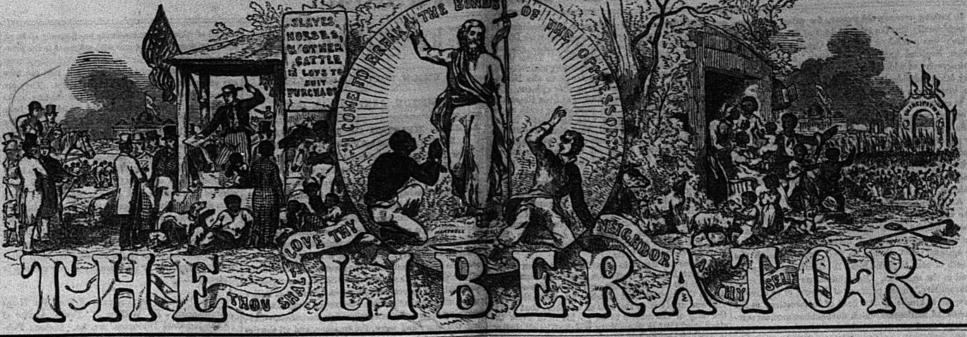
num, in advance. Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN polities, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters plating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

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The following gentlemen constitute the Financal Committee, but are not responsible for any of the DAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PRILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1358

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell.

The free States are the guardians and essen-

tial supports of slavery. We are the juliers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our pathers, in

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

BIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving

of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 3.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1857.

The Liberator.

ANTI-SLAVERY FESTIVAL

ONNENGRATION OF THE TWENTY-PIPTH ANNIVER MAN OF THE FORMATION OF THE MASSACRUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. YERRINTON.

[Concluded.]

At the conclusion of Mr. Andrews' remarks, anothersong was sung by the Hutchinsons, after which the President said

THE PRESIDENT-In England, as you are aware, they have what are called 'Pluralists,'-clergymen baying livings in different parts of the country. We have them in America, also, and one of them is here to-night-a minister who has one parish in Worcester, and another in Kansas. Not only so; they hold different professions as well as different livings; and is proof of my position, I shall call upon my reverend and gallant friend, the Reverend General HIGGINsoy. (Laughter and applause.)

SPEECH OF REV. T. W. HIGGINSON.

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen : I have been among you Non-Resistants before, and I know if you get a sight at even the ghost of a minister, or less than the ghost of a military man, you must have a shot at him. It runs in your blood, sir. What you say reminds me of a flash that will answer your flash, for it came out of the same Quincy gran-I remember, sir, on one occasion, that your brother Josiah, who is as ready to overwhelm an innocent man with his wit as you are, presided at a politjeal entertainment, occupying the same position that you do here to-night. It was about the time when Gen. Cass and Gen. Taylor were running neck and neck for the Presidency, and it was necessary to toast, not only the President that was, but the man who was to be the future President, and it was somewhat difficult to know how to do it. But the President of the evening was perfectly up to a delicate matter like that, and he gave for his toast_' The next President-Since the two great parties of the land both deal in Generals, it is uscless to descend to particulars.' (Laughter.) So, I shall not descend to perticulars on that subject to-night, rejoicing, for the ste of being here, in one reflection, at least, that if

You, sir, have spoken of Kansas, and honor me by giving me an opportunity of referring to that present attle-ground of Freedom. The day I entered Kanas, there were no such tables as are spread here tonight. The time of open markets and well-filled larders was beginning to dawn once again; but in may a house, when I went into that unhappy territory, there was a very simple bill of fare. The people breakfasted on squash and green corn; they dined on green corn and squash; and for supper, they took them both. We smile at it, and they can, too, now it is ever; but if, in the festivals of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth, they always spread the table with all the luxuries that Massachusetts can supply, but place beside each plate six grains of parched corn, in memory of the first banquet of those winter wanderers, we can place the grains of corn of Kansas, if not upon our plates, at least in our memories to-night.

There a living in Worcester, I have not had a dying

in Kansas. (Applause.)

I found a great deal in Kansas, sir. I found a beautiful climate, a fertile soil, stone, coal, timber enough to lay an underground railroad, and, in fact, all the necessaries of life. But I did not go out there eren to see an underground railroad, for I had seen that in Massachusetts, I wanted to see something above the ground. All my life I had been a citizen of a Republic where I had seen my fellow-citizens retreating, and retreating, and retreating, before the Slave Power, and I heard that away off, a thousand miles west, there was one town where men had made their stand, and said to Slavery, 'Thus far, but no farther.' I went the thousand miles to see it, and I saw it. I saw there the American Revolution, and every great Revolution of bygone days, in still living progress. I was tired of reading of Leonidas; I wanted to see him. I was tired of reading of Lafayette; I wanted to see him. I saw in Kansas the history of the past, clothed in living flesh before me. I saw in CHARLES ROBINSON the Puritan soldier,-the Hampden of Cromwell's days; so simple, so modest, so modtrate, so cheerful, so absolutely noble. (Applause.) I saw in Lane Napoleon's Marshals; so brilliant, so daring, so gifted with a heart to inspire enthusiasm; uncrapulous on minor points, egotistical, vain,-Frenchman all over! And if I wanted a genuin varior of the Revolution, where could I find him better than in the old Vermonter, Capt. John Brown, the defeader of Osawattomie, the defender of a little log fort, with twenty-seven men, against two hundred, ending away eighty-two of the two hundred killed and wounded, with only the loss of one man of his own (applause) ;- Old Captain Brown, the Ethan Allen, the Israel Putnam of to-day, who has prayers every morning, and then sallies forth, with seven stalvart sons, wherever duty or danger calls; who swalbes a Missourian whole, and says grace after the mest. (Laughter and applause.)

I saw these men of Kansas, for I went to see them. Was I so ignorant as to imagine that there alone the ight of liberty was being fought?—that there its picked soldiers would be found?—that Kansas was he great heroic soil, and that there was no heroism, no greatness in Massachusetts? I should have stood a vain upon the Anti-Slavery platform, I should have the in vain beneath such teachings, if I had had so the a dream. We admire the men and women of Kansas, and well we may; but girls and boys go to Lines, and are ennobled into heroes by the great cause they sustain. You can make a thousand sol-Gen for Kansas in Boston to-morrow; but Massachuetts and New England have been sifted for twentyfre years to make as many Abolitionists as could subcred upon this platform to-night. It is no great auter to be a Free State man in Kansas; to be setts Abolitionist is a thing to thank God for, all the rest of time and eternity. (Loud cheers.) To my mind, among all the elequence of this evening,

reading somewhere, that one night in the British Parliament, Gladstone, the great Demarara slaveholder, taunted the advocates of emancipation, that they had labored for forty years, and done absolutely nothing, the soil of Kansas and in the streets of Boston, when That night, the bill of emancipation was passed! (Cheers.) There are many who think, even now, hat you have done nothing, after all your long years of conflict, except to make the cause more hopeless. I do not see it so. Yet where are we to look for the signs of hope? I do not see them where most persons do. I do not see them in the progress of public opinion at the South. Ten years ago, there was one antislavery newspaper in the South; there is one now. asked Cassius Clay the reason of the slow progress of anti-slavery there, and he solved it in a sentence. Said he, 'The moment we convert any man in the slave States to Anti-Slavery, what is his first impulse? To move out of the State. And so we never seem to make any progress.' I do not expect, Mr. President, do not dream, of any progress in public opinion in the slave States for years to come, unless this year hould be crammed with insurrections. Are we to ook for it in the courts? The Supreme Court has ust given a decision which is the consummation of its wickedness,-which scarcely future wickedness can exceed,—a decree legalizing slavery, to all intents and purposes, in every free State at the North. I do not ook for this progress in Congress, even. All the power of this Republican House of Representatives, what has it done, compared with the simple courage of the Congress which, in 1848, passed Gott's resoluion abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia and gave seventy-nine votes to Giddings's amendment, giving the slaves in the Territories the right to vote on the question of admission? Are we to look for it even in politics? Many who are here do so Mr. President, I have been in politics a little too long for that hopefulness. You look at the decay and downfall of the Democratic party, you look at the Republican party, and you think, if months have one so much, what will years do? Do you realize. that four years ago, the history of this Administration, as we have seen it, with every result which has flowed from it, was mapped out, predicted, by the very Dembeyond? It is so, at any rate. Four years ago, when hair of his head!' (Loud cheers.) cratic managers in the nation, reported to me immediately afterwards by an eminent witness, now in the Senate of the United States, in which the most influential of these men predicted precisely the condition of public affairs which we have now; predicted that so urely as any Democratic administration should iden tify itself with the South, it would lose every Northrn State, first or last. 'But,' said he, 'what do we care if we do? The South has the power in this naion. We identify ourselves with them. Let every Northern State leave us, if it will; it will have to ome back to us in the end.' And that is what they ook for now. With the power and patronage of the Administration in their hands, with boundless Cenral America in their hopes, they have had it in their lans to lose the Northern States. What care they, emagogues of the North, who expected to go into power under the shadow of Fremont? You will see ing every day. (Applause.) hem stealing back to the Democratic party again, be-

The Republican organization in 1860! Why, HEN-Y Wilson himself,-and surely, there can be no nore careful observer of the prospects of Republicansm,-Henry Wilson himself told me, a year ago ast summer, in the streets of Boston, that if the Republican party failed in the Presidential election, it loo. May we be prepared for it! emed to him that it would fail for ever; 'for,' said he, when we remember what the Slave Power has grown up to be now, give it four years' more contro f the government, and what can we hope to do

Mr. President, 'in the dark and troubled night that upon us, I see but one star of hope; and I thank the Abelitionists of Massachusetts, not alone that they first told the secret of slavery, twenty-five years ago, mother secret, more recently, more daringly, to a (Hon. Francis W. Bind, of Walpole) has flown. nation yet more astonished,-told the secret of antiound there. It is our only hope. I talk with my man has also left us. Republican friends in vain to know whence comes this ondrous change which has altered their whole horithinks there must have been some mistake about that all be glad to hear. I call upon WM. C. NELL. emark; he thinks it must have been his partner who said it, not him. They all have their partners! Their decision, their foresight, their purpose,—why, they are like that old Italian, who, when on his death-bed, was told that he must forgive his enemies, in order to be saved. At first he refused, but finally he wrought nimself up to the resolution that shook his whole pature, and said he, 'If I die, I forgive him; but if I get well, I will shoot him.' That is the resolution of oliticians, even Republican politicians-politicians such as HENRY WILSON, whom WENDELL PHILLIPS has to-night dignified with an adjective to be guardedly used. What said HENRY WILSON of Dis in Congress the other day? When Mr. Foote invited JOHN P. HALE to go South, and be hung on the nearest tree, we shuddered. When HENRY WILSON tells the Disunionists, of the North and of the South, that the Republican party, if it had the power, as it has the will, would give them a traitor's do DELL PHILLIPS says that he occupies a 'noble' posi-lion! Henceforth, Mr. President, do not let the world's people complain of a want of charity in Abolitionists! (Laughter and applause.)

to speak it can echo,—'The cause owes me nothing, but I owe every thing to the cause.' (Applause.)

Mr. President, we meet hereto-night for one glance

we have temporary quiet in Massachusetts. That peace and quiet will be all the more dangerous to us, if they lull us into a dream that they are to be perbackward, and then to step forward. I remember petual. It is one central fire, philosophers say, which now lights the world through the throes of the volcano, and now shakes it in the convulsions of the earthquake. It is one central excitement beneath cannon and armed men are marshalled there. And as they say, that when the volcano is for a moment still, the earthquake recommences, and when the earthquake ceases, the volcano begins afresh, so the quenching of that fire in Kansas may bring home o ourselves the renewal of the excitement here, be cause the fire still exists, and the laws of nature are a guaranty for its revival in terror. I am not satis fied, for one, to see the conflict in Kansas, when we need it nearer home. We need it in Massachusetts, if it must be any where. (Applause.) God forbid that any one should invoke the thunder-stroke! but if we believe that it, and it alone, will purify the atmosphere, we may at least say, 'If it must come, let it come here and now!' If ever again we in Massachusetts are to test the rights of our own citizens, if ever again we are to learn whether our soil is free or not, would to Heaven that the time would come quickly! We are falling asleep, dying, in this sense of temporary security. We are relying upon the Personal Liberty Bill. What is that bill but a statute which protects freedom in practice, and denies it in principle? The Personal Liberty Bill in Massachuetts, noble as it is as a measure, what does it do for the slave? It accumulates between him and his pursuer every legal obstacle that the ingenuity of John A. Andusw can conjure up; but when, by force, or ribery, or cunning, the claimant has penetrated all these defences, Massachusetts stands back powerless at last, and says, 'Take your slave!' Abolitionist do not say that, do they, Mr. President?

> Mr. Quincy-I never heard that they did. (Laugher and applause.)

Mr. Higginson continued-The Abolitionist say Pass your fugitive slave through every jury from Essex to Berkshire; establish the master's title by deed so clear that even the wit of ANDREW cannot find a flaw in it, and when all is said and done, what then ?- the case is just the same as before. We protected the slave, not because he was not a slave, but ocratic politicians who have managed Franklin Pierce's because he was a MAN! (Enthusiastic applause.) But, Administration? Do you know that it has not taken powerless as we may be to save him, we have at least them by surprise, but was a part of their plans,—a the power for this: we will make the streets of Bosthing they had the sense to look forward to, and look ton bristle with her own bayonets, before you touch

the election of Mr. Pierce had just become certain, Mr. President, that is what I call talking freedom in Congress. HENRY WILSON told me that he felt himself in a tight place there. It was when CHARLES SUMNER stood in Faneuil Hall, and told the assembled world (for the world heard that speech) that 'he was a man before he was a Commissioner,' that he touched the chords of a nation's heart, and won us all to him for ever. (Loud applause.) Nothing, nothing that he can say at Washington will ever be more than the echo of that superb speech. (Cheers.) O, sir, if we want to be alive in this world, if we want to meet the demands of the age, and pass on to the next age as worth remembering, we have got to be more than politicians, more than Republicans. We have got to come to the actual facts of our nation's existence, and look Disunion in the face. And, thank God! tens of thousands, if they have not got to that point, are within an inch of it, at most, and that inch is lessen-

I have occupied more than my share of the time cause they will see that with the South is the true of this evening. I thank you for giving me your attention so long. We have come together for one moment,-a rare moment in the life of an Abolitionist,for social enjoyment. 'To-morrow may call us to some work so stern that the joys of this evening will seem years away. To-morrow may make this evening only the 'sound of revelry by night,' before Water-

> One throb of strength, one thrill of hope, From joy to-night we borrow;
> Then forward with the trumpet call,
> To do or die to-morrow!' (Loud applause.)

THE PRESIDENT-It was the custom of the ancients, my friends, to take their augury from birds; and I had hoped that we should, this evening, hear ome notes from one of that order, which might ento the astonished nation, but that they have told courage us in our progress; but I am afraid the Bird I intended to call upon another minister, (Rev. NAslavery, and told it in one word-Disuxion! (Enthu-Thaniel Hall of Dorchester,) a man who stood un iastic applause, long continued.) Mr. President, as one Fourth of July, and prayed EDWARD EVERETT out God is in heaven, our destiny and our duty are to be of countenance. (Applause.) But that eloquent gentle-

We must not go out of this Hall without hearing the voice of at least one colored man. We have had on since election. I talk with a man who said, be- a letter from our distinguished friend WM. W. Brown fore election. If Buchanan is elected, I am with you but we have with us a gentleman who is untiring in senceforward-I am a Disunionist, and I find he his labors in behalf of his race, from whom we shall

SPEECH OF WM. C. NELL.

I will endeavor to show my appreciation of the kind manner in which you have been pleased to announce me, by remembering not to monopolize these olden moments.

It was my happy privilege, sir, in the exercise of boy's curiosity, to be a looker-on through the basement window of the Belknap street church that memrable evening, January 2d, just twenty-five years ago when this Society began to live, move, and have it

In taking a retrospective glance at what has been accomplished since that dark hour to the present, by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, the Liberator, and this glorious ploneer Society, I would fain adopt those familiar ines of the poet-

'Transported with the view, I'am loss In wonder, love and praise.'

