, -that under such circumstances, 'one can chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.' (Loud applause.)

Mr. BILLINGS, of Illinois, said that some call the idea of liberty an abstraction; but such it was not. It was not so with our puritan forefathers, nor with the Revolutionary patriots. They loved liberty, and labored to establish it throughout the land; and they never would have compromised with slavery as they did could they have foreseen the fatal results. He also insisted that eminent humanity is eminent Christianity; and that this humanity or Christianity is destined to triumph over every thing opposed to it.

J. B. SWASEY, Esq., on coming forward remarked that he happened to come from that dark corner of the State which is disgraced by being the residence of CALER Cushing! And in that place-Newburyport-multis of men are found to an y attack upon Mr. SUMNER! In Boston-in all parts of Massachusetts-we find numbers of the same kind of men. But he nevertheless recognized a nower in the land,-it was to be found in the present Convention,from which the revolution that is to come may be surely augured.

WEDNESDAY.

Met according to adjournment, when, at 10 o'clock, the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, called the Convention to order, with quite a large number of persons present. onsidering the inclemency of the weather. The resolutions (17, 18 and 19,) relating to the call-

ng of a Convention of the Free States, for the purpose of withdrawing from the Union, were read by request. Rev. Mr. Nurs from Kansas, felt this morning as he had never felt before, that the Union is so prostituted to lavery that there is no longer any use of trying to save it. He did not at present, as he had endeavored to heretofore, believe that the enemies of freedom in Kansas are honest. But it was his deep conviction to-day that bad as Missouri ruffianism is, Boston ruffianism is still worse. He had been out to Kansas under the auspices of the American Unitarian Association, and he was going again, in a short time, with a pledge from hem, that they would sustain him in his practical alegiance to the cause of Freedom there, even though it ed him to trample on United States Law. This was an encouraging indication; and he made an earnest appeal to various classes to go with him, and aid in the establishment of liberty in Kansas.

S. S. Fosten had thought that, at such a crisis as the present, a new impulse would be given to the cause; out when he heard Mr. Phillips say on the platform yesterday, that the two words to be spoken now are, Sum-ner and Kansas, he had felt a great sinking of his soul. But who is Charles Sumner, he asked, that this Society should espouse his quarrels with the slaveholders? He has long stood by and seen the rights of the millions of been striking hands with villains, and aiding them in their works of iniquity. This point Mr. Foster enlarged upon in his peculiar manner, amidst demonstrations of approving and disapproving feeling; many asking him questions upon the subject, and he answering them, much to the interest, if not to the conviction of the audience which had now got to be large. The mission of true anti-slavery is, he insisted, to separate the wheat from the chaff; but the danger now is, that we shall accept the chaff as wheat. He felt it, therefore, to be his first duty to make it every where realized that the Free Soil movement and the Kansas movement are unable to bring salvation to the country. No State in the Union he said, had passed such barbarous laws against the black man as Kansas has passed. He contended earn-estly, therefore, that the slave can be freed only over the ruins of the American Union ; and the men at Washngton who do not want to get caned for any free speech here, ought to leave the company of villains, and come Mr. PHILLIPS asked Mr. Foster if he would have

hanked Gov. Chase of Ohio, if he had put himself at the head of the military and rescued Margaret Garner ? Mr. Foster answering in the affirmative, Mr. Phillips said that he had simply thanked Mr. Sumner for doing an unmixedly good act.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said that Gov. Chase might have rescued Margaret Garner without going outside of

MR. CHAIRMAN:

men ; but as long as he should remain in his present position, he could do little or nothing. Mr. F. closed his speech by offering the following resolution :-

ns Hade one This

Resolved, That the first and most important duty this Convention, at the present time, is, to convince th entire community that the anti-slavery of any and every political party which acknowledges allegiance and promises support to the Pederal Government, is necesnarily tainted and spurious; and the nearer its resemblance to the genuine, the more injurious is it to the cause of freedom, because the more likely to deceive and mislead the honest and true-hearted.

Mr. Mar made a brief and earnest appeal to the friends of the cause for contribution and pledges.

CHARLES L. REMOND suggested that contributions and pledges should be made in reference to the fact that the American Anti-Slavery Society contemplates the hold ing of one hundred conventions in the course of the year. He also made some very earnest and eloquen remarks upon the importance of keeping the old antislavery movement pure and uncompromising. He cared nothing for the question of Kansas, but stood on the ground of impartial and universal liberty. He closed by objecting to so much being said on the anti-slavery platform in eulogy of the Anglo-Saxon race, in distinction from all other races. He referred to Theodore Parker's speaking of himself and others as Africans. He did not care for the matter on his own account, but he believed the Anglo-Saxon race was not the superior race often represented to be, and he thought it time that this constant claim of its superiority should be backed up by some proof that it has common humanity and decency.

WENDELL PHILLIPS urged the importance of libera contributions and pledges at this crisis, on the ground that the old Anti-Slavery movement is to make the chief efficient use of the outrages of Slavery in Kansas, and upon Charles Sumner and others at Washington that can be made during the coming year. The Free Soilers have got to create a President-we a right pub-Ho sentiment.

Mr. Phillips, in some criticisms upon Mr. Foster's speech, said that he considered the Free Soil Party one of the greatest obstacles in the way of Liberty-not the greatest-but when a man sets his face in the right direction, he does one good act, and he would honor him, and thought we all should. Theodore Parker acknowledges the merits of Henry Ward Beecher fifty times where orthodox timidity dares return the compliment once.

ABBY KELLY FOSTER wanted to make a suggestion in reference to the honesty of some Free Soil leaders. Giddings and Wilson acknowledge, she said, our principles, but will not live by them. They may be politically honest, but they are not honest in a Christian sense.

Mr. PHILLIPS said of Henry Ward Beecher, that he believed him honest in keeping with his present position; and though he did not come to us, it was enough to prove him an honest Anti-Slavery man that he was the object of pro-slavery hatred throughout the land. So of Mr. Giddings and Henry Wilson.

Mr. GARRISON said the liberty of speech is a great thing and a valuable right; but it was not yet fully secured. Those who came to our meetings should come prepared to hear any one utter his honest convictions. He wished that those who had manifested their indignation at Mr. Remond for applying an odious epithet to Washington-which he himself did not think an appropriate one-would turn some of their indignation to wards Edward Everett, the recreant eulogist, for a base end, of Washington. In relation to Kansas, and in re ply to some things from Mr. Nute, Mr. Garrison contended that here and not there is the work of Anti-Sla very; for as long as we have such a North, politically and religiously, as we now have, there is no hope for Kansas nor for the Slave, excepting through the moral and religious education of the people.

S. S. FOSTER thought, in relation to Charles Sumner that we must be impartial in the application of our re-bukes to all parties, and that Mr. Summer must not, therefore, be spared, standing as he does in union with slaveholders. He thought that all intelligent supporters of the Government are dishonest men, and ought to be rebuked and denounced. Henry Ward Beecher, he said, had received too much eulogy on this platform ; he was too pure and good to stand on the platform with Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips, but he could sit in religious association with Presbyterian cradle plunderers ! So of the other leading Free Soilers. Adjourned to meet in the Meionaon, at quarter to 8

AFTERNOON. Met at the Meionaon, according to adjournment. Effingham L. Capron, one of the Vice

Presidents, in the chair. Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, offered

the following resolutions :-Resolved, That we proffer to our honored friend and

toil-worn co-laborer in the anti-slavery field, PARKER PILLSBURY, and to his beloved family, our warmest congratulations on his safe arrival home, with renovated health, after a protracted absence in Europe ; that we remember with admiration and gratitude the invaluable services he has performed in behalf of that cause, through years of evil report, popular odium, and universal proscription, in the spirit of entire self-sacrifice and quenchless devotion, at the less of reputation and the peril of life; that we rejoice to know that, during his sojourn abroad, notwithstanding his dangerous illness, he was enabled to do much towards enlightening the minds and affecting the hearts of British philanthropists, on the subject of American slavery, thus securing their future co-operation with us to extirpate this awful curse, by their religious testimonies and pecuniary offerings; that we trust he will be permitted to see the chain of every slave broken, before being called to a higher and nobler sphere, and to mingle his voice in the song of a jubilee more glorious than has ever yet been proclaimed in any land, among any people.

Resolved, That we recognize, with the liveliest em tions of gratitude, the unremitted attention and unwearied kindness of our transatlantic friends towards Mr. PILLSBURY, as the faithful representative of the man acled slave, from the hour of his landing to that of his leaving their hospitable shores; and we beg them to accept this brief expression of our feeling as but the feeblest token of what, on the score of indebtedness, we cannot find words adequately to express.

Mr. Swazer, in speaking of Charles Sumner, said he had never been a great admirer of the distinguished Senator; but in regard to his recent services and present suffering, he gave him his hearty approval and admiration. He thought, however, that our Society ought to be cautious how it endorsed the leaders of the Republican Party, or the Party itself; approving them, indeed, for any good acts, and reproving them for any bad acts, but discriminatingly.

CHAS. C. BURLEIGH stated that he had just heard a gratifying piece of intelligence. Edward Everett had recently received an invitation from the Connecticut Legislature, to deliver before it his lecture on Washington. But on hearing that Mr. Everett had refused to speak at the late indignation meeting at Faneuil Hall, the Legislature had withdrawn that invitation The announcement of this fact called out much applause.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, of Ohio, spoke with satisfaction of the variety of talent and methods found on our Anti-Slavery platform, believing it advantageous to the cause. He also spoke of the general aspects of the cause, as illustrated in the case of Kansas. He believed the design of the Slave Power to be to put down discussion on the floor of Congress, and he thought it would succeed, unless the North can be aroused mor thoroughly than ever before. He likewise gave an in teresting account of the condition of Uhio, in reference to the Anti-Slavery question, and of the position of Gov. Chase and the Republican Party there, Mr. R. concluded by insisting that the only practical method of abolition is that of ' No Union with Slaveholders." and, he would add, 'Union with the Slaves.'

THEODORE PARKER spoke briefly of past aggressions of the Slave Power, and of its recent manifestations, mentioning the case of Mr. Summer and the rumor that Mr. Wilson has been challenged to a duel at Washington by Brooks, of South Carolina, and Mr. Wade, of O'clock. Ohio, by Toombs, of Georgia.

Adjourned to meet at the Melodeou, on Thursday, at

THURSDAY.

Met at the Melodeon, when, at 10 o'clock, the Pres- the following resolution : ident called the Convention to order. A large audien in attendance

J. J. Locke made some general remarks on the relation of Religion and the Church to slavery, and enlarged whose idea of genuine evangelical religion was, that i upon the idea that the substance of Christianity is jus- imperatively requires the immediate emancipation of tice, kindness, beneficence, humanity-the prominent idea set forth in the 25th chapter of Matthew, the let- with sin, under any circumstances; and to whom the ter and spirit of which, he contended, oblige every ory of 'infidelity' against the faithful friends of the man of every Christian profession, however different their creeds, to be an active friend of humanity in every

Mrs. A. K. FOSTER said it was not her purpose or expectation, on leaving home, to speak at the Convention ; but she wished to revive a discussion of yesterday, which did not seem to her to be clearly settled. red since our last annual New England Convention. The New England Convention, she said, was the place the American Anti-Slavery Society and its friends have of all others to get at the truth, which is to be carried been called to meet with no common loss ; for, though out into practical life. She referred to Mr. Remond's 'the good die not,' and we feel that he yet speaks to u application of an opprobrious epithet to Washington, and to all who knew him, and who may still be reache which, she confessed, grated harshly upon her own by his writings, and by the manly power of his seven ears. But when she considered Gen. Washington's re- spirit and disinterested life,-yet, we miss his presen lation to slavery, and remembered the case of the fugi- with his counsel, his animating example, in our con tive woman particularly who fied from his service to test with "American Slavery, that sum of all villanies. New Hampshire, she thought the idolatry of the man To his memory we offer this tribute of our profound re ought to be stricken down.

hoped all personalities would be avoided; but, above its behalf, to the value of his continued and various e all, it was important that our uncompromising posi- forts to promote it, on both sides of the Atlantic, w tion should be maintained. We love, she said, our feel it both a duty and a high privilege to bear our ear Free Soil friends, and in various ways they manifest nest and united testimony. Grateful to God that w their friendship for us; but we owe them a duty to enjoyed so long the benefit of his wise, judicious as spoke most impressively of the disagreeableness of this memory to a renewed consecration of our best power duty, and of the sacrifices she and her husband often to that high cause of Humanity which he loved so well had to make in discharging it, but this was the special mission given them from Heaven, and they must follow it faithfully. It was a most noble and Christian speech, speak to the above resolution, which he did in an ap worthy the glorious spirit of the woman, always illustrated, as it is, by her pure and martyr-like life.

ner, and the Republican party, as based on the Consti- advantage should be taken of the sympathies flowing tution of the United States, and urged a union of all out every where for Mr. Sumner, and infuse into ther anti-slavery parties.

down—there is no other foundation to build upon. The brief exposure of the pro-slavery character of Ameri-South are united to a man on slavery; at the North all can religion, and a fitting rebuke and condemnation the great political and religious parties are on the same of it. side-the Republican party, as under the Constitution of the United States, is implicated in the support of slavery like the rest. But to succeed, there is an absolute is, that, ere another year shall pass away, another em necessity of abolitionists being uncompromising on the inent friend of the slave and of our cause would be num ground of ' No Union with Slaveholders.'

MARIUS R. ROBINSON spoke ably and earnestly of the importance of the dissolution of the Union question, and tude. Mr. P. adverted to the discussion which had also of the importance of practical operations on that taken place with reference to Mr. Sumner and the Re

STEPHEN S. FOSTER said that in rising to speak, he was conscious that he stood almost alone in the position he had taken in reference to the Free Soil party, and against the unmatched elequence of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison, and their well-earned influence. But he must be true to his own judgment and conscience. He thought the present the true time to criticise Mr. Sumner, because he is, as never before, the idol of New England.

Mr. GARRISON said Mr. Sumner was the product of our anti-slavery movement ; and the question is, whether we have been making him a dangerous man.

