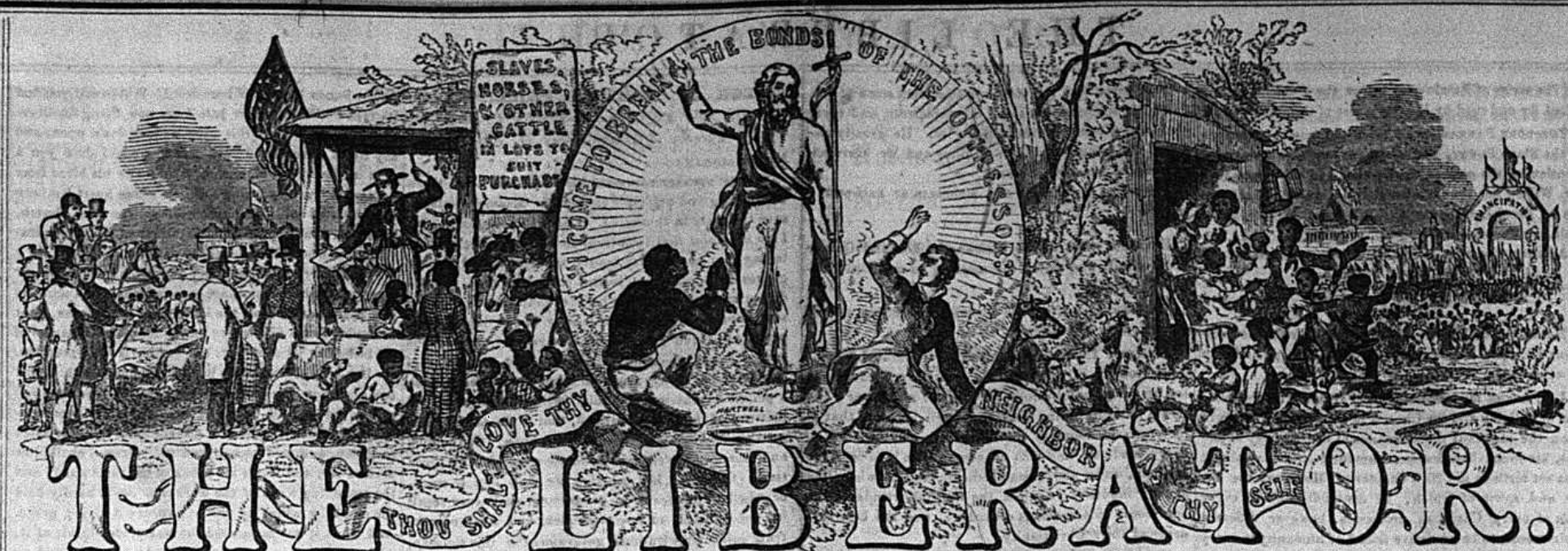


30. THE LIBERATOR
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serted three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-
thorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts
of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY
JUNIOR, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS, and
WILLIAM PHILLIPS.
In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



No Union with Slaveholders!
THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH
AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.
"Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding
lords of the South, prescribed, as a condition of their
admission to the Constitution, three special provisions to
SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR
SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years,
of preserving the African slave trade; the second was
the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an
engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God,
delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the enactment, fatal
to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-
sentation for slaves—by articles of merchandise, under
the name of persons . . . In fact, the oppressor repre-
sented the oppressed . . . To call government thus con-
stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of
mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of
riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the
government of the nation is to establish an artificial
majority in the slave representation over that of the
free people, in the American Congress; and thereby
TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETU-
ATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT
OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."—John Quincy Adams.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 23. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1856. WHOLE NUMBER 1144.