I need not attempt, on this occasion, to analyze the why and wherefore of these my emotions, for the must be apparent to this assembly of Freedom's cho-

the one best word that has been uttered was that simple sentence out of the manly heart of Oliver Johnson,—a sentence which every one of us who is worthy to speak it can echo,—The cause owes me nothing, solite, nor even humane; but now, over the entire commanded to 'love our neighbor as ourselves,' in ation, South as well as North, in Church and State, order to secure salvation, and I greatly fear, if that is n highways and byways, as also in the social circle, the requisite, my damnation is sure. (Laughter.) But avery is emphatically the thing thought of, and in the ance ote is simply this. A neighbor of mine, a

Among the instrumentalities contributing to this But, Mr. Chairman, I will not detain the audience. neouraging aspect of the times, I have Mr. Garri- I did not want to stand here after the bold, the stiron's assurance and authority confirming my own exeration of Woman have been signally manifest.

a the Southern prison-house, and the half-free colornd citizens of the North, I tender the anti-slavery that baptism, and accept salvation even on terms so tribute for those labors of love. Like the Homeric other terminates in heaven.

THE PRESIDENT-You know that a good General, when his army is about to retreat, always puts his best oldiers in the rear, in order to cover the retreat. As I am afraid that this army will commence its retreat before a great while, I am sure that they will not conent to go, unless their rear is covered by the veterans PILLSBURY, (applause,) and CHARLES C. BURLEIGH (renewed applause,) will at least let us gaze upon the light of their countenances, and let us hear a few words from their lips. If Mr. Pillsbury is in the Hall, we shall be glad to see him, for we consider him not only 'useful,' but 'ornamental.' (Applause.) SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

I do not quite like the conditions upon which I have been called up. I have long since struck the ord 'retreat' out of my military vocabulary. sides, I do not see the propriety of my being called to this platform at all, on the occasion of the first celepration of the 'Ancient and Honorable Artillery' of movement. I was not a member of the corps at ts formation, although, I trust, the only reason was, hat which a British member of Parliament gave for defect in his constitution-it was only the tatroious crime of being a young man' that prevented w being enlisted in the ranks at its organization. Some reminiscences have been introduced here this

vening, and while I have been listening very earestly and pleasantly to the eloquent remarks which have been made, I have asked myself just where I elieve, so far as I was engaged in the sale of candles, more worthy candle-holder since.

can do or have done for the Anti-Slavery cause, but am sure, when I find myself standing here at this time of night, and that, too, after such eloquence s these walls have echoed to-night, that this Anti-Slavery movement has done something for me. I deration that was worth the cost.

ns of our friend Mr. GARRISON. On looking over here in Boston, our prophet stood up,—without claiming any special inspiration, without boasting that he was 's prophet, or the son of a prophet,'-and prophesied the annexation of Texas, and the atrocities that ollowed, almost in chronological order, down to the rear 1850, and with such unerring exactness, that I niah, there would have been one more canonical book n the Old Testament for Dr. Adams to extract solemn ne mouth of his servant, GARRISON.' (Laughter and

I fear Massachusetts has yet to be somewhat rer he Union. I could see no very good reason for that, when this very night, a fugitive slave, as white as I am, (though that is not saying much,) has had to fly to Canada, that he may find shelter in the mane of the British lion from the bloody beak and terrible talons of the American eagle. I do not think it best yet to spread Massachusetts out over the whole Union, when our friend Phillips counsels a slave, and a shift slave, too, to fly to Canada, in order that he may

mechanic, was down in the State of Maine last win nost instances the prolific theme of discussion.

Another fact, and one no less significant, is the ter, and while there, somebody asked him if Pierce change wrought in public sentiment in its recognition wasn't a pretty fair sort of a man, after all that had been said about him. 'Well,' said he, 'he is a elever tified by complexion and condition. Then the colored fellow enough when you take him there at home, but nan was treated as though his very presence was a when you come to spread him out over the country spell to conjure up the devil with.' Now, through he is most mighty thin.' (Laughter and applause, he precept and example of this Society, he has se- I am greatly in doubt about the expediency of ex ured an audience, and is beginning to be regarded as tending Massachusetts over the whole country quite

rience and observation, that the influence and co- friend, Mr. Higginson. I think myself he has struck the key-note of our movement in the present crisis, ELIZABETH HEYRICK of England, coincidental with and that we may as well make up our minds to the VM. LLOTD GARRISON, first promulgated the idea of sentiment with which Theodore Parker closed his amediate emancipation. The anti-slavery women of letter to-night. I am sure I respond to that senti-America rallied under that banner, consecrating their ment- Peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must! exertions and sacrifices in times of persecution and (Loud cheers.) With him, I think we are unworthy eril-the persevering and complicated taxation of to stand in the old Cradle of Liberty, if we shrink heir mental, moral and industrial powers-upon the even from the baptism of blood, if such be the will of altar of the slave's redemption, active in season and God; and I am not sure but it is, for if there was out of season, always remembering those in bonds as ever a time when we might say, 'There is no remission of sins without the shedding of blood,' we have In behalf of the millions of slaves now greaning reached that time; and if even by seas of blood we can wash out our sins and stains, we may thank God for Vomen the united homage of grateful hearts; a just fearful. I think we had better familiarize our minds to the possibility, at least, that the streets of Boston chain of gold, one end rests upon the earth, and the may yet run with blood. I do not believe that ever yet a nation wandered so far from the true spirit of freedom, justice and humanity, as we have gone, and then returned, without passing through that metaphorical Red Sea to which allusion was made by THE-OPORE PARKER; and though I know that war is a curse always, and probably always a crime too, yet I think we have gone beyond the time to question the right of war, for I expect scenes of violence, just as I of the cause. I trust our two veteran friends, PARKER expect Etna will vomit the blazing bile from her sickening stomach, in obedience to the same law of God which operates upon the human mind as well. And I think if we escape even with blood and battle-the battle where the 'garments shall be rolled in blood, and accompanied with confusion and noise '-that even then, considering how great a loss we have sustained, salvation will be cheap even at such a price as that. (Applause.)

SPRECH OF CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

I will waste none of the few remaining moments in apologizing for standing before you; for surely, if deep interest in the cause, and if the privilege of having given many years' service to it, can give any man a claim to stand here, I may put in that claim.

The friends who have spoken before me have alluded to the fact of their not having been members of this Society at its organization, and have assigned various reasons for it. Mine is not chronological, but geographical, simply; for had I been a citizen of Boston at that time, or had I been so near Boston as to have been able, with the limited means at my command, to transport myself there, you would not have had just was at the organization of this Society, and I find, on the Apostolic number. However, for my absence o ooking back, that although I was not in Boston, I that occasion, I can console myself with the reflection was not very far from it, and I was engaged in the that of the twenty-five years that have passed since pap-boiling and chandlery business,—a very honora- the organization of this Society, twenty-four of them ole and to some lucrative employment, although I have been spent by me in the service of the cause i never found it particularly lucrative. I was thinking if there was not something prophetic in that calling, for excuse me if I feel a little patriarchal on this occasion, n the 'scrubbing' in which I have since engaged, and, standing here in your presence, should ever he article of soap has come into requisition; and I stretch out my hands and pronounce the patriarchal benediction,-to bless you in basket and in store, in never a nation more needed light. (Laughter and your outgoing and your incoming, in your uprising applause.) My only regret is, that I have not been and your down sitting,-to bless you wheresoever you may be, and in whatsoever work the Anti-Slavery I was led to think of these things, because I wanted to find the most honorable connection I could with the Anti-Slavery movement; for I certainly sympathize most fully with the remark of Mr. Johnson, to which allusion has been because I wanted with the Anti-Slavery movement; for I certainly sympathize most fully with the remark of Mr. Johnson, to which allusion has been before made. It is very little ing of the entire sum of his being that is not baptized and saturated with it.

I believe we have come together here to-night, a we have been told by one and another, with only the purpose of a brief cessation of toil and strife, that may nerve us up to yet more earnest efforts in the future of sire immortality for this, if for no other reason, that toil and strife that lies before us. We have all been may sing anthems of gratitude to that movement taught not to despair. The whole history of the past or what it has done for me; for I fear I never should has been teaching us that lesson. After all that has have attained salvation without it, -certainly, no sal- been said to us to-night, it seems as if 'darkness covers the land, and gross darkness the people; ' yet in There is another thing that comes home to me this this day of darkness, there are more than seven thouening. Some allusion has been made to the predic- sand who have not bowed the knee to Baal, and of those who have, there are many who are becoming he old records of this Society, I find that, in 1837, converts to our principles, and taking up the cross of entire consecration to this work of human deliverance We go forward, then, confident in the principles which we have adopted, confident in the measures have employed and are employing to render these prin-ciples effective in their practical application.

We have been told here to-night, that our le was taught us by the very church that now brand us as heretics and infidels, because, true to the lesson that has been taught us, we have refused to keep withexts from—the burden of the word of the Lord, by in the pale of that church, where all hateful and ur the mouth of his servant, Garnison.' (Laughter and applicate). For all these things have come to pass, though the end is not yet. ons we have learned. It is true we have been taught ated and purified before she will be quite worthy of by the clergy the lesson of immediate repentance and the distinction which our friend PHILLIPS referred to the forsaking of air, which we apply to the sin of alahen he said he would spread Massachusetts out over very. It is also true, that the test we apply to slavery whereby we prove it to be a sin, has been taught us by when this very night, a fugitive slave, as white as I the same instructors. They have taught us that all um, (though that is not saying much,) has had to fly men are brothren, all children of one common Father,

It is a plain, straight road, therefore. We have the world's conscience on our side, if we could only get at it. We have the church's conscience on our side, and by and by we shall reach it; and all the more certain are we that we have it, by reason of the fierce denunciations that are visited upon us because we are telling the church's truth in a tone which convinces it that it is not told for show, or sham, that it is not told for the sake of respectability, popularity, or prosperity in business. It is a plain road, and if we travel it, we shall be sure to come to our journey's end. We appeal, then, to the conscience of the world and the hurch, in the full confidence that at last they must and will answer to our appeal. I do not know whether the contest is to be ended in peace or by violence. If it is to end in blood, I suppose I may be permitted, when it comes, at least to accept between two alternaives-between the bloodshed of the enemies and the codshed of the friends of the oppressed; to say, let the liberty of the slave be purchased rather by the blood of his advocates, than by that of his oppressors, Let every man act according to his own conscience in this behalf, while we all determine to go forward in the right, because it is right, still strong in the confidence, that by one method or another, victory must me, success must be attained.

'In the war against oppression, In the battle on the wrong, In the battle on the wrong, When the armies of the Alien Seem unconquerably strong, And the Elect a moment waver Chilled by waning fortune's frost, Mark the word!

All the martyrs of old ages
Have bequeathed that faith to this;
Lifting, through the flames, their beakers
Of imperishable bliss;
Rome and Smithfield and Geneva, Smoking with hell's holocaust,
Shrick the word,
That our hopes, though long deferred,
Are not lost.

The grim courage of our fathers
Fighting backward down the hill,
While their burning homes at Charlestown
Only fired their dauntless will, Speaks from all their lowly tombet
Worn by time and over-mossed,
The same word;
That a victory long deferred
Is not lost.

Freedom's martyr-souls in Kansas,
Well who fought alone their fight,
Till the land's inaugurate Traitor
With her wronged arm crushed their might,
From their blaring homes in Lawrence
Yet shall teach, at Slavery's cost,
The old word,
That their hour is but deferred,
And not lost'

All the accumulated wrongs of the bondman, all for deliverance, and prayers wrung out from almost despairing hearts, that go up from the gloom of the prison-house to that ear which is ever open to the cry of the afflicted and the oppressed, are poured together tonight into the one channel of our movement, and are pearing on this enterprise to its certain triumph. As here is a God in heaven, as there is yet a possibility of justice upon earth, as the Creator of this universe has not given it up to the Evil Spirit of perdition, to be his through all eternity, we are certain to triumph; and whether that triumph come amid the songs of rejoicing, or amid the cries of anguish and the shricks of igony; whether it come floating upon the sparkling urrent of prosperity, or whether it come through ed sea of blood, it shall come with a treasure of blesing more than ample to afford all the cost of its purhase, more than ample to fill us with rejoicing and thanksgiving that we have been chosen as the instruments, even in the smallest measure and the feeblest egree, to help on its triumph. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Rev. Mr. FROTE-NGHAM, of Portland.

SPEECH OF REV. PREDERICK PROTHINGHAM. fr. President :

I left my home, this morning, with no intention, ertainly, of making a speech here to-night. I came here rather because, feeling the great significance of he occasion, I desired to refresh my own soul with the sight of the fathers of this great movement. I felt how great and glorious is this Anti-Slavery struggle, and I wished to place myself in connection with

those who have been its great movers, and therefore

I came here to-night. I am not worthy to speak in this presence. I have aid's word before the public on the matter, and I did not know whether I should dare do so; but now, nince, by God's blessing, strength has been given me to speak, I am prepared to come here and add my word of testimony, and adopt that noble strain of

'I am an Abolitionist, I glory in the name.' [Applause.]

There is but one thing for me to say at this late hour. It is a thing worth thinking of, and bearing way with us. It is this; that whatever else this Anti-Slavery movement has done, it has made us men and women. That is what we want more than any thing else. Not associations, not governments, not laws, but MEN and WOMEN! These, sir, the Anti-Slavery movement has given us; and these, I find. it will give us, wherever it goes. This is the reason, sir, why I rejoice to take my part in it, and be-come, so far as I may, a humble helper in aiding on the cause. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT-I know you will all unite in regretting the absence of our beloved friend ADIN BAL-LOV, whom I intended to call upon at an earlier period of the evening, to whose mild but strong words we hould have been glad to listen. But as he hall, we must submit to be deprived of that priv-

ege and enjoyment.

There is but one other name on my list, and that is in honored name throughout the world. I all the name of CHARRING. [Applause.] We have here a son of the illustrious WILLIAM ELLERY CHARRING, who, I trust, will allow us to see and hear him; af which, the meeting will adjourn with a song by the

SPEECH OF WILLIAM P. CHANNING.

Y feel Mr. President, that the quarter century notch has been so well cut, that very little more re-mains to be said; and yet, I would add one word We are not here to celebrate the passage of twenty five years, but the passage of twenty-five years of ar era; and an era in civilization means this; if means that God has put into some man's or some woman' heart, impulses that shall move mankind. It is God's work, and not man's; and I wish to add that word to what has been said here to-night. God has helped this work on from small beginnings to its present magnitude, and I look to Him for its success. I have no discouragement-I can feel none. I have watched for many years, with more interest than any other subject, the spread of sympathy-the contagion of higher thoughts than those to which men have been ed. We had an instance of this in 1848, when 'Praternity' was added to 'Equality' i France. And I will just add this, as a solution of the question of slavery. It does not seem to me impossible, if a thought of freedom should be commu-nicated to those masses at the South held in bondage, and a very few outbreaks should take place,-I will not contemplate bloodshed, -that the whole value of slavery, as a pecuniary institution, would be at an end. and its whole political power would collapse. It is feeble thing, and it requires but the slightest internal commotion to cause it to subside. I do not believe that Disunion is necessary. I believe it is in God's power to give life to this nation, and to save it. [Ap-

CLOSING REMARKS OF MR. GARRISON.

Our honored and revered friend, FRANCIS JACK son, before leaving the Hall, handed me a sentiwhich he modestly said if I thought well of, I might propose in his behalf. I will do so; and I am sure it will be heartily responded to by all:—

The American Anti-Slavery Society—Founded upon the principles of justice and truth, it aims directly to promote its one distinctive object,—the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. It neither fears nor favors any religious sect or political party; it has no political offices or emoluments to get, and none to give. If its praise is in none of the churches or legislative halls, it is, we are happy to believe, in the hearts of the crushed and outraged bondmen of the South, whose claims to liberty it regards as paramount to Unions, Constitutions, Covenants, or Compromise framed to oppress them. (Applause.)

I wish to read a printed card which I hold in my hand, by way of reminiscence :-

Fifth Anniecrsary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Wednesday, January 25, 1837. [The public meetings, during the day, will be held in the SPA-CIOUS LOFT OVER THE STABLE OF THE MARLBOROUGH HOTEL, and in the evening, in the REPRESENTATIVES' HALL.

The Committee of Arrangements respectfully inform the ladies that ample accommodations have been prepared for them. The loft is spacious, clean, well warmed, and will accommodate, with ease and perfect safety, at least 1000 persons.

To AMOS DRESSER, a citizen of this State, who

was 'Lynched' at Nashville, for the crime of being an Abolitionist, will be present, and during the meet-ings in the afternoon and evening, will give a histo-ry of that affair."

