TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per un B Five copies will be sent to one address for Tax m, in advance. plans, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all lette

deling to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to b directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inand three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00 The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Sonotice are authorised to receive subscriptions for Tax

The following gentlemen constitute the Pinanmittee, but are not responsible for any of the abes of the paper, viz : - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK. of WESPELL PRILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON. Printers

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-stables of the institution. . . There is some excus-

PRABING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must scall in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking 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.

death, and an agreement with hell.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 6. BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1361

WILLIAM BLLERY CHANNING.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE BLACK LIST. We publish to-day, for the benefit of the comunity at large, the names of some of the principal

city the 15th of January, to take what steps they consider most feasible for the dissolution of shall consider most reasible for the dissolution of the Union. We trust that the committee of ar-nagements have not overlooked any one in this city whost ideas coincide with theirs in this respect, for wish all, whose sober thoughts will advise them p sign such a call, to come out and show thems have their names remembered by the Union-lov-

There appears to have been an intentional slight put upon their congeners in South Carolina, who would undoubtedly have signed the call had they an opportunity offered them. There are a great many hastics in that State, who also believe the 'Union insites in that States, who also have to be to be a failure, and who would be very happy to see it because up. Why not let them come into the consention, by invitation? We are not foolish enough insgine, for a moment, that any harm will refrom this, or from as many more conventions of the from this, or from as many more conventions of the first as may hereafter be held, but the principle in-tered is none the less atrocious and abominable. Dat the will and spirit of this band of mischievous fastics, designing demagogues, and weak-minded gritualists, is strong enough and mean enough to bring rain and catastrophe upon the country, no ess will doubt, but the more healthy sentiment of the community renders their exertions impotent. It is to be regretted that on this roll of infamy is to be found the names of some citizens, who should be in better business, but as it is, they must bur all the odium which will hereafter be heaped sponthem. Dog Tray was once found in bad com-

[Black lines are drawn around the list.] Democratic papers, North and South, please copy Worcester Bay State.

On the 15th day of January, A. D., 1857, a set On the 15th day of January, A. D., 1857, a set of weak-minded men and strong-minded women-making, on a fair average, a numerous set of mental enuchs—units in a convention to dissolve the Fedral Union. 'Lord, forgive them, for they knowns what they do!' There is Fayal Higginson, with the wound in his head yet gaping, apparently wholly unconscious that when the brains were out, the min would die. There are the dealers in lumbers of in chean downsties. The area to the dealers in lumbers of inchean downsties. brand in cheap domestics; water doctors and newstapt pellers; patrons of needy widows and sentimatal drapers and clothiers; each and all intent
upes kindling their farthing candle upon the sacrifeel altar of the Union. Emersonian school-teachers and niggers; city architects, civil and un-civil eginers; professional and scrub dentists; men Charch, that they may place a saw-horse thereon to distarb the congregation—and their compeers, whose sals naver admit any ambition loftier than that of thanbing the touchhole at a Democratic salute; white gus-fitters and black seavengers; in fine, all explance of humanity, and credited by an exceed ing charity with the possession of its attributes; the miscrible and irresponsible gang crowd up to fast upon the broken and dissevered fragments of risrious Constitution

In fact, upon examining the list of signatures, we fai that discrimination is impossible. Main street and Pine meadow kiss each other, the Moire Antique viite and black,—niggers and merchant tailors MeVey and the reporter of last autumn's muster stall-fed restaurateurs and Main street silk merchants. The mania for Disunion is rampant, and the name of its advocates legion.—Ibid.

Dissolving Views .- The Disunion Convention bidders yesterday was a most marked, successful failer. Small in numbers, originating nothing new, practical, or useful, it met without any definite perpose and closed without accomplishing anything. The Union may possibly be dissolved sometime, but not in consequence of anything that these folks can be called the consequence of anything that these folks can be called the calle

my et do.

The principal business of most of the speakers seemed to be to annihilate Hon. Henry. Wilson, but we think he will live notwithstanding, to do much god serice yet in the anti-slavery cause. The people of Worcester do not sympathize with those who composed this disunion assemblage, and cared so little about it, that even curiosity did not draw out a respectable attendance of spectators. Let the nists slide. - Worcester Transcript.

SENATOR WILSON AND THE DISUNIONISTS .- A few SYATOR WILSON AND THE DISUNIONISTS.—A few Morthern ultraists, who go for the dissolution of the Union; as do the Southern Brookses, Keitts, Jeff. Daviss, Wises, and other model 'Democrats' of the molen school, held a convention at Worcester, Massichusetts, last week. They made some rabid speches, and passed some rabid resolutions; but we believe that, at the time the convention adjourned, the Union still stood. The chief speakers abused Han. Henry Wilson and other Republican leaders very much in the style of the sham Democratic orates and pressure very much in the style of John S. when it the style of the sham Democratic ora-ters and presses—very much in the style of John S. Wells, and the New Hampshire Patriot. The Com-mittee of Arrangements of this Ishmaelitish conven-ba invited Senator Wilson to attend, and in reply got a patriotic letter, which not only shows his own make position as that of a statesman devotedly at-tached to the 'Union of these States,' but also that of the great Republican the great Republican party, as one which loves the Union, and will maintain it against all the achinations of 'Democratic' or other traitors. Rad his letter.—Independent (N. H.) Democrat.

ARCHTIONISM.—Last week, a convention was held Worcester, Mass., to take measures to dissolve the Union. We can assure our friends, that, unless that it is a second to the Control of the Union was needed. the tilent and inflammatory appeals in some of our paper on the subject of slavery are stopped, the day a not far distant when the public mind will be ripe for an overt act of treason to the Union. When the public mind has become accustomed to hear negrotalers ranked with the American heroes of Bunker Hill, and been brought to believe that our Constitutional obligations are not binding, the traitorous aps to sever the confederacy will be natural and say. It is a remarkable fact, that the most violent pulpipes against slavery are now written and published by those who have spent 'their best days' in slowating the party that, for the last twenty years, has been continually extending it.

is high time that the friends of the Union, in ablican ranks, formed an undivided front in the dangerous sentiments with which rene-tions the Democratic ranks are striving to imrom the Democratic ranks are striving to the regnate the Republican party. It is our duty to maintain the Constitution in its integrity, as well at to prevent the extension of slavery by force and trad. Lot us, then, unite in discharging our whole day, Paterson (N. J.) Independent Democrat. THE 'DISUNION' MOVEMENT.

The recent 'Disunion Convention' at Worcester was of no importance, except so far as it may afford materials for the Democrats in the system of plausible misrepresentation which they have adopted toward their opponents. The Disunion Convention was neither more nor less than a regular, old-fashioned, puzzle-headed Garrisonian meeting, just such a thing as all intelligent men have laughed at, or smiled over for these twenty years or more. such a thing as all intelligent men have laughed at, or smiled over, for these twenty years or more,—with two or three politicians of no consequence thrown in, by way of showing that the Abolitionists do make progress—after a sort. It is because of the presence of these politicians at the Convention that it differs a little from its predecessors. In them, the abolitionism was pure and unadulterated, and although an extremely flat thing, was honest as the water which it so strongly, though in weakness, resembled. The last Convention, however, was favored with the presence of two or three gentlemen, who, though somewhat notorious for the ultraism of their free soil ideas, were not suspected of being disunionists until they betrayed it at Worcester. of their free soil ideas, were not suspected of being disunionists until they betrayed it at Worcester. Their conduct and their words will afford grounds for Democratic lies at the expense of the Fremont party, and for a little extra bellowing on the part of the office-holders in behalf of the Union, meaning the union of themselves and good fat places, which is the only union they care any thing about. This may not be without some effect on the elections to may not be without some effect on the elections to certain States, for the people are thoroughly attached to the Union, and the mere suspicion that its existence is threatened by men who have belonged to a party, may prove injurious to that party. But such an effect cannot be permanent. It is so obvious that such men do not represent a party to which they once belonged, but have formally abjured, and it is so evident that disunionism can never be strong here, that no sensible man can long be imposed upon by the selfish, lying, swindling cant of the miscrable journals of the contemptible pro-slavery democracy. Considered, therefore, as a practical thing, the Disunion Convention was a ridiculous failure. At a distance, it may be regarded as having been an important affair, and some simple souls may be deat a distance, it may be regarded as naving been an important affair, and some simple souls may be deluded into the belief, by the vehemence of democratic lying, that the integrity of the Union is threatened. Here, it is difficult even to argue against the doings of such a body, because we cannot bring ourselves to think them of any importance. The cannon-ball that crumbles granite to pieces, will plump into a mud-bank, and make no impression rhatever. There must be resistance in order to afford an assailing force the opportunity that is necessary to show its strength. Now, there is no resisting power in our disunionists. Soberly to argue against their views, would be just as childish as it would be to erect a battery of heavy guns to sweep away the drop-curtain of a theatre. If others thouse to attribute to them an importance they do choose to attribute to them an importance they do not deserve, by having resort to falsehood of the