THE LIBERATOR.
NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The annual New England Anti-Slavery Convention
assembled at the Melodeon in Boston, on Tuesday, May
20th, and was called to order at half-past 10 o'clock,
by Samuel May, Jr., who, on behalf of the Committee
of Arrangements, proposed that FRANCIS JACKSON
be requested to preside over the deliberations of the Con-
vention. The unanimous AYE of the Convention con-
firmed the selection.
Mr. Jackson, saying that he should have much pre-
ferred that some other person should occupy the place,
expressed his readiness always to serve the Convention
and the Cause.
Mr. May, from the Committee of Arrangements, re-
ported the remaining officers and committees of the
Convention, as follows:
For Presidents—Edmund Quincy, of Massachu-
setts; Peter Libby, of Maine; Jehiel Claflin, of New-
Hampshire; Asa Fairbanks, of Rhode Island; James
B. Whitcomb, of Connecticut; Robert Purvis, of Penn-
sylvania; Edw. L. Capron, of Worcester; Robert
Hassall, of Haverhill; J. B. Swasey, of Newbury-
port; Dorothea D. Draper, of Milford.
Secretaries—William H. Fish, Samuel May, Jr., and
John M. Powell.
Committee on Finance—Lewis Ford, Joseph A. How-
land, Elbridge Sprague, Nathaniel B. Spooner, Sallie
Haley, Reuben A. Ober.
Business Committee—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell
Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Marius R. Robinson, Maria
W. Chapman, Eliza L. Follen, Charles Lenox Remond,
Stephen S. Foster, Andrew T. Foss, Charles C. Bur-
leigh.
The Convention unanimously accepted the proposed
organization, and the persons named were elected ac-
cordingly.
Rev. ROBERT HASSALL, of Haverhill, offered a most
brief and impressive prayer, full of the spirit of uni-
versal liberty.
The Business Committee having retired for consulta-
tion, the Convention was addressed by Samuel May,
Jr., who gave a brief account of the meeting held in
the last appearance in Boston of the Southern Anti-Sla-
very Society organized in New York city, a few years
ago, for the purpose of supplying the South with just
such a pro-slavery Gospel as it demands,—for the pur-
pose of supporting such missionaries in the slavehold-
ing States as may be appointed by the slaveholders
themselves; and which justifies its existence by the
fact that the South has become suspicious of the agents
and preachers sent forth by the Home Missionary So-
ciety, and other similar Societies. Mr. May men-
tioned Rev. Drs. Blagden, Nehemiah Adams, Water-
bury, and Joel Parker, as actors in the late meeting;
and Rev. Harvey Wood, of Mississippi, who declared
himself a slaveholder, and hoped there would be no
division between the Christians of the North and the
Christians of the South. Mr. May said he regarded
the Southern Anti-Slavery Society as the most brazen-
faced, impudent, heartless, God-defying association among
all the associations of the land, whether professedly re-
ligious or otherwise.
J. C. CLEM commented upon the various newspaper
reports of the doings of the Society, and expressed his
sorrow at the hollow and hypocritical piety of the men
who appeared at its late meeting. He referred to the
late assembly upon Charles Sumner, at Washington, with
much feeling.
Mr. GAZDAR, from the Committee on Business, re-
ported the following resolutions:
[The first of this series, relating to the recent
meeting and eloquent speech of the Hon. CHARLES SUM-
NER on the Kansas question, and the daring assault
upon his person in the Senate Chamber by PASTOR S.
BROWN, of South Carolina, having been published in
THE LIBERATOR of last week, we omit them here, and
give the remainder.]
Resolved, That a false oath is not to be taken, nor
a wicked law obeyed, nor a blood-stained compact up-
held; that what can be secured only by perjury or con-
fession of sin, is not worth possessing, and not to be
accepted to secure any amount of good whatever; that
there is but one rule of duty, the law of God—but one
object of consideration, the liberty of man—but one
test of character, fidelity to principle; and that the
cry of every honest man will be, 'Let justice be done,
though the heavens fall.'
Resolved, That we deplore the moral blindness and
hypocrisy of those who are seeking to transform the
antislavery cause into a mere territorial struggle, in
consequence with the Missouri Compromise—making it
no longer a question as to the liberation of four mil-
lions of enslaved slaves at the South, but only one of
latitude and longitude—basing it on a corrupt bargain,
and not on the rights of man—sacrificing one race for
the benefit of another—and consenting to the constitu-
tional protection of slavery in fifteen States of the
Union, where it now exists, and to the outlawry of the
fugitive slave in every section of the land.
Resolved, That slavery in a Territory is no worse
a crime than slavery in a State; that Kansas is no
more entitled to freedom than Carolina; and while we
hold to no man in zeal and effort to prevent the exten-
sion of that most heinous system, and appreciate at its true
value whatever is said or done to baffle the designs of
the Slave Power in regard to future territorial acqui-
sitions, we declare every other issue to be deceptive and
false, except that of the liberation of every slave, and
the separation of the North from the South as a moral
and speedy downfall of slavery universally.
Resolved, That the successive invasions of Kan-
sas, and the usurpation of governmental authority—their
barbarous treatment in regard to slavery, surpassing
all previous atrocities any code yet devised by human
legislation—their numerous crimes and bloody out-
rages upon the persons of the free settlers of that terri-
tory, their introduction and establishment of
slavery, at the point of the bowie-knife and re-
volver—the extensive co-operation given them by the
Slave States, and now by the army of the United
States, by order of the President and his Cabinet, to