That was at a time when we could get no place in which to hold a meeting in Boston, except a stable From a stable to Fancuil Hall-you see, the world moves! (Applause.)

Pardon me a moment more. On every occasion like this,-and these occasions are very rare,-we should not separate without remembering (next to our beloved and eloquent coadjutor, George Thompson, one who did our cause great service, beyond all expres sion great, during her sojourn here from the old world It was done in Massachusetts, and in the city of Bos ton-directly in the face of the mob of 1835. I al lude to that gifted and heroic woman, HARRIET MAR-TINEAU, of England (applause)-who deliberately and intelligently offered up, on the altar of Humanity, all her literary fame in this country, to make herself one with those who were treated as outcasts, in order that freedom might be vindicated in its darkest hour; and who, although an invalid for many years, has worked in England as scarcely any other person there has worked, to impregnate the British mind with hatred against slavery, and to concentrate the influence of the wise and good for its abolition in America. Be our gratitude proffered to her afresh! (Renewed

Sir, we have been to-night, in apostolic language fools in glorving. Here we are in the majority here Anti-Slavery is in the ascendant. Now, w are to go out into the world, there to find scorn, con tumely, and opposition. There we are in a minority and we need all the faith in God and in the triump of justice that we can exercise to enable us to endur to the end. 'He that endureth to the end shall b saved. May God give us grace so to endure! To him be sil the glory for whatever has been achieved

On motion of Mr. Johnson, it was

Voted, That the Board of Managers of the Massr chusetts Anti-Slavery Society be requested, if the deem it expedient, to publish the proceedings of thi festival in pamphlet form.

Another song was then sung by the Hutchinsons and the company, a few minutes past midnight, sep

The following additional Letters have been re ceived since the Festival :-LETTER PROM REV. MOSES THACHER.

PITCHER, Chenango Co., (N. Y.,) } Jan. 6, 1857.

Your invitation in behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to attend a ' Publie Festival in Faneuil Hall' on the evening of the 2d inst., reached me on the evening of New Year's day. Most sincerely do I thank you and the 'Managers' for your kind remembrance. To have been present on the occasion designated would have afforded me un feigned satisfaction; but the notice came too late fo me to think of attending, even if I had not been pre wented by other imperative duties. Have the good ness to accept this reply as an assurance to all my anti slavery friends in Massachusetts, that my absence from the celebration of the 'twenty-fifth anniversary of the original 'New England Anti-Slavery Society, is not, by any means, because I have grown 'luke warm' in the great and good work to which they are still devoted; but from other providential circum

stances beyond my power to control. God bless the Anti-Slavery enterprise! It is in deed not second to 'the most beneficent and gloriou movement of the nineteenth century'; and of nothin am I more certain than that, as a branch of the gospe of Jesus Christ, its result is to be, the freedom of ou

country and the world from oppression.

No event of former days, in which I had any ager cy, is more vivid in my recollection, than the for mation of the 'New England Anti-Slavery Society. Although one quarter of a century has since clapsed y begin to call me an sold man,' I well re the dark, rainy evening; the obscure part of Boston, to which we tramped through aloppy streets the despised 'African school-house,' in which we convened; the earnest and honest discussion of prin ciples to be adopted as our 'platform,' made up, no rotten timbers and slabs, to answer as a tempor ry raft to convey a political party over the turbic waters of a Presidential canyas, but of materials a seting as the lapse of time and the duration of eteron that eventful evening, to subscribe the Constitution firely, the 'mustard-seed' was then too small to be crushed, and too insignificant to be feared; but in the granches of its 'tree,' both 'clean and unclean birds, and even the foulest political Harpies, are nowfain to lodge, and even build their nests.

Car of the Control

when they can be changed for the better. The truth and right never change; hence their potency and pre-

At the inciplency of your momentous enterprise the whole North and South agreed that the subject of slavery should not be 'agitated.' Now, there seems to almost as universal a determination that it shall be agitated; and, thanks to God, who causeth the wrath of man to praise him, the South are taking the lead in the agitation. No publications were ever more incendiary, in the parlance of despots, or so directly adapted to kindle up the fires of insurrection, as the published sentiments which slaveholders are now scattering, broadcast, over their own plantations. This with many other events equally striking, is a token for good. Our country is now like the ocean, swelling and rocking, and roaring under the fury of the tempest; and no vessel, driven to leeward upon a reef, was ever more certain to be wrecked, than we may be sure that the days of slavery are numbered, and will shortly be finished.

Looking back upon the last quarter of a century is quite natural that a shade of sadness should come over my mind. I know that some-how many I do not know-of the eleven who united with me in first subscribing the Constitution of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, have gone to the resting place of the dead. This affecting truth, as well as my own advancing years, reminds me that my time is short, and the King's business requires haste.' But, it is a matter for devout thanksgiving, that among many of my early co-laborers, the head of ONE, for which a large premium was once offered, is still on his shoulders. and may yet there remain, to witness still greater things during the next twenty-five years, than have

transpired in the quarter of a century just terminated. Accept, gentlemen, the renewed expression of my gratitude for your courtesy and kind remembrance, and believe me, as ever,

Yours, 'to break every yoke,' MOSES THACHER. essrs.
Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
Francis Jackson,
Committee.

(1) This Address was not delivered in the Esse Street Church, (as erroneously stated in our speech at the Festival,) but was written for publication at the request of the Board of Managers. It is extremely gratifying to hear from our early, unwavering, mucl teemed, but long silent coadjutor .- Ed. Lib.

LETTER PROM HON. WILLIAM JAY.

New York, January 10, 1857. DEAR SIR:

I this day received the invitation of the Committe of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to the Festival of the 2d inst. It would not have been in my power to attend had the invitation reached me in time; but I would have embraced the opportunity of time; but I would have embraced the opportunity of been reckoned a success had it been a Festival of any expressing in a letter my admiration of the zeal and of the parties or of any of the sects. The entertain-fidelity exhibited by the members of the Society in ment was abundant and elegant, and the speeches the cause of human freedom, and my own undimin-Ished devotion to the same great and righteous cause a cause in my opinion identified with the present and future happiness of millions, in the life that now is, and in that which is to come.

I remain, dear sir, with great respect, Your obedient servant, W. L. GARRISON, Esq. WILLIAM JAY.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard. ANTI-SLAVERY IN FANEUIL HALL

Our readers will find, in another place, a sketch the Festival held in Boston, in Fancuil Hall, on Friday evening, Jan. 2d, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth Anniversary of the formation of the first Anti-Slavery Society gathered on the principles of Immediate Emancipation. We confess that at the first blush we doubted the fitness of a festive to rejoice and be glad, if not those who have been devoting the best years of their lives to its deliver-ance from its sins and their penalties, by preaching

Starting facts in regard to the insurrection. Rust, owing to the excitement, had adjourned his school that morning.

Tuesday morning I went to Dover, and arrived

lie feeling as to slavery prevailing at that time, so as to understand the magnitude of the change which has since reversed or modified it. The old traditionhas since reversed or modified it. The old tradition operation.

al opposition to slavery had died out, as it seemed, operation.

The substance of the testimony there was, that they were all to rise. Old in the struggle which ended in the Missouri Compromise. Its existence was recognised, if not as a thing right in itself, at least as one for which the South was not responsible, and with which the North had nothing to do. Indeed, the fact of slavery seemed, for the last half of the decade succeeding the Missouri Compromise, to have passed away from the thoughts of men. If it ever recurred to their minds, it was repelled as a hateful idea on which it was of no use to dwell, and which should be passed by and kept out of one's own sight like the personal deformity or defect of a brother or a friend. The slave was utterly forgotten. If any compassion was felt for any of the parties concerned in the institution, it was for the master that all the sympathy was reserved. In those days, a master could lay his hands upon his slave in New York or Boston, and upon his slave in New York or Boston, and him back to bondage with as little molestation

At the old Dover furnace, Charles Napier was to ry him back to bondage with as little molestation in Louisville or Natchez. In the Summer months, as in Louisville or Natchez. In the Summer months, the watering places and the country towns all over New England were tesselated with the black faces of the slaves of Southern visitors, and no man dreamed there was any harm in the relation in which they stood the one to the other. Humane lawyers would volunteer to hunt up the slaves of their Southern friends who had given them the all and the slaves of their Southern friends who had given them the all and the slaves of their Southern for the slaves of their Southern for the slaves of their Southern for the slaves of the slaves of their Southern for the slaves of the slaves

masters were very much to be pitied, was generally allowed. It was even agreed upon by general consent, South as well as North, that it was a 'Great Moral Evil.' But, then, what were the masters to do? They had the wolf by the ears, and they could neither hold him nor let him go. They were not to blame for the relations in which they found themselves by the fortune of inheritance. They were do-

In looking over my old papers, for other purposes, I accidentally find the original draft of the Address (1) which was published with the Constitution of the New England Anti-Slavery Society,' and with the chirography of which I ought to be more familiar than any other individual. The mere preservation of such an instrument is, of itself, of no importance; but it is to me a matter of interest and gratification, that, on a critical review, after the lapse of twenty-five years, I find no occasion to swerve from a single sentiment or principle therein set forth. Men and things change; and we are encouraged to labor for their mutation when they can be changed for the better. The truth of his rights for the benefit of the other was a crime of the deepest dye, at the first flash of light there was as wild confusion among these dormant errors as among spectres and witches when the earliest beam of the sun pierces their unhallowed revels. They were all really routed by the first ray of truth, which exposed all their deformities and absurdities, and it is only in the persistency of desperation, that they still strive to make a darkness in which they may yet tarry for a little.

may yet tarry for a little.

It is hard to figure to oneself a time when only dozen men held to the opinion that every man had a right to the custody of his own body and soul, that it was the highest kind of robbery to wrest this from t was the highest kind of robbery to wrest this from him and apply it to the uses of another, that it was the duty of the master to let go his hold upon the slave, and that it was a duty which, like all duties, it would be safety and blessing to perform. When we see whereunto this thing has grown, how it has been the motive power (in spite of the absurd efforts of blundering managers to conceal the fact) of a great political party which came near getting possession of the nation, how it has even compelled the reluctant notice of the Church, and how it has affected and modified the general sentiment of Northfeeted and modified the general sentiment of ern society, it is hard to make it real to the mind Looking back upon the last quarter of a century, that it was from so very small a seed—the smalles connected with the subject of your kind invitation, it of all seeds—that this upgrowth and outgrowth ha sprung and flourished. The slaveholders saw th sprung and flourished. The slaveholders saw the end from the beginning, and they did their best, and their Northern tools for them, to trample it out of being, but only with the result of giving it a firmer hold of the soil. They knew, with the unerring instinct of tyrants, that darkness, and all the creatures that love and live by it, cannot coexist with the presence of light, and therefore they tried with ineffectual fingers to quench the dawn of the hastening day. Their very desperation proves the immoring day. Their very desperation proves the immor-tal quality of the light from the presence of which they shrink—a desperation which grows desperate, more and more, as they see its radiance beginning to penetrate the remotest corners of the land.

In view of the mighty change which has come over the nation within the last quarter of a century, we think that the Abolitionists of Massachusetts did well in celebrating the Anniversary of the gathering of the Society which first confronted slavery as a sin against God and against man. The slaveholders attribute the altered complexion of these affairs ers attribute the altered complexion of these affairs at the North to the importunate persistency of Abolitionism, and the New England Anti-Slavery Society was the first shape which Abolitionism took unto itself, from which the whole movement, in all its multitudinous forms, has sprung. It was a good thing to do, and it was a good thing well done. The place chosen was doubly fitting for the scene of that commencerative forticity. First, as the Old Condition commemorative festivity—first, as the Old Cradle where Liberty was rocked by the men of Seventy-Five, and then as the one in which the degenerate sons of Thirty-Five strove to strangle her as an acceptable service to slavery. Who would have thought when Harrison Gray Otis and Peleg Sprague were making the roof resound with their cries of Peace! Peace! to wicked slavery, that in about twenty years it would look down on a cheerful company of Abolitionists, met to celebrate their own exulting life, and the defeat and downfall of tha domestic phalanx of their enemies, because they would give them no peace? The floor of Fancui Hall was entirely covered with tables which were en-tirely filled. In point of numbers, it would have of mingled seriousness and gayety, were of the hap piest description. We have never attended an oc-casion of the kind that was so entirely and complete ly successful. There was literally no tedio bestowed upon the audience, which remained patient and eager for more until past midnight. What political party can say as much after four or five hours of speech-making? It was good to be there, and it will be good to remember for a lifetime.

THE LATE PROJECTED NEGRO INSUR RECTION-SIX NEGROES HUNG.

The Canton (Ky.) Dispatch publishes the following extract of a letter, giving an account of the lat projected negro insurre

PEREBOKE December 13 1856

Last Wednesday week, about 12 o'clock, the new came here that the negroes at the furnaces at Stewart the first blush we doubted the fitness of a lestive celebration of any event in the history of the Anti-Slavery Movement, at its present stage. When we considered, as men engaged in such a work as ours I fixed up immediately, and went to Lafayette that should chiefly consider, how much yet remains to night, getting there about half an hour in the night. do, and regarded the state of the country and the The report I found to be false; but the town was in immediate prospects of its affairs, it did not seem to a state of perfect excitement upon the negro quesus as if the time had come for going to the House of Feasting, and there rejoicing over what we had done. But a little reflection changed the current of our engaged in the examination of the negroes. I was ideas, and brought us to what now seems to us a more normal perception of the true relation of things. For who in this land lying in wickedness has a right startling facts in regard to the insurrection. Mr.

devoting the best years of their lives to its deliverance from its sins and their penalties, by preaching anto its inhabitants repentance, and pointing out to them the only way of escape? It is true that a curse rests on those who, having put their hand to the plough of a great reform, look back, leaving it in the furrow, tired of their work and content to be lieve that they have done their possible, or that the work is impossible to be done. But the Lord of the Harvest will never condemn his laborers for resting from their toil for a moment, to look back for the purpose of deriving fresh strength and new hope from the prospect of what progress they have made towards the conquest of that barren soil, that they may thus address themselves with renewed zeal to their task of making it to blossom as the rose.

It is difficult for one whose memory does not run back to the date of the birth of the New England Anti-Slavery Society to comprehend the state of public feeling as to slavery prevailing at that time, so like the state of public feeling as to slavery prevailing at that time, so like the single of the change which are the force were kept entirely separate, and a guard of the change which are the force were not permitted to see those that were not; they were kept entirely separate, and a guard not should be supported as the force which they are the force did the change which they are the force did the state of public feeling as to slavery prevailing at that time, so

stood the one to the other. Humane lawyers would volunteer to hunt up the slaves of their Southern friends who had given them the slip, and no man regarded it except as a regular and proper effort of business or of friendship. The infamy which would be burnt into the memories of the Ingrahams, Kanes, Mortons, Curtises and Lorings, had not yet loomed upon the dim horizon of possibilities.

It was in a day like this, when darkness covered the land and thick darkness the people, that the morning star of a great principle dimly heralded the coming of the perfect day of liberty. The idea was a new one, and, like all new ideas, the prevalence of which it is instinctively perceived will produce great social changes, it was despised and rejected of men. That slavery was an uncomfortable affair, that the masters were very much to be pitied, was generally allowed. It was even agreed upon by general consent, South as well as North, that it was a 'Great All the negro preachers and active members of the

future companions.

All the negro preachers and active members of the church, where the affair has been investigated, are found to be the most efficient and zealous ones in the insurrection. It has been found so in Stewart county, about La Fayette, Hopkinsville, and rumor says the same of Clarksville and other places.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, JANUARY 16, 1857.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHU-SETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Mar

SACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in Boston, on Thursday and FRIDAY, Jan. 29th and 30th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., each day, and holding morning, afternoon and evening sessions.