The more closely we look at this matter, the more of Parach's lean kine, metamorphosed into the ludicrous must appear the combination of lunatics tion between the thing proposed to be done, and the means for doing it is so great, that we should have to look into some madder St. Luke's than is to be found on this earth to discover an equally absurd thing. The nine tailors of Tooley street, who proclaimed themselves 'The People of England,' were a modest body compared with a score or two of crack-brained Abolitionists who have resolved upon the dissolution of the Union. They have been half a generation at the work, and their numbers are positively less than they were where they compared their tion at the work, and their numbers are positively less than they were when they commenced their crusade. Some of the most enthusiastic of the early Abolitionists are dead. Others have become sane. The whole of them combined couldn't man an almshouse. Now and then, a foolish politician or two, who have been disappointed of getting office, join them, and they make as much fuss over such acquisitions as a cock and his hens over an unexpected heap of garbage. We do not understand how it is those Democrats, who roar so lustily about the danger that exists from the originous and the acts of the those Democrats, who roar so lustily about the danger that exists from the opinions and the acts of the Abolitionists, can keep their faces while doing so. Roars of laughter are all that such folly can be held worthy of. Some say that it onght to be treated after the Heracletian fashion, and wept over. To this view we cannot subscribe. There ought to be something bitter and dangerous about that folly which leads to tears falling from the spectator of it; and we should like to know if there is any one in New England so given up to delasion as to suppose that Tom Higginson or Amasa Walker could, by any possibility, be considered dangerous animals! As well might children be locked up to preserve them from being eaten by jackasses, as the Union be guarded against the exertions that these terrible fellows are directing to its destruction. Garrison might be a dangerous man if he had the power to carry out his designs, for he is an honest fanatic and a man of decided talent; but he is powerless as Napoleon himself would have been on a desert island. All over New England be could not muster a couple About toniests, can keep their laces while doing so held worthy of. Some say that it ought to be keep the something the something bitter and dangerous about that folly can be something bitter and dangerous about that folly which leads to tears falling from the spectator of it; and we should like to know if there is any one in New England so given up to delasion as to suppose that Tom Higginson or Amasa Walker could by any possibility, be considered dangerous animals that well might children be locked up to preserve them from being caten by jackasses, as the Union being caten by jackasses, as the Union being attenting to its destruction. Garrison might be a dangerous man if he had the power to arry out his designs, for he is an honest fanatianal and some from selended talent; but he is powerber at Napoleon himself would have been on a desect island. All over New England he could not muster a couple of hundred men to follow him, and the half of them would be found insane on examination. Surely, the Union is safe enough against such men as these!

**Thursday last, at which the principal actors were of the Garrison school. Among the lettors read was one from Senator Wilson, expressing the most decided opposition to the movement. The reporter of the Sprinffeld Republicans states that, in all its externals, as well as in the aim and spirit of the proceedings, it was one of the old-fashnised Garrison school. Among the lettors read was one from Senator Wilson, expressing the most decided opposition to the movement. The reporter of the Sprinffeld Republicans states that, in all its externals, as well as in the aim and spirit of its precedings, it was one of the old-fashnised Garrison school. Among the letters were the same front seats filled with men loaded with immence beards and long hair, who did not say anythingmen having no visible means of support. There were also the Hutchinsons, Garrison, Phillips, May, Aby Kaley Foater, and the rest. But the people were not being development and the providence Journal of the pr

most outrageous character, they can do so, this being a free country, with the right of Democrats

South Carolina, and thinks that the latter might team a thing or two from the former. On the other hand, the Providence Journal calls attention to the points of contrast between those two sets of men. It has not been disuniquists stand alone, no political party, and no State government, or body of men, approving of their sentiments or actions, which are condemned on all sides, and by everybody, and in every way, in pulpit, press, and parior. The Southern disunionists are the especial peta of a great party, and constitute a regular and mighty element in all political calculations. If a candidate for the

Presidency were to hear that the Northern dis-unionists were supporting him, he would not rest till he should have had every telegraph and every newspaper in the land, expressing to the world his horror at the very idea of any thing of the kind taking place. On the contrary, the support of the Southrin disunionists conveys to such a candidate as-surances that he is about to succeed, even though there should be a majority of half a million of the there should be a majority of half a million of the voters against him. The Northern disunionist is called an 'incendiary.' The Southern disunionist is called a 'chivalric gentleman.' The Northern disunionists are just about the most harmless set of men that ever lived, and have not half so much effect on the world as the fly had on the coach wheel, while those of the South are the most practically mis-chievous fellows that ever disturbed human peace, and rule the Republic with the tyranny of Sol but not a particle of his wisdom.

SLAVES

LOTET

From the Boston Courier, Jan. 24th. DISUNION CONVENTIONS ... WHO ARE BENEFITED BY THEM P

There would be no hope for nations, and this

There would be no hope for nations, and this would speedily become attested on this side of the Atlantic, if the assertions of every pelitical partizan and newspaper expressed the exact sentiments of the people, either North or South. Once in four years the whole nation must ostensibly get mad about something, and since the federal government was formed, we do not think that it has been more thorough the people of the source of the oughly demented than at present. Some Northern papers during the late contest were rampant about Southern aggression, and the Southern complained against Northern turpitude. We were told to beal, because they were trying to introduce their favorite institution into a distant territory. For the last few years the North, or portions of it; have been dictating imperative terms of emancipation to the South—an issue they had no constitutional right to meddle with; and the South, partly in the spirit of retaliation, and partly to give their institution an upward jog, were forcing, not talking, their way towards supremacy in Kansas. It may be that the South are not acting fair. But have the North uniform the supremacy in the supremacy of t formly minded their own business? Certainly, Caro-lina has not said to Massachusetts, you must own and keep slaves; but Massachusetts has told Caro-lina that she must free hers. The North does not advocate slavery, but we would rather see the slaves where they are, than to see the Union torn sacriwhere they are, than to see the Union torn sacrilegiously asunder, just to liberate them, and not accomplishing even that. Who in the whole land
would be benefited by disunion? Who believes
if the Union were disruptured to-day, that there
would be a single slare the more free? Would not
the South, in their immeasurable spirit of resistance,
encompass the slave with triple bonds, that he might
not escape? How are their chances of freedom to
be increased, unless the people of the North go down
and rescue them, by force of arms? And if they
should rise en masse—as we are told they would, but should rise en masse—as we are told they would, but which, by the way, is improbable—and subdue their to lie, as fully and clearly guaranteed as that to hold or breed and sell men, women and children as which, by the way, is improbable—and subdue their masters, which would be impossible—where are the self-emancipated negroes going to? Where could they go, but to pour, in one ebon cataract of darkness—three millions of them—into the wide-extendsachusetts has evinced an extraordinary regard for their welfare, very likely great numbers of them would flock to her peaceful confines, giving be boasted society a most singular complexion! We should be obliged to re-enslave them to protect ourselves, and thereby contract for our own free States the same evil we preach against. We might enlarge on the evils that would naturally ensue from such an inundation of wretched negroes, but we regard all projects for their emancipation as chiefly imaginary, and of utter impracticability. The blacks must have existence somewhere, either North or South, or they must live under another government of their own, in another land. They are too ignorant to take care of themselves,—the natural intelligence of the race cannot be improved,—and some one, if they are to live in any other condition than utter cannibalism and licentious degradation, must take care of sachusetts has evinced an extraordinary regard for them. In these days money is conscience, and we think that the negro is far better off with his South-ern master, than he would be if left to the benevo-lence of his Northern friends. How then is any

one, any where, to be benefited in any way, shape or manner, by disunion?

But let us see wherein the South is getting so

THE DISUNION CONVENTION AT WORKERS.

This meeting seems to have been different from the ordinary Garrisonian Conventions, only in the point of having been called, in part, by a class of persons hitherto supposed not to be in sympathy with Mr. Garrison. This difference was, however, more marked in the Call for the Convention, than was seen in the Convention when assembled. It then was very much the same thing as an ordinary meeting of Mr. Garrison and his friends, and is of the same significance, except that it was feebler in its arguments. If the movement had any root in common sense, the men who have it in hand are not without the moral and mental resources to make it

seriously felt. But it would be hard to hit upon any course of action, as a remedy for slavery, in fare of mo account, as hatchers of sedition and disuring a side the argument that the Constitution of the United States is pro-slavery, there is nothing left to hang a decent shadow of an argument upon. About all that can be said in favor of holding meetings, professedly with a view to effect the dissolution of the Union, is, that the extravagance of the proposition may possibly wake up some.

The proceedings of the Disunionist Convention of holding meetings, professedly with a view to effect the dissolution of the Union, is, that the extravagance of the proposition may possibly wake up some drowsy soul to the existence of slavery, who had else slept on in utter indifference to the question. This Worcester meeting seems to have originated in some such an idea, and on this account, as well as others, should not be contemplated with alarm, nor treated with derision. It was to do something out of the common way—an excellently well-meant something—but one remarkably wanting in rationality. Dissolve the Union! well, what then? Would a single blabilitionist be made by it? Would a single slave be freed by it? Would the people of the free States feel any more kindly, or act any more justly towards the colored people than before? Would it increase the power of the North to make its will the law of the South? Would it make Northern men any more homest, any more just and benevolent? Will it increase the facilities of Abolitionists for effecting the abolition of slavery? Would it give the North even one more means of shortening the days of slavery, which it did not before possess? Will the views and wishes of the North be likely to receive higher consideration after, than before the dissolution of the Union? Will a dissolution of the Union? Will a dissolution of the South be brought, by a dissolution of the Union, more directly and helplessly under the force of the moral sentiment of the North? Will a dissolution give the North any better right to interfere with slavery in the slave States, than they now have under very in the slave States, than they now have under very in the slave States, than they now have under the force of the work and states supporters.

give the North any better right to interfere with slavery in the slave States, than they now have under the Union? Will it, in any single particular, lessen the power of the slaveholder to hold his slave, or increase the power of the North to abolish the slave system? Now, it seems to us that facts, and the suggestions of common sense, have but one answer to these questions—and that is, a simple negative to one and all of them.