the utter overthrow of all natural and legal rights,
and the extinction of all the hopes of freedom—consti-
tute 'an assemblage of horrors' which no pencil can
portray and no language express, and in comparison
with which the grievances suffered by our revolution-
ary fathers are as dust in the balance.
Resolved, That the government of the United
States is in the hands of an unscrupulous and traitorous
conclave as yet sought to dethrone God and to
crucify Liberty; that American democracy is but the
synonym for political villany intensified, torism run
to seed; that FRANKLIN PIERCE has perfidiously be-
trayed the liberties of the North by his ready subservi-
ency to the Southern oligarchy, and instead of being
the lawful President of the United States, is the chief
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
Charles I.
Resolved, That the primary cause of the growth,
extension and perpetuity of slavery—of all the heart-
burnings, antagonisms and feuds between the North
and the South—of whatever has been oppressive, per-
fidious 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 men-
stealers and slave-drivers, in one compact—an exer-
cise in wild, desperate, and God-defying, from the be-
ginning, 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.
Resolved, That a Union in which one seventh
portion 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 ty-
rannical oligarchy known in any land; which demands
obedience without giving protection, and renders free-
dom of conscience and equal rights impossible; is a
Union which is 'not fit to have been made,' which
ought not to be perpetuated, and which cannot be more
accurately described than as 'a covenant with death,
and an agreement with hell.' Therefore,
Resolved, That to this people is fearfully applica-
ble 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 refuge, 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 hid-
ing place; and your covenant with death shall be an-
nulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand;
when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then
ye shall be trodden down by it.'
Resolved, That the South having boldly thrown
away her mask, and avowed her determination not only
to eternalize slavery on her soil, but to extend it as
her natural and constitutional right wherever the
American flag shall be carried; and proclaimed her
purpose to wage deadly war against the free institutions
of the North, to their utter subversion, and the en-
slavement of the working classes, without regard to
complexion, distinction or geographical boundary;
and having outlawed every one who denies the right to
make man the property of man, and committed innum-
erable outrages upon the persons and liberties of
Northern citizens caught within her limits, even selling
many of them into interminable bondage; no other al-
ternative is left the North but to separate from her, or
to wear the chains of degrading and abject vassalage.
Therefore,
Resolved, That a delegated Convention of the
Free States should be held at as early a period and at
a point as central as practicable, for the purpose of
taking measures to effect a peaceable withdrawal from
an alliance which an experience of more than three
score years has demonstrated to be as impracticable as
it has been disastrous to genuine republicanism and a
pure Christianity.
Resolved, That, to secure this desirable object,
the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery
Society hereby respectfully requested to appoint
committees of correspondence and vigilance in the sev-
eral Free States, who shall be duly empowered to make
all necessary arrangements to secure a full representa-
tion in the Convention aforesaid.
The reading of these resolutions was listened to with
the deepest attention, and was often interrupted by
applause.
Rev. Mr. HASSALL said that he had come, as many
others doubtless came, to the city in sadness, yet not
in despair;—he never could despair of such a cause as
ours. In reply to some of his anti-slavery friends, who
frequently told him that deeds and not words are now
needed, he insisted that however much good Sharpe's
Rifles and other deadly instrumentalities may some-
times effect, moral agitation, the preaching of the truth
of God, uncompromisingly and faithfully, must be our
chief reliance. The better elements of the human soul
must be aroused before anything can be effectually ac-
complished; and this work is not to be done by force.
Wrong views of the Bible, Mr. H. also insisted, lie in
the way of the cause of Liberty. That book is made to sanc-
tion slavery. But a different view must be presented, and
the authority of the deep and humane convictions of
the soul be recognised. He had his own theological
opinions, but he held humanity paramount to all the
ologies and all sects.
ANDREW T. FOSS said he rose to give to the Con-
vention a piece of information, which had just come to
his knowledge, which he regarded as quite encourag-
ing. At the meeting of the American Tract Society
this morning, in this city, Dr. Nehemiah Adams lost
his election as a member of the Publishing Committee,
and Rev. A. L. Stone was elected in his place. The
vote, he was told, stood 66 for Mr. Stone to 42 for
Dr. Adams. Dr. Adams appeared at the meeting, and
pleaded his own case, and told his brethren that he
was much the more suitable man to be on that Com-
mittee, as he had more influence at the South, and his
views accorded fully with those of the Northern States.
Dr. A. said that, if they dismissed him, they would re-
ject a good friend to anti-slavery! But all would not
do. The Society voted to disperse with his services.