The result of the late Presidential struggle, though indicative of a growing unity of sentiment and pur-pose, in all the Free States, to resist the further ex-

nsion of slavery, shows that a mighty work yet remains to be accomplished to divorce the North from all complicity with slavery at the South, in a religious political, and governmental sense. Surely, at a tim when the slave oligarchy were never more active is carrying their nefarious designs into execution,-having the army and navy, the treasury, and all the departments of the national government at their control with a strong majority in both houses of Congress or their side,-it is not for the friends of freedom to take their repose because so many cheering victories have been won since the great struggle commenced but rather a time to be more determined and self-sac rifleing, forgetting the things that are behind, and ing onward to the goal of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPA s, that ours may indeed be ' the land of the fre and the home of the brave,' and no longer cursed and disgraced by the most hideous form of despot ism now existing on earth. A large and general attendance of the friends

the Anti-Slavery cause is urgently invited. On behalf of the Board of Managers, FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLOUT, Sec.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

NEIGHBOR JACKWOOD. By Paul Crayton, Author of 'Father Brighthopes,' 'Martin Merrivale,' &c. &c. Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1857. We have already noticed this work in comme

datory terms, upon the strength of a somewhat cursory examination of it, but having since given it a careful and thorough perusal, we desire to call the attention to it of all whose sympathies are roused in behalf of the fettered slave on the Southern plantation, and of the fugitive hunted like a wild beast here on our Northera soil. The motto placed on its title-page is most significant of its import- A certain woman went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves'the heroine, in this instance, being a young, beautiful female slave, named Camille by the father, who was a French merchant at New Orleans,-her mother also being very beautiful, with scarcely any trace of African blood in her veins. Camille makes her escape to the North in the disguise of an old woman, and first obtains shelter and succor in the old, weather-worn farm-house of Abimelech Jackwood, in Vermont, who proves to her a true friend to the last, and whose character, and that of his wife and children, and the old grandmother, is drawn to the life, with all their Yankee peculiarities. Some time elapses before her real character, as a fugitive, is made known, as she was supposed to be an unfortunate white girl, whose case was indeed mysterious, but not by any possibility having any thing to do with a state of slavery. How she was discovered-hunted-captured-and, finally, rescued, and what sufferings and sorrows she had to encounter even on New England soil, the reader must learn from a perusal of the work itself-a work of thrilling interest and great descriptive power, and not only possible, but probable, in every scene described and every statement made, for it has been transcended in is not open to the charge of exaggeration in any par-North'-all in consequence of the agreement in that the people of the North, who are the great consun to the pursuit and capture of the fugitive slave over our hills and through our valleys, in every town and ture. In this case, Camille was not set free by Northern courage, or generosity, or advoitness; nothing 'application' should have been made, at the close of possesses all the rich qualities of rice or other grain the volume, to the consciences of the people of the been timely.

Some extracts from this remarkable work, which we have marked for insertion, will be given hereafter.

INDEPENDENT CLASS-READER. Gleanings from Diintended for Public or Private Schools and Acadeington Street. 1857.

character-compiled, we understand, by a lady of cultivated within the territory of the United State taste, wealth, and philanthropic character, in one of to an extent equal to that of Indian corn, say, 25,000, our cities in this State. Its selections, both in prose 000 acres per annum; and estimating the averag and poetry, (upwards of two hundred,) evince excellent literary discrimination, moral elevation of sen- the yearly amount produced would be 50,000,000 timent, and an all-pervading spirit of humanity. They tons, which, to keep within bounds, would be worth have been culled from such writers as Milton, Addi- at least \$500,000,000, besides the profit derived from son, Pope, Goldsmith, Blair, Cowper, Burns, Bar- the animals in milk, flesh, labor, and wool. Far bauld, Hemans, Eliza Cook, Wordsworth, Chalmers, mers-men of enterprise-lovers of cheap sugar-Sydney Smith, Jonathan Dymond, Heber, Bowring, Nicoll, Howitt, Channing, Whittier, Bryant, Longfellow, and a multitude of others. The design of the work, however, is not so much with reference to its literary merits as to its reformatory character, especially touching the Anti-Slavery and Peace movements which are excluded from every Class-Reader now used generally in the schools. The author frankly says in

'The chief peculiarity of this book, and perhaps its best feature, is the stand it takes for Anti-Slavery principles, having the honor to be in this nineteenth century the only Class-Reader published in free New England which admits a single page on this forbidden subject—the only school-book from which every line referring to the troublesome question has not been carefully crased within the last few years, for the allprevailing reason that the most careful reference to the principles of freedom has been found to injure their sale and limit their circulation in our public schools; and to meet this delicate taste, all such offendschools; and to meet this delicate taste, all such offending matter has been sifted out. We are assured this
characteristic of our selection may ruin the Independent Reader; but we venture to throw it upon the
winds of heaven, believing the day will yet come
when freedom of thought and of speech will be granted to the citizens of this great Republic, and when
our children may safely be permitted and taught to
breathe a prayer for the emancipation of the slave."

On looking at the pieces, referring to the slavery question, we find they do not exceed eleven in num-

ber, all of which are exceedingly brief, nearly all in an ecdotal form, and not one with reference to the present anti-slavery struggle; so that morbid indeed must be the mind, and incurably pro-slavery, that can take any exception to the work on this account. They are just such pieces as used to be in all the reading-books in the days of our boyhood, and which have been gradually excluded from them all by the growing ervility of the North to the impious exactions of the Slave Power. So great, however, has been the change srought in Northern sentiment and feeling, on this abject, within the last few years, through the indefatigable labors of the Abolitionists, that the com piler of this work might have safely made it much nore distinctively anti-slavery than it really is, even with reference to its sale and adoption. As it is, we hail its publication, trusting that the day is not far distant when 'strong meat' may be substituted for 'milk,' and the cause of the enslaved espoused without pecuniary risk, or the necessity of any apology or

PARLOR DRAMAS; or, Dramatic Scenes, for Home Amusement, By William B. Fowle, Author of 'The Hundred Dialogues,' &c. &c. Boston: Published by Morris Cotton, 1857.

Mr. Fowle says, that the success which attended the publication of his 'Hundred Original Dialogues for Schools' has induced him to prepare the present work, in which are pieces of greater length and va riety of representation, to be used at family parties, or at exhibitions in our higher seminaries. There are fifteen pieces in all :-- 1. Woman's Rights. 2. Country Cousins. 3. The Will. 4. The Fugitive Slave. 5. The Pedant. 6. Love at Sight. 7. William Tell. 8. The Counterplot. 9. The Well of St. Keyne. 10. The Oddity. 11. The Tables Turned. 12. The Double Ghost. 13. The Tea Party. 14. The Tear. 15. The Jesuit in America. As a whole, the work is very entertaining, and well adapted to promote do mestic amusement of an innocent and instructive character; but the piece on 'Woman's Rights' i such a fly in this pot of ointment as to tempt us to throw the whole away with disgust. If it was designed as a representation of the Woman's Rights movement-its claims, purposes, tendencies and results-it is a very silly caricature, for which there i no excuse. If the author had no such design, we cannot discern what was his object, as the piece is a destitute of wit as it is of sense. We hope to see it excluded from another edition of the work, should such an edition be published; because its effect must be, in the present prejudiced state of public sentiment to excite and perpetuate a senseless opposition to one of the most important, far-reaching and sublime move ments for the elevation of the human race, to which time has yet given birth. [Read the speech of WEN-DELL PHILLIPS, on this subject, on our last page. The pieces entitled 'The Fugitive Slave,' and Tables Turned,' show that Mr. Fowle's head and heart are on the right side in the great struggle to procure freedom for the enslaved in our land; and that he has allowed no mercenary motive, in relation to the circulation of his ' Parlor Drames' at the South to suppress his humane feelings for a race that i peeled, meted out, and trodden under foot.' Fo this, he deserves high commendation and liberal pa-

THE CHINESE SUGAR CANE; its History, Mode of Culture, Manufacture of the Sugar, &c. With reports of its success in different portions of the United States, and letters from distinguished men Written and compiled by James F. C. Hyde, o Walnut Grove Nursery, Newton Centre, Mass Boston: Published by John P. Jewett & Co. 1857. Though the length of the title might seem to in

dicate a voluminous work, it represents only a nea pamphlet of 106 pages, very carefully prepared, and embodying all the information that could be obtained on the subject. The object of it is to supply the pub lie with accurate knowledge concerning this new and experience by many a fugitive from the South, and so valuable plant, the Chinese Sugar-Cane. It was attended with some difficulties, owing to the fact of th ticular. We wish it could find a place in every fami- recent introduction of the plant, and, consequently ly at the North, that the great revolution in public the short time there has been to try experiments with sentiment, which is all too slowly going on, might be it. Now that the price of sugar has doubled within hastened to the eternal overthrow of the system of the last three or four years, making that necessity of slavery, or, at least, the divorce of the North from all every household a very dear one as to cost,-and parcomplicity with the Southern men-stealers. The ter- ticularly in view of the outrageous monopoly which rible scenes so vividly described in its pages are liable is enjoyed by the sugar-planters at the South, by which to take place at any time in the miscalled 'free a tax of millions of dollars is unjustly wrung out of covenant with death, the United States Constitution, ers of sugar in our land, -it becomes a matter of personal and universal concern to see if there be no some other mode of obtaining an article so indispen village, in the crowded city and in the solitary wilder- sable, and at a much more reasonable rate. The fact ness, wherever the slave-hunters may choose to ven- respecting the Chinese Sugar-Cane, and the experi ments made with it in different parts of the country contained in this pamphlet, are of a most interesting saved her from being sent back to the hell of horrors and encouraging nature, and cannot fail to stimulate from which she had fied but the ransom paid to her to further experiments. Mr. Hyde has succeeded in owner, by one to whom she had given herself in manufacturing from it molasses equal to the best wedlock; and who is the hero of the story, if 'Neigh- syrup, of a light brown color and an excellent flavor bor Jackwood' may not fairly claim to be such. An He says that the seed which it yields so profusel North, in thus allowing their soil to be made slave seem to be almost worth growing for that alone, a hunting-ground; but, perhaps, the author thought it yields from twenty-five to fifty bushels per acre the story itself would be the sternest rebuke that could He recommends its trial as a green crop for soiling, be given, and needed no 'improvement.' This will or for curing, for winter food for cattle: as he think be so in some cases; but the deliverance of the fugi- it will prove far superior to any and all crops that tive may serve to quiet the minds of readers general- are now grown for that purpose. Horses, cows and ly, in that direction, and, therefore, a direct call to swine eat the stalks with the greatest avidity, ever have that part of the covenant annulled would have like shelled corn. It seems to adapt itself to all the vicissitudes of our varied climate and soil, and with facility unsurpassed by corn or wheat. The stalks when nearly mature, are filled with a rich saccharin juice, which may be converted into sugar, syrup, alcohol, or beer, or may be used for dyeing wool or silk vers Fields. A First and Second Class Book, a permanent red or pink. D. J. Brown, Esq., of the Patent Office, Washington, D. C., who introduced it mies. Boston: James Robinson & Co., 119 Wash- into this country, says in his late report- Without wishing to present the subject in an extravagant light We are greatly rejoiced to see a work of this it may be stated that this crop is susceptible of being

> hopeful and remunerative labor opened before you THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC, for 1857, besides the usual astronomical calculations and calendars, contains a large amount of valuable information respecting Kansas, Nicaragua, the condition of Europe, the Ordinance of 1784, &c., together with the several Party Platforms, the Election Returns from all the States in the Union, carefully compiled and compared with former elections, an account of the remarkable contest for Speaker of the 34th Congress, a list of member of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives, classified and duration of office, a list of States, Capitals, Governors, (with their salaries,) times of Legisative meetings, holding of elections, &c., statistics of Banking in the United States, population of the United States, &c. &c. Sold at 124 cents single-\$1 per dozen-or \$7 per hundred. 'Cheap enough' for the poorest, and useful many times over its cost for ref-

procure this pamphlet, and behold a vast field of

ELETON, (in THE LIBERATOR of Jan. 2d,) sixth line, ead, one by one the bonds are strengthened that

TLE's discourse, at Bangor, on our last page.

ABOLITIONISTS AND THE CHURCH . If the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall is A correspondent of last week's Christian Watchns. and Reflector wonders if the time is ever coming wise

and Resector woulders it the time is ever coming when anti-slavery agents will cease their constant bannar ing against the Church. We assure him that the will discontinue that unpleasant labor with the grut. est alacrity as soon as the Church becomes suffi est anacray as soon as the present pro-slavery position It is true that the Church is very unpromising ser requiring hard labor, incessant watchfulness and is requiring nard rates, incomme waterings and endurance on the part of him who labors for its version. It is hard and stony ground, abounding in thorns, and seeming to have little deepness of The confirmed churchling is a harder subject for the preacher of righteousness than even the confirma worldling. His vices are of a kind more searing to indurating to the conscience than those even of the thoughtless, self-indulgent trifler. When you have once aroused the latter to serious reflection, he may be further guided towards the true practical use such reflection, a turning away from wrong and to wards right; but the same effort with a hardened church-member is apt to do nothing more than set his moving again in the old grooves of cant and formal ism. As soon as he has begun to confess himself (through the nose) 'a miserable sinner, the charge of moving him to any practically useful purpose is gone for that time.

It is gone for that time. But constant dropping wears away stones, even church stones, and we propose to persevere in the self to the idea of hearing these calls to the Church to repent, until she doe r pent; and furthermore, until she is converted; and yet again, until she brings forth fruits meet for repentance. If he wishes this painful process that ened, let him use his influence to more the Buris church to begin to do, if not her duty, at least something towards her duty in the great Christian work of breaking every yoke and letting the oppressed go free. If he shrinks, as a churchling may natural ly be expected to do, from preaching the whole truth, and calling for immediate abandonment of all sin, let him try the work of removing obstacles, and preparing the way of the Lord in that desert region. For instance: it is not to be expected that Biron Stov's church in Rowe street should interest themselves much about black slaves, while they cherish the principle of 'caste' so strongly as to forbid even blad freemen to buy pews in their meeting-house. Let him urge them to remove this stumbling block, and if least take their church out of the Buddhist conmunion, whether they can bring it into the Christian communion or not. Let him speak to the deacons or to some of the most pious brethren, if he deems them more accessible to truth than others. Let him so to one of their conference meetings, and make this subject first 'a matter of prayer,' and then 'a matter of exhortation.' Let him call upon the Rev. Baron Stow himself, and urge him to preach upon this subject at his next 'preparatory lecture'; lay before him, if necessary, the evidence that the colored people have souls to be saved; and suggest to him the advantage (if he really wishes to call sinners to repentance) of expunging from his pow-deeds that clause which restricts the ownership of pews to 'respectable white persons,' and even of not shrinking from the extreme radicalism of saying, 'Whosoever will, let him come and hear the gospel preached in Rowe street church."

But, to return to our Baptist friend's complaint about abolition lecturers, it is somewhat unreasonable to require them to stop hammering at the Church just as they have begun to make an impression upon it. It is not the wont of faithful preachers to cesse from their labors just when they see the first evidence of conviction of sin in their hearers. And just this state is now beginning to manifest itself in the Church and its representatives. They are irresstilly conpelled to some change of position. They more as slowly and as slightly as possible, but more they must, unless they would see the community, whom they wish to lead, and to have the credit of leading, push forward and leave them in the rear. With all sorts of evasion, tergiversation and equivocation, and with frequent recantations and self-contradictions to preserve the reputation of the Church, (its character is to them a matter of secondary consequence,) they are yet compelled to admit that the Church has been she must bestir herself to overtake the much-abused world, to whom she has been pretending to be a leader, a guide, and a light.

The evidence of this is abundant in books and religious newspapers (so called.) Albert Barres, in his book, lately published, called 'THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY, declares :

· If it be a fact that slaveholders desire from the church words of apology-if they with the counte-nance of ministers of religion to sustain them-if they prefer not to investigate the Bible for themselves, from the apprehension that they would not find its spirit as favorable to slavery as they would desire, and would therefore prefer to rely on professed expositors of the Bible rather than on their own judgment, and if they would wish for a class of newspapers [the connection shows that he means religious newspapers to defent their institutions, and to brand all efforts to abous slavery as fanaticism, and to suppress all discussion of the subject in ecclesiastical bodies,—it does not appear how they could adjust matters more to their own sa-isfaction than by the present arrangement. pp. 31-2.

In relation to the higher position of 'the world' on this subject, Mr. Barnes admits-

There is a deep and growing conviction in the minds of the mass of mankind, that slavery vislats great laws of our nature. . . There is nothing on which the sentiments of men outside of the coming to be more harmonious than in regard to the essential evil of slavery; there is nothing to which the course of things in the world, UNDER THE PROMPTED OF RUMANITY, is more certainly tending, in all land, than to the conviction that slavery is essentially en and wrong.' pp. 33-4.