Mr. Foster thought that Mr. Sumner is a dangerou man to the anti-slavery cause, and more dangerous at present than at any time before. He insisted, too, that if our movement had made Mr. Sumner a better man than he was ten years ago, it had thereby made him a

from Washington, just received, represents Mr. Sumbility is, therefore, that we shall soon be delivered from what we have been told is the greatest obstacle to our

reference to Mr. Sumner. Adjourned to quarter to 3 brief, but of great interest and elequence. His rebuke

AFTERNOON. Jehiel Claffin, one of the Vice-Presithe hall in every part.

a brief account of a recent visit to the South ; and he own. affirmed that he never met such ruffianly and brutal men any where as he met there. Whilst there, he himself was often in danger of his life, being several times threatened with assassination, for incidentally expressing his views of slavery. He came home, he said, satisfied that the Union was worth nothing to any Northern man, and he went therefore for its immediate disso-

Mr. Sumner and the Republican Party. He said he but this was an error, as very few of them were not had none but kind feelings towards Mr. Sumner, and he resistants, but they refused to vote, on the ground believed that Mr. S. had been the very best Abolitionist moral consistency and as a matter of consistency, behe could be under the Government. Still, it was his cause of the pro-slavery features of the U. S. Constitu duty to criticise him, for in his present position he in- tion. They rejected the ballot which they believed to evitably drew off even some of the tried and true of our be stained with the blood of the slave. If Mr. Parker, of four millions of human beings-a thankless work to ciples, they would be greatly obliged to him. But he him, he said, but a necessary one to the cause. Mr. F. had not attempted to meet their difficulties. himself was not in favor of the Northern States withdrawing from the Southern; but he was in favor of uniting with the slaves, as Cassius M. Clay proposed, as against their masters. And let those who believe in this country, and of universal freedom, has sustainusing the sword, use it, for such as those can do noth-

Mr. PHILLIPS replied, that according to Mr. Foster's philosophy, there could not be a good idea going around the world, unless it came from the Garrisonians. To he consistent with it, we ought to pray for the advent to assist every progressive movement. of Griers, and Jeffrieses, and Kanes, as a protection against good men not wholly right. But Mr. Phillips repudiated this whole philosophy as absurd; and denied also that he had endorsed the Republican Party or Mr. Summer as an Abolitionist. Mr. Sumner's position in the U. S. Government, he himself had always criticised, as had Mr. Garrison ; but he would be ever ready to render honor to every man for a good act-even to the slaveholding Judge of Mississippi, who, amidst his long career of service to slavery, gave one manly and rightcous decision for freedom. And the nearer men come to the truth, the more he would honor them ; believing that the better they are, the most useful they must be.

Mr. Forren complained that he had not been met by Mr. Phillips with fairness ; but as it was suggested by Mr. Garrison and others that he had occupied much time in the discussion, he took his sent.

Mrs. A. K. Foster thought the cause of Freedom demanded that Mr. Foster should reply to Mr. Phillips, as she considered that he had been misrepresented.

CHAS. C. BURLEIGH and SAMUEL MAY, Jr., hoped that Mr. Foster would proceed with his remarks, that there might be no appearance even of restricting his free-

[The series of Resolutions before the Committee was Mr. Fosten took the platform to correct some of Mr. called for and read by Mr. May, one of the Secretaries.] Phillips's misconceptions and misetatements, and occunied some fifteen minutes in doing so. He greatly de plored the culogies that Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison pronounced upon Mr. Sumner.

Adjourned to meet at the Meionaon at half-past

Evening. Met at the Meionaon ; Edmund Quine in the chair, who called the meeting to order at halfpast 7 o'clock.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, offered

Resolved, That in the death of our venerated friend. JOHN ROGERS, of this city, the anti-slavery cause ha lost an early, unfaltering and devoted supporter ; one every bondman, and that no compromise is to be made oppressed, by a spurious orthodoxy, was the best evidence of their Christianity.

Mr. May, on behalf of the Business Committee, of fered the following resolution :

Resolved, That in the departure from this life of Jon. BISHOP ESTLIN, of Bristol, (Eng.) - which event occur spect and admiration. To his hearty espousal of th As to the discussion of the Free Soll question, she cause of the oppressed, to his unremitting sacrifices in rebuke them, when they compromise the truth. She hearty co-operation, we desire to be animated by his

WM. WELLS BROWN, who had been intimately ac obsinted with Mr. Estlin in England, came forward t propriate manner. He also spoke of the discussion which had taken place during the various sessions Rev. GARDNER DEAN of _____ thought it a poor the Convention, and expressed his conviction that both time to criticise Charles Sumner, as some had criticised parties were right, presenting different phases of the him on this platform. He spoke in eulogy of Mr. Sum- same great subject. It was important, he thought, that the light and truth of our uncompromising movemen Mr. Garatson urged the point that, unless we base These sympathies, he said, would be worth nothing our anti-slavery movement upon principle, we must go year hence, unless rightly directed. He closed by

> Mr. PILLSBURY also spoke briefly to the resolutio concerning Mr. Estlin; and said that the probability bered with the dead-namely, HARRIET MARTINEAU, o whom he spoke with the deepest reverence and gratipublicans; and though he thought the hearts of each party in that discussion were in the right place, and that they looked at the subject from different standpoints, he nevertheless sympathized mostly with Mr and Mrs. Foster, as he thought would be the case wit most of the lecturing agents. And as for himself, h must join issue with the Republican party as long a it stood where it always has stood, considering it, as h did, a great obstacle in the way of uncompromising ant slavery. The anti-slavery movement which he repre sented, he considered the great Christian movement o the age, out of which salvation must come.

Mr. GARRISON wanted it distinctly understood the no endorsement of Mr. Sumner as an Abolitionist, or the Republican party, had been attempted, or thought of, by any in the Convention ; but only a Just commendation of Mr. Sumner for his late noble speech in the Senate, and the manly stand that he is maintaining in opposition to the Slave Power, - as the resolutions Mr. Garrison announced that a telegraphic despatch These remarks Mr. Garrison followed with an interesting address on the general aspects of the cause, its ner in an increasingly critical condition, and the proba- world-wide bearings, and the importance of zealous action on the part of abolitionists.

Mr. PHILLIPS briefly reviewed the proceedings of the various meetings of the Convention, and urged upon Mr. Foster objected to such an allusion to his own abolitionists the duties of the hour. His speech was of Edward Everett and Robert C. Winthrop, for their heartless refusal to stand in the Paneuil Hall meeting. and denounce the outrage which has been done alike to dents, in the Chair. An immense audience thronged Massachusetts and to her noble Senator, was as pointed and severe as it was deserved; and the crowded au-Mr. Downes, of Bradford, took the platform to give dience accepted every word of it, and made it their

THEODORE PARKER followed Mr. Phillips, commend ing the platform of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society as the freest and highest in the United States : but expressing his dissent from its non-voting and non-political character.

Mr. GARRISON made a correction of some statements made by Mr. Parker, who spoke of the non-voting abolitionists as non-resistants, and as absenting themselves S. S. Fosten resumed the discussion in reference to from the polls on account of their peace principles Anti-Slavery platform. He went into a thorough ex- as a religious and ethical teacher, and as the friend of position of Mr. Sumner's position, showing that he the anti-slavery cause, could show them their error, or stood, with other supporters of the Union, on the necks how they could vote without compromising their prin-

Mr. G. then presented the following resolution :-Resolved, That this Convention desires to express its sense of the great loss which the cause of emancipation ed, since its last anniversary, by the death of the noble WILLIAM H. ASHURST, of England, whose home was the refuge of the outlawed friends of freedom in the old world, ever open to the anti-slavery advocates from America, and whose heart and hand were always ready

The three resolutions relating to the departe I friends of the cause were then adopted by a unanimous vote. The resolution of welcome to Parker Pillsbury wa then unanimously voted.

Mrs. A. K. Foster having expressed her sense of duty to vote against the resolutions respecting Mr. Sumner. t was decided to take the vote upon those resolutions separately; and, being taken, the resolutions were adopted with but a few dissentient voices.

The resolution offered by Stephen S. Foster motion of Charles C. Burleigh, seconded by Samuel May, Jr., indefinitely postponed. The remaining resolutions before the Convention were

then adopted, nem. con.; and the Opnvention then adjourned, sine die, after one of the most interesting and exciting series of meetings ever held in the city of Bos-

The entire amount of donations and cash called tions, as reported by the Finance Committee, was \$636; of pledges, payable during the year ensuing, \$1280,50.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. WILLIAM H. FISH, Secretaries.

AARON M. POWELL,

SPEECH OP WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ., Anglo-Saxon blood. Where is it? Where will you find At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Tuesday Afternoon, May 27, 1856.

The last speaker expressed his confidence that there was feeling and principle enough in Massachusetts to save the State in this crisis. I used to hold that faith ; I do not know that I continue to hold it. I only know to-day that we may live honest men, and find decen graves in the soil that honest men once trod. But do not know, I do not yet believe, that there is a public sentiment about us enough to save in our day this experiment of civil government. It seems to me there is such a dense ignorance of the very first principles of constitutional liberty; such an intense indifference, such a perfect smothering of public feeling by the material interests of the Commonwealth, that I do not see how a reasonable man can indulge much hope God reigns, and therefore slavery will go to pieces in his own good time. (Cheers.) But whether we shall live to see it, or whether this frame of government shall ever result in the triumph of free principles, and what may be truly called constitutional government in this country, is, I think, a question of considerable doubt. Look at the present tone of public feeling in this city. The men who went to Fancuil Hall, the other night, were bayonetted there; and even that crowded hall did not hold the property and respectability of Boston. A few sprinkled the mass ; but the wealth, the fashion, what calls itself the intellect, the governing element in Boston, the few scores of men that make up Boston when she is named throughout the Union, were not there. (Hear, hear.') The mass of them do not care enough about these recent outrages to come out of their houses, or utter a word about them. Let the pettiest despot in Europe have the carriage of its ambassador overthrown in the street of an equal power, and the government of that power not atone for it, and the pettiest despot of the smallest pocket-handkerchief-sized State would recall its ambassador. The Senators of the United States are the ambassadors of sovereign States,-the representatives of States by their sovereignty. Massachusetts, by her ambassador, speaks one of the noblest words she ever yet spoke in the national councils, and is struck sdown on the floor of Congress by a brutal ruffianism which never showed itself before north of the Ohio, and east of the Mis sissippi. You hear of hardly a whisper from the men of Massachusetts, of calling him and Mr. Wilson home. We send home Mr. Crampton for a violation of etiquette; we talk of calling the French government to account for not allowing our military commission to see their fortifications; we nearly fell into a war with Spain for an insult to that maddest of all Don Quixotes, Mr. Soulé. By the way, in my opinion the noble Don is much wronged by these comparisons of Butler and others to him. But when the ambassador of Massachusetts is beaten in his seat, in the discharge of his duty, where is the sovereignty of Massachusetts? Nobody thinks of it.

I do not look upon this thing as an anti-slavery matter merely. The primal principle of constitutional lib. erty, where is it? You all know, that on the floor of a legislative assembly, a man may speak words that would subject him to indictment, if spoken elsewhere, and he cannot be touched-it is a sacred spot. You would fancy, if you listened to the criticisms of some presses on that speech, that Mr. Sumper was bound, on the floor of the Senate, by the etiquette of the drawing-room. They do not seem to recollect, that by a liberty we have wrought out by a struggle of ten hundred years, he was permitted to criticise and arraign individual character, and every thing else, by the privilege of his it was a matter between individuals. I say, this ignorance is the first thing that strikes me. These men do not know enough to be freemen. When Waddy Thompson told John Quincy Adams, that if he uttered in South Carolina what he had just said in the House of embrace the whole subject, they cover the whole groun what said the old sage? 'Go back to South Carolina, whole Anti-Slavery cause at the present moment. an, stand

so-Sam Adams did not think so. My friend, Mr. Poss, willing to struggle for a broken reed. I should like to take a lantern, and go through the to do. If Massachusetts chooses to walk on her downtance. Thirty more years rolled on. My friend thinks the Union was broken to pieces? slavery in sixty years.

that feeblest of all feeble protests made in Fancuil him so well! (Applause.) If he had only suspected State whose limits his ancestor measured out and inau- makes Faneuil Hall ring with his anti-slavery elowere more significant than those who did.

my noble friend from Washington, (Mr. Conway,) elequence that flashes only in the calm air of youthat the heroism of the day is among the slaves. Your der venerable hall, and holds its peace in the hor, Saxon blood — it is water! We boast our pluck; we electrical atmosphere of the Capitol? Call them home, execute it. We must claim kindred with England, and boast the pluck of if only for decency's sake. (Cheers.) We will no ready to enforce it.