Mr. W. L. GARRISON expressed his pleasure at the
intelligence Mr. Foss had communicated. It seemed to
him almost too good to be true. He hoped it would
prove true, and if so, it was a most encouraging
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 theo-
logy, we should be likely to be better abolitionists.
Mr. HINSON, of England, said that which he
loved most in his native land was that Wilberforce had
lived and labored there, and that, by the labors of him-
self and his associates, slavery had been abolished
throughout the dominions of Great Britain. He de-
clared himself to be a republican in heart, that he loved
and desired liberty every where; that his country-
men were all mankind. He pledged himself with all
his strength to the Anti-Slavery cause.
Mrs. 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. JEREMY CLAYTON, 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. Sum-
ner as a foreshadowing of the fate that awaits us all, if
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 Sena-
tor. But no new thing had happened, he said; such
cowardly and iniquitous acts—infinite more iniquitous
and cowardly acts—were daily perpetrated by the Slave
Power. The ruffianism of the United States Govern-
ment, noted out in Kansas, he insisted, is worse than
that which struck down Mr. Sumner, and the ruffianism
of the slave plantation still worse. But he hoped
that such infamous outrages would yet rouse Massachu-
setts 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 infinitesimal 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,
armed and authorized by the President of the United
States. But, though he regarded Mr. Sumner as a great
and good man, and he had a great deal of sympathy
with him, in his suffering, he nevertheless rejoiced
looked at from some points of view, in the brutal assault
upon him. It would help arouse the nation. But what
are we to do? No political party, not even the Republi-
can, can do much in the Union and under the Constitu-
tion. For all that these parties can do, in such a po-
sition, slavery will extend itself all over the land, as it
now threatens. Dissolution of the Union is now the
only practical method for us to adopt.
Rev. Mr. CONWAY, of Washington, D. C., next took
the platform, and spoke in an earnest and manly strain
as follows:—
SPEECH OF REV. MR. CONWAY.
I do not stand here, this afternoon, because I expect-
ed to stand here; nor because I take precisely the views
which have been expressed by the last speaker; nor
because I have any union with any particular associa-
tion of any kind, religious or social. I profess only to
be a worker in the sphere in which it seems to me God
has put me, down in my own little church of some four
or five hundred persons at Washington. There we have
gone on in our own way, doing what seemed to us
the best; and I have not come to Boston to make speech-
es or attend any anniversaries. I have come to Boston
because our church in Washington has given way—
physically, not spiritually, not vitally. The walls,
which had been standing some thirty-five years, gave
way, just as our church was getting strong, inwardly;
and I may add, that if any of you are disposed to
take him, my address is at Little & Brown's. We
have found that we have lost the pulse of the church
by taking anti-slavery ground, having shed eight or
ten of the richest men in the Society, with their fami-
lies, by our course on that matter.
But, sir, I came here to say, what may be obvious
to all of us, that the country on which our eyes open-
ed this morning, is not the country on which our eyes
closed last night. The country we lived in last week
was not the country we live in now—not by any means.
I have always been willing to say, that so long as I could
see that there was any force acting in this country which
might redeem it, any force which might exercise as
individuals, which should not be at all checked or re-
strained by any outward political associations, we might
have hope;—that so long as government force did not
at all checkmate the full and free exercise of the indi-
vidual strength of any one in the government, I was
always willing to say, that I did not care even to dis-
cuss the question of the Union, or of political action.
To do the duty that lay next to us seemed the best po-
lity, trusting, like the great German, that light would
rise on the next.
What is the news that comes to our reluctant ears to-
day? Why, most probably, that Lawrence lies in
ashes, that the only true men that represent the whole
Northern power, all its authority, all the force that the
North has,—I do not mean all the force that the North
has, simply, but that the anti-slavery men of the world
have to represent them in the capital of this nation,—
all that force is destroyed under the heel of the Admin-
istration. What is to be the result of putting down
all the anti-slavery action and power that there is, there,
which is thus eradicated? Why, just so surely as you,
sir, sit there, and I stand here, the result is to intro-
duce new slave States into the Union, with all their
representatives—with Congressional powers greater,
far greater, than New England has ever had. Just con-
ceive of all the power that New England has to resist
slavery being instantly checked by the superior
power of the Slave States,—all that vast region of