Again Mr. Barnes says, pp. 154-6, 'That the subject [of abolition] will be discussed and agitated in the churches, I think to be clear, far

these reasons:—
1. The spirit of the age is against slaver. The world is against it. '2. There are men in all the churches who will not always be silent on the subject. • • Nothing case more certain than that the porer of public sessions will be so great as to constrain these bodies to sent this as a proper subject of discussion in their constitutions.

Again he says, pp. 164-8:-One other thing should be done. The churches should detach themselves from all connection with slavery. • • In accordance with existing laws in the churches, or by such modifications as the age requires, it may be done in each denomina-tion in such a way that there shall be no violence, and

that no man's rights shall be invaded. And yet again, p. 168, he says, The spirit of the age demands it; the religion which is professed in this land will ultimately secure it; the spirit of our civil institutions will make the or-tain in the church; the oneard progress of liberty many the nations WILL COMPEL THE CHURCHES, if they will save the manual competer the church of the pro-

save the world from insidelity, to detach themsel One good turn deserves another. If the world conpels the church to quit its infamous and ruinous poslavery position, the least the church can do, in common gratitude, is to save the world from infidelity if it knows how.

Dr. Albert Bannes makes the above admission compelled, as he says the Church is, by the spirit of the age. To be sure, he contradicts himself. makes statements opposite to these, in a dozen place, and shows himself, throughout the book, as unscripulous in defending his Church as any lawyer ever an in defending his client. But it must be admitted this his case is a hard one. It must be humiliating indeed for a representative of that which calls itself the salt of the earth and the light of the world, to confess itself more corrupt than that earth, and darker than

DOWNFALL OF THE AMERICAN UNION. Toleno, Dec. 20, 1856.

I am here at the station, awaiting a train to take was my way. I will improve the time to say a and about two Conventions I have recently attended ne in Angola, Indiana, the other in Adrian, Michgit. At both of these Conventions, the following dutions touching the dissolution of the American Paisa, and the formation of a Northern, non-slavebiling Confederacy, were presented, and thoroughly ed earnestly discussed :-

Resolved, That the American Union has, as might have been expected from its very nature, proved a mi and total failure, having from its inception to the present day defended, sustained and propagated slaery, and been the deadliest foe of liberty; and has eretly tended to the moral and social degradation mi ruin of the American people.

Resolved, That as the present American governnest has not only failed to 'establish justice and to source the blessings of liberty, but has been a great all positive curse and calamity to the American people and the human race, it is the right and the duty of the people at once to alter, or for ever to abolish, that

Resolved. That the people of the non-slave States se it to themselves, to their posterity, and to justice and humanity, to call town, county and State Contentions to consider the expediency and duty of forming a Northern Republic, on the principle of No

The above resolutions, in substance, have been presated and discussed at most of the Conventions which I have attended the past five years. They contin the only vital issue which the non-slave States tan make in regard to the present Union. To libers instice and humanity, this Union has been evil, and only evil, -a curse, without one redeeming act. has been ablessing only to slavery. 'The preseration, propagation and perpetuation of slavery,' say John Oniney Adams, 'is made the vital and animating spirit of the National Government. It is infected with the gangrene of slavery, which no waters can erer wash away.' Those parents can have no true stelligent regard for the moral and social developnest and happiness of their offspring, who shall be willing to leave them as their legacy the present lalapping Union. A Northern non-slaveholding Republic is the political hope for liberty. Slavery en sever be reached, except for its 'preservation, propagation and perpetuation,' by the present nation-

Such a revolution in the political world would be who live in it. At once it would open the way for a fall discussion of the true nature and ends of governmotal organizations. Are human governments of God of of man? The natural right of each and eveyperson to tell each and every other what they shall and shall not do, and to kill the disobedient. Do we hold life at the will and discretion of each and every human being? Is any soul bound by any authority in the universe outside of itself? Can a State withdraw from the Union? Has the minority a right to withdraw from all governmental compacts? Has an individual a right to withdraw, at his pleasure, from all coclesiastical and governmental combinations Such questions must come up for general discussion is the impending revolution that must result from the sational attempt to reconcile liberty and slavery.

The authority of the individual soul es, the author my of ecclesiastical and governmental organizations. This has been the real conflict in all ages. It is the sole and single issue that now agitates Europe and America. Whose authority is final-that of the govemment, or that of the individual? Are the enactments and decrees of Church and State, of priests and politicians, of higher authority than the convictions of the individual soul? This has been the one teep, earnest, conflict of all ages and nations.

No government, no religion, no theology, no God, can exist, that does not practically recognize and revtrence this fundamental law of human existencethe supremacy of man over his incidents! Governments, unious, organizations, books, creeds, and all institutions, for man, not man for institutions! The sul of each human being before and above all commations and organizations! Down with all relifrees, governments and gods that cannot exist withat the sacrifice of man ! Instead of merging the in-Evidual in the organization, all organizations should be merged in each individual soul. Let the public mind once become alive to the formation of a new and non-slaveholding Republic, and this only basis of peace and order, the supremacy of man over his inredeats, would receive a great share of public atten-

be held at Worcester as a harbinger of good. The hour and the men are come to discuss the expediency and duty of a Northern, non-slaveholding Republic. The following resolutions were also discussed as

the above-named Conventions :-Resolved, That to arraign and try a man, before tay tribunal, on the issue, Is he a man or a beast, reman or a slave? is a violation of the fundamental law of our State and National Governments, and an wirage upon every principle of justice and humanity. Resolved, That it'is the right and duty of the nondare States to protect all persons living on their respective territories from all arrests and trials on such unnatural and inhuman issue, inasmuch as it is the very madness of folly and the climax of injustice to declare that all men are created free, and with an nalienable right to liberty, and then to seize and try, or allow them to be seized and tried, on the issue,

Are they born free men or chattels? Resolved, That we will use our efforts to procure the passage of such laws, by the non-slave States, as shall be necessary to protect all who live under their prisdiction from all arrests and trials, before any tribunal, on an issue so inhuman and atrocious, so in-

raiting to God, and so degrading to man. Eleven of the Northern States are now in the

LETTER FROM MISS O. F. PUTNAM. hands of the Republicans. These men, who boast that they are the only efficient practical political Anti-Slavery party, can now show their faith by their DEAR MR. GARRISON: Union Springs, N. Y., Dec. 29, 1856. This winter's travels bring us to the hospitable works. The struggle on the national arena is ended

for four years, and, by their consent, slavery is to hearthstones that have always given glad welcome to

ers. Is the monied power of the nation prepared for

The last national party is in its death struggle.

The last national election is past. James Buchanan

is the last national President. So let it be! is the

earnest prayer of every intelligent friend of humani-

ty. The downfall of this slaveholding Republic will

bring joy to all that is just and good in the universe.

LETTER FROM AARON M. POWELL.

ventions in this State arranged for Mr. and Miss Re-

sions, to defray expenses, we had good sized, intelli-

the papers were obtained.

SARAH P. REMOND and SUSAN B. ANTHONY ad-

tion to our motto of 'No Union with Slaveholders';

but claimed for that party much of the anti-slavery

character which its more prominent members, and its leaders at Washington, Albany, in Wall street, and

elsewhere, have ever repudiated, and continue to

Subsequently, it fell to my lot to examine at con-

siderable length the religious phase of the question,

which he is surrounded, whether it be on the side of

course pursued by the minister.

The conduct of the pastor appears in painful con-

trast with the generous and honorable bearing of the

Trustees of the church towards us. For their kind-

ness and liberality, we would make due acknowledg-

Among the friends to whom we are indebted for

liberal hospitality and efficient cooperation are Mr.

and Mrs. H. LITTLEFIELD, Mr. EDWARDS and family,

Mr. and Mrs. Ames, Mr. and Mrs. STEPHENS, and Mr.

as an extensive and very valuable water power,

which is owned, to a great extent, I am informed, by

Oswego City Library, founded by Mr. Smith. The

building has a pleasing exterior, and contains, I am

told, a very valuable collection of books. It will long

stand as a monument and a representative of the gen-

Our prospects seem fair for a good series of Con-

Yours, very sincerely,

RE-ELECTION OF CHARLES SUMNER.

The two branches have united in re-electing Hon.

votes in opposition. Let the slave oligarchy 'learn, mark, and inwardly digest' this vote!

AARON M. POWELL.

and Mrs. TAYLOR.

erosity of its noble founder.

ventions in Central New York.

God or the devil, the right or the wrong.

and other churches, of the Bible, Missionary

houghtful portion of the audience.

ROME, (Oneida Co.) N. Y., Jan. 10, 1857.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

Percha party are in a bad fix !

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

rule the nation and extend its power wherever it Abolitionists. shall deem best. During the coming four years, the Republicans could, if they would, put each of these States in a position to defend all who live under their wood's, in Scipio. The little village has no church jurisdiction—to place them beyond the reach of the kidnapper, even though the kidnapper were the President of the United States, in person or by his proxies. I believe three fourths of the people of New Emily Howland took me to call upon a family of England, and of Michigan and Wisconsin, would, at fugitives. On entering the house, I was struck with this moment, rejoice to see their respective States placed in a position of open defiance to the General Government in regard to the arrest and trial of fugi-

tive slaves. Few individuals of those States dare to roasted chickens, and other dishes suitable for the o throw obstacles in the way of the fugitive—to refuse casion. The father seemed of the hopeful, good him aid in his efforts to be free, or to assist in arrest-feeling African temperament, while the mother, ing him. If the Republicans do not use their power quiet, sensitive woman, has suffered untold apprehen to rescue the States from the crime and guilt of being sion that their sweet dream of freedom might be rude accessories to kidnapping, they will merit the scorn ly broken in upon by Fugitive Slave Law minions and execration of every friend of humanity. They and all be seized and plunged back into the unuttecan reach slavery through State action, but never rable horrors of slavery. Once their alarm rose to through the National Government. through the National Government.

By the way, the Democrats of the West feel that their victory will be their certain overthrow. If they bring in Kansas as a slave State, the entire North they now live in a snug little house built with their will disown the party, as they have the Whigs. If they bring it in as a free State, the South will cast them overboard. If they compromise, and give Kansas to the North, for a time, and Cuba to the South, as a permanent possession, then the North and the na-tion will be convulsed by a war with European pow-arms of its eldest sister, while the mother was intenfamily. A little baby, a few weeks old, was in the on the arrangements for the supper. The neat and such an issue to sustain slavery? It will cost them dear. It won't pay. The Border-Ruffian, Gutta- all, the sacred endearments of the family relation, touched my heart with the effect of a sweet and eloquent picture.

Mr. Howland sent us forward in his carriage this pretty town on the banks of Cayuga Lake, an which commands a fine prospect, even in this bare and wintry mood of Nature.

Miss Holler spoke twice here yesterday, to multitude who were pleased to acknowledge their interest by grateful looks and a liberal donation to the Anti-Slavery cause. We are most kindly entertained by Mr. and Mrs. David Thomas and Mr. and Mrs. Laban Hoskins. Mr. Thomas is an octogena-We have just held a very successful Convention at rian, and served under an appointment from Govern Oswego, N. Y., -the first of a second series of Con- Clinton as Engineer on the Grand Eric Canal. colored lad coming into the parlor on some househol MOND, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and myself. The Conven-errand was addressed as 'Palfrey.' As he left the tion was held in a Methodist church, commencing on room, Mr. Thomas told us his story. He is one o Tuesday, January 6th, and continuing through that the slaves liberated by Hon. John G. Palprey, into and the two following days, with afternoon and eve- whose hands they fell from a paternal estate in one of the South-western States. An Abolitionist of this - Edwards was chosen President, and region, to whom Mr. Palfrey wrote for the purpose was assisted temporarily by Messrs. Cooper and Clark. found places for a mother and her six children, this With an admission fee of ten cents to the evening ses- boy, I believe, being the youngest. He was five years old when he came to live with Mr. Thomas, and i gent and interested audiences. I have seldom attended a Convention in which the discussion of our tion, and it was Mr. Palfrey's design to have purchastered audiences. most ultra and radical propositions has been listened ed him, that they could be an entire family in free to with more apparent interest, or more warmly re- dom; but the slaveholders were so enraged at his in sponded to by the majority of the most intelligent and tentions of emancipation, that the master refused all terms with Mr. Palfrey. So fiendishly does slavery The contributions to our treasury amounted to mock at human happiness! Mr. P. has taken a live something over \$50.00, and several subscribers for ly interest in the welfare of these people, and one came on to visit them. He had seen all but this boy when he was taken too ill to come here. But h dressed the Convention during its several sessions, wrote Palfrey a very friendly and excellent letter doing excellent service for the cause. In considering This lad is reputed one of the best scholars in th public schools, both for scholarship, and for his amithe political aspects of the subject, a spirited discussion was engaged in by C. L. REMOND and Mr. BROWN, able and obliging deportment. When some rude editor of the Oswego Daily Times. Mr. Remond white boys were insolent to him, their teacher sharptreated the subject with his accustomed ability and ly reproved them, and said if they behaved only half eloquence. Mr. Brown, in a gentlemanly and respect-ful manner, and with much apparent sincerity, advo-the should be proud of them. This effectually put cated the policy of the Republican party, in opposi- an end to all further trouble at the school between the

> LETTER FROM REV. G. W. BABCOCK. HARVARD, Jan. 6, 1857.

Light came to this place Christmas, and most of ou people preferred darkness rather than light. A few, however, heard and digested Mr. Pillbury's remarks. Among them was our gifted townsman, Rev. J. B. which I endeavored to do in a faithful and candid manner, speaking of the position of the Methodist Willard. He is not an avowed Abolitionist, but he Never were we more delighted than last Friday eve-Tract Societies, &c. &c. The Methodist pastor, Rev. Mr. Fengueson, and a few in sympathy with him, became quite feverish during the progress of my examination, and manifested unmistakable symptoms of ums. His chief doctrine was, that as iron sharpeneth a diseased and unhealthy moral condition. Beside iron, so a man his friend by lecturing and debating. To illustrate his doctrine, he alluded to Mr. Pillshis frequent rude and ungentlemanly interruptions, the pastor took the platform and spoke in reply, but, bury in terms of deep appreciation, and repeated, alas members of his own congregation testified, utterly most verbatim, some of the choicest passages in his failed to show good reasons for the objections he address here. Then from an entirely unexpected raised against my remarks in regard to the position of source, and at an entirely unexpected time, a miscelthe Church on the slavery question. His style and lancous audience enjoyed the benfits of an Anti-Slavemanner of address was that of the veriest border-ruf- ry Convention. Mr. Willard went in heartily for free fian, and his conduct towards us, and our Convention, discussion, and a full outpouring of the soul, expres-was such an exhibition of clerical knavery as we seldom witness. He attempted to exclude our Convento listen to such men as Garrison, and to show reasons tion from the church on the last evening, claiming why their opinions should not prevail. If the noble that the Trustees had no right to grant the use of sentiments advanced by him were carried out, if men the church, without his consent, to any one else, on and women would meet for Lyceum debate, and disan evening of their regular meeting, (it being Thurs- cuss with earnestness and ability the Disunion question, the Marriage question, and all other radical subday evening,) and with much emphasis declared that he should insist on having the church and their meet- jects, how speedily would be the triumph of truth ! ing for the evening. He soon found, however, a A warm lover of the Constitution, who feels towards strong sentiment prevailing in favor of our holding Garrisonians just as Mr. Choate feels towards Fremonters, uttered his eloquent protest against Mr. Wilthe evening session of the Convention, as advertised, lard's estimate of the Anti-Slavery advocates in our and quickly deserted the positive attitude, which, land-calling them comets fitted to scorch and burn with an air of great authority, he but a few moments before had assumed; thus affording an illustration of rather than warm, and anything but great men. The the fact, that, as some one has remarked, the minisrejoinder by Mr. Willard was unanswerable and unanswered. He pointed to facts of great men in our ter (of the class which he represents, not the true and faithful minister) is but a clerical weather-cock, point- land drawing instruction and inspiration from Tag

ing in the direction of the popular sentiment by LIBERATOR. Little did I expect such immediate fruits of that Christmas effort. That Garrisonianism will ultimate The subject was ably and sharply reviewed by Mr. ly prevail is what Christianity teaches us to believe-Remond, in a concluding speech, the audience giving but that Harvard was to have such a rich feast of it nearly unanimous expressions of condemnation of the course pursued by the minister.

in such an acceptable way, we had no reason to excourse pursued by the minister.

Yours, as ever,

DR. LORD'S LETTERS.