its type? What are we pale faces now doing for liberty, comparable with this race we look down upon, and say could never have been free? I could show you a man in the streets of Boston, who draws his blood from noble and truth-speaking men, on whose heart has been accumulated all the culture of college and church, who has drunk deep of the fountains of classic inspiration, and whom Massa husetts delights to honor. He is a Saxon, every atom, whether you call him Winthrop or Everett; yet he does not dare to show he has got a soul. He is a Saxon, and boasts the blood of a brave race, that tramples down all others in its haughty defiance of all blood but its own. Do not say he is an exception. He is a type of thousands in this Commonwealth. But I can also show you a man of that despised race that you call so feeble and timid, who placed himself, crouch ed into smallest possible dimensions, by a wooden partition, and said to a carpenter, 'Draw a chalk line around me, and frame me a box of the same size!' and the trembling hand of the workman could hardly hold the chalk by which he was to measure a living grave. And when it was completed, he was placed inside of it with no room to move, with no air to breathe, and so was carried five hundred miles, in the desperate risk for liberty ! (Loud cheers.) Where is heroism to-day -in the sons of the college and the pulpit, or in Box Brown, whose courage God wrote on his heart, when he inspired him with that sublime venture for liberty or death? Milk Street did not dare go down to Faneuil Hall, for fear grass would grow on the pavement ; but you can go down to a store in another part of the city and see a man belonging to this same despised race who, when a fugitive asked shelter beneath his roof took him in. It was not much ;-only a few thousand dollars, only the earnings of a short life of liberty, only the yawning prison, only starvation before him. Milk Street cowers, with its hundreds of thousands and its half millions, at the distant possibility of loss ; but the black man took his brother in, put him into his room locked the door, and for forty-eight hours, the police the white police of Boston, howled around him-howled thank God, in vain ; he is in Canada. (Loud cheers. When you talk of the heroism of the Anglo-Saxon, and the want of courage in the black man, match these two among the merchants and statesmen of Boston ! I say, the heroism of the present hour is not in ou

race : if it had been. Lawrence had not been in ashe to-day. I do not blame the men of Lawrence : I believe they had hearts as well as rifles. It was the politica timidity at Washington that bade them bury their ri fles and submit, rather than risk an unmanageable ele ment in the next Presidential canvass. Yes, as m friend said, if the angel Gabriel were made Governo to-day, he would fold his wings, and intrigue for the Presidency to-morrow. (Cheers.) It was the timidity of a political calculation of chances that made the emigrants from the North lay down their arms under the walls of Lawrence. I do not believe it was want o courage. But when they laid them down, when slavery put its foot on that last effort to defend the right of lib erty for the territories, it seems to me she sealed, as my friend Conway thinks, the fate of the Union. Our pur pose, our policy, ought to be, from this time forth, t deny the existence of constitutional government in this country. (Loud applause.) It is a magnificent con spiracy against justice. It is the plot of assassins is not a government. It is a cheat-not a government The only thing that Massachusetts has to do to-day, it seems to me, is to call home our delegates and Senators and wait. If Mr. Toombs and Mr. Pierce, and the other men who stood by and saw a brother Senator beate almost to death without lifting a hand in his defence place. Nobody dreams of it. We talk about it as if and endorsed it, are fit to sit in that 'Chamber of Assas eins,' we ought not to have a Massachusetts man infamous enough to sit there with them. (Loud cheers.) There are but two words to be uttered at our meeting

to-day-one is 'Kansas,' the other, 'Sumner.' The Representatives at Washington, he would be indicted, In the significance of these two facts is wrapped up the and get somebody to teach you the first principles of cannot stop to criticise Mr. Sumner. I only wish the constitutional law.' And when Mr. Thompson repeat- the gallantry of the North would write his name to-day ed the assertion, Mr. Adams replied- Thank God, on their Presidential banner, carry it, and see how much then, I was not born in South Carolina ! And when of a North it would create in the next Presidential con Mr. Pickens, anxious for the honor of his State, follow- test. There would be almost a principle in that ; or, i ed Mr. Thompson, and said it was not so, that South not a principle, there would be at least a man. (Loud Carolina had no such law, 'It is a matter of no sort of cheers.) But Mr. Fremont-what claims has he uno consequence,' said Adams, with a beautifully insolent the friends of freedom? Our friend Theodore Parket indifference, 'whether she has or not.' (Applause.) He says very truly, he has got a good wife. Well, if all o knew enough to know, that written on the front of all us who have good wives are to be put up for President ing inside of a deliberative assembly, to say any We used to hear of the goodness of Judge McLean' thing. Ignorance is the first element of my complaint, at this time, and consummate indifference is the other. than all the pro-slavery judges put together, in spite of Men say, 'O, it is only one man beaten, it is only his wife. And now Mr. Giddings says he is ready to one ruffian more added to the catalogue.' I know it. write on his banner even the name of McLean! At It was only meddling with a tea-cup that made the least, he said so while there was a Kansas; but now Revolution-a mere trifle! John Hancock did not think she is gone, he may rise to a higher thought, and be un-

thinks slavery has not left us any worse than we were. There are but two things, Mr. Chairman, for us not streets of Boston, like the old philosopher, and try to ward way, we can be honest men at least; we can live find something that looks like Sam Adams, now when and die rebellious slaves, at least. We can at least per the Massachusetts Senator has been beaten down in his petuate a protest. Small as we are, we are large enough seat, and men living on her soil find apologies for the for a link in the great chain of individual protests deed. Not changed us! Why, when a Constitution against wrong. In history, Mr. President, before the was arranged, a Convention was sitting in a neighboring struggle for liberty spreads out into the greatness of hall that passed the statute of 1787, and consecrated to Huss or a Luther, you trace it in the small trickling liberty all the territories of the United States. That rill of Switzerland and the South of France, back to was the touchstone of public sentiment in 1787. The the first ages of Christianity. So, hereafter, in hapbabe 'Constitution' is to be baptized : the fount is wa- pier days than ours, when Massachusetts exists again, ter, and the name is ' Liberty.' Thirty odd years roll- when nobler sons than these who use the sacred soil of the ed away ; we arrive at a great struggle in the midst of Puritans only to make money, who doubtless regret that the next generation-the Missouri Compromise question the very rock of Plymouth was not gold, that they could is to be decided. How strong is slavery now? What coin it into guineas, -when they are gone, and a better are her pretensions? How strong is the opposition? race stand in their place, they will be glad to trace After two years of what was really a gallant fight, that back to the Pilgrims, through us, the line that con stirred the Northern mind to its depths, all that nects them in an ever-living protest against the tyranny the North could save was the Northern half. Otis, the of an infamous State. That is one thing we can do. Do old Federalist, the Republicans, the Democrats, the not belittle it. It is a great thing to do, to keep alive a men who, whether sincere or not, fought as if they protest. It is a great thing to be allowed to stand and were sincere, fought well for twenty-four months, and wait. It is a great thing to-day-I put it to you, Disall they could save, with the public opinion of the unionists, is it not ?—is it not a great thing to be able North behind them, was one half. That was what ela- to lay your hands on your hearts, and believe that while very had done up to 1819. She had pressed up from other men have mistaken the time, turned to politics the Gulf, until she placed her foot on the Northern or to compromise, we, at least, have seen the end from summit of Missouri, and claimed to stand there. Beaten the beginning, and been aware that this Union never back, utterly foiled, the North yielded in sullen reluc- was to be saved, that Liberty would never be safe till

anti-clavery grew stronger. Slavery has passed that There is another thing we can do, every one of us limit. She has planted her victorious standard amid We can stir up Massachusetts to a state of public opinthe blood and ashes of Lawrence, and to-day the de- ion that shall call back our delegation from the halls of mon babe you call the Union is baptized in blood, and Congress. That is the first thing for us to do. It is her name is- Slave! (Cheers.) Far North as the the direct legal etiquette of our position. What of these stars and stripes can wave, the slave goes in the hands idlers that nobody hears from? Mr. Chairman, who of his master. This is where we are to-day—all na- are the Massachusetts delegation in the House of Repretional territory open to starery! Such is the work of sentatives? Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, moves to expel Brooks, somebody else seconds him, others take Anti-slavery as atrong as in 1787? Where are the part in the debate. There is not a Massachusetts man men, the Northerners, the Southerners, that voted for heard. So far as I have watched the debates, there has the statute of 1787? If it had merely gained territory, not a Massachusetts man been heard except Mr. Wilson, I would not bate one jot or tittle of hope. Land! we and every body knows he would be found in the right could clutch it back again ; it is the hearts she has eaten place. (Loud applause.) I sympathize with HENRY out. There are no men, or but very few, left in Mas- Wilson. My heart is sad for him to-day, as I know sachusetts. When Massachusetts rose up to make his heart is sad. O. if this Brooks had only not known Hall the other night, the most marked thing about him to be a non-resistant for five minutes! (Renewed that meeting is not the milk-and-water that was cheers.) How readily would Wilson have given ten there, it is the feebler milk-and-water that had not years of common life to have been five minutes longer strength to come there at all. Massachusetts ! why, in that Senate Chamber ! I sympathise with him - se it has almost a brother name, a synonym, a twin, when do you. (Applause.) His voice was heard; heard you talk of civil liberty. That name is WINTHROP! so that we could all say Amen to it. But where were Where was he, when something could be done for the the rest of the delegation? Where was the man who gurated its history? The men that dare not come-they quence? I should like to hear the rustling skirts of Burlingame, as he shakes them against the contact of Has slavery done nothing? I respond to the remark of miscreant Brooks. (Great obsering.) What is the

blame silence yet, but I am anxious to let them have that our cars wait. Call them home, if only to troop. nize that there is a Massachusetts. Mr. Phelps nize that there is a standard Hall, 'We will prove that there is a Massachusetts as well as a Federal Go ment.' Do it ! How? Do it as the Emperor of the French would, if you insulted his ambassader; as East French would if you insulted hers. Do it as the pay governments of Italy or Germany would. Call home. Keep them here until proper apologies are note. Their votes are not needed. The best speech any one them will ever make will be when he returns to the Minsachusetts Legislature, and says-'Mr. President, seur here, because, at present, there is nothing for us to be at Washington!' How soon do you suppose the regraph would follow them with a vote expelling Brois; Just as soon as electricity could bring it. Her Man, Just as soon as electrony they stayed here six needs would some effort be made towards the final settles of the slave question, or for the dissolution of the Using I acknowledge that the moment you put that drift wedge between the Union of the States, the moment dig out from its forgotten armory this weapon of the sovereignty of the States, the moment Mas plants herself where South Carolina once plants be self, she checkmates the Union,—it risks the fibric. better be risked in the day when ten slave States that be added to the Union by a single law. What we need to-day is to create this public seci-

ment. The clergymen at Springfield say-what do you

suppose they say? The Orthodox clergy of the may

of the Connecticut, the gods of the river are logither.

Olympus nods, and what is the verdict ! The mark

was lotally uncalled for '! (Laughter.) Way, the Washington Intelligencer did better than that, he is said it was 'a painful occurrence.' That is the signecked Puritanism of Massachusetts! These are the all rural districts, which have not been corrupted by the gold of commerce. These are the men so far regul from a Curtis, that they do not even know him by sight They have grown up in primitive innocence of same shackles, never looking on a fugitive slave except when he lived where he chooses to live. They have just to much anti-slavery as that ; just so much understanting of the crisis in which we are placed! What you was is to take such men and send them to school. The rents. tion is on them, but they do not know it. Liberty may be gone for a century before you wake up to know it is gone. There are men down in State street who will be in their graves a century before their sons, if they is like them, will know that liberty is gone. I know it is but a slight thing-it does not take but a squire in the newspaper; but it is the wreck of constant tional liberty. If Massachusetts stands the crees of this week, there is nothing she will not stand You may take Bunker Hill down stone by stone,-you may throw even the Daily Advertiser into the dock you may sell slaves in State street, if Massachusetts can submit to what is done to-day. If public opinion, with uncontrollable impulse, does not shut its eyes to slat Mr. Sumner said, and assert, 'We don't care what he said.' insisting that the man who has violated the very heart of Massachusetts shall no longer enter the Capital, she will submit to any thing. I know South Carolina would send him back in twenty-four hours. The State that exiled Mr. Hoar by statute, that actually keisl the Commonwealth out of her limits by an enacted let. knows how hitherto she has been able to treat Manachusetts. This is no beginning. She buys us, she wheedles us, or she whips us, one or the other, always, In years gone by, we never had men at Washington brave and true enough to speak the truth ; now we have got the men there, but they speak at the risk of arms. sination. That is the Union! South Carolina says to us, practically, 'Send me Everett,-a moon, that reflects myself. (Cheers.) Send me Webster, that envis at the dictate of some Southern caucus.' (Cheen, and some hisses.) O, there is no use in hissing! Go to Fancuil Hall, and as you look down on the five thousal impatient men that feel the crisis, but know not whath do, look upon the platform, and behind it, see Mephistophiles !- see that pictured brow that betrayed Manchusetts,-that lowers still over Fancuil Hall,-hams it, like a perturbed spirit. I hope to live to see the day when there shall be fanaticism enough in Boston to tear that picture away. (Loud cheers.) I do not care much for office, but I would like to be Mayor for one hour, just to give back to revolutionary dignity the inside of Fareuil Hall. (Great applause.) It is that that has resily betraved us. Evils do not come out of the dust; they have a root. It is in the long past ignorance and servility, and trafficking for office, that have worn aver the religion and the virtue of the Commons have taught us the bitter lesson of compromising prisciple for some imaginary gain ;- to compromise a prisciple, for what ?- to be cheated the next hour by the devil. (Cheers.) Mr. Chairman, the first thing we have to do, in order

to create a Massachusetts, is this : Teach ourselves, and every man about us, that we are not to compromise cost single inch, no matter for what. If we could grasp the very Union itself, we are not to take it at the cost of any sacrifice of principle. Our fathers tried it, and here is the result-in the shipwreck, almost, if not entirely, of constitutional government; in the gradual approach of barbarism. Wilberforce had a tongue pointed with such satire that Pitt, when he once witnessed a single ralibition of it, said to him, - Sir, I thought you a Christian before, but I never knew how much a Christian; that you could boast such a lightning boit of satire, and use it so seldom." Yet he carried all that posts of satire into the British Parliament. Can pot suppose it possible that any member of the House of Commons would have been allowed to best him in his seat? Suppose that some lordling had assaulted Palmerston in Parliament, for words spoken in delait. Can you imagine the thing possible? I do not claim't as any superior virtue in England, but they are not, at least, as barbarous as we are. We have dropped dort to the level of a ruffian civilization. I would have hel all Massachusetts aghast at this outrage. She sughtla have been so, merely as the child of American civiles tion. What say you? Some of you, -thank God, I and not of the number, -sat and heard a lecture from Mr. Toombs, who stood by and saw a brother Sensist brutally whipped, and said it was right. An excellent man to lecture to the Boston public! Perhaps be all

be invited again ! I want to impress upon you the loss of civilization which this marks. We have degenerated. It is no heger enlightened and civilized Washington, as thirty years ago. Aged and venerable men, conservative of wealth and position, say : We must send men to Can gress who can fight ; no matter for their principles they can fight.' What a satire on the freest government in the world ! Where is that reading, thinking law-abiding people, of whom Webster was word in boast? Is this, then, their experiment of self-giventment? Representatives taken from shooting sallers and duelling grounds, instead of courts, colleges, and the marts of commerce. I want you to look at this right scene in the Senate Chamber, in all its varied lights. must tear away, for awhile, even the sympathy for the man whose gallant and glorious person has been so the before us, and on whose lips we have hung, delighted with an eloquence that is seldom matched, and topt for a moment that his bonored head was the victim a this brutal assault, and look beneath the fact to the significance of it. It is a hard thing to be ried, and have men spit in our faces. That is what we leave out delegation to, if we allow them to remain in Washing ton, with the public opinion now in Massachusetts is us change it, if possible. The Legislature has done as thing ,—the scars and blows of Sumner have sared # the Personal Liberty Bill. (Loud cheers.) Habs rels for that single indirect gain shall be so thick that the soars shall never be visible. (Renewed applaus.) The credit of the Commonwealth is enough to com sate him for having passed through such a sees, # 2 only save us that statute. There is a further thing is us to do. That statute is worthless, without jodgs a execute it. We must create a judiciary that shall be

not that we no not be the standow on the dial, you

est ere it move, but it gets to be twelve o'clock at

(Cheers.) In fact, our cause is only one of the

need of the great struggle of the nineteenth century

against Property. It has never triumphed in Eu-

or I am not sure that it will beat here. I am by no as parties of it. The wealth that bought up the helerion smothered it. Yes, when Alexander Hamforded the national debt, and by statute doubled the wealth of thirteen States, he

ideas of '76 into silence. That is what ries as. They are struggling against it in Eu-