To give up the Union would be a cruel abandonment of the slave to slavery, inasmuch as it would place him in the same relation to the people of the North, as is sustained by the same people to the slaves of Cuba and the Brazils. If it is proposed that when the Union is dissolved, we shall go into the slave States, and abolish it by force, our answer is, that we should believe a little more of that, if we could point to an example where something of that ould point to an example where something of that sort has actually been done—some case where the Yankees have quitted homes and firesides, business and merchandize, and gone forth to peril everything for the freedom of mankind. Should even this unooked for case come to view, we might yet prompt y ask the restless *Liberator*, why they wait for a dissolution in order to begin the work of forcible emancipation, when they know that such an inva-sion by the North would be the quickest and surest way to put an end to the Union itself?

'We pause for a reply.'

From the Boston Evening Ledger

THE LUNATICS LET LOOSE. Our readers have already perused our report of the proceedings at Worcester yesterday, of a body of men assembled to consider the propriety of tak-ing steps for the dissolution of the Union. The ing steps for the dissolution of the Union. The fools are not all dead yet, as anybody can see. But we think this is the first time they have had the face to assemble in Convention. It is odd that the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company did not run an extra train for the occasion, and put down the farce to half price. Thousands would perhaps have been glad to avail themselves of the opportunity to look in on a cage of curiosities such as no times but these queer times of ours ever furnished. The Worcester Transcript says of it that 'it was a most marked, successful failure. Small in numbers, originating nothing new, practical, or useful, it met without any definite purpose, and closed without accomplishing anything.'

complishing anything.'
To understand, in a few words, just what this on of the series of resolutions passed by them, that expresses their whole purpose and plan:—

Resolved. That henceforward, instead of regarding Resolved, I not henceforward, instead of regarding it as an objection to any system of policy, that it will lead to the separation of the States, we will proclaim that to be the highest of all recommendations, and the greatest proof of statesmanship; and will support, politically or otherwise, such men and measures as appear to tend most to this result.

pear to tend most to this result.

There! If there could be a madder project conceived by man, we would like to know what it is. Here are men standing up in broad daylight, and denouncing the whole of the great and glorious work done by our fathers; coldly canvassing the prospects of success for a plan to overthrow a confederacy on whose existence depend the highest and dearest hopes of the human race; pledging themselves to do all they can to destroy the sentiment of national brotherhood, and set at eternal enmity the different sections of this great Union; and promising for the future to work and pray for the consummation of a scheme that shall make all patriots hang their heads in shame, and provoke the condemnation of the civilized world. These are the purposes of these madmen. We rejoice to know that they do not receive the countenance of any patriotic man in the community.

men. We rejoice to know that they do not receive the countenance of any patriotic man in the community.

What is all this but treason? Treason not only to one's country, but to everything that is dear to the heart and hope of humanity. Treason to all things that are true, manly, and a part of good citizenship. Treason that deserves not alone the contempt and execration of men everywhere, but the tightening of a good strong halter about the necks of those who so basely propose it. They may say on their own behalf, it is true, that similar conventions have been assembled from time to time at the South, among the fanatics and fire-enters who infest the swamps of that part of the country; but that makes but a small excuse for them. They only plead the example of persons whose conduct and a contempt have again and again earned the open condemnation of all men who truly call themselves American citizens. When they are driven to such a resource in extenuation of their conduct, we may be sure they are as base and desperate as those whose example they produce.

Men will read their rantings and ravings, and wonder where they are. Is this America? Is this the last half of the nineteenth century? Do we still live to speak of a united confederacy, cristing for the purpose of establishing and extending the blossings of freedom? Are we yet anchored to that firm old rock, the Constitution, or are we drifting and plunging into the mad seas of folly, and fanaticism, and disunion? Have we so soon forgotten the sacrificets and rich legacies of our fathers, so carly spurned their wise connects, so readily forgotten the high hopes they reposed in the men of our generation?

But this demonstration proves nothing, unless it is the insanity of those who projected it. The lead-

give the North any better right to interfere with sla- ly, if not quite all the delegates to this convention

A small number of persons of both sexes, calling themselves the State Convention of the Disunionists of Massachusetts, assembled at Worcester, yesterday, 'to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the free and slave States.' Prominent among the leaders of this assemblage, we notice the names of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, T. W. Higginson, S. S. Foster, and his wife, Abby Kelley Foster, the well-known Garrisonians, who, for more than ten years past, have been vainly laboring to create a disunion party in Massachusetts. The only other persons known to the public, who appear to have taken part in the proceedings, are F. W. Bird, of Walpole, and Thomas Earle, of Worcester, formerly members of the Free Soil, and since of the Republican party. Mr. Bird presided over the Convention.

the Convention.

We do not believe that the accession of these two gentlemen to the ranks of the disunionists will be likely to produce any considerable sensation in the public mind; nor do we consider that their seces Republican platform, will result in any harm politi-cally, except to themselves. They are doubtless not without influence in their respective localities of Walpole and Worcester, but their influence upon the State of Massachusetts is not considerable enough

to be made the subject of an estimate.

We have already expressed in advance our opinion of the folly and mischievousness of this attempt to get up a disunion party in Massachusetts, or anywhere else. Utterly powerless, even for evil, in the free States, by inflaming the already excited fanaticism of their people, and thus retarding the development of that anti-slavery sentiment which still exists at the South,—though temporarily crushed into silence by the violence of the slavery propagandists,—nothing could be devised better calculated to prolong the present reign of terror at the South, and to strengthen the hands of the ultrasslaveholders, than these intemperate attacks upon the Union and its friends at the North. At all times impotent and absurd, this disunion movement times impotent and absurd, this disunion movement is especially deserving of the strongest reprehension at a moment whon, for the first time in our history, eleven of the most powerful States in the confederacy have arrayed themselves, by overwhelming majorities, under the banner of a party organized on the principle of unrelenting opposition to the extension of slavers. lavery.

THE 'DISUNION CONVENTION' AT WOR CESTER.

THE 'DISUNION CONVENTION' AT WORCESTER.

We see but small occasion for assailing the harmless gentlemen who met at Worcester to take measures to bring about a Discolution of the Union. We
might ransack books of quotations, and find a
plenty of objurgatory expressions about traitors or
ingrates, and all that sort of thing, but it would
not be fair or wise to apply them to the members of
this Convention. They are anti-slavery men; nobody doubts that, and we shall not deny their right
to discuss the subject of discolution, or to establish
a party to bring about a separation. Thought is
free, in this country, to a reasonable degree, and it
is quite too late in the nineteenth century to deny
to any set of men the right to discuss the subject of
their political relations with the South. If they
commit treason, of which there is no sort of prospoet, the government officers may be safely trusted to
take care of them. We do not agree with General
wilson that the movement will put any new burden
upon anti-slavery men, or impair their influence.
At least, it will not have this effect upon the Republlican party, which cannot be made responsible for
its eccentricities. It is quite impossible for the opponents of that party to lie about it any more vehemently than they have already done, and the protestations which have been made, that we have no
sympathy with Disunionists, will not cause our enmies to lie any the less. The Republican party, in
point of fact, as the slaveholders and abolitionists
both know, is a Union party, yet it has been clamored down as a Disunion party by a party governed
by Disunionists. General Wilson speaks of the intense, vehement and passionate spirit of nationality
of the people. The shaveholders have governed the
Union for years by threatening to dissolve it, and on
the principle that 'like cures like,' perhaps threats
to scom, in spite of the pretunded intense nationality of the people. The shaveholders have governed the
Union for years by threatening to dissolve it, an

or intended to break up the Union, with any such suddenness, at any rate, as to leave the people unprepared for the canstrophe. It was a meeting for discussion and agitation. There will be plenty of such meetings before the Republican party rallies for another national effort. We shall expect to see Disunion Conventions, Radical Abolition Conventions, Pree Labor and Free Sugar Conventions, all for the purpose of talking over the question which everybody must talk over until it is settled. There is smrely no cause for immediate alarm for the entry of the Union; if dissolution is to come, it will not come from Conventions of the Garrisonians, but from events forced upon the country by the dissuint of the Conventions of the Union was discussed all through the Presidential campaign. It was generally voted to be considerably above par. The slaveholders went in for it, because under it they were able to govern the North; the Custom House officers and Postmasters thought well of it because it paid them good salaries, and the masses of the people maintained it because they believed on the whole it was a good thing for themselves, and for the cause of civilization. Such it unquestionably is. It is not unlikely that the number of disunionists has somewhat increased by reason of slaveholding aggression, and that continued aggression will add still farther to their number, but it will take many more ounces, and even tons of outrage and insult to bring the people are aroused, we do not exactly see how the Union. All the alarm that and even to qualify as Justices of the Peace, but this will not dissolve the Union. All the alarm that expressed as to the danger to the country from uch meetings as the one at Worcester, is mere moon-

> DISUNION. The fanatics of Massachusetts are not Disurion. The fanatics of Massachusetts are not satisfied with the people's choice for the Presidency. The State which endorsed Sumner's revolutionary sentiments and blackguard harangues is rife for a separation between the North and the South. Greeley, that prince of political humbugs and tool of fanaticism, publishes a call signed by ninety of her citizens, 'and others,' for a convention to bring about a dissolution of the Union. Think of it, you

> who have added the circulation of that revolutionary and damnable sheet, the *Tribune*, in our midst! If not given over to believe a lie that you may be damned, repent in 'sackcloth and ashes,' and pray for forgiveness of Him who is the Ruler of nations.
>
> Every man who signed that call, and every one sympathising with it, are traitors to their country, and should meet the traitor's doom. The sectional and should meet the traitor's doom. The sectional appeals of the Tribune, made two years since, and carried into application during the last campaign, are now producing their intended effect. We believe in 'free speech and a free press,' but an enemy to the perpetuity of our Union should 'sleep the sleep which knows no waking.'—La Crosse Demo-

THE DISUNIONISTS. The disunionists have met discharged their fire, and withdrawn their battery. Their siege train might have been effective against a tea-party of old women, but as against the Union, it was like a pop-gun levelled at a locomotive. To it was like a pop-gun levelled at a locomotive. To those trembling patriots who believed in the might of this Convention, and who are asking, with doubts and misgivings, 'Stands the Union where it did?' we can answer, 'It does, my friends.' There was nothing new brought forward, no new men appeared in the field, no discovery of more efficient means of agitation was announced. The files of the Liberator will furnish every argument that was used; the platform of any Anti-Slavery Convention for the last ten years would have furnished the speakers. The Convention may be regarded as a dead failure. Sydney Smith's Mrs. Partington, with a mop in her hand, pushing back the waves of the Atlantic, met with more success.—Boston Herald, Jan. 16th.