FRIEND GARRISON:
The notice of Dr. Lord's Letters which you pub lished was first-rate, but there were two or three points of some practical importance not noticed, uno which the Doctor may give us further light.

Firstly, whether it is not the duty of the mi ries in Africa to instruct the natives, that in order to submit to the sovereignty of God, they must not be Oswego has a fine location, near the shore of Lake Ontario, of which it has a fine, commanding view. It is about equally divided by the Oswego river, and willing to be slaves; and whether it is not the duty of the missionaries to enslave their converts, in order to carry out the Divine purpose toward the children of GERRIT SHITH. On the east side of the river is the Ham?

Secondly. It is said that the negroes enslave another. The question is, whether it is right for the children of Ham to enslave another child of Ham or whether, upon conversion, those African slavehold ers should not be willing to become the slaves of the missionaries, in order to submit to the sovereignty of God? and whether they should not assign all their

own slaves to them also?

Thirdly. Whether the religious teaching to the olored people here should not be, that they should be willing to be enslaved, in order to submit to God, to fice from the wrath to come? and whether the very CHARLES SUMNER to the U. S. Senate for six years pious colored woman who died a few years ago at from the 4th of March ensuing—the Senate, by a unanimous vote, and the House casting only twelve over the depravity of her white brethren, that they did not reduce her to slavery?

Fourthly. What shall be done with the mixed

blood? It is the duty of the white part to 'execut the decrees of God' by enslaving the children of Ham; and it is the duty of the colored part to submi to the decrees, and be willing to be enslaved

Fifthly. Is it the duty of colored Christi pray God to put it into the hearts of their white brethren to enslave them? Also, to exhort them to do it, in order to work with God and fulfil his decrees Perhaps Dr. Lord, if the suggestion is made to him, may write another Letter, and show what is duty in

THE JURY BOX AND RIGHTS OF JURORS We publish below, as prepared by a distinguish We publish below, as prepared by a distinguished legal gentleman, two important petitions, which the author trusts will be numerously signed, and forwarded to the Legislature early in the session which has just commenced. It is also hoped that editors, in all parts of the Commonwealth, will give these or similar petitions an insertion in their columns, that all persons who may be favorable to the reforms proposed may have a convenient opportunity to petition the Legislature on the subject.

The printed copies of the petitions can be cut out, pasted upon a sheet of paper, and the signatures then appended.—Ed. Lib.

To the Legislature of Massachusetts :

We, the subscribers, citizens of Massachusetts, lieving that it is a constitutional right of every adult male citizen to have his name in the jury-box, and to have an equal chance with his fellow-citizens to judge, as a juror, of their common rights and liber-ties, and of the meaning and authority of laws; and that the withholding of this important right from any, while it is given to others, is a manifest destruction of all political equality between the citizens, and the establishment, for the time being, of a privileged and ruling class; and believing, further, that it is the constitutional right of every citizen to have his case, whether civil or criminal, tried by a jury impartially taken, at the time, from the whole body of male adult citizens, and not from any smaller number previously chosen or selected to fill the office of jurors; and tha the present mode of selecting jurors, by which eleven twelfths of the male adults are excluded-naturally will, and actually does, subject the jury-box to the invasion of political, religious and personal interests and prejudices, and makes it impossible that a jury can be, what it is designed an' presumed to be, a fair epitome and representative of 'the country,' or the people at large; and that a vital principle of the trial by jury is thereby destroyed; and believing, cons quently, that such juries as are now provided for by statute, are, in the view of the Constitution, no juries at all, and their decisions of no validity;—

Respectfully pray that the statutes of the State may

be so altered as to provide that the name of every adult male citizen be placed in the jury-box, and that it may be left for lawful 'triers,' and not for judges, to determine, in each case, whether any individual, drawn as a juror, stands impartial and qualified to sit in the case for which he is drawn; and your petitioners further pray that they may be heard by the Legislature, or a Committee thereof, in support of this pe-

To the Legislature of Massachusetts : We, the undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, be-lieving that, in a criminal case, 'the judgment of the peers, (as guarantied by the Bill of Rights,) is the sentence of the peers, and that it is therefore the constitutional right of a jury to fix the sentence in all criminal cases which they try; and also, that it is the constitutional right of every convicted person to have his sentence fixed only by the jury who convicted him, and to receive only such a sentence as they unanimously agree to be just and proper; and believ ing, also, that twelve men, who personally investigate the peculiar circumstances of each case, and who car act only when acting with unanimity, are a much more suitable, and will be a much more merciful, tribunal for fixing the sentence, than either a majority of a legislature, who have no knowledge of such circumstances, or than any single judge, whose discretion and feelings are controlled by statute, and who has become inured to the hardening practice of condemning criminals, and whose natural temper is also liable to be severe and cruel; and believing, finally, that the sentences now imposed by legislatures and judges are constitutionally invalid, as not being, in respectfully pray that the ancient and common law right of juries to fix the sentences in all criminal cases

may be restored to them. And your petitioners further pray, that they may be heard by the Legislature, or a Committee there in support of the prayer of this petition.

MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE. This body convened on Wednesday of last week, and organized by the choice of Hon. CHARLES W. UPRAM, of Salem, President of the Senate, and Dr. CHARLES A. PHELPS, of Boston, Speaker of the House-by nearly unanimous votes. Rev. DANIEL FOSTER, well known to many of our readers as a radical Abolitionist, was chosen

Chaplain of the House.

Terrible Suffering in Iouea—Seven Persons Frozen to Death.—The Iowa City Republican of the 25th ulthas the following:—

It will shock our citizens to learn that two respectable citizens of this county were frozen to death on Sunday evening. Mr. and Mrs. Walton and their son, of Pleasant Valley, started from church on Sunday evening, to return home. They were lost on the prairie in snow-drifts, amid the perils of a terrible storm, and a piercing, blinding wind. After struggling until they were almost frozen, and getting their horses so buried in drifts that they could proceed no further, they abandoned their vehicles in the hope of reaching their own or some other habitation. They struggled along together, weary hours in vain. Mrs. W. at last sank in the lety winding sheet to rise no more. Her son, a young man, struggled a while longer, and suffered the same fate. The father, nerved by despair, kept up till three o'clock in the morning, when he reached a house eight miles from his own. He is badly frozen, but will recover. As soon as possible, his track was followed, but too late to save the mother and son.

The St. Louis News of the 28th ult. contains another terrible account. It says:

Five persons, a man, three women and a child, were frozen to death near Monticello, Iowa, last Saturday night. They were returning from a neighbor's, with a pair of horses and a sleigh; they got off the road, and in crossing a hollow, the horses got detached from the sleigh and ran off, leaving the parties in snow from five to eight feet deep. The people not returning on Tuesday morning, the neighbors collected, and after a long search, the women and child were found in a willow thicket, covered with blankets, and with a large quantity of snow over them, all dead. The man was found without his hat, frozen to death, about a quarter of a mile from the women, and within forty rods of his own house. Two other men were frozen in the same neighborhood, about the same time, while returning from church.

DEATH OF A PROMINENT CITIEEN.—Mr. B. B. Mus-

DRATH OF A PROGENERY CITTEEN.—Mr. B. B. Mussey, for many years an influential citizen and member of the book trade of Boston, died at the residence of his sisteryin-law, Mrs. Trumbull, in Poplar street, at 11 o'clock yesterday morning. He has been failing in health for about two years, but did not give up his business and confine himself to his room till within a fortnight. Drs. Warren and Jackson were his medical attendants. His disease was of a complicated nature, but not such as to deprive him of his reason till the very hour of his decease. He was about fifty-two years of age, and had been an active business man in Boston for a period of thirty years. He was born in Bradford, Vt., and came to this city when a young man, where he engaged as a book auctioneer. Mr. Mussey had retired from active business sometime since, and the enterprising firm of Banborn, Carter & Bazin, on Cornhill, were his successors. He had amassed a fortune. His wife died about seven years ago, and he has left two sons, one about eighteen years of age, and another, a lad of seven or eight years. At the time of his decease he was treasurer of Tufts College and assignee of the Passumpsic River Railroad.—Boston Post. DEATH OF A PROMINENT CITIZEN .- Mr. B. B. Mus

ANTI-BLAVERY FAIR AT PITCHBURG. The annual Anti-Slavery Fair of Worcester North will be opened in the Town Hall in Fitchburg, or Wednesday, January 14th, at 2 o'clock, P. M., and continue through Thursday and Friday, 15th and 16th. A large collection of rich and beautiful foreign and domestic articles from the Boston Bazaar will be

Donations of money, or other available articles, will be gratefully received, and conscientiously appropria

WENDELL PHILLIPS will speak on Friday evening Jan. 16th. Music may be expected each ever

THE AMERICAN PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for 1857. Devoted to Phrenology, Phys-iology, Mechanism, Education, the Natural Sciences, and General Intelligence, by the ablest writers, and is profusely Illustrated with Engravings. Every Family, and especially all young men and women, should have a copy.

Noung men about launching forth upon the activities of life, and anxious to start right, and understand their course, will find this Journal. a friend and monitor, to encourage them in virtue, shield them from vice, and to prepare them for usefulness and success in life. The various occupations will be discussed in the light of Phrenology and Physiology, so that every one may know in what pursuit he would be most likely to succeed.—Publisheds.

The January Number—now ready—contains more than twenty ENGRAVED ILLUSTRATIONS, including The New Year; Self-Culture and Improvement; Utility of Phrenology in selecting Life Pursuits; Dr. Kane and his Arctic Explorations, Illustrated; Power of Body over Mind; Nomenclature of Phrenology; Education of Girls; Anna Cora Mowatt Ritchie, Character and Biography, with Portrait; Dr. Gall, with New Portrait; Art Association Illustrated; Interesting Events; Utah, Mormon Developments; Pulton and Livingston; Words of Greeting; Prizes and Premiums—Notes and Queries; Definition of the Mental Faculties and Temperaments, etc. A beautiful quarto; the only Journal of the kind in the world. Now is the time to subscribe. Only \$1 a year.

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> SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS To the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Collected by Caroline F. Putnam:

	THE RESERVE AND	o of Persons.	Amount.
Stoneham,	Mass.,	2	\$0 80
Ludlowville,	N.Y.	11	6 49
Northville,	-	14	9 55
Goodyear's Corn	ners, "	1	0 25
Peruville,		14	4 53
Groton,	44	8	1 69
Etna,	S.4		0 53
Ithaca,	44	1	0 25
Dryden,	•	33	7 20
Five Corners,	44.2	8	2 58
Sherwoods,		10	8 44
Umon Springs,	44	13	5 86
Ledyard.		1	0 25
Genoa,		4	0 55
			\$48 97

A. Elwell. Samuel J. May, Syracuse, N. Y., By Parker Pillsbury: Collected in Providence, Upton, Salem, Malden, Worcester Co. North Society, " Stoneham, Collections by Joseph A. Howland: In Union Village, R. I., FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

PARKER PILLSBURY, An Agent of th Sunday, Jan. 18.

Lynn, Portsmonth, N. H., Portland, Me., Friday, Sunday, Sunday, " 25. Feb. 1. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH will speak on

slavery, at Friday, Jan. 16. Barnet, Vt., Sunday, Monday, Bradford, Tuesday, " 20. Wednesday, " 21.

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—An Anti-Slavery Convention for the State of New York will be held at Albany, the

second week in February, 1857. The precise time and place of meetings to be duly announced.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, C. L. and Sarah P. Remond, Aaron M. Powell, Susan B. Anthony, and others, are expected to be in attendance.

THALBERG'S FOURTH AND LAST CON-CERT.—This Concert will take place This (Friday) Evening, Jan. 16, at the Music Hall, at which the celebrated American manist, William Maron, will the

his instrument. His modesty is equal to his artistic The St. Louis Neses of the 28th ult. contains anoth- skill, and shows him to be a great genius, not to be

DISSOLUTION COPARTNERSHIP.

EUBEN H. OBER retires from our firm this The business of the firm will be settled by either of the late partners. Those indebted will please call and adjust the same as soon as possible.

DAVID B. MOREY, REUBEN H. OBER, THOMAS SMITH.

Boston, Jan. 1, 1857.

The business hereafter will be carried on under the style of MOREY & SMITH, who will continue to manufacture Block Tin and Britannia Ware; will also keep on hand a general assortment of Glass and Japanned Ware, at Nos. 6 and 7 Haverhill street, and would solicit a continuance of the patronage which has been so liberally bestowed on the late firm. DAVID B. MOREY, THOMAS SMITH.

Boston, January 1, 1857.

Heralds of Freedom.

'TRUTH, LOVE, JUSTICE' PUBLISHED THIS DAY, BY C. H. BRAINARD,

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December 26.

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Such articles only will be admitted as are deemed by the Superintendent to be of public interest, and worth paying something to see.

Each exhibitor, not seccupying more than three square feet of space, will pay a rent of \$1. This rent will be payable quarterly in advance.

For every dollar thus paid, the exhibitor will receive ten tickets, each giving admission to one person. Till the first of April, exhibitors will be admitted free of rent, and it will be at their option to continue, on the above terms, or withdraw.

Every exhibitor will be allowed free admission for himself, and to keep in attendance a person or persons necessary to take care of his exhibition, but not to introduce visitors without tickets.

The rooms will be warmed, lighted and kept in order at the expense of the proprietor.

The price of a single taket, admitting one person, will be Twarnyr-Fyrs cents.

It is intended to open the Exhibition to the public as soon as the space is sufficiently occupied, of which due notice will be given.

Those who would secure space, should make immediate application, by letter, to the Supranyranyray stating the nature of the article to be exhibited, and the amount of space required, or personally, at the Hall of Arts, corner of Essex and Limcoln streets, extrance in Essex atreet, up stairs.

ELISUR WRIGHT, Superintendent.

Boston, Jan. 1, 1857.

ELIEUR WRIGHT, Supera Boston, Jan. 1, 1857.

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POETRY.

MY POOR LOUISE. AN IDYL. BY WILLIAM WINTER.

Pale she was as a lily leaf, My poor Louise! And we knew from the calm of her saintly eyes, From the gentle tone of her sweet replies, And her kindness, that flooded the heart with surpris That her bosom was laden with secret grief— Deeply hidden! Beyond relief! My poor Louise!

n. Ever the same from morn till night, Pensive and mild! In her gentle ways there was nothing of art, And her kindness, it was of the breaking heart, Or that which is broken quite. Sometimes her dark blue eyes grew dim And dreamy with the excess of pain ; And tears seemed gushing to their brim. And then her sorrow ebbed again, And so she smiled-A smile delirious, ghastly, wild-My poor Louise!

A thing she was of perfect grace, Of angel beauty in form and face, My poor Louise! Soft, golden hair in many a curl, Shadowed a sweet brow, as pure as pearl, And fell in an airy, graceful flow, On the delicate bosom, white as snow,

Of poor Louise! Her lips in a beauteous curve of pain Were bent, and formed to a pretty pout; And in her eyes the smile was vain To hide the sorrow looking out : But we never heard A murmuring word:

And, though we saw in those eyes so fair The same sweet smile, Yet all the while We knew that death was lurking there.

At sunset of an August day, Her sad eyes closed, and tranquilly She breathed her sweet, young life away, My poor Louise!

That heart no longer to and fro Beat with the heavy throb of woe; Nor did those tender eyes, as once, Give to it joyless utterance; But all was hushed and still. Her features calm in perfect rest,

The marble stillness of her breast, On which her thin white hands did lay Crossed and folded peacefully; The fragrant flowers wherewith we hid The darkness of the coffin-lid: The last fond kiss-it will never fly From the solemn haunts of memory; The forms around in sable dress. The mournful tone;

And then the sense of dreariness And being all alone; These are things that haunt me yet-These, these I never can forget, Nor poor Louise!

> THE SLEEPING DEAD. BY LONGPELLOW.

When the hours of day are numbered And the voices of the night Wake the better soul that slumbered, To a holy, calm delight:

Ere the evening lamps are lighted, And, like phantoms grim and tall, Shadows from the fitful firelight Dance upon the parlor wall: Then the forms of the departed

Enter at the open door; The beloved, the true-hearted,

He, the young and strong, who cherished Noble longings for the strife. By the roadside fell and perished,

They, the holy ones and weakly, Who the cross of suffering bore, Folded their pale hands so meekly. Spake with us on earth no more !