That Juggernaut of infamy, the French Empe-

i one half an incarnate merchant, and the rest a

agreet Priest. The Slave Power echoes back to him,

hets regging as the struggle here. How long it

the cannot tell; but, as our friend Conway said, emery is to be men; each individual to be a man;

meing his conscience, trampling on statutes, defying

princets; asserting, in the face of all purses and

in, the unapproachable virtue of that sublime reof finditional and national sins, such as makes the

course of Mr. Sumner's speech almost unequalled.

all not barsh language, or personality; it is the penti protest of virtue, in her strongest and most emunde palers, against vice, wherever she meets it, (loud

and you must annihilate the heart, as well as

to hardlest, you must blot out all parliamentary bis-

er, before you criticise the unfaltering devotion, the

west retake of individual sin, which make that

and shat it is. Our resolution says truly of it, "it

speech worth dying for.' The blood that has been

of fer it will haptize it on the page of history. I read irth ervious approbation. 'Endorse it?' the recre-

of pres, sike. Yes, more than that : it would be hard

pa for our dearest friend a nobler part than to have

inspired to speak just what our Senator has

the moved to say a few words in the Convention

e zerk, but as the platform was constantly occupied

is shers, I send you enclosed what I should have ut-

wit Will you give these words a place in this week's

Pore, I think it is, says, " Honest and ingenuous

solt are sure of each other -the tie is mutual and

the I feel more sure than I do of S. S. Foster and

I L Garrison ; and so long as [feel thus sure of their

saturatedness and honesty, neither of them can pro-

ult my indignation. I reserve all that for the wily

greet, and double-dealing, intriguing politician. Gar-

es or Foster may move my grief and sorrow, but

ps my indignation. You all remember the fact of a

ester of parliament who had no speech to make but

Bro to Mr. Burke'; so I have little to say but ditto

the speeches of Stephen S. and Abby K. Foster ; nei-

grand have been correct without the other. Taken

agrier, I never heard any thing in the way of true

Mr. Chairman, now about eleven years ago, amids

best itement caused by the annexation of Texas, I

m arself snatched 'as a brand from the burning,

atalthe hell of partisanship and support of the Ameri-

m Constitution and Union. This inestimable good I

sets the plain speaking on this platform. Mr. Garri-

may that the Republicans are our own progeny,

mit I think, that until they take our ground, it is

arday to cry aloud and spare not, and to seize all seeses like the present, when the public mind is

mined, to make the people see the right path, and

nit therein; and more than ever should we be person-

il, all should call in tones of thunder upon Sumner,

The Gildings and Hale to desist from their support

if hat torenant with death, and agreement with hell."

Declare Parker, as complimentary to Mr. Sumner,

fat is subscribed for THE LIBERATOR some three

wells before Wendell Phillips. Allow me to say, Mr.

mit of Mr. Samner. Why, six numbers of THE LIB-

tuna and one New England Convention convicted

tol maverted me, since which, I have not contami-

tive uy hand with a ballot; and certainly, when the

mire of Mr. Sumner is considered, if I were thus

muterial, one number of THE LIBERATOR should have

Mr Chairman, how can we expect to reach the masses

nach below Mr. Sumner in attainments and natural

the, unless we at all times make our censures of him

connect, clear and personal? I have mothing more

a say, and will therefore take my seat, merely adding,

beerer, that I approve Mr. Foster's resolution, and

LIXARES. The difference between us and our vigi

has friends is simply one of opinion, not of principle :

tis as to the relative position of the Republican party

bear movement, not to its positive abolitionism ... In

tending of that party, in the Convention, as the pro-

but of our moral anti-slavery agitation, and saying we

but not quarret with an 'inevitable result, -cheering

a 1 sgn of progress, and as sure as the law of gravi-

tries, - se used language in a comprehensive and phi-

implical, not in a technical or restricted sense; not

busing that we were to cease rebuking that party for is apport of a blood-stained compact, (for are we not

hadandy rebuking it?) but only that it embodies

tarly all the roting anti-slavery at the North-is

salualy (though vainly) attempting to prevent the

finber extension of slavery-and as compared with the

the parties, is certainly feared and most fiercely pro-

brief by the slave oligarchy :- hence, we do not be-

her that, because it is nearest the true standard, it is

berfore the most dangerous party to our cause, and

test to be the most severely condemned. Such a

tarp in in our opinion, not only unjust but prepos-

Credit to whom credit is due,' even if it be

THE VENERABLE QUINCY.

he following letter, sent to the preciding officer

the Unitarian Festival, by the venerable Jostan

the will be read with deep interest :-

I. R. Hoan, Esq., -Sir. I have received your the interior festival, in the interior festival, and it is the interior festival, and it is the interior festival.

the me great pleasure to comply with your re-tem, did not the very tenor of your letter preclude as fam it. I perceive that should I attend, a peak will be averaged for

ord will be expected from me. But, Sir, it would apasible for me to utter my opinion on the pet with which my heart is full, without cross-

the policy of some, offending the prejudices of

had childhood, which is sometimes incident to

ing the gratification it would give you tee and hear me on that occasion.' It would

taly an infiniteesimal portion. - [ED. LIB.

hope it may be approved by this Convention.

noed to convert him.

Chirmen, that I consider this fact in no way to the

CHAS. F. HOVEY.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Or PELE GARRISON :

LIMITATOR, and oblige,

bourge to surpass them.

Very sincerely, your friend,

The Fugitive Slave Law was the first; The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the

ur friends, the anti slavery cause is not sympathy ; as clear, sagacious, intelligent estimate of the faband material of the government about us. We must The invasion of Kansas, and the taking of the ballot-boxes by storm, by a mob of slaveholders one it constantly, if we expect to affect public opin-We have to keep this idea before the people. I per that we do not seem to gain a great deal. The

The encouragement of this sacrilegious fora against the right of free suffrage, and the oltimat support of it by the National Executive and mili-tary arm, the fourth;

The hostile irruption of two members of Co gress, into the Senate chamber of the United States openly armed with deadly bludgeons, and probably quick and certain.

Now, as men's bodily strength or skill, with openly armed with deadly bludgeons, and probably secretly, according to the habits of their breed, with bowie knives and revolvers, and there prostrating on the floor with their bludgeons a Senator of the United States, sitting peaceably in his seat, unconscious of danger, and from his position incapable of defence, inflicting upon him blows, until he sunk, senseless, under them, and which, if they do not prove mortal, it was not for want of malignant intent in the cowardly assassins—and all this for words publicly spoken in the Senate, in the course of debate, allowed by its presiding officer to be spoken, and exceeding not one hair's breadth any line of truth or duty—this is the fifth and the climax of this series of outrages, unparalteled, nefarious, and brutal.

Such are the facts—such are the outrages—a homage to character and talent. In Congress, he homage to character and talent. In Congress, he homage to character and talent. In Congress, he plants the Alps, from this country. Ideas have

have regging against wealth in Europe ever since city and field, through every palace and cottage of the free States—which ought to fly, like the fiery cross on the highlands of Scotland, over the mountains and through the valleys of the free States, etartling the sleeping, rousing the thoughtless, uniting the free clans, and enkindling whatever glimmering spark yet remains of the feeling and spirit, which, in former times, entitled the inhabitants of the free States to the character of patriots, and fearless, far-seeing statesmen. But, alas! sir, also en principle of vitality in what is called freewhom to fixed with the form the stated, and has stood for the North, and therefore. dom in these times. I see divisions enough, and little in advance of all the North, and therefore parties enough; I see every whim setting up for itself, and calling and expecting all the rest of the world to follow in its train. But of a thoughtful, concentrated, determined principle of united action, suited to the occasion, which, spurning the desire of place and the hope of emolument, and the hankering for office, and actuated solely for the advance of the public good and general welfare, I see the labor which party organization requires. I say it to his honor. But more to his

> heart. By a series of corruption, intrigue and years, on every act, word, manner, and movement, cunning, bribing the high by appointments of to find a flaw, and with what result? His opposing between the parties of the free States, and counteracting one by the other; by flattering the personal aims of any kind. No; but with what? vain, paying the mean, and rewarding the subservient, the slaveholders have, in the course of fifty years, usurped the whole constitutional powers of the Union, have possessed themselves of the executive chair, of the halls of Congress, of the national letter to the People of the United States, with al courts of justice, and of the military arm, leaving nothing of hope to the spirit of freedom in the Then, that he is an abolitionist; as if every have attempted to crush by a slaveholders bludgeon.
>
> My heart is too full. If I should pour forth all

that is in it, both paper and time would fail me.
Truly, I am yours,
JOSIAH QUINCY.

Quincy, 27th May, 1856.

From the Boston Daily Advertiser, June 2d. MR EVERETT AT TAUNTON.

Mr. Everett repeated his address on the Character of Washington, at Taunton, on Friday evening, introducing it with the following remarks on the recent outrages in Kansas and at Washington:

inder contending emotions. It is certainly most clubs! The morderer's brand shall stamp their grateful to me, at your request, to submit to you foreheads wherever they may wander in the earth, those views of the character of Washington, (most But I wish, sir, that the high respects of this pleasing theme to an American ear.) which have meeting shall be expressed to Mr. Sumner; that a been already received with distinguished favor in copy of the resolutions that have been read may be many other parts of our common country. It is forwarded to him. I wish that he may know the a subject on which, from my youth up, I have shudder of terror that ran through all this commeditated with a sort of filial tenderness: which munity on the first tidings of this brutal attack. Thave sought on many occasions, to the best of my Let him hear that every man of worth in New Engability, to illustrate and adorn:—the only object, land loves his cirtues; that every mother thinks assuredly, which could have called me out from my retirement, to address public assemblies, far more frequently than is consistent with my health or the And if our arms at this distance cannot defend him fixed purposes of my life. But with the satisfac- from assassins, we confide the defence of a life so tion which I feel in addressing you, at the present precious to all honorable men and true patriots, time, are mingled the profoundest anxiety and grief. and to the Almighty Maker of men.—Evening Tel-An irrepressible sadness takes possession of my egraph. heart at the occurrences of the past week, and the the latel States Constitution. If Charles Sumner has most serious apprehensions force themselves upon by the friends, Stephen S. and Abby K. Foster are me, that events are already in train,—with an imposition of a speech made by Dr. Oliver Wendell by Declare Parker, as complimentary to Mr. Sumner. all her borders for generations to come. The civil ical Society, at the Revere House, on Thursday war—for such it is—with its horrid train of pil-afternoon. The whole speech appears in the Jourlage, fire and slaughter, carried on without the slightest provocation, against the infant settlements of our brethren on the frontier of the Union; the worse than civil war which has for months citizen, struck down without warning by the hand raged unrebuked at the capitol of the Union, and of brutal violence, lies prostrate, and think what has at length, by an act of lawless violence, of which I know no parallel in the history of constitutional government, stained the floor of the Senate chamber with the blood of an unarmed, defenceless man, and he a Senator of Massachusetts ;-ah, my friends, these are events, which, for the good name, the peace, the safety of the country; for the cause of free institutions throughout the world; it were worth all the gold of California to blot are palsied, and too soon the heart that filled it from the record of the past week. They sicken the heart of the good citizen, of the patriot, of the Christian: they awaken a gloomy doubt whether the sacrifices and the sufferings endured by our fathers, that they might found a purer, higher, and freer civilization on this western continent than the world had yet seen, have not been endured in vain. For myself, I must own that they fill me with sorrow "too deep for tears." I am not ashamed of the weakness, for I sorrow not for myself. My few remaining years are hastening too rapidly to a close, to allow any thing, on this side of the grave, which concerns myself individually, to be of much importance. But I sorrow beyond the power of words to express for the objects of affection I shall leave behind, for my children, for the country; and Heaven is my witness, that, if what has been done the last two years, (beginning with the disastrous repeal of the Missouri Compromise.) to embitter the different parts of the c try against each other, and weaken the ties which them, I would willingly, cheerfully, make

the sacrifice.
Oppressed with these emotions, did I not think that there is a healing influence in the name of Washington, that his character is almost the only remaining object of attachment and veneration throughout the country, and that in the contem plation of it, there is a spirit of wisdom to guide and of love to soften and unite, I would even now throw myself on your indulgence, to excuse me from the duty of this evening.'

REMARKS OF MR. R. W. EMERSON At a Meeting at Concord, May 26th, to consider the Outrage upon Mr. Sumner.

spirit of the resolutions. The events of the last insensible upon the floor.

[6 * years and months and days have taught us the While this assault was prospirit of the resolutions. The events of the last few years and months and days have taught us the lessons of centuries. I do not see how a barbar-ous community and a civilized community can constitute one state. I think we must get rid of slavery, or we must get rid of freedom. Life has no parity of value in the free State and in the slave State. In one, it is adorned with education, with skilful labor with arts with long prospective in the state of the projecting from between the skilful labor with arts with long prospective in the state of the projecting from between the skilful labor with arts with long prospective in the state of the projecting from between the state. es, and making, perhaps, the whole company

State. In one, it is adorned with education, with skilful labor, with arts, with long prospective interests, with sacred family ties, with honor and justice. In the other, life is a fever; man is an animal, given to pleasure, frivolous, irritable, spending his days in hunting and practising with deadly weapons to defend himself against his slaves, and against his companions brought up in the same idle and dangerous way.