'Picron,' the Boston correspondent of the N. Y. Evening Post, writes soothingly as follows:—

'Don't be alarmed about that foolish "Disunion 'Don't be alarmed about that foolish 'Disunion Convention,' held at Worcester yesterday. Here it is considered a joke, and is laughed at, though there is n't much fun in it. As a prominent Republican said to me this morning, the Convention was composed of Garrisonians, and two or three dyspeptics. The same gentleman says that he supposed it was held at this season, because it is a capital time to 'let the Union slide.' That will do. Mr. Bird, who presided, is a very reputable man, and a good fellow; but in this instance, he has succeeded admirably in making a—but let that pass. The denunciations of Senators Wilson and Hale will affect those gentlemen just as much as Ludwick Muggleton's denunciations of the Copernican system affected that system.'

A DISUNION CONVENTION, comprising the most ultra of the Anti-Slavery people, like Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and other lesser notabilities of that school of agitators, assembled at Worcester last week, and talked and resolved about a dissolution of the Union. We shall be curious to see how the Southern ultraists will relish a dose of their own medicine administered by Northern practitioners. Perhaps a hair of the Northern species will cure the bite of the Southern animal. Here disunionists are infinitely below par, and never would have risen into any other notoriety than to furnish amusement for the lookers on, had it not been for the unprecedented efforts of the especial Union savers of the past to exalt them into some sort of consequence. The Union savers may thank themselves for all the noise the Northern disunionists may now be enabled to make—but it is not to be presumed that, North and South combined, the Union will be overthrown at present.—Salem Register.

The men who composed the disunion convention at Worcester were heated, impulsive, furious, and unguarded politicians. They have nothing to express, except their hatred of slavery, in the abstract and in the principle, and they in their puny convention seem to think that they have some influence in the nation. The convention received letters from Amasa Walker, who is a very respectable man, but is also a very rotten politician—Hom. Heary Wilson, who, as a Senator of the United States, should have never acknowledged the meeting of this band of conspirators as worthy of his notice,—and from Theodore Parker, whose letter we give as a curiosity, and it is presented below.—Boston Courier.

The attempt to identify the Republican party with these disunionists is simply abourd. No hones man believes there is any sympathy between the two. Senator Wilson expressly repudiated the idea of dismion, and even Mr. Giddings certainly did no endorse it; and these two are, perhaps, the most extreme of the Republicans. The question of the dissolution of the Union is one which the Republican party never have discussed, and never proposed to discuss. It is aside from and foreign to any political action of any party of men in the Union, encept that of Brooks, Wise, & Co.—State of Mains.

F

he has at less offers with the salve of from he had be salve of from he had be

as e gro in e aive par rigg sta the sell oth are doo we be ing ne gro the

if his wind accordance with the control of the cont

BETTER FROM REV. DR. BELLOWS.

NO UNION WITH BLANKERS

New York, January 6th, 1857. My Deak Sin: Your invitation to me to particle

My Dear Six: Your invitation to me to participate in the Convention at Worcester, on Thursday, January 15th, called 'to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the free and slave States, and to take such measures as the condition of the times may require,' has been received, and is respectfully declined.

As you are kind enough to ask some communication from me, I seize the privilege of stating very frankly the reasons why I cannot join your Convention, and I am the more anxious to do this, because you base your invitation, not merely on my 'general position, but upon the fearless treatment of the subject of the Union' in my published sermon of November 2d. As I took no ground them not carefully measured, or from which I wish to recede a hair, it seems important, when my opinious attract the notice of a conscientious and intelligent body like yours, to have it distinctly understood what they are, and how entirely they differ from those of Dismionists.

For among these, if I mistake not, your Convention deliberately places itself. This might not appear from the closing paragraph of your call already quoted; but it is plainly intimated in the third paragraph, in which you declare yourselves as 'believ ing the existing Union to be a failure, as being a

graph, in which you declare yourselves as 'believ-ing the existing Union to be a failure, as being a hopeless attempt to unite under one government two antagonistic systems of society, which diverge more

widely every year.'
Your Convention, then, meets 'to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the free and slave States,'-with its mind made up that the Union is a failure, and its coherence an impossibility. Of course, then, you are Disunionists, and your only question can be, are Disunionists, and your only question can be, how is the safest and shortest manner to cut our Northern vessel of State loose from her Couthers consort, condemned by you as smitten with plague, and leaking at every seam—but at present lashed to our side, and badly intertangled with our rigging. You have a right to consider and debate this question of separation, and with your views I see not how you can avoid it. Certainly, I will lend no countemper to the political superstition which

countenance to the political superstition which makes this topic too sacred for light or touch. I protest against the Atheism which sets the Union above Reason Morality, Religion. Nor, on the other hand, am I so weak of faith in the Union, as to fear debate about its worth and durability, or to imagine that it has suffered from the hands of socalled fanatics, or will crumble under the resolutions of all the intelligent and conscientious men you can unite in Massachusetts, in pronouncing it 'a failure.'

But I am not a Disunionist. I do not think the Union a failure. I do not think the effort hopeless, 'to unite the North and the South.' I do not think

the country on the way to a rapid increase of hostil-ity between the two sections of the Union.

On the contrary, and despite the dreadful draw-back and mortification of slavery, I think the Union a great and admirable success. Notwithstanding the injury which slavery has done the political, the injury which surery has done the nation, who economic, and moral interests of the nation, who can deny that the general prosperity, growth, intelcan deny that the general prosperty, growth, intelligence, worth, repute, and power of the Confederacy, have immensely exceeded the best hopes of our federal founders? Whatever it might be under the very different circumstances in which locomotive arts now place us, there can be no question that the South, by her territory, climate, industry, rivers, statesmanship, patriotism, has contributed her fair share—though in a different line from the North to this common prosperity; and is entitled to our fraternal consideration for her past services in the general interest. If now she seem socially enfeebled, and threatened with internal convulsion by her 'peculiar institution.' I see no reason for deserting her. appeals touching the source of her troubles. We have derived, as a nation, great blessings from her statesmen, her industry, her very errors and misfortunes; and it would be ungrateful and selfish in us to abandon her at a moment when local pride and blinded self-interest madden her to propose separation from us.

The integrity of our National area is a just source of patriotic pride and devotion. To behold thirty millions of people speaking one language over three hundred millions of square miles—stretching 'as far as the East is from the West,' and the regions of perpetual snow from those of eternal summer-meeting at one centre for their laws, owning flag, and honoring one Constitution-is too rare, too promising, too glorious a spectacle, to allow any patriot to see the faintest chalk-mark of division drawn through it, hinting the line which custom-houses, soldiery, and legalized jealousies may after-wards engrave—without bitter tears of sorrow and

No: I cannot unite with you in calling the Union a failure. Nor do I think the effort hopeless to keep the North and the South united. For, must we regard slavery as the sole and permanent interest of the South? I detest that institution too heartily; believe it too plainly opposed to the will of God, and the interests of any region or people; hold too strong a faith in the power of reason, free discussion, and democratic institutions, to believe that the South will not presently begin to see the folly and peril of its own nearly fatal fondness for the system. Liberty and slavery are irreconcilable; but the North and South represent something more than either—a common blood, common heroes and patriots, a common constitution, a common country.-We are bound together by something stronger than the love of liberty, or the hatred of slavery—by gen-eral interests, affections and habits, a common origin, and an identical history. Slavery and freedom cannot live permanently together; and this is the reason why the North and the South should—that the liberty of the one may extinguish the slavery of the other. Do you reply, that the victim may chance to be liberty? Then, I answer, if the free

States, with the power in their own hands, canno keep slavery in its constitutional place while they remain in the Union, they have little reason for thinking they can defend themselves from its over-flow, should they go out of the Union. I am in favor of the Union, because I love the South, and hate ause I love the South, and hate slavery for her sake; in favor of the Union, because the Union which now upholds slavery can as easily -and more humanely and successfully than any other power-stop its extension, and so, perhaps, de-The free States have the power, and have always

had the power to keep slavery within its limits— which at any time would probably be death to it in as short a period as it could perish in with advan-tage to whites and blacks. What could be expected from the South, considering the lukewarm feeling and selfish behavior of the North in regard to the subject, but the pushing of its self-indulgent, hereditary system of slavery—suddenly grown vastly pro-fitable—to the utmost limits of our good-nature, indifference and cowardice, or, still worse, of our com-plicity with its hopes of a gain we shared? The North is really far more to blame than the South for the extension of slavery. The South had no power the extension of slavery. The South had no power to extend it without our consent; we had full power to prevent that extension without its consent; we have always had the power, and only wanted the will. We have it still, and are bound to exercise it. We had it at the last election, and did not use it, because we have those among us who do not hate slavery, and do not love liberty; who believe not in titutions, and only believe in our Union, be cause it keeps things as they are.