country to enter, as it will now, inevitably, as slave
States,—what shall be the result of that? Why, there
are men who, so long as they could look forward to the
possibility of obtaining a majority in Congress that
should resist slavery, who should stand there as Charles
Sumner has stood there, were ready to act without
respect to taking such ground as now seems to be al-
most necessary to many minds. I will say, for one,
that I never could. I trust you will allow me, my
frankness, my freedom, on this platform. I cannot see
the consistency, quite—I do not say others do not—I
know it is meant with perfect consistency, and is taken
with great sincerity—I say I cannot quite see the
consistency of those, who hold the idea of no political
action, ever paying taxes to the State that supports
the Union. I say that if we, as men, finding that
there is before us, for five centuries, inevitably, the
dominion of the Slave Power,—with all Kansas sub-
jected to slavery, with a slave representation in Con-
gress laughing at its ease with a majority for five cen-
turies ahead,—then I would say that individual force,
which in Luther broke the institution that had gather-
ed up in its folds the strength of ten centuries,—in-
dividual force, which spoke with the authority of Hamp-
den and Sydney,—that that force should again be
brought to bear. We should gather together, every
man that looks upon hostility to wrong as a more sacred
duty than anything else; who respects nothing, how-
ever venerable, or strong, or wealthy, even though it
be a country, that stands in the way of their personal
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
a State, supports a Union that is irretrievably given
over to the spirit of slavery, beyond hope of redemp-
tion.' And I do believe, on my soul, that a few men,—
I do believe that ten or twenty men, whose character is
upright, who are faultless in their community, who
have friends who love them, who have influence, com-
ing 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
now, their influence would be so strong that the whole
world would come round to them. I believe that that
volcanic power never was resisted. I believe that al-
most any one man, taking that position, would shake
the whole community; and that a large number of
men, a number that I know can be got taking that po-
sition, would be utterly irresistible. That is the action
we will have to take at last. We will personally see.
(Cheers.) It is an awful fact, that this country has
reached a condition that now writes this dreadful word
on every heart, as it comes with pain and blood from
Washington. With pen of flame, the Kansas inquiry
writes on our hearts the word—'We must not do wrong!'
We must stand firm. The country verges on a danger
so awful that the imagination faints as she looks into
the future, and calculates the events of coming years.
If it must come, let us be brave, true-hearted, and
faithful to our duty. If we are irretrievably bound, as
individuals, then must we balance our individual soul
and sense of right against the whole world. The hydro-
static paradox will hold here, wherein the smallest
capillary tube of water balances a whole ocean. A
single soul, resting firmly on the laws of God, by that
same hydrostatic power, balances the whole world.
Nothing can resist it.
I know that this view may not strike you as a true
one. We are very much given to routine, even at An-
ti-Slavery meetings. We are very much given to a
certain round of thoughts. We have them in theology,
we have them in politics. But the facts of to-day call
to us with a strong voice, which we cannot resist.
When a great crime, hitherto unknown on the page of
history, rises up before us, such as this against Kansas,
which gives a death-blow to all the hopes we had cher-
ished, it calls for a new treatment altogether, and that
a new force be exerted. There is need now that some
new power shall dart down into our hearts,—that there
shall be an entirely new entrance of feeling and force
into the Anti-Slavery enterprise. We must look to it
that we give our whole souls to the great fact that we
must be personally true to ourselves; that we cannot
be clogged and weighed down, as individuals, whose
duty in this universe is to seek perfection, and the de-
velopment of our minds and hearts, by this fact of sla-
very. Why, up here in the North, what do you get?
People at a distance see that like dry rot in wheat.
It comes forth in the North, and you see the highest and
noblest men falling before it. What men think on this
question of slavery is the test of the moral honesty of
all. Yet slavery is not here, it is in the South; and
yet, it is more of a test question here than at the South.
This is the terrible power that hangs over all of us, as
individuals. I say that no man can reach the individ-
ual development in this country that he would if he were
a free man. As long as one man is a slave in this land,
we are all slaves, to a certain extent. We are all afraid
of something. We are all afraid of some prejudice,
some feeling against color, or animosity of some kind—
with 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
the same time, produces slavery. Look down at the old
geological periods, and see those vast electric currents,
—see those great monsters down there before man ap-
peared on this earth,—and we decide that such things
as were there—the transition rock, the primordial forest,
—could not, in their very nature, have produced man.
Man was to be the associate of higher stages of vegeta-
tion and animal life—these lower stages could not have
produced them. And I say, the presence of slavery here,
the spathy 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
really freeing himself; he is asserting his own individ-
ual force, and his right to live in the country, and take
things on the same terms with all other men, and not
have anything which is selfishly had, and which his
brother cannot have.