Such people live for the moment; they have properly no future, and readily risk on every passion a life which is of small value to themselves or to others. Many years ago, when Mr. Webster was challenged in Washington to a duel by one of these madcaps, his friends came forward with prompt good sense, and said such a thing was not to be thought of; Mr. Webster's life was the property of his friends, and of the whole country, and was not to be risked on the turn of a vagabond's ball.

Life and life are incommensurate. The whole or any number of persons who are to be weighed, for a moment, in the scale with such a person as the meanest of them all has now struck down.

The very conditions of the game must always be,—the worst life staked against the best. It is the best whom they desire to kill. It is only when they cannot any are reconstructed. they cannot answer your reasons, that they wish to knock you down. If, therefore, Massachusetts could send to the Senate a better man than Mr. Sumner, his death would only be so much more

leled, nefarious, and brutal.

Such are the facts—such are the outrages—a series of them, which ought to ring through every city and field, through every palace and cottage of long silent and studious. His friends, I remem the free States which can be and cottage of long silent and studious.

dom in these times. I see divisious enough, and little in advance of all the North, and therefore

nothing. The palsy of death rests on the spirit of freedom in the so called 'free States.'

In my opinion, it is time to speak on the house-top, what every man who is worthy of the name of freeman utters in his chamber, and feels in his fastened their eyes like microscopes now for five

free States, but public speech in the legislature sane human was not an abolitionist, or a believer and the ballot-box. The one a slaveholder's mob that all men should be free. And the third crime is crushing in Kansas, the other a deputation from he stands charged with is, that his speeches were the slaveholders of the House of Representatives have attempted to crush by a slaveholders bludgeon. must be true in Sumner's case, as it was true of Webster, of Adams, of Calhoun, of Burke, of Chatham, of Demosthenes, of every first rate speaker that ever lived. It is the high compliment he pays to the intelligence of the Senate and of the country. When the same reproach was cast upon the first orator of ancient times by some caviller of his day, he said. 'I should be ashamed to come with one unconsidered word before such an assembly. Mr. Chairman, when I think of these most small

I think I may borrow the language which Bishop Burnet applied to Sir Isaac Newton, and say, that Charles Summer ' has the whitest soul I ever knew.' Well, sir, this noble head, so comely and so wise.
I rise to address you, this evening, my friends, must be the target for a pair of bullies to beat with

faults as the worst which party hatred could allege

THE PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON.

The whole speech appears in the Jour

· Look into the chamber where our own fellowfearful issues hang on the skill or incompetence of those who have his precious life in charge! One little error, and the ignis sacer, the fiery plague of the wounded, spreads its angry blush over the sur-face, and fever and delirium are but the preludes of deadlier symptoms. One slight neglect, and the brain, oppressed with the products of disease grows dreamy and then drowey; its fine energie with generous blood is stilled forever. It took bu a little scratch from a glass broken at his daugh ter's wedding, to snatch from life the great anat omist and surgeon, Spigelius, almost at the very age of him for whose recovery we look not without anxieus solicitade.

At such an hour as this, more than at any other we feel the dignity, the awful responsibility, of the healing art. Let but that life be sacrificed and left unavenged, and the wounds of that defenceless head, like the foul witch's blow on her enchanted image, are repeated on the radiant forehead of vainly written with the sacred name of Union !

Dii, prohibite minas! Dii, talem averlite casum! I give you, Mr. President,

The Surgeons of the City of Washington-God rant them wisdom, for they are dressing the wounds of a mighty empire, and of uncounted

STATEMENT OF AN EYE-WITNESS. Dr. Bunting, of Montreal, Canada, who happen ed to be in the Senate Gallery when the assault upon Mr. Sumner occurred, has furnished to the

· He saw Mr. Brooks approach Mr. Sumner, no in front, but on one side, address him some words in a low tone of voice, and the moment Mr. Sumnet raised his head, turning it on one side to listen to address him some words Mr. Brooks, the latter struck him numerous blows, with a cane about three quarters of an inch in di-ameter, laying bare his skull with wounds from three to five inches long. Mr. Sumner struggled several times to rise from his seat, but was evidently so much hemmed in as to be utterly incapa ble of rising, until he had by a great effort torn the Mr. CHAIRMAN! I sympathise heartily with the desk from its fastenings, and then pitched forward

THE LIBERATOR

No Union with Slavefolders. BOSTON, JUNE 6, 1856.

ate an alliance between elements and forces which can never be reconciled. With ' Border Ruffianism' triumphant, backed up by the United States army, Kansas given over to plunder, rapine and murder, Lawrence in flames, Sumner weltering in his blood on the floor of the

United States :

The undersigned, citizens and inhabitants of respectfully submit to Congress

That as, in the nature of things, antagonistical principles, interests, pursuits, and institutions can never

That an experience of more than three score years having demonstrated that there can be no real union between the North and the South, but, on the contrary, ever increasing alienation and strife, at the imminent hazard of civil war, in consequence of their conflicting views in relation to Freedom and Slavery :

That the South, having declared it to be not only her right and purpose to eternize her slave system where it now exists, but to extend it over all the territories that now belong or may hereafter be annexed to the Republic, come what may; and having outlawed from her soil the entire free colored population of the North, made it perilous for any Northern white citizen to exercise his constitutional right of freedom of speech in that section of the country, and even in the national capital, and proclaimed her hostility to all free institutions univer-

We, therefore, believe that the time has come for new arrangement of elements so hostile, of interests so irreconcilable, of institutions so incongruous; and we earnestly request Congress, at its present session, to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful, and equitable dissolution of the existing Union as the exigencies of the case require-leaving the South to depend upon her own resources, and to take all the responsibility, in the maintenance of her slave system, and the North to organize an independent government in accordance with her own ideas of justice and the rights of man.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW AND ITS VICTIMS. This is the title of No. 18 of the series of Anti-Slavery Tracts. It has been prepared with the utmost carefulness and great labor by SAMUEL MAY, Jr., the General Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, a copy of which every one, desirous of knowing what have been the operations of the Fugitive Slave Law, 'that enactment of hell, should possess. 'It is a terrible record, which the people of this country should never allow to sleep in oblivion, until the disgraceful and bloody system of slavery is swept from our land, and with it, all Compromise Bills, all Constitutional Guarantees to Slavery, all Fugitive Slave Laws.' It makes 48 pages, small type, and is sold at cost price-5 cts. single; 50 cents cantile Library Association, January 1, 1856, by George per dozen ; \$4 per hundred. For sale at the Anti- R. Samrson, Esq. ; repeated in Tremont Temple, Janu-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill.

SOUTHERN CHIVALRY-ARGUMENT VERSUS CLUBS. A most striking pictorial representation (striking in a two-fold sense) of the late cowardly assault upon Mr. SUMNER, in the Senate Chamber, is for sale at the Booktrate on his left side, holding his pen in his right hand, volume just published by Mason Brothers, New York. with his head scarred and bleeding, while over him These songs are brief, simple, and unpretending-in the stands his cowardly assailant, with cane uplifted and language of the writer, partially shattered, exerting his utmost strength to consummate his devilish intent; and near him are seen Douglas, Toombs, Keitt, Edmundson, and others of the Southern chiralry, whose features betoken fiendish delight at the bloody spectacle. It is exceedingly well got Boston, have just published 'THE STANDARD SPELLER up-the likeness of Mr. SUMNER is excellent-and no better service can be done to the cause of freedom, at for Silent Spelling, by writing from Dictation. By Errs this juncture, than to buy and frame a copy of it, to be suspended in every dwelling in the free States. Price Standard Series of Readers.' Fifth Thousand. only 124 cents.

The magnificent speech of Hon. CHARLES SUM-MER, delivered in the U. S. Senate May 19, 1856, on the Kansas Question, has been printed and is for sale at the D. D., just published by Crocker & Browster. We com office of the New York Tribune, in a pamphlet of 32 mend it to the attention of our readers. closely printed pages, at the low price of 40 cents per dozen copies ; \$2,50 per hundred ; \$20 per thousand Tens of thousands of copies should be purchased for gratuitous distribution throughout the North.

THE OLD CRADLE ROCKED ONCE MORE. Faneuil Hall was again crowded to overflowing on Tuesday evening, with reference to the frightful state of things in Kansas -Mayor Rice presiding, assisted by Hon. Nathan Hale, has not been at Hopedale a sufficient length of time, ac and many other distinguished citizens. Speeches were cording to his advertisement in your columns, to judge made by Charles H. Branecomb, Eq. and Rev. Mr. of the competency of Wm. S. and Abbie S. Haywood, as Nute, both of Kansas, Rev. Edward E. Hale, Hon. S. Teachers, with a sufficient degree of accuracy, to com-H. Walley, Hon. Charles H. Phelps, and Hon. Henry mit himself in their favor, will you allow me room to Wilson. Senator Wilson was greeted with a tremendous say that all who have been at our community longer, storm of applause, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and know Mr. and Mrs. Haywood better, think then prolonged for many minutes, round after round, and well qualified for their new position, and eminently cheer upon cheer : his reception was unexampled. Loud worthy of the confidence of the public, particularly of and long protracted calls were made for WENDELL PHIL- reformers who are looking for a good school for their LIPS, Esq., but he was not in the hall. George R. Rus- children ? Had I another moment to spare just now, I sell, Esq., William Blake, Esq., Dr. H. L. Bowditch, would commit myself still further in their commenda John Lowell, Esq., Patrick T. Jackson, Esq., Hon. G. tion, but I have not, and they scarcely need even se M. Thacher, and Dr. Samuel G. Howe, were appointed much, for they are well patronized thus early, and their a committee to raise funds to be applied for the aid of prospects are encouraging. I will only add, that in no settlers in Kansas.

KANSAS. The Missouri-Kansas Ruffians have every as a "Reform School" is not contemplated. thing their own way in that territory, and have destroyed in Lawrence alone, \$130,000 worth of property. Fourteen persons had been shot at within the last nine days, and two or three killed. A fresh attempt to obstruct the Congressional Committee had been made by arresting, without legal process, its clerks and witnesses before its face, and in every way insulting and defying Messrs. Howard and Sherman, the majority of said Committee and Sherman, the majority of said Committees and inch or two in width beyond the cuts, which was not observed when they were first sewed up. The surface of inflammation and suppuration is thus very extensive, and exhibits a malignant and serious wound. Two Fourteen persons had been shot at within the last nine

from Kansas. Among them is Mr. Mace who was shot in the leg. Col. Eldredge is on his way to Washington to demand damages of the government for the destruc tion of the Lawrence Hotel. Gov. Reeder escaped from St. Charles, Mo. as a deck hand on board a steamer !-Gen. Pomeroy is safe. Gov. Robinson is in prison at Leavenworth, bail having been refused in his case. He is unquestionably in great peril.

We shall lay before our readers, pext week, pretty full report of 'the sayings and doings' at the Anti-Slavery Festival held in Faneuil Hall on the 28th ult.-with an excellent Poem written for the occasion by GRORGE-W. PUTNAM, of Lynn, warmly welcoming Mr. PILLEBURY back to his native land.

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE. In the U. S. House of Representatives, on the 2d

Mr. CAMPBELL (Ohio,) from the Select Committee or he assault of Mr. Sumner by Mr. Brooks, made a report, concluding as follows:

Whereas, the Senate of the United States have

PREEDOM DEMANDS SEPARATION.

The following form of a petition to Congress has been prepared for general circulation, and the signatures of all such as are convinced that it is as impossible for the institutions of Freedom and Slavery to be at peace, under any form of government, as it is to unite Christ and Belial, and that it is only to 'sow the wind, and reap the whirlwind,' any longer to attempt to perpetuate an alliance between elements and forces which can alliance between elements and forces which can Preston S. Brooks a generate for the United States have transmitted to this House a message, complaining that transmitted to this House a message, complained transmitted to this House a message and transmitted to this House a message and transmitted to this House a message and transmitted t Preston S. Brooks is a member of this House, they cannot arrest, and a portion cannot try or punish him for a
breach of their privileges; that they cannot proceed
further in the case than to make complaint to this
House, and that the power to arrest, try and punish devolves solely on this body; and whereas, upon full inrestigation it appears to this House that the said Presfames, Sumner weltering in his blood on the floor of the Senate, and the South exulting at all these devilish deeds, and insolently defying the North, who that has a spark of manhood left will not joyfully put his signature to the petition which follows? Copies of it may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill, on a printed sheet, and will be extensively circulated; and it is earnestly requested that those to whose care it may be entrusted will circulate it without delay, giving all an opportunity to sign it, without regard to sex. Then send it to Wilson, Giddings, or some other member of Congress, to be laid before that body.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: whereas, it further appears from such investigation, that Henry A. Edmundson, a representative from the State of Virginia, and Lawrence M. Keitt, a representative from South Carolina, sometime previous to said assault, were informed that it was the purpose of the said Brooks to commit violence upon the person of the said Charles Sumner, for words used by him in debate as a Senator in the Senate of the United States, and took no means to discourage or prevent the same, but, on the contrary, anticipating the commission of such violence, were present on one or more occasions to wit-ness the same, as friends of the assallant,—there-

Resolved, That Preston S. Brooks be, and is hereby

Resolved, That Preston S. Brooks be, and is hereby, forthwith expelled from this House as a representative from the State of South Carolins.

Resolved, That this House hereby declare its disapprobation of the said act of Henry A. Elmundson and Lawrence M. Keitt, in regard to said assault.

Signed by Mr. Campbell, (Ohio,) Spinner and Pensinates.

Mr. Howell Cons, representing the minority of the Committee, presented a minority report, arguing that no breach of privilege, under the Constitution, had been committed, and that the House had no power to go be-

lege had been committed.

Both reports were laid on the table, and ordered to be printed. Adjourned.

WORTHY OF REPERUSAL First, the stirring letter of that venerable patriot. Josian Ouincy, to the Unitarian Pestival in this city; second, the admirable and com prehensive speech of RALPH WALDO EMERSON, at Concord ; and third, so much of the graphic and eloquen speech as we are able to give, this week, of the Rev. O B. FROTHINGHAM, delivered at the recent anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York.