The last election, however, has shown that the

cause it keeps things as they are.

The last election, however, has shown that the North is waking up in conscience, courage, and sensibility to her duty, not to herself alone, but to the Nation, the Union, and Humanity. The astonishing effect of the free press in arousing the people, indicates what will be the triumph of another election. The South sees for the first time that the North is in earnest, feels its power, and is determining to exercise it. And this is having an admirable effect upon the discussion of the subject.

It has already forced the intellectual leaders and active statesmen of the South to intreuch themselves in a position of absolute defiance to the public opinion of the world. They have been driven for opinion of the world. They have too mplete sur-the first time to a step—the next to complete sur-render—i. c., the assertion of a code of morals, and render—i. c., the assertion of a code of morals, and a style of reasoning, entirely and exclusively their own, and which makes them moral and rational out-laws from the public morality of Christendom. What are the leaders of the Southern press, but inpirates and moral fillibusters? have been compelled to take the ground that slavery is no sin, and no misfortune—a righteous, useful, beneficent institution, descrying heroic defence, national adoption, and unlimited extension. The great ability, logical candor, manly audacity, and even moderation of manner with which these propositions have been maintained, have excited my intense admiration. Would that the other and better side had been sustained with equal strength and calmness?

But, what is left to those who are shut up in a forteres against which the world is combined? who defy the policy of the age, the sentiments of Christendom the fundamental principles of economy, justice and humanity? The only step-left for the South is to send in a flag of trues, and propose conditions of surrender. She has shot the last ball in her agreend, eaten her last biscuit, and may now known-shy confess that her position is desperate, and throw herself upon the mercy of the country, and the world. In these circumstances, I do not see 'a rapid increase in the hostility between the two sections of the Ultion.' On the contrary, I think the hostility reached its head in the last campaign—has begun to decline—as the movements of the Government in Kanasa and in Congress appear to indicate—and is never again likely to do anything but diminish. To make this certain, nothing is necessary but the maintenace of an absolute determination on the part of the free States, to deny, and result, and the South will and must decline further controversy, and yield to an irrestable processity. It is only as rivals, as equals in rights and powers, as hemispheres of one political globe, that we have maintained mutual hatted and jealousy. Let it be declared that we are not mere equals, or rivals, but the free States are, by the spiris and letter of the Constitution, by vertesentative rights and daty, have placed us in this balance, in which slavery and freedom, slave soil and free soil, slaveholders and free the national policy of the country. Mistake, apathy, folly, fast in the asse of this right and duty, have placed us in this balance, in which slavery and freedom, slave soil and free soil, slaveholders and free mere even in a perfect equipoise of rights and powers, until the turning of the scale has unhappily come to be parted as a muster of excellent sand assessment of the architectural discuss. The state is imbedility, discounted to the propulation of the state is indecility, discounted to the country. The state of the co men seem in a perfect equipoise of rights and powers, until the turning of the scale has unhappily come to be regarded as a master of accident and ancertainty, of nice manœuvre, or of bargain and com-

To meet this state of things within my own limited sphere of influence and responsibility, I maintained in the last campaign, and in my own pulpit in the sermon to which you refer, the duty of resisting the extension of slavery at the risk of the Union; and to embolden those who regarded this consequence as probable, I gave some reasons for thinking disamion, if forced upon us by the withdrawal of the South, a more supportable calamity to the North, than those who were trying to frighten Free Soilers from their Republicanism had represented it. But I was very far from expressing a desire for disunion, or from advocating separation, which I have never thought practicable, probable or expedient. It was as a threat from the South, that I brayed disunion; not as a proposition from the To meet this state of things within my own limbrayed disunion; not as a proposition from the

North, that I espoused it.

What I desire now and always to maintain is this: That our conscientious opposition to the ex-tension of slavery is not to be abated or colored by fears for the Union; and that, so far as it depends on the North, we are to stop its extension, let the consequences to the Union—to the North or the South—be what they will. This ground I believe to be the safe ground—the Christian, humane, patriotic, constitutional, unsectional, Union-saving ground. I take it as a lover of the North and a lover of the South; as a believer in the future of the United States. I take it as a hater of slavery, an undying foe to its extension, and a laborer for its overthrow and extinction in the speediest manner and time consistent with our whole duty as Ameri-

And here my letter might fully end, having said all that strictly belongs to the occasion. But I will venture to add some general observations in support

of its main object. of its main object.

If there ever was a country in which extreme measures and desperate strokes of policy were forbidden, it is one in which the principle of life is as young and vigorous as in our own. In youth, medicine and sur-gery are poor substitutes for the vis medicatrix nave have no more reason to depend on the strength of our constitution, and the rapidity with which we make new and wholesome blood, than any political patient ever before had, as seriously sick as political patient ever before had, as seriously sick as we are. The eight hundred thousand new people which every year is adding to our population; the fluid and changing character of our national life; the surprises and variations which our novel polit-ical state is ever springing upon us; the close rela-tions into which we are suddenly coming with the Old World; the substantial and practical character Old World; the substantial and practical character of our agricultural and mechanical classes, with their growing jealousy of cities—the centres of corrupt politics; the enormous power and intelligence which the West is acquiring; the manifest division of the South into as many schools of pro-slavery feeling as there are at the North of anti-slavery feeling—all these considerations suggest the wisdom of doing nothing more than our absolute duty and doing nothing more than our absolute duty and the second of the south of the substant secretaries—Samuel May, Jr., Charles K. Whipple.

Edmund Quincy, of Dedham; Alvan Howes, of Barnstable; William Ashby, of Newburyport; Joshua doing nothing more than our absolute duty and H. Robbins, of Weymouth; Charles F. Hovey, of select received. safety require, and waiting the developments of Providence and the future, which press on so Providence and the future, which press on so P. Knox, of Boston; Effingham L. Capron, of Worpowerfully, and with such promise of relief. The nasterly inactivity recomm nded by Mr. Calhoun, and so heedlessly forgotten by the South, is pre-scribed now for the North. As a nation, our future has always been unpredictable, because our circum-stances are purely original. Nothing has happened as our founders prophesied and hoped. We have mastered by the enormous energies, passions and opportunities which a new world and an emancipated common people have aroused or presented. But our growth, our education, our philanthropy, our religion, our trade and commerce, have astonished the world and ourselves. They have been very different from the programme; but have they not been very much better? It is not because of 'the manivery much better fest destiny,' but estiny,' but because of the mysterious proclivination, that I account any interference, not clearly demanded by duty, with the forces now at work, impolitie and useless. The horoscope of the South is partly illegible. The fats of the Afri-can race is hieroglyphic. Three millions and a half of people are not to be handled by contrivance; they gravitate with a providential tendency, as yet not clearly indicated. The Southern States, producing the great staples wanted by all the world—cotton, the great staples wanted by all the world—cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, corn, wheat—and by a system as old as themselves, are not likely, under any mere political stress, or any aspects of the subject yet presented, to abandon their constitutional rights and hereditary usage. Events yet undiscerned, in the late Convention at Worcester, met to consider the ternal necessities now unguessed, new discoveries at home or abroad, the rise of prophets, or the awak-ening of conscience among the slaveholders, the starting up of a true political genius, or great lead-er, among the blacks—it is in the womb of these er, among the blacks—it is in the womb of these such gross ignorance of the true spirit and pmiosophy possibilities that the real cure for slavery is now of the Anti-Slavery movement, as well as the feeling maturing. It is neither cowardice, sloth nor fatal-ism which prompts such a dependence; but awe in a prompts such a dependence; but awe in nee of forces which are as irresistible as esence of forces which are as irresistible as seent of the Northern barbarians upon the Roman empire, and with purposes as mysterious

and as fraught with good. of slavery, and in no blindness to its sinfulness in the light of this age, that I venture for a moment to look at the good which Providence is educing the country, so unfavorable to the influence of abstract ideas and disinterested sentiments, have been the agitations and the enthusiasm connected with the Anti-Slavery movement. Furthermore, the bar-rier of black labor has confined the stream of emirier of black labor has confined the stream of clar-gration within the healthy, invigorating, but less natural, parallels of latitude which now continue the belt of Northern industry, habits, and feelings, to the Pacific ocean. It is not too much to say that the belt of Northern industry, habits, and feelings, to the Pacific ocean. It is not too much to say that the whole destiny of the Nation depended upon the rapid extension of New England capital and influence westward, instead of southward; while our foreign emigration owes its beneficent character and prospects to the connection it has formed with the Northern soil, climate, and ideas. The vast extent to which our territory has thus been opened, and the forced but healthy growth of the North-West, have created an area of Freedom, and a population worthy of it, which is rapidly diminishing the general ratio of blacks to the whites in the country at large, so that, at the present rate, their the general ratio of blacks to the whites in the country at large, so that, at the present rate, their relative importance, whether in political, economic, or social respects, will, in twenty years, present a far less serious problem than now. The calls for domestic service, in a country developing so rapidly independence and equality among the white race, would, perhaps safely and beneficently, absorb the blacks, even if they sustained to the whites the ratio of ten millions to a hundred millions, should

and all we can. Less than that is imbecility, disloyalty and eternal disgrace.