I know that there are many persons in the country
who have a disposition to be quiet on this question.
Even among Anti-Slavery people down at Washington,
I am afraid that many things that are charged upon
them by what are termed the Garrisonian Abolitionists,
are too true. They want to nominate Col. Fremont
for President. What is the reason? I believe Col. Fre-
mont is opposed to slavery. He is a romantic young
man; an ambitious specimen of young America; a no-
ble-hearted, chivalrous man—if that word has any
meaning now. (Laughter and cheers.) But I have
yet to see the first word he has said that commits him to
any principle on this subject. It is true, he does sym-
pathize with the struggle to make Kansas a free State,
and with Gov. Robinson. I know the effort is being
made to induce him to commit himself to some prin-
ciple on this subject, and it may be successful. But
many Anti-Slavery people think that men at Washing-
ton 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 super-
stitions of you. Why, Senator Sumner himself has told
me that the influence was so great that he had no idea of
it. The way in which Southern men would slip their
hands in the arm, and walk along, and beg whoever it
is not to waste his tremendous talents, his great learn-
ing, his brilliant prospects, on this question!—(laugh-
ter)—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,
and throughout the country, in regard to this matter of
slavery, because there are great proprietary interests at
stake. And these men all get their individual develop-
ment subject to those influences; and you depend on
them, and they depend on you; and unless each per-
son,—which is my point,—unless each person, man or
woman, feels that it is against his or her true develop-
ment, 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 se-
necy of his or her soul, how much has been yielded, in
youth, in manhood, or old age, to the influence of sla-
very; he or she will not be properly sprung on this
question; and we all need that now. We need that there
should be a great and noble enthusiasm rise within us
in view of the new and thrilling events of the day, and
call us to fresh endeavors. I, for one, am willing to
stand for ever, and give my heart and soul to all that
will be for the good of the poor down-trodden slave, as
well as for the good of the whites, and also of this
country. (Loud cheers.) I tell you, my friends, it is a
dreadful thing that I see in the city of Boston. I am a
stranger here, almost. Although I lived here a year or
so before I went to Washington, I really did not get at
the minds of the people. But I say, the first thing that
strikes me is, that, with the exception of a few, the
people here have no idea, not the remotest, of what sla-
very is. They do not realize it. They have a certain
thing called liberty, which they believe to be right, and
they believe that slavery, in the abstract, is wrong,—
but the idea of the immense practical evil that slavery
inflicts on the country seems never to have affected
them at all. That great evil has been feebly portrayed
in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'; some of its most deplorable
results have been proclaimed by the poet Whittier; but
no tongue has yet been shaped which can truly write on
the hearts of the people, who do not know it and who
have not seen it, lived in its midst, the awful evil of
American slavery;—(applause)—that vast domestic
corruption, which led a noble woman of Virginia to once
say to me, with tears in her eyes, though she had de-
scended from a long line of slaveholding ancestors, 'No,
I never would have you compromise an inch with it!'
(Cheers.) She had seen her children, her nephews,
grow up in this atmosphere of slavery, with the great
power which God has seen fit to make that institu-
tion capable of,—warned out, like a nest of vipers,
by this intense heat,—this great evil, and she would not
have me make terms with it. The evil of it! I would
tell you some things I know, but I cannot—I cannot.
All I can say is, that I have never met a man who had
it so much. (Cheers.) I have never yet met the
heart that throbbeth too strongly against it. I wish to
say, that if those who do think slavery wrong will ex-
amine this question more deeply, they will find that
they do not realize half its enormity. They will become,
not men of one idea, but I think they will have a great
many ideas they never had before. The more they ex-
amine its history, its bearing on social life, the more
they will find out its evil effects; and I do wish that
there was some system by which Southern newspapers
could be spread abroad at the North. I know the 'Re-
fuge 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,
—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 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,
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 there are the men who
represent it this day. (Loud cheers.)
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 real-
ized 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 sla-
very at the South, and how much easier it would be to
do their duty to God and man if there were no slaves
at the South, they will begin to feel whether they are
nobler in the midst of slavery, whether they are really
men and women so long as there are slaves in the land.
I know that men are possible in this world, as well as
reptiles and monsters. I know that there have been