So many and stirring are the incidents of the day, and so vast is the accumulation of impor tant matter that we wish to lay before our readers. that if THE LIBERATOR were a daily sheet three times larger than it is, we should still be crowded for wan of room. We have on file, for as speedy insertion as possible, a large number of letters and communica tions. Our correspondents must exercise all due patience, as we never unnecessarily delay to publish what we accept at their hands.

We are unable to find room, this week, for list of the Contributions, Donations and Pledges mad at the New England A. S. Convention.

We have received a copy of an Address delivered at the Dedication of the New Rooms of the Boston Merary 17th, and printed by the Government of the M. L. A. It makes a handsome pamphlet of 64 pages, and embodies many excellent thoughts and suggestions per taining to the career of the merchant.

WAYSIDE SONGS, by EDWARD C. GOODWIN

'Thoughts which all of us may spare, Flowers which spring up every where, Shadows falling here and there.

THE STANDARD SPELLER. Phillips, Sampson & Co. containing Exercises for Oral Spelling; also, Sentences SARGENT, Author of 'The Standard Speaker,' and the

SLAVERY AND THE CHURCH, is the title of a pamphlet containing two letters-one addressed to Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., and the other to Rev. Nehemiah Adams

In consequence of the crowded state of our col umns, we are obliged to defer several Book notices until our next number.

THE HOME SCHOOL AT HOPEDALE. Возтом, Мау 28, 1856.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :- As our friend, Mr. Bloom place will the young be under better influences than a Hopedale; but specially bad children are not solicited

said Committee. A civil war seemed inevitable, and physicians are in attendance this morning. The greatest care has to be taken to keep the patient quiet. It is likely to be long before he can resume his seat in the Large numbers of Eastern emigrants are returning bis condition will permit.

SENATOR WILSON AT HOME. Senator Wilson arrived BENATOR WILSON AT HOME. Senator Wilson arrived at Natick on Saturday afternoon from Washington. During the evening he was called upon by several hundred of his townsmen. B. P. Howe acted as spokesman, and in a brief speech, welcomed him home. Mr. Wilson, in reply, after adverting to the attack upon Senator Sumner, said that he had been called to account for branding that assault as brutal, murderous and cowardly, but he would never retract the words.

THE BOSTON REPUBLICAN CLUB have chartered at the time of the National Convention, June 17th.
The fare will be low, and we learn that large numbers have already engaged for the excursion. The Man have already engaged for the excursion. The Mass Convention at Philadelphia will probably be one of the largest ever held in the United States. TREASURER'S REPORT

Of Receipts, from Feb. 20 to May 20, 1856. Rec'd from Wm. W. Brown, for his collections : At Clappville \$4 20, Saugus 3 12, S. Danvers 6, Walpole 2, Fall River 12, from Rich'd

Plumer, Newburyport, last summer, and

Rec'd from Prince S. Crowell, E. Dennis, do-Rec'd from A. T. Poss, for his collections :

Rec'd from S. May, Jr. for collections : Of Elizabeth H. Porter, Treasurer Reading A. S. Society, 10; D. Merritt, 1, A. M. Chase, Canton, 20; John T. Sargent 8,

In North Bridgewater 2, Medfield, over ex-penses, 2 13; Walpole Centre 3 50, E. Medway 3 68, Milford, over expenses, Rec'd from A. T. Foss, for collections in Aug.,

From David Hinckley, Hyannisport....

Rec'd from S. May, Jr. for collections : SAMUEL PHILBRICK.

Brookline, May 21, 1856.

All communications for the undersigned, until further notice, should be sent to Leicester, Mass. SAMUEL MAY, JR., General Agent Mass. Anti- Slavery Society.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachutts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows : Canterbury, N. H., Sunday, June 8. Hancock, "Essex, Mass., Sheldonville, Mass.,

CRIMINAL REFORM .- Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES SPEAR will speak at the Universalist Church in Fox-boro', on Sunday next, on the subject of Criminal Re-Exercises commencing at 2 and 5 o'clock, P. M.

Exhibitions of Prison Scenes will also be given on Tuesday Evenings following, by Mr. and Mrs. Spear, at the American Hall, commencing at half past 7 o'clock

DIED-In Foxboro', 8th ult., NANCY A., daughter of Richard Strattan, aged 19 years.
In Marlboro', Mass., 23d ult., Wm. Henry Bannis-In this city, 24th ult., WILLIAM BROWN, aged 67.

AYER'S

Are curing the Sick to an extent never before known of any Medicine.

INVALIDS, READ AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES. JULES HAUEL, Esq., the well-known perfumer, of Chestnut

every toilet, says,—

"I am happy to say of your CATRARTIC PILLS, that I have found
them a better family medicine for common use than any other
within my knowledge. Many of my friends have realized marked
benefits from them, and coincide with me in believing that they
possess extraorlinary virtues for driving out diseases and curing
the sick. They are not only effectual, but safe and pleasant to be
taken—qualities which must make them valued by the public

The venerable Chancellor WARDLAW, writes from Baltimore, 15th April, 1854, — 15th April, 1854.—
"Da. J. C. Arra. Sir: I have taken your Pills with great benefit for the listlessness, languor, loss of appetite, and Billious headache, which has of late years overtaken me in the spring; headache, which has of late years overtaken me in the spring; a few doese of your Pills cured me. I have used your Cherry Pectoral many years in my family for coughs and colds with unfailing success. You make medicines which care, and I feel it a pleasure to commend you for the good you have done and are doing."

JOHN F. BEATTY, Esq., Sec. of the Penn. Railroad Co., says, --"Fu. H. R. Office, Philadelphia, Dec. 13, 1853.

"Sra: I take pleasure in adding my testimony to the efficacy of your medicines, having derived very material benefit from the use of both your Pectoral and Cathartic Pills. I am never without them in my family, nor shall I ever consent to be, while my means will procure them."

The widely renowned S. S. STEVENS, M. D. of Wentworth.

The widely renowned S. S. STEVENS, M. D., of Wentworth, N. H., writes,—
"Having used your Carbarric Pills in my practice, I certify from experience, that they are an invaluable purgative. In cases of disordered functions of the liver, causing headache, indigestion, costiveness, and the great variety of diseases that follow, they are a surer remedy than any other. In all cases where a purpative remedy is required. I confidently recommend these Pills to the public, as superior to any other I have ever found. They are sure in their operation, and perfectly safe—qualities which make them an invaluable article for public use. I have for many years known your Cherry Pretorial as the best Cough medicine in the world, and these Pills are in no wise inferior to that admirable preparation for the treatment of diseases."

"Dr. J. C. Ayer. Dear Sir: I have been afflicted from my birth with seror da in its worst form, and now, after twenty years trial, and an antold amount of suffering, have been completely cured in a few weeks by your Pills. With what feelings of rejoicing I write, can only be imagined when you realize what I have suffered, and how long.

"Never until now have I been free from this losthsome disease in some shape. At times it attacked my eyes, and made me almost blind, besides the unendurable pain; at others it settled in the scalp of my head, and destroyed my hair, and has kept me partly ladd all my days; sometimes it came out in my face, and kept it for months a raw sere.

"About nine weeks ago I commencial taking your Cathartic

most blind, besides the unendurable pain; at others it settled in the scalp of my head, and destroyed my hair, and has kept me parity hald all my days; sometimes it came out in my face, and kept it for months a raw sore.

"About nine weeks ago I commenced taking your Cathartic Pills, and now am entirely free from the complaint. My eyes are well, my skin is fair, and my hair has commenced a healthy growth; all of which makes me feel already a new person.

"Hoping this statement may be the means of conveying information that shall do good to others, I am, with every sentiment of graitiude,

"I have known the above-named Maria Ricker from her childhood, and her statement is strictly true.

ANDREW J. MESERVE,

Overseer of the Portsmouth Manufacturing Co."

Capt. JOEL PRATT, of the ship Marion, writes from Boston,
20th April, 1854,—

"Your Pills have cured me from a billous attack which arose from derangement of the Liver, which had become very serious. I had failed of any relief by my Physician, and from every remedy I could try; but a few doses of your Pills have completely restored me to health. I have given them to my children for worms, with the best effects. They were promptly cured. I recommended them to a friend for continense, which had troubled him for mouths; he told me in a few days they had cured him. You make the best medicine in the world, and "I am free to say so."

Read this from the distinguished Solicitor of the Supreme Court, whose trilliant abilities have made him well known, not only

You make the best medicine in the world, and I am free to as so. Read this from the distinguished Solicitor of the Supreme Court, whose brilliant abilities have made him well known, not only in this but the neighboring States.

"Sin: I have great satisfaction in assuring you that myself and family have been very much benefited by your medicines. My wife was cured, two years since, of a severe and dangerous cough, by your Carrary Percorat, and since then has enjoyed perfect beath. My children have several times been cured from attacks of the Influenza and Croup by it. It is an invaluable remedy for these compilaints. Your Carrary Pills have entirely cured me from a dyspepsia and costiveness which have grown upon me for some years; indeed, this cure is much more important, from the fact that I had failed to get relief from the best Physicians which this section of the country affords, and from any of the numerous remedies I had taken.

"You seem to us, Doctor, like a providential blessing to our family, and you may well suppose we are not unmindful of it. Yours respectfully.

"Senate Chamber, Ghio, April 5th, 1854.

"Senate Chember, Ohio, April 5th, 1854.

"Senate Chember, Ohio, April 5th, 1854.

"Dr. J. C. AYER. Honored Str: I have made a thorough trial of the Carriavire Pittle left me by your agent, and have been cured by them of the dreadful liheumatism under which he found me auffering. The first done relieved me, and a few subsequent doses have entirely removed the disease. I feel in better health now than for some years before, which I attribute entirely to the effects of your Carnavire Pitts.

Yours with great respect,

LUCIUS B. METCALP."

The above are all from persons who are publicly known where they reside, and who would not make these statements without a thorough conviction that they were true. Unprincipled dealers may attempt to put you off with other pills, on which they make more profit. Be not imposed upon by any note connection.

Prepared by Dr. J. C. AVER.

Practical and Analytical Chemist, Lowell, Mass. Sold by THEODORE METCALF & CO., BREWER, STEVENS & CUSHING, Boston; BROWN & PRICE, Salem ; H. H. HAY, Portland; J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H.;

J. N. MORTON & Co.,
And by all Droggists and Dealers in Medicine every
M23 LAND FOR SALE

THIRTY-TWO acres of good Land well wooded, and near a flourishing village in the central part of the State of New York, will be sold or exchanged for New England village property. Apply to R. F. WALLCUT, 21 Cornhill.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Washington Union.

ABOLITION RELIGION-ABOLITION MO-RALITY-AND ABOLITION POLITICS.

We learn from ancient authors, there was once a certain temple, situated in the very centre of Greece, dedicated to all the heathen gods in a lump. It was called Panionium, and it was here that a deputation of priests, representing the disciples of all the dynasty of Olympus, (with the exception, we believe, of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, and Diana, the goddess of chastity.) annually met to celebrate their orgies. It is from this temple of Panionium that Milton is supposed to have derived his Pandemonium, which everybody knows signifies a general convocation of demons.

Something similar to this has, within a few years past, been established in the Empire City, (we be-lieve under the auspices of Mr. Tappan.) by the name of the Tabernacle, a sort of Panionium, where every whip-sillabub philosopher, every crack-brained fanatic, cold-blooded hypocrite, or malignant enemy of religion, morality, and the principles of social organization, may have an opportunity of addressing a gaping crowd of all ages, sexes, and colors, and disseminating his pernicious sophistries. It is here that Garrison launches forth his anathemas against the Bible, the Church. the Constitution, and the Union; it is here that the Reverend Rifleman Theodore Parker shouts treason, blasphemy, ribaldry, and balderdash in the same breath; it is here that unsexed females. like Lucy Stone, Abby Foster, and Lucretia Mott, under pretence of advocating the rights of woman, are not only permitted, but encouraged, to inculcate doctrines which, if carried into practical operation, would degrade the sex from their high station in the domestic empire, and utterly incapacitate them for the performance of all those sacred duties imposed on them by God and Nature. In short, there is no doctrine, however pernicious; no vagury, however monstrous or absurd; and no theory, however wicked, disgusting, or dangerous to our civil institutions, to the long-recognised code of morality, and the venerable fabric of religion, which is not inculcated and enforced, by itinerant lecturers, apostate churchmen, and braz-

en-faced infidels, in this modern Pandemonium. As one of the latest samples of the doctrines held forth in this gabbling Babel, we shall proceed to give a series of extracts, taken at random from the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which held its annual meeting at the Tabernacle a few days since. Let us begin with a brace of resolutions offered, among a batch of others; by Mr. Garrison, and of course coming from the sanctum

This is pretty well for a country where, according to Mr. Garrison, there is neither freedom of speech nor of the press, except among the traffick ers in human flesh and human souls. But let us proceed, which we shall do without much regard to the order of the speakers who followed this enunciation of the high priest.

The Reverend Mr. May, fresh from the hot-house

of Syracuse, opened the ball, and concluded by ex-claiming, 'Perish money, perish credit, perish business, and let justice and right prevail!' For which he was very much cheered.

The reverend gentleman was succeeded by Mr

Remond, a colored prodigy, who 'wanted the men who purchased Sharpe's rifles for Kansas to purchase Sharpe's rifles to fight with in Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama,' Mr. Remond, the colored gentleman, assumed, moreover, that ' no man could be trusted in a tight place who was not an out-and-out dissolutionist'; for which he was very much applauded; and, finally, Mr. Remond, the colored gentleman, concluded by de-claring, most energetically, 'that, rather than this infernal system of slavery should continue, he de-sired to see this infernal Union shaftered to atoms. He hoped to see the slaves rise in their might yet and murder all their oppressors, or their oppressors would murder them.' . His prayer to God was, that this Union may be shattered into a thou-sand pieces, and the fragments scattered.' Here the reporter states, 'The rest was lost in loud and

turbulent applause.'
The gentleman of color was followed by Miss-Mistress Lucy Stone Blackwell, who became some-what puzzled by mixing up the rights of women with those of the gentlemen of color, and finally went off in a paroxysm of cursing, exclaiming: Curses on the Constitution! curses on the Fugitive Slave Law! ' Whereupon, she or he (for believe there is some doubt on the subject) sat

down amid bursts of applause.