With these sentiments, I cannot join your Conrestion, for I profess none of the articles of faith
upon which your call is founded. But as a friend
of free debate, and a respecter of conscientious convictions, however unpopular or unwise, I wish you
unlimited liberty of discussion, and anticipate no
tharm from your conferences to the Republic.

With the higest personal respect, yours truly,
HENRY W. BELLOWS.

EDITORIAL ABSENCE. We shall be absent from ou ditorial post for two or three weeks-attending Anti Slavery Conventions in Rochester, Syracuse, Utica Albany, &c. During that time, THE LIBERATOR Will be under the care and supervision of our esteemed and faithful coadjutor, Mr. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Such a 'Refuge of Oppression' as we lay be ore our readers this week !-covering the whole our first page, and representing every political phase -Whig, Democratic, Know-Nothing, Republic Radical Political Abolition,'-the Boston Course and Frederick Douglass's Paper fraternising, and propounding the same objections,—and all professing de-votion and loyalty to 'our glorious Union,' though ready enough to tear out each other's eyes!

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

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Massacru ETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held in this city n Thursday and Friday, Jan. 29th and 30th, comnencing at the Meionaon, Tremont street, at 101 A. M. of Thursday. FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, at tha

hour called the meeting to order, and proposed the following, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, for the organization of the meeting :-Committee on Business-Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wen

dell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Maria W. Chapman Eliza Lee Follen, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles E.

James N. Buffum, of Lynn; William ing, of Concord; John Clement, of Townsend.

Committee on Finance-Lewis Ford, E. D. Draper Darius M. Allen, Elbridge Sprague.

The recommendation of the Committee of Arrange ents was unanimously adopted, and the above elected to their respective offices. The President announced that opportunity was af

forded to any who might wish to offer prayer, either vocal or silent. SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer, presented his r

port of the Receipts and Expenditures of the Society uring the past year. [See Report on third page.] Voted, to accept the Treasurer's Report, and print with the proceedings.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent of the Society esented, and read portions of, his Annual State On motion of H. C. Wright, and seconded.

Voted, to accept and print the statement of th General Agent.

The Business Committee, by WENDELL PHILLIPS

practicability, probability, and expediency of a sepa ration between the free and slave States, -so unlike tone the letters of his fellow-Republicans, evincing and wishes of Massachusetts, and utterly lacking in that unflinehing purpose and-wide toleration which alone can unite the North in effectual resistance to the Slave Power.

It is in no mood of apology for the gigantic evil not written with a single eye to the audience of slavery, and in no blindage to the audience 2. Resolved, That, in our opinion, that letter we fulness in dressed, but for another purpose, and to suit the meridian of Washington; and that if its object really from it. Men's errors and crimes do not thwart God's benevolence; and it is among the greatest triumphs of divine goodness that the wrath of an institution like American Slavery has been made to praise Him. Its existence has kept alive a discussion of human rights which has been highly important to the general education of the nation; while the material prosperity and utilitarianism of the country, so unfavorable to the influence of abstract ideas and disinterested sentiments, have been more ready to attack, and less eager and adroit to was to assure the South that he has no affinity with more ready to attack, and less eager and adroit to apologize-less the slave of forms, and more resolute

to establish justice and secure liberty at every hazard. 3. Resolved, That we see with deep indign that Mr. Wilson, who so well knows the utter differ ence between the sincerity and the motive for ou effort to break the Union, and that of the South, still joins us with them in the same condemnation language which, however adroitly chosen, cannot but be understood, in the circumstances, to refer to the disunion movement in New England,—as follows:-

'Then we are charged in the [President's] message with having entered upon a path which has a possible outlet but disunion. When the Republica party was organized, the avowal was made that the Union must be maintained. The declaration of Mi Webster, 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, on and inseparable;' the declaration of Andrew Jackson Webster, 'Liberty and Oneand inseparable;' the declaration of Andrew success
'The Union must be preserved,' were borne throughout the canvass on all our banners. In the public
press, and before the people everywhere, the doctring
was maintained that we were for the Union; and if
any man, North or South, laid their hands upon if
they should die, if we had the power, traitor deaths
they should die, if we had the power, traitor deaths

These resolutions were debated by JAMES N. Bur-PUM, HEMBY C. WRIGHT, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Rev.

D. A. Wasson, Wm. L. Gannison, and Anny K. Foarnen. Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

Arrangon. The President in the chair. The ns, under discussion at the time of adjourn-

ment, were read again.

PARKER PILLSBURY addressed the meeting in support of the resolutions in a speech of much force an

Rev. D. A. Wasson spoke, partly in critipartly in defence of the Republican party. He said he was not a disunionist, and never had been, but didn't know how soon he should be obliged to take that ground to preserve his own self-respect. He deprecated the apologetic tone which so many of the Republicans have used in Congress and elsewhere, when charged with being Abolitionists, and desiring the overthrow of slavery throughout the Union.

Wasson if he would still hold to his opinion, namely, that the slaves should patiently remain in slavery twenty-five years longer, if necessary, rather than resert to violence to effect their freedom—provided his wife and children, or he himself, were the victims of alavery. Mr. Wasson replied that he thought it would be the highest heroism, even then, to stand by his position, though he made no professions for himself how far he might possess that heroism.

Mr. May, on behalf of the Committee of Arr ments, offered the following resolution, which was

Resolved, That each member of the Society, and each friend of the Anti-Slavery cause now present, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar, or ther sum as they shall please, towards defraying

W. L. GARRISON addressed the meeting in reply to some points advanced by Mr. Wasson. He defended the Abolitionists from the imputation of intolerance. He showed the inconsistency and wrong of the Re-publican party in upholding the union with slave-

Adjourned to meet at Mercantile Library Hall, at

Evening. Society met at Mercantile Library Hall. EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, one of the Vice Presidents,

the general question of the debasing and demoralizing influences which our connection with slavery has exerted upon the entire nation. He thought there was not on the face of the earth, among nations pretending to civilization, any people so incapable of distinguishing, between right and wrong, as the people of the United States. There is, he said, an indifference to crime, a general looseness in regard to justice, a propensity to robbery and fraud-organized robbery Mr. Chairman, to be sure, said Mr. Wright,-such as can be nowhere else found to an equal degree. Mr. Wright contrasted the position of the States of Wisconsin and Massachusetts, with regard to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law within their respec tive borders,-much (and deservedly) to the disad vantage of Massachusetts. He concluded his remarks by offering a series of resolutions, pronouncing the existing Union a failure, and asserting the right of the slave to free himself by force, if ever force may be used. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., moved the reference of the reso-

lutions to the Business Committee. Seconded. JAMES N. BUPPUM protested against one of Mr. Wright's resolutions, which he regarded as advising

iolence and blood Mr. Garrison replied to Mr. Buffum, who, he thought, misconceived the resolution. He also commented on Mr. Wasson's position, taken this afternoon, that we might call on the slave to consent, and if slaves ourselves might consent, to await for twentyfive years a peaceful termination of slavery, rather than to precipitate it by violence. Mr. Garrison spoke eloquently on the sin against God and his own soul which that man commits, who consents to his own slavery, or to that of another man, for twentyfive hours or twenty-five seconds. (Loud applause.) Mr. WASSON, Mrs. A. K. FOSTER, Mr. BUFFUM, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Gleason, continued the discus-

Mr. Wright's resolutions were referred to the Busi-

PARKER PILLSBURY addressed the meeting in a very wholly spared, but receives universal laudation? earnest, serious, and touching speech. He spoke of the declaration of John Quincy Adams, George N. Briggs, and other eminent Northern men, that the annexation of Texas was cause for the dissolution of the Union, ament to which Massachusetts ought not to submit, and, in their judgment, would not submit. If there was reason enough for Disunion then, how much more numerous and strong are the reasons now! Men are telling us that it is not time for Disunion yet ! Will it ever be time? will there ever be grounds for dissolving this Union? can any degree of wrong justify us in separation? I say to you, said Mr. P., that instead of strengthening the North, and nerving it up for a dissolution of the Union bye and bye, every sucessive Southern insult and outrage strikes another paralytic blow on the Northern arm and cor

Mrs. LUCY STONE, (who was received with much applanse,) pointed out the merits and the demerits of the Republican party. She dwelt with sadness on the many evidences she had had of the want of a just and generous principle in its members; and on the other hand, was sure there were, in that party, so many young men whose souls were fired with a sincere love of liberty, that every possible effort to educate and lift them higher would be well bestowed.

WENDELL PHILLIPS addressed the meeting in uent comments upon the present position of Massachusetts, and of her public servants,—especially of Senators Sumner and Wilson,—in relation to the Union and Slavery.

Adjourned to Friday, 10 A. M.

FRIDAY.

Met at the Meionaon. The PRESIDENT in the chair.
The resolutions before the Society were read again by the Secretary.

On motion, the hour of 114 o'clock was assigned for the purpose of receiving Donations and Pledges to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the ensuing

HENRY C. WRIGHT addressed the Society, in sur port of the sentiments of the resolutions he pres ast evening; and closed with offering another resolu tion, bearing upon the slave's right of resistance.

JAMES N. BUFFUM again objected to Mr. Wright's iews and resolution, as virtually encouraging and inciting the slaves to insurrection. He read passag rention which formed the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, in which they set forth, in the clearest manner, that their principles are those of peace, and opposed to all violence and bloodshed.