men, and since Christ, who, by the way, was the first
to feel conscious that he had such a manhood; but I do
say, that the mass of people are fundamentally igno-
rant on this subject; that they do not reach their proper
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
testimony 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, be-
cause 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
falls. 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 fran-
kly, 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
ancient churches, has raised up new powers of life, sim-
ply 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 stand-
ing still and waiting the result, whether it be their mar-
tyrdom, 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 Revolu-
tionary 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. SWANEY, Esq., on coming forward remarked
that he had expected to come from that dark corner of
the State which is disgraced by being the residence of CALK
CUSHING. And in that place—Newburyport—multi-
tudes of men are found to apologize for the late dastardly
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 power in the
land,—it was to be found in the present Convention,—
from which the revolution that is to come may be sur-
ely 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,
considering the inclemency of the weather.
The resolutions (17, 18 and 19,) relating to the call-
ing of a Convention of the Free States, for the purpose
of withdrawing from the Union, were read by request.
Rev. Mr. NUTE from Kansas, felt this morning as he
had never felt before, that the Union is so prostituted
to slavery 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 Kan-
sas 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 aus-
pices of the American Unitarian Association, and he
was going again, in a short time, with a pledge from
them, that they would sustain him in his practical al-
legiance to the cause of Freedom there, even though it
led 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 estab-
lishment of liberty in Kansas.
S. S. FOSTER had thought that, at such a crisis as
the present, a new impulse would be given to the cause;
but when he heard Mr. Phillips say on the platform yes-
terday, 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
slaves stricken down, but what has he done? He has
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 au-
dience 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 earnest-
ly, therefore, that the slave can be freed only over
the ruins of the American Union; and the men at Wash-
ington who do not want to get canonized for any free speech
there, ought to leave the company of villains, and come home.
Mr. PHILLIPS asked Mr. Foster if he would have
thanked 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 unexcused good act.
CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said that Gov. Chase might
have rescued Margaret Garner without going outside of
the Union—that he could have constitutionally done it.
Mr. FOSTER said, let Charles Sumner take the highest
ground possible, and he would become the man of

TREASURER'S REPORT	
<i>Of Receipts, from Feb. 20 to May 20, 1856.</i>	
Rec'd from Wm. W. Brown, for his collections :	
At Clappville \$4 20, Sanguis 3 12, S. Danvers	
6, Walpole 2, Fall River 12; from Rich'd	
Plumer, Newburyport, last summer, and	\$84 32
omitted 7	
Rec'd from Prince S. Crowell, E. Dennis, de-	
notation	25 00
Rec'd from A. T. Foss, for his collections :	
From J. Merrill, Davenport, 1; at Danvers	
2 12; Haverhill 4 40, Pepperell 1, from J.	
W. Spalding, Pepperell, to redeem pledge,	
5; at Manchester 8 90, Essex 2 86, Jacob	
Roberts 1, Arr. R. 1, 10; at Fall	
River 8, N. Anovler 1, James Nowell,	
Portsmouth, N. H., 3; Great Falls 6 40,	
Newburyport 5, Richard Plumer 1, Mrs.	
Mary Plumer 1, Miss Mary Plumer 1,	
all at Newburyport, 1; at Hingham 1, Fall	
ber acc't 1, 10	49 06
Rec'd from S. May, Jr. for collections :	
Of Elizabeth H. Porter, Treasurer Reading A. S.	
Society, 10; D. Merritt, 1, A. M. C.	
Chas. Canton, 20; John T. Sargent 3,	85 00
Hiram Wilson, Canada, 1	
Donation from Essex Co. A. S. Society, by hand	5 00
of A. T. Foss, for collections in Aug.	
1855	28 65
Rec'd from Wm. W. Brown, for collections :	
In North Bridgewater 2, Medford, over ex-	
penses, 2 18; Walpole Centre 3 60, E.	
Medway 3 68, Milford, over expenses,	12 60
1 20	
Rec'd from A. T. Foss, for collections in Aug.	
1855	23 65
From David Hinkley, Hyannisport	28 00
Balance of pledge from Abington A. S. Society	
by hand of E. Sprague	67 00
Rec'd from Abby W. Wyman	6 00
Rec'd from S. May, Jr. for collections :	
From Chas. B. McIntire, Reading, to redeem	
pledge, 2; Mrs. Mary May, do. Boston, to	
redeem pledge, 26; Alfred Stone, Salem,	
1; Austin Bearse 6	33 00
SAMUEL PHILBRICK,	
Treasurer Mass. A. S. Society.	
Brookline, May 21, 1856.	
<p>☞ All communications for the undersigned, until further notice, should be sent to Leicester, Mass.</p>	
<p>General Agent Mass. Anti-Slavery Society.</p>	
<p>June 6, 1856.</p>	

F **ANDREW T. FOSS**, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Canterbury, N. H.,	Sunday, June 8.
Hancock, "	" " 15.
Essex, Mass.,	" " 22.
Sheldonville, Mass.,	" " 29.