And with them, the being beauteous, Who unto my youth was given, More than all things else that love me, And is now a saint in heaven:

With a slow and noiseless footstep, Comes that messenger divine-Takes the vacant chair beside me. Lavs her gentle hand in mine :

And she sits and gazes at me, With those deep and tender eyes, Like the stars, so still and saint-like. Looking downward from the skies. Uttered not, yet comprehended,

Is the spirit's voiceless prayer : Soft rebukes, in blessings ended Breathing from her lips of air. Oh! though oft depressed and lonely, All my fears are laid aside,

If I but remember only Such as these have lived and died!

IN THE RIGHT BE STRONG. Go boldly forth, and fear no ill. When fierce oppressors rise; Let mental strength, abounding still. Such puny foes despise. Though stung with many a bitter word. And persecuted long, Yet let them pass as if unheard. And in the right be strong!

The noblest causes ever known Have met with scoff and jeer-The brave, though journeying alone, Should never yield to fear! Go onward-up the rugged steep, Beyond the lagging throng ; Thy own heart's counsel wisely keep, And in the right be strong !

Although grown weary, strive not less No duty leave undone: Soon will oppressors join to bles The deeds thy daring won. The strife once over, then will earth Send forth her sweetest song, To land and bless the noble worth That in the right was strong!

Have faith-have courage-never fear, The promise is in sight;
The lamp of Truth is shining clear To banish Error's night. Though trials gather thick and fast And all the world be wrong, Onward, still onward to the last And in the right be strong !

Night is the time for those whom nature charms To steal themselves from the degenerate crowd, And soar above this little scene of things; To trend low-thoughted vice beneath their feet To soothe the throbbing passions into peace, And woo lone quiet in her silent walks .- Two

The Liberator.

EXTRACT FROM A SERMON REVIEWING THE PAST YEAR, BY REV. A. BATTLES, OF BANGOR, ME.

slavery.' The old questions that had heretofore di- and Gomorrah were not more guilty. vided parties,—banks, tariffs, sub-treasuries, in-ternal improvements,—all slumbered in forgetful-to look at it. So some foolishly imagine they can What a humiliating spectacle do we as a nation and rectify it. present, and as wicked as humiliating!

At one time, it was the boast of Athens, that the rights of her humblest and poorest citizen were protected by law. Here, more than three millions of human beings are stripped of all their rights, and made to suffer what breeds rebellion in their hearts, and there is no law to protect them. Men and women are hunted in our streets for the crime of being black, and there is no law to protect them. Villages are burned, women are violated, Presidential chair. You may attempt to silence and men are murdered, in a distant Territory, and ministers and empty pulpits. So they did in Eng there has been no law to protect them; and when land in puritanic times; but every vacant pulpit was the naked question was presented to the voters of a more eloquent preacher of puritanism than its forthis land, 'Shall these things be continued?' there mer occupant. They filled the land with bloody was not virtue enough to say, No!

The Pope of Rome, more than two centuries ago, repudiated African Slavery as inhuman. The American Republic takes it to her arms in the middle of the nineteenth century, and cherishes it with fondest love; and if Kansas becomes a free State, it will be owing more to the arms of its Free-State settlers, than to natural law-that is all on the side of slavery.

I have said the extension of slavery was the only question before the people in the late campaign. I am not ignorant that many espoused the pro-slavery cause under the pretence of saving the Union, which they affirmed was in danger. It is in danger. Never since its formation was it in such great peril. But what endangers it? Anti-Slavery Now, the President occupies nearly one half of his agitation? So some tell us. If our seamen are imprisoned for being black, and we oppose it; if talks of little beside. Some said the thing was setan odious Fugitive Slave Bill is forced upon us, that converts New England into a Guinea coast, six months it was all open again. Others thought and constructs obedience to the Golden Rule into the election of Franklin Pierce, in 1852, settled it treason, and we denounce it; if a compact of thir- again, but ere long it was unsettled. In 1854 it was ty years' standing is annulled to make more room settled the third time, yet it was never in such an for oppression, and we call it unjust; if our Senators are beaten by assassins, and we protest; if our high authority, we have been informed that See former neighbors and townsmen are robbed by ruf- tionalism, by which is meant the anti-slavery fians, and we try to check such outrages; if the sentiment, is dead. Not so! You may defeat a whole fabric of Christianity is threatened, and we man, but cannot defeat the principle of antirally to its defence; if we prefer Christianity to slavery. That still lives-lives in the hearts of mil-Heathenism, civilization to vandalism, eternal right lions of men and women; lives in the prayers of to temporary wrong, why, we endanger the Union. all the good; lives in the memory of the old mar-We must stand by meekly and patiently, smother tyrs, whose deeds stand out in history like a line our moral feelings, or let out our indignation in of light; lives, above all, in the bosom of God, in gentle whispers, lest we disturb some one's feelings, whose strength it is strong, and by whose might it or imperil the 'blessed Union.'

Some go so far as to charge upon the 'specula tive philanthropy ' of the North, the guilt of having caused the retrograde movement at the South. The more impudent and defiant attitude of the South. the more infamous doctrines that slaveholders have put forth concerning the peculiar institution recentdetract from the dignity and justice of the Anti- Burke did, who said, 'Slavery is a state so impro material cotton interest of the South, that has suffered to exist.' wrought the change. Anti-Slavery sentiments were expel men who avow them, and defend not only plant that emitted a sweet and delicious, yet poisonblack, but white slavery. The reason of this is ous fragrance, and all who came within reach of its the New Orleans Delta, opposing the re-opening of the very image of grace and beauty, tended ar the foreign slave trade, which says :- Our profit watched it until that poison was infused into every in Virginia arises from the raising and sale of ne- vein of her system, so that every thing she touch groes.' Said the Richmond Dispatch, last summer, ed or breathed upon withered and died. A fres 'Prime field hands (women) now bring from \$1000 boquet of rarest sweetness was placed in her hand to \$1100, and men from \$1200 to \$1500. Not but no sooner had her fingers clasped it, than it long since, a likely negro girl sold in this city at beauty faded. Her lover sickened and died. It is private sale for \$1700.' This is why slaveholders hardly necessary to make the application, and say are invoking the sanction of Moses and Jesus, that slavery is that fatal plant. Its breath is Prophet and Apostle, Church and State, History son, that blasts every thing it falls upon. It has and Philosophy, upon their thrice accursed institu- polluted government, literature, religion, and that tion, and pursuing a policy that puts barbarism to itself. Let us pluck it up, root and branch. shame in extending slavery, and throttling all discussion upon it. It is not a question of principle or nal as idle. But little less so is it to think of being of passion, but of dollars and cents, with them. satisfied with the non-extension of this institution They think it is profitable to buy and sell women, On this point, the Republicans have only got their rob cradles, and convert their 'brethren in Christ'

duced agitation among the slaves, as it is now do- with skirmishing with the enemy at a few outposts ing. Agitation may hasten such outbreaks, but No! they opened their cannon and directed their does not cause them. Why does water run down bombshells against Sebastopol itself. So must we hill? Because you force it? Does a piece of iron We must not content ourselves with merely preventthrown into the air fall because you place a mag-ing the extension of slavery, but make issue with net under it? No! it is the unalterable law of na-the evil itself, and use all our efforts to demolish ture for things to gravitate towards the centre of this Sebastopol of iniquity and oppression. the earth. So does the human heart gravitate to-wards freedom. God made it to love liberty and shouts from the populace of Paris, on the 13th of hate oppression. The slave is human, and that is July, 1789, and before hot lead and cannon ball it tion-blocks. I am glad he does. American slaves, of the whole North: 'Let us storm the Bastile Every year they are becoming more intelligent and capable, and unless their wrongs are redressed, and their rights acknowledged, the present so-called insurrection is not the last that will alarm the timid South. Let the country be warned by this out-break. It is only the cropping out of its sine. It of Dort, by Rev. E. H. Sears; 2—Indian Tribes of

portion of our community is not responsible for it. Tell me that there is danger in exposing the wrongs of slavery! that they are traitors to their country, who advocate justice and truth, and preach the only Christianity that is not eviscerated of all its vitality! Slavery is the source of our danger. What was it that prevented some of the States, during the Revolutionary War, from bearing their shar of that conflict? What was it that came near pro-

over us in 1820? What was it that plunged us into a war with Mexico in 1848? What was it that threw the whole land into such a ferment in 1850, and has again the past season created such Slavery. The country is in danger. I feel it. But it is not so much from what we at the North With all these things before us, we entered a may say or do, as from the judgments of Heaven residential campaign. As it seems to me, the which we are inviting upon our heads by cherish-Presidential campaign. As it seems to me, the only real question was, shall the policy of the Slave Power be endorsed, and the iniquities in Kansas go unrebuked? Or, narrowed down still closer, shall Slavery, arrayed against free labor, fast as it can. Our downward course is swift, unfree schools, free presses, free speech, free pulpits, and the most sucred rights of man, in short, against all that we honor, love and respect, be allowed to spread? It was a simple, undisguised issue. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said the other day in his seat Have we not forgotten Him? We have tramples in the Senate, 'The naked, uncovered and open is- His laws under our feet, and thought to justify sue during the last campaign was the extension of ourselves by the authority of defiant laws. Sodon

ness. No question of equal importance was ever shun the lightning's bolt by bandaging their eye presented to a people; the world never looked upon and stopping their ears. The simple estrich fancies a contest so sublime. It has resulted in the electric files from peril by hiding its face in the sand. It tion of a man 'who has never given a vote against the interests of slavery, nor uttered a word which could pain the most sensitive Southern heart.' The only way to remedy it is to look it in the face,

Men may invoke us to silence, and 'cry Peace Peace! but there is no peace.' Slavery has mur-dered peace. 'The war is actually begun 'between freedom and slavery. So long as we have hearts and consciences, we must feel for the wrongs of our fellow-man. The question is fairly before the country, and like the ghost of Banquo that came to dis-torb the festal hours of Maebeth, it will not down no matter who may issue the fiat, or occupy the assizes, but, instead of making despotism strong, and ' crushing out' freesom, it led the king to the scaffold. So it will always be. The very efforts to prop up and perpetuate oppression will kindle a flame of indignation that will both illumine and purge the land, and so the instruments of tyranny come the most violent agitators.

De you want to know who the most officient anti-slavery lecturers have been during the past year? It is not Theodore Parker, nor Henry Ward Beecher, nor Charles Sumner, nor William Lloyd Garrison, but Franklin Pierce, Stephen A. Douglas, and Preston S. Brooks.

Mr. Clay, in 1839, said it was moral treason to introduce the subject of slavery into Congress. nessage in discussing the question, and Congress tled by the Compromises of 1850, but in less than unsettled condition as now, though recently, by shall yet conquer!

I know that, in a certain sense, slavery is power ful. It is rooted in the legislation of two hundred years, and is walled around by more than two thou sand millions of dollars, yet the power of truth is stron ger. What has been done within the past five years encourages me to believe that a little more reflec ly, are said to be the result of anti-slavery agitation, a little more lecturing, preaching and praying, tion at the North. If this were true, it would not will bring the welcome day when we shall feel as Slavery movement. But it is false. It is not the per, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and 'speculative philanthropy' of the North, but the capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be

I have read a story of a wonder-working phys once quite popular even in Virginia. Now, they cian, who, by some ocult art, succeeded in creating a found in a letter recently written from Richmond to fatal exhalations were infected by it. His daughter,

It is idle to talk of keeping quiet, and as crimi eyes half open-they see men as trees walking, and into rice, sugar and cotton, and they mean to have do not comprehend the nature of the evil they are grappling with. When the English and French Again, it is said the agitation at the North pro- went to the Crimea, did they content themselve

why he rebels against chains and whips, and auc- fell. Let this be our rallying-cry, the rallying-cry however 'sleek and well fed,' are ceasing to be Af- American Slavery !' Not indeed with cannon and rican, and are fast becoming Anglo-Saxon, and the musket, but with the moral weapons God has given Anglo-Saxon has always been restive under yokes. us, and it shall fall, and its ruin shall make the land rejoice.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER for January is received from the publishers. The list of contents, said to be break. It is only the cropping out of its sins. It is only one of the indications that the evil we have been cherishing is 'curing itself'—one of the admonitions that Nemesis is about to take the scourge to chastise the wrong-doer.

The country is in danger, but the anti-slavery is in danger, but the anti-slavery is in danger, but the anti-slavery is in the country is in danger. It is there is a control of the late War in the East, by Rev. F. W. Holland; δ—Celtic or Druidical; Doctrine of a Puture Life, by Rev. W. R. Alger; 6—The Italian Puture Life, Pulpit—treating of Italian preaching, its themes, its scenic and dramatic character, &c., by Rev. C. H. Brigham; 7—Dr. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, by Rev. George E. Ellis; 8-An Obituary Hon. Samuel Hoar. The Examiner is published bi-monthly, by Messrs. Crosby and Nichols, Washington treet, Boston, at \$4. This number comm

The Providence Journal gives the names and wenting a union of these States at the outset? ages of 72 persons who died in that city during the What was it that raised a dark and ominous cloud year 1856, aged seventy years and upwards.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE RIGHTS OF

The following admirable speech was delivered by WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., at the Seventh National Woman's Rights Convention, held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, Nov. 25th, 1856 :-

I am told that the Times of to-day warns the somen of this Convention, that if they proceed in their crusade, they will forfeit the protection of the men. Perhaps, before it is offered, the question had better be asked whether it is needed. I do not think men. Pernaps, before it is offered, the question had better be asked whether it is needed. I do not think that I should run the risk of much difference of opinion if I claimed, that nine men out of ten would not be able to defend their right to vote as logically as the lady who has just addressed us has defended her right to vote. I question whether one quarter of what we call the men educated by the colleges, and in active life—the better education of the two—would be able, arrogating to themselves as they do a far greater political and civil capacity, to state the igrounds of civil rights and civil responsibilities, to mark out the limits, to vindicate the advantages, and to analyze the bases on which these rest, as we have just had it done. If participation in civil rights is based on mind—as in this country we claim it to be—then certainly to-night we have no right to deny that the cause is gained, for the friend who has preceded me has left very little for any one to say; it the has covered the whole ground.

In fact, this question is a question of civilization, nothing less. The position of woman anywhere is

nothing less. The position of woman anywhere is the test of civilization. I challenge any doubts as to that statement. We all know that wherever we go in history, or in the present, the position of wo-then is the test of civilization. You need not ask for the statistics of education, of national wealth, or of crime; tell me the position of woman, weatth, or of crime; ten me the position of woman, and you answer the question of the nation's progress. Utah is barbarism; we need no evidence; we read it in the single custom that lowers the female sex. Wherever you go in history, this is true. Step by step as women ascends, civilization ripens. I warn the anxious and terrified that their first efforts should be to conquer their fears, for the triumph of this crusade is written as certain on the next leaf that turns in the great history of the race, as that the

turns in the great history of the race, as that the twentieth century will open.

The time was when a Greek dared not let his wife go out of doors, and in the old comic play of Athens, one of the characters says, 'Where is your wife?' 'She has gone out.' 'Death and furies! what does she do out?' Doubtless, if any 'fanatic' had claimed the right of woman to walk out of doors, he would have been desired extension. he would have been deemed crazy in Athens; had he claimed the right of a modest married woman to be seen out of doors, it would have been considered fanaticism, and I do not know but that the *Herald* But spite of the anchored conservatism of others, women got out of doors, and the country grew, and the world turned round, and so modern Europe has progressed. Now the pendulum swung one way, and now another, but woman has gained right after under foot contemptuously the Jewish—yes, the Jewish ridicule which laughs at such a convention

The fact is, there is no use of blinking the issue. The fact is, there is no use of blinking the issue.

It is Paul against the Saxon blood; it is a religious prejudice against the blood of the race. The blood of the race accords to woman equality; it is a religious superstition which stands in the way, and balks the effort.