HENRY C. WRIGHT reaffirmed his position, and deended it at length. PARKER PILLSBURY defended Mr. Wright's resolu-

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. replied to Mr. Buffum, and de fended the resolutions before the meeting, and the con-sistency of the Society in maintaining its original with them, in every town in which he could find an principles from the beginning.

The hour assigned for taking up Donations and Pledges to the Society having arrived, the Society was he died, of being a traitor to a slaveholding govern

ddressed in a very earnest and eloquent appeal by

Wanperl Phillips enlarged upon the reasons why the Abolitionists should contribute, to a degree greater than ever before, for the spread of their prin why all persons, indeed, professing to love freedom, abould sid the cause which is the basis of every effec tive movement against the Slave Power.

Enwin Thompson spoke effectively to the or

ARRY K. FOSTER again spoke on the same subject. olutions was then continued by W. L. Garrison, W. PRILLIPS, H. C. WRIGHT, J. N. BUFFUM, and LUCY STONE.

Adjourned to quarter of 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON. President in the chair.
HERRERT GLEASON expressed in earnest terms his revotion to the Anti-Slavery cause.

THEODORE PARKER spoke on the political aspects of the country to-day, with much point, humor and

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Co. ported the following resolutions, all of which had been informally before the meeting since yesterday after-

4. Resolved, That the American Union, as might hav en anticipated from the antagonistic nature of th parties to it, has proved a sad and total failure, having, from its formation to the present day, directly tended to the moral degradation and ruin of the American people, and the extension and perpetuity of the most dreadful form of bondage now known to mankind.

5. Resolved, That the present American Govern ment has proved a curse and calamity to the cause Human Freedom throughout the world; and, therefore, it is the right and duty of the people at once to alter or forever to abolish that government.
6. Resolved, That the people of the non-slave States

owe it to themselves and to their posterity, and to justice, liberty and humanity, to call town, county and State Conventions to consider the expediency and duty of forming a Northern Republic on the principle of No Union WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

Whereas, the fundamental organic law of Massa-chusetts is, that 'all men are born free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with an unalienable right to liberty'; therefore,
7. Resolved, That, to allow a man to be arraigned

and tried before any tribunal, on the issue, Is he a freeman or a slave is he a man or a chattel? is an atrocious violation of the fundamental law of the

8. Resolved, That it is the duty of Massachusetts to execute this fundamental law of her government and to forbid, by such laws as shall be deemed jusand necessary, the arrest and trial of any person living under her jurisdiction, on an issue so insulting to God and so derogatory to man.

9. Resolved. That we recognize it, as a fixed lay of our being, that 'Resistance to tyrants is obediene to God,' and that, under this law, it is the right and duty of the slave to deny the authority and resist the

power of the slaveholder. 10. Resolved, That, in every effort of the slave t obtain his freedom, whether by flight or insurrection our sympathics are, and ever must be, with him, and against his oppressor; and we pledge ourselves that we will do all in our power which we, as individuals, deem right and most fitting, to aid the enslaved in their struggle for liberty.

11. Resolved, That those who hold to the right of

armed resistance to oppression, and glorify their Revo-lutionary sires for their bloody conflict with British tyrants, are recreant to their own principles if they de not recognize this right on the part of the slaves against their tyrant masters, and assist them to achieve their complete enfranchisement.

12. Resolved, That the people of the North have long since passed the point where passive endurance of Southern insult, oppression and outrage is a virtue, even were there no inherent criminality in the Union itself : and we regard any furtheir delay of the dissolution of the Union, especially when based or nothing better than the action, or the hopes of political parties pledged to the support of slavery in the States, as not only delusive, but criminal in the very highest degree.

T. W. HIGGINSON addressed the Society. He com mented with great plainness and severity on the recenpeech of Henry Wilson on the President's Message He referred to the recent Disunion Convention a Worcester, to its calm and lofty position, and to the LYSANDER SPOONER asked why it was that, while

Ienry Wilson and other Republicans are sharply censured here, (and he agreed they should be,) Charle Sumner, who occupies the same position, is not only Mr. Puttering replied to Mr. St

extract from the Bee, which speaks of Mrs. Foster's severe criticism of Mr. Sumner, the day previous.

Mr. Garnison also replied to Mr. Spooner, showin that there were many and marked points of differen between Mr. Sumner and Mr. Wilson; yet that Mr umner was not universally nor unqualifiedly commended in this Society. EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on Nomina

ion, reported the following as officers for the ensuing

President-FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents-Andrew Robeson, New Bedford oshua T. Everett, Princeton; Effingham L. Capros Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Henry Bowditch, Boston ; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield Caroline Weston, Weymouth; Benjamin Snow, Jr. Pitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; James N Buffum, Lynn; John T. Hilton. Brighton; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Richard Clap. Dorchester; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thacher, Barnstable; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Charles Lenox Remond. Salem: John Clement. Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Lews Ford, Abington; Timothy Davis, Framingham. Corresponding Secretary-Samuel May, Jr., Leices

Recording Secretary-Robert F. Wallcut, Boston. Treasurer-Samuel Philbrick, Brookline. Auditor-Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Coursellors-William Lloyd Garris-Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Eliza Lee Follen, Anne W. Weston, Edmund Quiney, Charles K. Whipple, William I. Bowditch, Charles F. Hovey, John T. Sargent, Charles E. Hodges.

The report was unanimously accepted, and the officers accordingly elected. Adjourned to Tremont Temple at 7 o'clock

EVENING. The Society met in the Tremont Temple, according to adjournment. EDMUND QUINCY, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair.

HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke to the question of a dis

ution of the Union. He referred to the grow ing desire among the people to be rid of all connection with slavery; and declared his conviction the the majority of the people only waited for their leading men to go forward, their Giddingses, Sumners &c. He trusted the people would wait no longer, but take the matter into their own hands. He said h expected to remain in New England until the first of June, and was resolved to preach the doctrines of Redance to Tyrants, and of Dissolution of all Unio opportunity to speak. He declared his determi

PARKIN PILLABURY spoke with much power of the right of the slaves to rise in insurrection against their tyrants and enslavers. He spoke of what he deemed remarkable fact, in the recent cases of insurre tates, when the slaveholders were in such extremi of alarm that they seized and hung dozens of al on mere suspicion, without judge or jury,—that not ne word of sympathy (so far as he had seen) with

ment, and infidel to a pro-slavery religion.

those alarmed and suffering slaveholders had been exthose alarmed and sustering stavenders had been et. pressed in the Northern papers, not even in the North ern religious press. Neither in the New York Re-ald, nor in the New York Observer, and if not in these said Mr. Pillsbury, where should we look forms said Mr. Pillsbury, 'where should we look for sack sympathy this side of Pandemonium'? Not srea is those papers has any word of sympathy for the tenfed slaveholders been uttered. Mr. Pillsbury refer. fied slaveholders been uttered. Mr. Tusbury rie-red to 'an old opponent' of his, the American Chies and Ministry, and proceeded to speak of their press and Measury, and proceeded to speak of their press clation to slavery. He particularly noticed Alber Barnes's recent book on alayery—the book of a ma for whom he formerly entertained the highest repet; now he knew not why Mr. Barnes's book should be be classed with Dr. Nehemiah Adams's South Side View. In 1840, Mr. Barnes declared that it was to the supineness of the Church, and its connection with slaveholders, that the continuance of slavery was or. slaveholders, that the continuance of slavery was or-ing. In 1856 he declares the Church is not respect ble for slavery, and is not the apologist for it! M. P. ble for sinvery, and as her cases of Thomas Sins in Massachusetts, and Margaret Garner in Ohio, he powerless to defend the slave must our largest ad most influential States be, while in this guilty Union. Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee in

ported the following resolutions :-13. Resolved, That the awful criminality of the American Church, in regard to the millions who are held in bondage at the South, is still clearly drace. strated in the fact, that while she professes to believe in the Bible as the inspired word of God, and in the duty of giving it to every human being, she not only consents but conspires to rob these millions of the sacred volume; that while she holds up Christ is the redcemer of the world, she propagates a good which is at peace with a widely extended system of darkness and heathenism; that while she affirms the divinity of the institution of marriage, she helps to enforce wholesale concubinage and adulterous analymation on a frightful scale; that while she teache that God has 'made of one blood all nations of men' and that all souls are his, she sanctifies the act of seling men, women and children along with merchandin

14. Resolved, That no severer condemnation has ever been pronounced against the American Church by the Abolitionists, than is contained in the recent work of Rev. Albert Barnes, with reference to that Church and Slavery, when he says, 'The outral progress of liberty among the nations will compel the churches, if they will save the world from infidelity, to detach themselves from slavery '-thus declaring these churches to be lower than even the outside weld in their sense of justice and humanity, and, therefore, thoroughly corrupt and apostate,

and cattle.

15. Resolved, That in the flattering reception every where given in New England to Thomas H. Benton, the proud and incorrigible slaveholder of Missouri, is the delivery of his lecture in defence of this bloodstained Union, which he acknowledges is esential to the existence of the Southern slave system, and advising the suppression of all anti-slavery discussion at the North, we have fresh evidence of the general loss of self-respect and manhood, of genuine sympathy for the outraged slave, of a true appreciation of personal and civil liberty, on the part of the New England 16. Resolved, That Massachusetts has been degrad-

ed and outraged afresh by her Representatives in Congress, by their pusillanimously allowing a unanimous vote to be passed in the House, in reference to the sudden death of the Carolina ruffian, Preston & Brooks, tendering to the family of the deceased the sympathy of the House, and resolving that the menbers, in token of respect, wear crape on the left arm for thirty days'; and especially, by allowing a Screpe, from Tennessee, to say, respecting the dastardly assult upon Charles Sumner, without one word of horror or rebuke coming from their lips- Brutus stabbed Case in the Capitol, and whatever may be thought of the justice and wisdom of the deed, the world has orn since approved and applauded the act; so shall the scene in the Senate Chamber carry the name of the deceased to all future generations, long to be remembered after all are forgotten, and when these walls shall have crumbled into ruins," (!!!)