F **CRIMINAL REFORM.**—**Mr. and Mrs. CHARLES SPEAR** will speak at the Universalist Church in Foxboro', on Sunday next, on the subject of Criminal Reform; also, on the Causes and Prevention of Crime.

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. Spence,
at the American Hall, commencing at half past 7
o'clock.

DIED—In Foxboro', 8th ult., NANCY A., daughter
of Richard Stratton, aged 19 years.
In Marlboro', Mass., 23d ult., WM. HENRY BANNIS-
TER, aged 26.
In this city, 24th ult., WILLIAM BROWN, aged 67.

**AYER'S
PILLS**
Are curing the Sick to an extent never

before known of any Medicine.

INVALIDS, READ AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES.

JULIUS HAUDEL, Esq., the well-known perfumer, of Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, whose choice products are found at almost every retail apothecary.

"I am happy to say for your **CATHARTIC 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 are the only reliable virtues for drying out diseases and curing the sick. They are not only effectual, but safe and pleasant to take—qualities which must make them valued by the public."

The venerable Chancellor WARDLAW, writes from Baltimore, 15th April, 1884, "I am, Sir: I have taken your Pills with great benefit. For indigestion, languor, loss of appetite, and Bilious headache, which has of late years overtaken me in the spring. A few doses 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 cure, 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, —
"P. R. R. Office, Philadelphia, Dec. 13, 1853.
"Sir: I take pleasure in adding my testimony to the efficacy of your medicine."

The widely renowned **S. S. STEVENS, M. D.**, of Westworth, N. H., writes,—"I have used your **CATHARTIC PILLS** in my practice, I testify 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 sure remedy than any other. In all cases where a purgative is needed, I confidently recommend the use of your 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

"*Acton, Me. Nov. 25, 1853.*
 "DR. J. C. AYER. Dear Sir: I have been afflicted from my birth with scurfs in the worst form, and now, after twenty years' trial, and the use of all kinds of suet and ointments, am 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.
 "I never until now have I been free from this loathsome disease. In some shape, at times it attacked my eyes, and made me nearly blind, besides the unendurable pain; at others it settled in the scalp of my head, and destroyed my hair, and has kept me partly bald all my days; sometimes it came out in my face, and

aged thirty and a half years.
 "I have 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.
 "I hope this statement may be the means of conveying information that shall do good to others. I am, with every sentiment of gratitude,
 Yours, &c.,
MARIA RICKER."
 "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., —

"My Pills have cured me from a bilious attack which arose from indigestion, and I have been feeling better than ever. 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 who has been suffering from dyspepsia for months; 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, the brilliant Attorney Lave, which had become very serious, and in this but the neighboring State.

* New Orleans, 5th April, 1854.

"Sir: I have great satisfaction in assuring you that myself

My family have been very much benefited by your medicines. My wife has been cured, and my children have escaped the dangerous cough, by your **CHESTNUT PECTORAL**, and since then have been in perfect health. My children have several times been cured from attacks of the Influenza and Croup by it. It is an invaluable remedy for these complaints. Your **CATHARTIC PILLS** have entirely cured me from a dyspepsia and constipation, 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 other medicine I had taken.

"You seem to be, Doctor, like a Father, and I feel a great blessing to our family, and you may well suppose we are not unmindful of it.

Yours respectfully,
LEAVITT THAYER."

"Dr. J. C. A. B. writes: 'I have been cured of my Catarrh of the Prostate by your agent, and have been cured by them of the dreadful fibrematous under which I found me suffering. The first dose relieved me, and a few subsequent doses have entirely removed the disease. I feel in better health now than for years past, which I attribute entirely to the effects of your CATARRHIC PILLS.'"

Yours with great respect,
LUCIUS B. METCALF.

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 such adulterations.

Prepared by Dr. J. C. AYER,
Practical and Analytical Chemist, Lowell, Mass.

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BREWSTER, STEVENS & CUSHING, } Boston;
BROWN & PRICE, Salem;
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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. WALKUT, 21 Cornhill.
April 18.