Europe has known three phases. The first was the dominion of force; the second, the dominion of does.

the dominion of force; the second, the dominion of money; the third is beginning—the dominion of and curbed, and the reins went back to an iron hand. Then he saw a man led on and on, under various changes, until the last phase, which was this: He saw the man led by threads that came from the brain, and went back to an invisible hand. The first was the type of despotism—the reign of force, the upper classes keeping down the under. The last is ourset dominion of brains. We live in a government where the New York Herald and New York Tribune, thank God, are more really the government than Franklin Pierce and Caleb Cushing. Ideas reign. It is the pride of woman through which they reach him. Drag that woman forward on to the platform of public life; give to her manifest ability a fair field, let her win by her own exertions, not by the saw a man led on and on, under various of public life; give to her manifest ability a fair field, let her win by her own exertions, not by the saw a man led on and on, under various of public field, let her win by her own exertions, not by the saw a man led on and on, under various of public questions, and to a personal responsibility for their public settlement. Corruption—it often takes the very form of the passions of woman. In Paris, to-day, we are told, when the government approaches a man, the way is, not to give him wealth for his own enjoyment, but to dower his daughter. It is the pride of woman through which they reach him. Drag that woman forward on to the platform of public life; give to her manifest ability a fair field, let her win by her own exertions, not by the saw the man led by threads that came from the brain, and to a personal responsibility of public questions, and to a personal responsibility for their public questions, and to a personal responsibility of public questions, and to a personal responsibility of public questions, and to a personal responsibility of public questions. Frankin Pierce and Caleb Cushing. Ideas reign.

I know some men do not appreciate this fact; they are overawed by the iron arm, by the marble capitol, by the walls of granite—palpable power, felt, seen. Oh, no, that is dead lumber; ideas are the living will secure a higher state of civilization—not because the part of the property o

had inserted themselves between them, and the palace of the Cæsars lies a shapeless ruin. So it is with your government. It may be iron, it may be marble, but the pulses of right and wrong push it aside; only give them time. I hall the government

There is another thing I claim. You laugh a There is another thing I claim. You laugh at Woman's Rights Conventions; you ridicule socialism; (I do not accept that;) you dislike anti-slavery movements. This is true; the only discussion of the grave social questions of the age, the questions of right and wrong that lie at the basis of society—the only voices that have stirred them and kept those questions alive—have been those of these three reforms. Smothered with gold—smothered with material prosperity, the vast masses of our countrymen were living the lives of mere getters of money; but the ideas of this half of the 19th century have been bruited by despised reformers, kept alive by these bruited by despised reformers, kept alive by these radical movements, and whoever in the next genera-tion shall seek for the sources of mental and intellectual change will find it here; and in a progressive people like ours, that claim is a most vital and sig-

Now, my claim for woman's right to vote—and I claim it as the very central nucleus of the whole cause—my claim for her right to political recognition is simply on the principle of our Institutions, that the ballot and the tax-bill go side by side. Every man that pays a tax-bill has a right to put a ballot on the back of it. It is the idea of the American government. The State's prison and the ballot go side by side. As long as you put woman in jail, you ought to put her by the side of the ballot-box; as long as you tax her, you ought to give her a ballot. If she is not capable of the ballot, she is not capable of committing crime. If she is not amenable to the Now, my claim for woman's right to vote-and of committing crime. If she is not amenable to the ballot, she is incapable of being taxed.

Now, on American principles, there is no answer to that—none whatever. We do not base our ballot on sex, we do not base it on physical strength, we do not base it on intellectual capacity. Webster has one ballot, and the man of the part of the pa capacity. Webster has one ballot, and the man of twenty-one who can count ten, has one ballot. But as for intellectual capacity—Charlotte Bronta, Har-riet Martineau, Madame Rachel, Mrs. Siddons, and Mrs. Somerville—you could cut brains enough from the brains of these women to set up all the editors that ever laughed at us, and those women would not

There are more brains among the signers to that petition to Parliament for a recognition of the civil orights of woman, headed by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and signed by a dozen of the literary eminences of Great Britain—I mean of the women—in there are more brains represented in that paper than in all the presses that have ever ridiculed the Woman's Rights movement. And the source of that very petition is the utmost burlesque on this pretension to brains. Mrs. Norton originated it; the daughter of Sheridan, the wife of Mr. Norton, who, you know, attempted to get her divorced on alleged crimes, in which he failed, and who now lives on the yearly produce of the brains of his wife—the mean and degraded brute, who feigned an accusation of his wife, which to his own lawyer he confessed he did not believe—feigned an accusation, and sent it out to the world, to plant her pathway with thorns, and then lives on the stolen products of her books, which he receives every six months from her publishers. While one such man walks God's earth, the

other nine hundred millions ought to be dumb on the subject of brains.

But it is not intellectual capacity upon which we ase the claim for the right of ballot. We do not eny to man the right to the ballot because he is not deny to man the right to the ballot because he is not very intellectual; we give it to him if he is sane. Woman, while she shows the capacity to conduct herself, to remain at the head of her family, to take an ordinary interest in domestic affairs, shows as much capacity to use the ballot as her husband, ordinarily. Shall I libel the educational institutions of America by saying that after we have instructed our daughters for thirty years, they don't understand as much as the Irishman or the German just landed on our shores, who cannot read our language, does on our shores, who cannot read our language, does not know a line of our Constitution, never read a after educating American women, they are not as competent as these, then you had better have better schools; for it is a libel on the educational instituschools; for it is a libel on the educational institutions of the country to pretend that they do not produce minds capable, ordinarily, of appreciating the
questions that come to the ballot-box.

But I claim more than this. I do not put it on
individual claim, but on the broad question, on the
general issue. There are but two great interests in
society one is wealth and the other interests. In

society, one is wealth and the other is thought. Mr. Webster thought the protection of property was the main end of government. I think he erred. Property is but a means, a secondary consideration. We share the instinct of property in common with the brutes. We share it with the bee that builds so mathematically to preserve its honey. We share it with the beaver that builds scientifically in order to secure his home. We share it with the dogs of Con-stantinople, who divide the city into districts, and wo be to the felon that trespasses on the domain of we be to the felon that trespasses on the domain of his brother dog! We share property with that below us; thought we share with something above, and that is the highest care of government. But doubtless the two are the main elements on which all governmental considerations rest.

Now I contend that woman, broadly considered, makes half the money that is made. Go the world over, take either Europe or America; the first source of money is intelligence and thrift, it is not specula-

over, take either Europe or America; the first source of money is intelligence and thrift, it is not speculation. The masses of money that are wrought commonly are wrought by continuous personal labor and thrift; and who that knows the masses of his own country or of Europe, will doubt for a moment that in hard labor, or in common-sense thrift, woman, the race through, does not exhibit as much of both of these qualities as man? Out of the twenty millions of American records that make money woman. lions of American people that make money, woman does more than half of the work that insures the reward. I claim for that half of the race whose quali-

ties garner up wealth, the right to dispose of it, and to control it by law.

Again, take thought. I know our sister has modestly told us how utterly they are deprived of what are called the institutions of education; but we know very well that book learning is a miserably poor thing, and that the best education in the world tion, by hook or by crook, woman has so far gained enough, that, Europe and America through, where is the man presumptuous enough to doubt that the hand of woman is not felt as much on the helm of and now another, but woman has gained right after right until with us, to the astonishment of the Greek, could he see it—of the Turk, when he hears it—she stands almost side by side with man in her civil rights. The Saxon race has led the van. I trample under foot contemptuously the Jewish—yes, the may not consciously enunciate ideas, does as Jewish redictie which laughs at such a convention may not consciously enunciate ideas, does as much as this; for we are the Saxon blood, and the first line of record that is left to the Saxon race is that line of Tacitus, 'On all grave questions they consult their women.' When the cycle of Saxondom is social ideas—France that has lifted up Germany sult their women.' When the cycle of Saxondom is social ideas—France that has lifted up Germany complete, when the Saxon element culminates in modern civilization, another Tacitus will record in the valley of the Mississippi, as he did in the valley of the Rhine, 'On all grave questions they consult their women.' It was in the salours of women.' tury of civil progress, it was in the saloons of wo-man, that man did his thinking, and it was under

does. Now, wherever I find silent power, I want recognimoney; the third is beginning—the dominion of brains. When it comes, woman will step out on the platform side by side with her brother. The old Hindoo dreamed that he saw the human race led out to its varied fortune, and first he saw a man bitted and curbed, and the reins went back to an iron hand.

Now, wherever 1 and silent power, 1 want recognition of the responsibility. I am not in favor of a power behind the throne. I do not want half the race concealed behind the curtain, and controlling without being responsible. Drag them to the light, and curbed, and the reins went back to an iron hand.

crease.

I have seen the palace of the Cæsars, built of masses that seemed as if giants alone could have laid them together, to last for eternity, as if nothing that did not part the solid globe could move them. But the tiny roots of the weeds of Italian summers had inserted themselves between them, and the palace of the Cæsars lies a shapeless ruin. So it is with your government.

educate woman, in the sense that we use education. She has no motive. As my friend said, when she She has no motive. As my friend said, when she marries, education ceases. At that age the education of man commences: he has wealth, ambition, social position, as his stimulus; he knows that by keeping his mind on the alert, he earns them all. You furnish a woman with books—you give her no motive to open them. You open to her the door of spience, why should she enter? She can gain nother motive to open them. You open to her the door of science: why should she enter? She can gain nothing except in individual and exceptional cases; public opinion drives her back, places a stigma upon her of blue-stocking, and the consequence is, the very motive for education is taken away and half erased. Now, I believe a privileged class, an aristocracy, a set of slaveholders, does just as much harm to itself as it does to the victimized class; that when man undertakes to place woman behind him, to assume the reins of government and to govern for her, he is an aristocrat; and all aristocracies are not only unjust, but they are harmful to the progress of society.

I welcome this movement, because it shows that

I welcome this movement, because it shows that we have got a great amount of civilization. Every other movement to redress a wrong in the past generations of the world has yielded only to fear. Benerations of the world has yielded only to fear. Bentham says truly, the governing race never yielded a right, unless they were bullied out of it. That is true historically; but we have come to a time—and this movement shows it—when civilization has rendered man capable of yielding to something different from fear. This movement has been only six years on foot, and, during that time, we who have watched the statute-book are aware to admiration of the rapid changes that have taken place in public watched the statute-book are aware to admiration of the rapid changes that have taken place in public opinion, and in legislation, all over the States. Within the last eight, seven, six, five, and four years, in different localities, woman has been allow-ed, either wholly or to a great extent, the right to protect her earnings, and to make a will—two of the great points of property. Aye, and one little star of light begins to twinkle in the darkness of the political atmosphere: Kentucky allows her to yote. star of light begins to twinkle in the darkness of the political atmosphere: Kentucky allows her to vote. Yes, from the land where on one question they are so obstinate, the white mee have remembered justice to their white co-equals. In her nobly-planned school-system, Kentucky divides her State into districts,; the trustees are annually chosen for the State funds; and it is expressly provided, that besides the usual voters in the election of trustees for the school fund, which is coveted by millions, there shall be allowed to vote, every widow who has a child betwirt six and eighteen years old, and she shall go to the ballot-box in person or by proxy. Kentucky repudiates the doctrine that to go to the balshall go to the ballot-box in person or by proxy. Ren-tucky repudiates the doctrine that to go to the bal-lot-box forfeits the delicacy of the sex; for she pro-vides in express terms that she shall go to the ballotrson or by proxy. Ken-that to go to the balbox in person or by proxy, as she pleases. It is the first drop of the coming storm—it is the first ray of light in the rising sun.

Civilization cannot defend itself, on American principles, against this claim. My friend of Brooklyn claims the right to make political speeches, as well as sermons, because he is a citizen. Well, woman is a citizen too; and if a minister can preach politics because he is a citizen, woman can meddle in politics and vote, because she is a citizen too. When Mr. Beecher bases his right, not on the intellect which flashes from Maine to Georgia, not on the lect which flashes from Maine to Georgia, not on the intellect which flashes from Maine to Georgia, not on the strength of that nervous right arm, but solely on his citizenship, he drags on to the platform twelve millions of American women to stand at his side.

But the difficulty is, no man can defend his on right to vote, without dragging woman up. In cause man never realized his own right. The second defend is to ment he begins to analyze it, he cannot defend it without admitting her.

Our fathers proclaimed, sixty years ago, that years and punish for crime. Now, all that I wish was an and punish for crime. Now, all that I wish was no to the American people on this question is, is to the American people on this question is, is to the defend of the people o

man go free from the penal statute—let be represent to be exempt from taxation, until you admit be to be about the ballot-box; or seal up the history of the ballot-box; make Bancroft and Hildreth reason books, banish the argument of '76, and let be simms have his own way with the history of the contract of the box of the contract of the box of the bo do not see the distinction. I know that in the latest late in public opinion we cannot. Just so far a newspapers go, opinion goes; just so far as read, ideas are recognized. You may clear stuffed ballot-boxes, and with bought total stuned bandviboxes, and with cought total is why exile her as incapable of appreciating in per liar value? I would like to have it shown. I will not, at this late hour, detain you arrive

We shall have ample time to-morrow closely into these questions. But remem we do not claim, and what we do. W we do not claim, and what we do. We do at claim that woman is necessarily equal to man, it only claim the right to have her prove it, and us prove it. I rather suspect that man of counts who is not willing to have it proved. The man who tells me that he has no opinion of the inclusion of Madame de Stael, Mrs. Somerville, and Man feldgeworth, and that he undertakes to settle his proper sphere, which is to cook dinners and head Edgeworth, and that he undertakes to settle the proper sphere, which is to cook dinners and tell babies, rather convinces me that his mother we lected that sphere, and did not teach him what is cought. But I think it is somewhat presumption in any man to undertake to settle for Makane a Stael, for instance, her sphere, for Mr. Sameral her sphere, or for Charlotte Bronta be splere. That is each being's sphere which God made him a her sphere, or for Charlotte Bronta her sphere. That is each being's sphere which God made has, pable of, and the highest thing he is capable of a his sphere. When God made Mrs. Somewife a pable of measuring the heavens and weighing justed, He marked out her sphere, and she has illed it. When He made Charlotte Branta able to ber fa When He made Charlotte Branta able to be the hearts of millions beneath the wand of ber angle sympathics, that was her sphere, and she filled h. And the little editors and lecturers, who war can, and therefore presume on their ability to tell these ladies what their sphere should be, exhibit, at lest, courage ! That is each human being's sphere, which he is

capable of filling; and all we have got to do is in stand out of the way, and let him fill it; and all woman asks of us is, In the days of the French Revolution, the men said— Don't let that man vote merely lease men said—'Don't let that man vote merely beine he can read, and write, and make money, and is worth half a million; why, he can't tell the is great, great-grandfather was! he has no right to vote.' The reply of the Bourgeoise was—let a try.' They have tried; and had as the presentant try. They have tried; and tad as the pressuant of France, under the dominion of Napolea the Little, it has progressed from the time of Rentes the Less. When the Jew stood at the does of the House of Commons, a Christian bishop aid. Ile has not the right to vote, for he has no comp. Macaulay said - Take care how you deny eloquere Maculay said— Take care how you deny eloquize to the countrymen of Isalah, and courage to the descendants of the Maccabees; open the does, and let them try! Tools to those who can use thu; if they are inefficient, they will fall from the hands; and if they are capable, they will help an making the world better than our fathers left is to Who fears that there will be too many idea in the world? Who fears that there will be to many intelligent voters-after the last carvas?



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OPERATE by their powerful influence on the intend viscera to purify the blood and stimulate it into healthy action. They remove the obstructions of the stomach, bowels, liver, and other organs of the lost, and the statement of the contraction of the important productions of the contraction of the important productions of the lost, and the restriction of the important production of the contraction of the contr stomach, bowels, liver, and other organs of the lost, and, by restoring their irregular action to health, ornet, wherever they exist, such derangements as are the fint causes of disease. An extensive trial of their vitue, by Professors, Physicians, and Patients, has shown sma

by Professors, Physicians, and Patients, his above cent of dangerous diseases almost beyond belief, were they not substantiated by persons of such called position and character as to forbid the sespicion of untrula. Their certificates are published in my American Almass, which the Agents below named are pleased to furnish free to all inquiring.

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You.

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smaller doses afterwards, until activity and strength as restored to the system.

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FOR SCROPULA, ENVIPELAS, and all disease of the Skins, take the Pills freely and frequently, to keep the bowels open. The eruptions will generally soon begin to diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulcers and was have been healed up by the purging and purifying effect of these Pills, and some disgusting diseases, which seemed to saturate the whole system, have completely yielded their influence, leaving the sufferer in perfect helib. Patients! your duty to society forbids that you should parade yourself around the world covered with purples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the tyclean diseases of the skin, because your system sufficients of the skin, because your system sufficients of the skin was a sufficient or sufficient to the skin because your system sufficients of the skin was sufficient to the skin was suff To PURITY THE BLOOD, they are the best medicine

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gently, but freely.

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