Next came a pig to be shaved in the likeness of the Reverend Rifleman Theodore Parker, who was in high good humor, and actually laughed till be shook his long beard. He was going on very swimmingly, cracking jokes about the Trinity, until he crught the eye of his old antagenst, Lucretia Mott, when he fell into considerable confusion, and began to talk greater nonsense than usual. Lucre the desired permission to speak a word, which being accorded by the high priest of the Pandemonium, she gave the reverend fugleman a terrible broadside, worse than a discharge of Sharpe's rifles. The reverend first-rate fanatic, infidel, and traitas Mr. Garrison facetiously calls him, did not exactly wish himself in Kansas, but no doubt he wished himself anywhere else than in Pandemonium. But he got off by complimenting Lucretia, saying he agreed with her perfectly, and that if he did not wear a broad brim, he was so much of a Quaker that, though he did not mind instigating others to fight, he was very scrupulous about fighting himself. There can be no doubt that the reverend fugleman is terribly henpecked by Lucre-

One Stephen Pearl Andrews next came forward with a moral lecture, with which he adroitly combined a defence of Mr. Seward, who-Heaven save the mark !- it appears, don't go far enough for the ode as follows . . There was a moral duresse as well as a physical one; and the only avenue out of this dilemma was to swear to anything. If a moral duresse was on a citizen, either to take an oath to observe a constitution, portions of which were against his conscience and the laws of God, or to renounce the rights of citizenship, he would prefer the latter ; but if in the political arena, (meaning, no doubt, if in Mr. Seward's place,) he would swear to support the Constitution, with the express pur pose of disobeying such portions as militated against a higher law,' &c. This doctrine, which Mr. Andrews justly considers 'a new principle must be very consoling to Messrs. Seward, Sumner, Hale, Wade, Wilson, Chase, and Harlan. If it do not quiet their consciences, we do not know wha

Mr. Foster 'knew neither friend nor foe, and came he from the grog-shop or the brothel, when on this sacred platform, he should take him to his heart. He knew neither religion nor politics. He only knew those as friends who would work with him on the anti-slavery platform.' 'He did not care a snap for the Constitution.' 'The federal government was undoubtedly pro-slavery, and the and re-christianized - the church first, for the church was going to the devil, or, rather, it was there now, and it must be torn therefrom, for the church the people were educated.' Finally, he took Gerrit Smith (the ass laden with gold) to task for voting money for the army and navy, instead of emancipation. Alack! poor Gerrit! is it not too bad that the abolitionists should fleece him of his money and abuse him at the same time like a pick-

During the afternoon session the steam rose con siderably higher, as it generally does after dinner. The hat being first carried around—which the re-porter states had the effect of thinning the audience very sensibly—Mr. S. S. Foster made a sortic against Mr. Seward, on the ground that if the British government came to our shores, as they threatened to, to free the slaves, Seward and Butle would stand side by side to drive away that army at the point of the bayonet, which was coming free the bondmen.' He then read an article fro free the bondmen. He then read an attempt the London Telegraph, stating that 'the people of the Great Britain were prepared to strike off the shackles of 4,000,000 slaves in the United States; and if they had not a Richard Cour de Lion to as sist them, they had a name which would be a railying point, and that name was Victoria.' Who, after this, can doubt the levels of the this, can doubt the loyalty of the abolition ists! We will merely observe, en passant, that we feel assured these attacks on Mr. Seward do him great injustice, and that he is as good an abolitionist as the best of them. And this seemed to be the opinion of the meeting; for it is recorded that

iniquity, and he could not give it his support.

(What an invaluable citizen was here lost to the country!) He thought Franklin Pierce was doing good, as he was serving the devil in his own way. In compliment, we presume, to Mr. Seward and the serves only one. He may profess to serve one, and yet really serve the other. A purely feared neither God nor the devil.

ysis, that they strike at the very top-roots of re-ligion, morality, and politics. If these principles are carried out fully, and ever become the future guides of human action, there can be no religion, no morality, and no government. Chaos would come again; the elements of society would fall into utter confusion, and another dispersion, like that from the Tower of Babel, alone save mankind from irretrievable confusion, corruption, and de-

Yet, strange to say, three thousand clergymen of New England, and many, very many, elsewhere, have become fellow-laborers in this barvest of iniquity. They have made common cause with abolition desperadoes against the Church, the State, and every principle of that moral code which is indispensable to social organization. They have leagued with men who have no religion but abolition, no morality but abolition, and who recognise no government but what is based on abolition. It is in vain for them to say that these principles emanate from the mad-brained fanatics with which they have associated, and that they do not sanction them. If so, then why do not they discourage and denounce them? Why do they give them aid and comfort? Why have they not devoted themselves to correcting instead of encouraging these pernicious errors, that threaten the entire overthrow of our religious, social, and political edifice ! Let them answer these questions satisfactorily, and then, and not till then, can they clear their skirts of a stigma that has done more to weaken the influence of the gown and the pulpi ever put pen to paper. Either they must dissolve this partnership, or become responsible for the debts of the whole firm. than all the writings of all the unbelievers

SELECTIONS.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard. SPEECH OF REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, OF JERSEY CITY,

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, New York, May 8th, 1856.

It is a great privilege, in my estimation, to oc cupy a place upon this platform, with these old tried soldiers of a noble cause, who have fought the good fight so long, bearing the burden and heat power from God to conquer others also. of many a weary day. I cannot hope to contribute ideas or sentiments which they have so ably enforced. I have no new facts to com municate, no new arguments to urge, no new plans of action to submit, no new course of conduct to recommend; I only wish to express my profound sympathy with the principles that lie at the basis of this Anti-Slavery Movement, and with the movement itself as the modern embodiment of those principles. There is a grand monotony in all anti slavery meetings. They show magnificently the capacities of a single idea. They are splendid illustrations of the power of playing every sort of music on a single string. People complain that this is an old story, that the thought is threadbare

No thought is old till it has done its work. The great Gospel-word, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' is as new and original to-day as it was eighteen centuries ago, and equally new and origi-nal will it be until the Kingdom of God shall be established on earth. Though one were just to re-iterate, with all the power of his soul, the funda-mental truths—that God is Love—that man is made in the image of God-that every man is brother to every other man-that every man is his brother's keeper—applying these truths to the special evils of the age, as they came into prominence, he would be a prophet; and he would do a prophet's work in enlightening and arousing the conscience of his fellow-men. It has always seemed to me that the plan of the original Abolitionists was the true one-to leave speculations about ways and means-to run into no fatiguing digressions for the entertainment of this or that clique, but to gate of conscience, and let the light of God's truth shine into the souls of men. There would be little question then of ways and means. Details

would arrange themselves. Never did this grand policy demand more fidelity than now. Never did the public conscience need more earnest and pointed appeals. The out-works have been carried. The Abolitionists have compelled the public mind to grant the abstract wrong of slavery. But they have not yet forced the public will to war against slavery as a sin. Men are intellectually convinced, but not morally moved. Everybody calls himself an Abolitionist; few follow that calling; and until the calling is followed, nothing is achieved. In meditating upon the posture of our people towards the institution Anti-Slavery people are as numerous as our norther population; but where is the anti-slavery action! You will scarcely find a man, be he Willtion You will scarcely find a man, be he Whig, Yes, the path of duty is the way to glory. But Republican, or Know-Nothing, who will not dethere is also another path which conducts to its clare explicitly and with emphasis that his antipatrest—the path of Desire. This the mammonthy to slavery is as strong as yours. The lawyers worshipper purses. He, instead of obeying consay so; the merchants say so; the capitalists say science, boldly seeks to abolish it. He confounds so; venerable old men, and mossy young men, all right with wrong, calls evil good, and good evil.

poor Mr. S. S. Poster was greeted with loud hissings for his blasphemy of the veiled prophet of the higher law.

Mr. S. S. Foster was followed, or preceded, we forget which, by Mr. Buffon or Buffoon—there is some doubt as to his cognomen—who proved very clearly that, as black was no color at all, the name of people of color was unjustly applied to Africans and their descendants. The fact was, the whites were the real people of color. In short, all who were not black were people of color, and, therefore, all white men ought to be slaves. He concluded, by referring to a remarkable coincidence, that not one of the seven slaveholders who were Presidents of the United States had a legitimate son. He considered this a judgment of God against them of the United States had a legitimate son. He considered this a judgment of God against them for having held slaves. Their names were Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, and Taylor.

A Mr. Howels, an Englishman, probably a missionary from Exeter Hall, came forward to give what he called his dying testimony. He dwelt on those dark ages of ignorance when he and his fellow-laborers were pelted with rotten eggs, old shoes, and other unseemly missiles, and when Gen. Webb, now a converted and repentant sinner, headed a band of fillibusters, who broke up their meeting. He did not approve the constitution, his bosom he pays no heed at all. He is full of meeting. He did not approve the constitution, his bosom he pays no heed at all. He is full of and had intended to become a citizen, until he interest in the cause before him, but one does not found it was a tissue of truth and error, justice and wait long to see that his interest is all for himself,

the seven candlesticks, he thought the oath to support the constitution ought to be abolished, for eminently is—has but two sides to it; the one is ouths were only useful to men of no principle, who right, the other is wrong. Man has but one facul-We would extend our extracts much further but for the apprehension of sickening our readers, as we have already sickened ourselves, with these disgusting details of the aberrations and perversions of the human mind. We have however. sions of the human mind. We have, however, firm him in the wrong. To yield cordially to both presented in these brief quotations enough to show to every man who will take the trouble of an analthe laws of the conscience than the passions are roused to stormy opposition. No sooner do we vield a little to the solicitations of desire than conscience pronounces its vehement protest. Every creature that is neither a brute nor an angel is conscious of these divergent and conflicting forces within him. Every rational being knows that one can prevail only if the other is suppressed. Every honest man accepts the alternative, and chooses which he will serve.

I say there are but two ways of honestly meet ing a grave moral question. The first is to be guided simply by the light of conscience, to keep the moral sense clear and quick, carefully to sepa rate evil from good, to be exceedingly scrupulous that right shall be purged from every taint of wrong, that it may be pursued with a single eye and a steadfast will. The high-minded and sincere man examines and suspects himself, guarding against the casuistry of the intellect and the subtler wiles of the flesh. He sees evil as it is through all its veils and enchantments, and no spurps it. He fears lest a noble prudence may be timidity, lest selfishness lurk in his holiest wisdom and something like pride mar his most cautious re-serve. In his anxiety to serve goodness, and goodness only, he cross-questions every virtue, to make sure that no dishonorable motive taints it; and then, if his hand or his foot cause him to offend he is ready to cut them off, and cast them from him. Thus he keeps no terms with the enemy, and finally compels him to submit. Not without pain is this manly course chosen and pursued. For passion is strong and desire entices; many are the charms of animal content; sweet are the blandishments of the world : and the siren voices of friends. the wealthy, the elegant, the refined, the affection ate and near of kin-ah, how seductive they are ! The hiss of the old serpent is dreadful when it comes through the teeth of the powerful in intellect and place. The loss of social repute, the loss of ease, of riches too—it ought not to be hard to bear all this, but it is. For all, the way is so clear, and Truth overhead, the dread hereafter opening under our feet, it is not easy to serve the good God. But what power comes through that service! What illuminations come too! What ecstasies of triumphant joy! How the film burns off from the eye! How the brood of lusts flee before the mujestic uprising of conscience! What heavenly powers descend to aid the weary will! The man, having conquered himself, receives

. The path of duty is the way of glory : He that walks it, only thirsting For the right, and learns to deaden Love of self, before his journey closes He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting Into glossy purples, which outredden All voluptuous garden-roses.

The path of duty is the way to glory:
He that, ever following her commands
On with toil of heart and knees and h Thro' the long gorge to the far light, has won His path upward and prevailed, Shall find the toppling crags of duty, scaled, Are close upon the shining table-lands To which our God himself is moon and sun.'

The Anti-Slavery cause has nobly illustrated these glorious lines of the poet Tennyson. And the il-lustrations are not far from our own homes. There stands the prophet Garrison, still uttering his words, severe as Truth, while idolatries are rising and falling around him, and the whirlwind of feeling he has created tosses popular opinions and men like dry leaves into the air. The serene Phillips. ecomplished knight of this crusade, with practised eye, thrusts his keen, unerring rapier into every shape or sophistry, and, without an effort, lays in the dust the most majestic lie. The hearty Sumper, flinging off his combrous garments one by one, meets the challenge of the Philistines with the cheerful alacrity of David. Clear-eyed Gerrit Smith looks right through the tangled web of Congressional sophistry, and unravels the hardest ques tions by the logic of an ingenuous heart. Parker, champion of the new church militant, with undaunted look confronts all the demons face to face, and never misses his blow. The pure spirit of Thomas T. Stone shudders at the very approach of falsity. What power there is in such men high they stand ! their eyes look through us! How brightly our lamps burn in the presence of such ! How little, pience in all they have resigned, do they seem to have out-lost! We do not pity them for their lack of social have privileges, their lack of professional honor, their stern labors and trials. We feel that to pity would be to insult them. How wretched the prizes of life compared with the prizes of immortality! How mean the society of the gay and elegant when com-pared with the fellowship of heroes, the communion of saints! How contemptible the privilege of bestowing nods and smiles upon a crowd of courtly admirers as contrasted with the glory of inflam-

say so; the merchants say'so; the capitalists say so; venerable old men, and mossy young men, all say so alike. There is not a conservative, portly or wrinkled, who does not feel insulted if you call him a pro-slavery mian. But whereto does all this profession tend! To nothing; aye, to less than nothing. It is positively unfriendly to the cause of Freedom. Leaving profession aside, taking character and the influence thereof by itself, are the majority of these people anti-slavery men? They are pro-slavery men. Their action is practically on the oppressor's side. The name of Abolitionist is assumed not as a pledge of hostility to the Slave Power, but as a sign of neutrality. It declares, not that men are in league with the friends of freedom, but that they wish to clude their notice and to avoid their assault; not that they are propared to fight, but that they are anxious to escape from fighting. A young man takes charge of a parish as its minister. In public or in private, he gives out that his views are opposed to slavery. Forthwith the respectable members of the society meet him blandly, take him by the hand, express their joy at his coming, and their entire concurrence with his sentiments, and add, significantly, in allusion to this special matter, 'Of course, you know we are all anti-slavery people here; we all sympathize with you entirely on that point.' Now, why is this soil? Is it spoken in condemnation of it. Is it meant to encourage the young preacher to declare his convic-

soon rids himself of his angels. Having said, 'Eeil, be thou my good,' the spirit of goodness departs from him, and the devils quietly enter in and take possession. The anti-slavery cause has turned ap examples of this kind too. I will not name them. You can do that for yourselves. The demoniac men are more conspicuous than the saintly. You know who they are that defend slavery as a Divine institution—patronize the Bible for supporting it—patronize the apostle Paul for returning Onesimus to his master—talk of God's providence in the hideous crime, as if the Almighty was the chief overseer and master driver on their plantations—speak of the beneficial effects of the system upon all concerned, and especially upon the blacks, by bringing them within the reach of an oppressive 'Christianity.' You know who they are who rave and bluster about abolitionists, and write truculent letters to Northern ministers and lecture committees. Some of these propole are one are the committee has bonestly endeavored faithfully to apply the true principles of this compact as expressed in the Constitution, in their decisions on everything proposed for publication; but they lay no claim to infallibility in any of their acts. Many things beyond the limits of this compact may have been desired by individual members of the Committee, and by others; but the committee have done nothing knowingly to offend lecture committees. Some of these propole are write traculent letters to Northern ministers and committees. Some of these people are genial, dashing, rioting, reckless men, good-humored, fiery, with great relish of animal life, and no appreciation of spiritual. Now and then you see a more deadly specimen of the class—a man manity that the architecture of the Committee, and by others; but the Committee, and by others; but the Committee, and by others; but the committee and by others; but the writer tracely and by others; but the Committee, and by others; but the committee and committee have done nothing knowingly to offend one another, or evangelical Christians elsewhere. Almost nothing specifically discussing the evils of Slavery has ever been laid before them. It may be a support of the committee have done nothing knowingly to offend one another, or evangelical Christians elsewhere. Almost nothing specifically discussing the evils of Slavery has ever been laid before them. It may be a support of the committee have done nothing knowingly to offend one another, or evangelical Christians elsewhere. see a more deadly specimen of the class—a man whose heart is as insensible as the nether millstone to the slave's pitiful story, and the freeman's indignant remonstrance, and the Christ's weeping appeal—who denounces open speech, and bandies about 'infidel' and 'traitor,' and is a loud-nddown the christ's weeping appeal—who denounces open speech, and bandies about 'infidel' and 'traitor,' and is a loud-nddown controlled the controlled to the subject, and of duties and evils connected with it, in which it might be hoped that evangelical Christians North and South, would agree; and so far cate for orthodox believing, because orthodox be-lieving is such a capital cloak for heterodox be-breathing the love of Christ and promising usefulhavior. You know who they are. I need not ness, shall be presented, the Committee know no name them. But these persons, like the heroes, are few. It costs a struggle to occupy this posi- lished. tion. As one cannot without conflict and sorrow reach the heights of fame, neither can one without conflict and sorrow reach the depths of infamy. Christians at the South would regard as untruth-The soul does not walk meekly to the altar of sa-crifice. It makes resistance; it protests; it be-misjudged and such omissions were needless, they seeches; it is hard to turn away from its complaint. Before one becomes utterly shameless, conscience will make him writhe; departing self-respect will rend his soul in twain; his generous sentiments will give him a pang as they flee away; there is a raging of volcanic fires, and then there is a raging of volcanic fires, and then there is a mountain of stone, where living streams of charity and sweet flowers of truth had been. If jects in question, under the teaching and guidance of the Word, the Spirit, and the Providence of God. the majority of men are not prepared to make themselves saints, as little are they prepared to till they shall discern more clearly how they may make themselves devils. There is, therefore, another class, the compro- nal welfare of men.

misers, or, as I prefer calling them, the Palterers. These people wish to be on both sides—to get God's blessing and the devil's plums, to be nominally on good terms with conscience, while practically they indulge desire. They will pay that but at the same time the senses have delights which they would by no means dispense with. The palterer fills up with casuistry the great gulf betwixt God and the Devil, and resolves the whole process of duty into a matter of common sense. He does not deny that evil in the abstract is evil; God forbid ! He confesses that, and asserts it vigorously; he is only persuaded that evil in himself is not evil. His wrong-doing is either no wrong-doing at all, or it is done under a compulsion which leaves his conscience undisturbed. He has a horror of moral insensibility, but what appears so abolitionist was to put in peril property and life much like it in him is only a cool, compressed reserve, that will not waste its power in fluttering enthusiasm, but sternly bides its time for practical action. He despises moral cowardice, is brave enough : he only believes honestly that disto be loval to them; but he is persuaded that very sentiment, now setting Southward, and which these great ends cannot be permanently advanced if it stay not in its progress, will overwhelm and he does so. But he is not so rash as to imagine that he himself is to be a private interpreter of that reform have pervaded the heart of the nathat he himself is to be a private interpretation, but the agencies which have kept those prin-

think they are serving both.

Which of these characters is most harmful to the community? I answer, the latter. For he WHITE SLAVERY IN and challenges all the world to battle. These men indirectly injure their cause by provoking antagobland, sleek, wary man, who comes from a free State, and professes free principles, while he is entirely at the disposal of the most powerful par-ty—the man who counts Northern votes by his ty—the man who counts Northern votes by his speeches, and Southern votes by his policy—he is the foc of liberty, the more dangerous for his false face and his subtlety. One of the most effective of the lectures in the Anti-Slavery course in Boston, two years ago, was given by the Hon. Senator from Texas, Gen. Houston, whose avowed pro-slavery views disgusted even the most ancient of the conservatives; the weakness of whose arguments made his friends ashamed. An open champion of slavery puts us on our goard, awakens our belligerent feelings, and provokes attack. But a palter-er disarms opposition. It is hard to assail a man who swears that he sympathizes with you, and has at heart the same ends, though you are secretly persuaded that his influence all goes to defeat those ends. You cannot reason with a man who assents to all your arguments. You cannot denounce a man as an enemy of freedom who turns round and protests that he is as true a friend of liberty as you are. So you must sit still, and see innoce people deceived, and confiding parties betrayed.

[To be concluded.]

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY. Extract from the last Annual Report of the Publishng Committee of the American Tract Society :-

In the present agitation on the subject of slavery, friends of the Society in the Northern States have expressed an carnest desire that more should be published on the acknowledged evils connected

solemn obligations under which the Society have bound them by the Constitution, the law under

bound them by the Constitution, the law under which they act.

The sacred compact which binds the Society to reach with all God's redeemed people, in seeking the glory of Christ and the salvation of the perishing, is 'known and read of all men.' It was entered into thirty-one years ago by the Society's founders, in assurance that evangelical Christians do agree in the great essential, practical truths of revelation which have been eminently blessed by the Holy Spirit in saving souls from death and raising them to Heaven. The convention of delegates from then existing Tract Societies solemnly and unanimously sanctioned by the Society as the fundamental article of its Constitution in its organization, was solemnly re-affirmed on accepting the act of incorporation, and has been sacredly adhered to in all the Society's harmonious course, on which the blessing of God has so richly rested.

Lights and Shadows of Slavery. A suit for free dom was recently brought in a Virginia court, by a colored woman named Betty, and twenty-five days. It was claimed and proved that she was emanoipated in 1790, by her master, John Anderson, and her suit was granted.

Dr. Jim' died at Shreveport, (La.) the 19th ult. aged one hundred and twenty-five days. He was born December 24, 1731, in Fredericksburg, Va., as the slave of Captain John Carrer, who served as an officer during the revolution, was well acquainted with Gen. Washington and most of the other distinguished generals of the war, and was at Yorktown and witnessed the last decisive struggle for independence.

Phebe Myers, colored woman, was convicted in Maryland, last winter, of enticing her children and grand-children for run away from slavery, and was sentenced to the politentiary for forty-two and a half years. A few days ago she was pardoned out, at the request of the owner of the slave and other influential gentlemen.

WORK VET TO BE DONE. Extract from the Twenty-Second Annual Report of

the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society :-In the review of such a year as the past has been, there is so much to strengthen the faith and hope of the abolitionist, so much to awaken thanks giving and rejoicing, that we may be tempted to believe that our labor is well-nigh done, that the toil and the conflict have passed into other hands and that nothing remains for us to do but to look on the battle a little while longer, and join the

shout of victory at its close.

This is truly a novel temptation to those who have known the days when to bear the anti-slavery name was a reproach, and to live the life of a but he tains popularity, sits in the chair of State, and is is brave enough: he only believes nonestry that dis-cretion in his case is the better part of valor. He abominates the principle that public justice and humanity are to be sacrificed to personal interests. He loves public justice and humanity, and means the principle is advocates be specially wary that they compromise no iota of principle, and that they desert not their posts of duty, in the hope that they will be occupied by others. The strong and rushing tide of anti-sla-verse. honored among men, then should its advocates be these great ends cannot be permanently advanced inconsistently with a wise, solid, unselfish conservation of private interests. Of course, a man must obey the law of God. The law of God, by all means, before any other law! He obeys it, never knowingly disobeys it—is extremely penitent when sentiment of a people; they never create it. They will serve a moral reform when the principles of that law, that his conscience is to expound it, that his heart is to authenticate it. Far from him be the presumption of judging God by himself. There is the good old Bible: there is the good, sound old minister; God-fearing men made the laws of the State; and the common sense of the people, 'vox populi,' is not that, too, the voice of God! This pious talk is only a palterer's make-believe. He is pious talk is only a palterer's make-believe. He is provided the people is consciences, and warm in the people's consciences, and warm in the people's consciences, and warm the people is hearts, cannot be, for a moment, safely remitted. The path of our duty never law more plain and straight before us, than it does to day, when, with the opening of a new era in our nation's history, we commence a new year of our society's existence. Joyous as we are over victories which have kept those principles active in the people's consciences, and warm in the people's cannot be, for a moment, safely remitted. The path of our duty never law more plain and straight before us, than it does to day, when, with the opening of a new era in our populi, is not that, too, the voice of God! This pious talk is only a palterer's make-believe. He is serving God pious talk is only a patterer's make-believe. He is serving God trying to persuade himself that he is serving God by acknowledging that he ought to be served. He is trying to reconcile the fullest gratification of his have our old work to do, of uttering the truth in desires with a sincere profession of piety. He is unwilling ears. The well-tried weapons of a trying to convince himself and others that he is twenty-years' warfare we may not yet lay down; really serving God, and only apparently serving the banner unforled by the American Anti-Slavery mammon; when the truth is, that he is really Society, bearing the inscription, 'Immediate and serving mammon, and only apparently serving God. Unconditional Emancipation to every Slave,' Here, then, are three classes: those who serve and No Union with Slaveholders, must still God, those who serve the Devil, and those who be borne aloft by the hands which first upraised it.

white Servers in Missouri. An exciting slave executes, as palpably as any, the devil's work, and his influence is the more deadly because it is concealed. Satan loses half his power when he shows his tail. In the garb of a fine gentleman, he finds conquest easy. Is it not possible that the Presidence of Henry A. Wise of Visible, her way to got the country of Henry A. Wise of Visible, her way to got the country of Henry A. Wise of Visible, her way to got the country of Henry A. Wise of Visible, her way to got the country of Henry A. Wise of Visible, her way to got the country of the co conquest easy. Is it not possible that the Presidency of Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, might be a heavier blow to the Slave Power than the Presidency of Millard Fillmore? Is it not notorious that the most fatal enemy to Freedom has been the Northern man with Southern principles!—Not the free-spoken, open-hearted Southerner who is so confident of his cause that he exposes its weakness; not the hot-headed representative of the chivalry who gives you rant for reasoning, and puts men into straight opposition to him in laughter or rage; not the hold champion, like Calhoun, who takes up the defence of slavery in serious carnest, and challenges all the world to battle. These men allenges all the world to battle. These men tly injure their cause by provoking antago-But your compromiser, your palterer, your sleek, wary man, who comes from a free fian Legislature, and to be enforced by United States

THE VIRGINIA SEARCH LAW is denounced by a com-THE VIRGINIA SEARCH LAW is denounced by a communication in the Baltimore American, signed 'Many Captains,' as particularly hard on vessels trading to Baltimore, as it is impossible for them to get to sea from that port without passing through the waters of Virginia. It case of stress of weather, they say, it is impossible for them to find a harbor exempt from that law, anywhere south of the Potomac river on the Chesapeake bay, which is the boundary line between Maryland and Virginia. Any vessel making a harbor there is taxed five dollars. The American speaks of having heard many complaints similar to this, and that there heard many complaints similar to this, and that ther no doubt just ground for them. It adds-

 Virginia, however, in protecting herself, has originated a system which we think cannot be legally sustained, and which certainly inflicts serious injustice upon innocent parties. The fee, which inures to the aspectors, is a constant temptation, leading them to there is every degree of certainty that there is neither the opportunity nor the will to interfere with the rights of the slave-owners of that State, thus making it a means of private emolument rather than public utility."

REMARKABLE ESCAPE OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE.—The Montreal Herald of Wednesday, states by the Under Ground Bailroad, a passenger arrived in Montreal on the Saturday previous, having had a narrow escape from the United States Marshal at St. Albans. It appears he left servitude in Baltimore on the 14th January, and made his way towards Canada as far as St. Albans, where he found employment. On Friday, his former master and a United States Marshal arrived at the latter place. On making inquiries for the object of their pursuit, they were kindly informed that they would be more successful in securing the prize at Water-bury, VI., than at St. Albans. Meantime the friends All the known wishes of the Society, or of any of the 'colored brother' transported him a few miles further north in a sleigh, and placed him on a freight wish ever to regard, as far as consists with the solemn obligations under which the Society have

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