Mr. Garrison proceeded to comment on the last reported resolutions. The Southern fear and alarm, respecting a dissolution of the Union, he said, were he mission of Thomas incorrigible slaveholder of Missouri, to New England. The cry of these Union-saving politicians, that the Union must be saved,' is proof that they deem it to be n great hazard. People who live by Wachusett or Monadnock are not perpetually busying themselves to keep the mountain in its place.

WENDELL PHILLIPS followed in a speech full of interest and instruction. His view of the policy of the in-coming administration, meckly seeking at first to conciliate the opposing sections of the Union, only at last to yield every point to slaveholding imperiou ness and arrogance, was set forth with great keemess, and elicited much applause. He ridiculed the idea that there is any value for the North in the existing Union, or that anybody here really cared for it, sare the selfish, pensioned men who live upon its pay. He howed what a curse, what a tyrannical power the Union is to the Northern States; illustrating his position most forcibly by the case of Margaret Garner and the State of Ohio. Liberty and Slavery can not live together; the sooner we come to that conclusion, the better. We want to see the day when we may walk Boston streets without being compelled to hang the head with shame as we remember the nournful processions of Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns, and not feel utterly self-condemned as think of the early martyrs in the contest for Ameri-

can liberty.

The Resolutions which had been before the Society during its meetings, and fully discussed, were unan mously adopted.

The Society then adjourned, sine die. Nore. The total amount of cash collections by the Pinance Committee, and sent to the Secretary, was \$560 81. Total amount of Pledges, \$1268 25. FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Assistant Secretaries

SKETCHES OF THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE ANYTH In the session of Thursday morning, the resolution

(1, 2) respecting the unfaithfulness of Henry Wilses liberty were discussed at length by James N. Balfum, Wendell Phillips, H. C. Wright, W. L. Gartson, Abby K. Foster, and Rev. David A. Wasses, d Groveland. The latter gentleman defended Mr. Wil son as well as the facts would allow, and in fact raber better, expressing the belief that he would need abandon the cause of Anti-Slavery, and thus implying that he had been laboring in that cause. He to obliged to admit, however, that Mr. Wilson had an come into that movement on principle, and further, that he could never be relied upon for adherence a principle; that when he went into the Senate, did not go with clean hands, having made a shameh compromise with the Native Americans; that he is man of expediency, not of principle, and that his let ter to the Disunion Convention at Worcester was shabby letter. Mr. Wasson thought, however, the Mr. Wilson meant to act for the benefit of the sixte. Mr. GARRISON said- The obvious spirit and istan of Wilson's letter separate it from those of the other

dissenters from disunion at Worcester. The letter a hunkerish—just such as Webster might have write-ABBY KELLEY FOSTER was by no means surpreat the character of the letter, but was rather delight ed that Wilson had shown himself as he is. We state to look at the position of all those men to the size. what they say to us is of less consequence. Wilson hand is raised against the slave, and she thanked Got

the has the merit of being frank. But Sumner had gless the Summer had offered a still greater indignity to the callers of the offred a sur beaution. He had dodged, and sent no ply whatever to his letter of invitation.

TEURSDAY AFTERNOON. At Mr. Garrison's suggest gen, it was voted, that not only the resolutions whis and slready been presented, but the whole subject of should now be considered open for debate. Mr. Pillsbury thought that some of the morning able had proceeded upon a partially mistak point. The Anti-Slavery cause is a revolution, no ance reform, and after commencing it, we should be farewell to all who place union before liberty. here are few Republicans who do not place union in, and liberty afterwards. The Union much needs alration, and richly deserves its opposite. I wan lift. Slavery placed where Henry Wilson will know that he has nothing to do with it, any more than

Proton S. Brooks. Proton S. Brooks. Charles Summer has said that he accepted his Sen gordin as 'the servant of the Union.' It seems to at that all such men are our opponents. The Re phlican party have no more title to consideration a est hands than the Democratic. They say that if bey can keep the Union in no other way, they will her can keep the Ombol in no other way, they will her slavery, and they should be made to understand that we have no alliance with them. We should put our movement on a ground so posi

the that every one will know whether he is for it o tre that every one will know whether he is for it or And-Slavery principle until he approves insurrection and arows that he would be to the slaves what Li Frotte was to our fathers. If I were a General, as wison is, and holding his place in Congress, I would gale it clearly understood that I would vacate my sat in the Senate to lead the slaves to freedom, when

ert they called for a leader.

I say, let not the slaves be cheated out of their boy of freedom, or of any movement towards it, by waiting for the supposed advantage of any Presidentia ection. We must expect no service from men in the with us in any way. If they had succeeded in elect-ing Fremont, it would not have loosed the chain of a

If we say that freedom in Kansas or California is to be purchased by assent to the continuance of slavery is Carolina or Kentucky, we say too much. Liberty

distans such compromises,
Wilson's late speech asserts that the Union must preserved, and that if any men (North or South) lay ands upon it, they shall die traitor deaths, if he can compass it, and leave traitor memories behind them and John P. Hale vindicates the Republican party from the charge that they wish to introduce any thin new, and tells the Senate and the South that they can bere no confidence in any but the Republican party I sm glad to hear these men define their true position is such letters and speeches as we have been consid ering. While they hold such language, we should make it clear that we have nothing to do with them is the way of alliance or fraternity, and nothing to do with their party but to trample it under our feet. 1 think we need to manifest a firmness and positiveness which shall assure the people of all other parties, o the distinction between them and us; between the ad vocates of reform and of revolution. Our function to them is that of leaven to dough; and while ou quality is kept pure, we need not lament the smallness

Mr. Garrison here offered a resolution in regard t the course of Mr. Wilson. (See No. 3 of the series. Rry. Mr. Wasson. I have never called myself Dismionist, and do not now; though I know not how sea I may have to do so, in order to maintain my own sif-respect. I do not think a separation between the States will help us to break down slavery. The leav en and the dough must be brought together, that the work of both may be properly done. I find wisdom in the example of William of Orange, who knew how to velcome all assistance, and whose success depend el upon that splendid toleration. If the people of the Union are to derive advantage from this Society, do ast senarate so far from them.

The party which rises to a higher ground on th strength of a defeat is in a good way. The Republian party seems not to do that. They are explaining to the South that they don't mean any harm to the Union. It is time for an end to this roaring as gently tore. If the Union can't stand on the ground of justice to every man in it, black or white, in God's name let it fall. I believe that the aggresare policy is the only true policy for the Republican

No man of us can go South, and enjoy the very first right of freedom-free speech. Under such circumstances, there cannot be a real union between us and them. Even the Constitution is inconsistent with itself, and means slavery or freedom according to where

I do not, however, believe that Sumner, Wilson and others in Congress, are doing no service because they are not working in a certain way. (Applause near the door.) Every man is doing service who does his own work in an anti-slavery spirit. If emancipation can be attained without blood by waiting, I am willing to wait twenty-five years, if necessary, and the regrees ought to be willing to wait. If the Congressmen are doing their work faithfully, I acquit

AREY KELLEY FOSTER here asked Mr. Wasse if he would wait so patiently for twenty-five years, if his own wife were in the grasp of the slaveholder. Mr. Wasson did not know what he should do, not whether, under such exciting circumstances, he should act wisely, but thought he ought to be willing to wait, even then. Insurrection would be war, and in war

both parties would be demoralized.

H. C. Whiten - What are they now?
Mr. Wasson - Well, about half way. But after such thorough demoralizing as war would produce te should have a yet harder task to make them men Mr. Garnison-My friend Mr. Pillsbury seems to have the impression, that the writers of letters to the Worcester Convention placed Union above Liberty-I am glad we have those letters on record, showing contrary testimony on the part of some of them. [Here Mr. Garrison read extracts from the letters of Theodore Parker, Hon. Amasa Walker, Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, Hon. Edward Wade, Hon. O. W. Albee, and George R. Russell, Esq.] All these gentle-nen say that when they are satisfied that the Union a incompatible with liberty, they will embrace the latter, and renounce the former. The only difference between us and them is, whether it is possible, without sin, to remain in the Union, with any hope of destroying slavery. They do not look the true issue in

We have no right to lower God's standard for the take of showing a tolerant spirit. Shall we be toletant to crime?—tolerant where principle is trampled tader foot? Then we are to be intolerant. We have how a sham, pretending to be a Union. Shall we acquiesce in this sham? Our business is to tear it

If we ask the Republican party how they under stand the United States Constitution, they reply, 'As the authorized expositors have always interpreted it; the authorized expositors have always interpreted it; and we say to them, 'Then you are responsible for the blood of the alave.' The position of the Republican party to the Constitution is the same as that of the Democratic party—faithfulness to the compromises. One of its organs, the Kecne Scatinel, says, 'It aims neither at the destruction of alavery nor of the American Union.'

We have nothing to concede, because this is a more Tuestion. We can yield nothing, because the thing sked of us is sin. God is our leader, righteousness our end, and compromise would be treachery to both.

(To be continued.)

who, not shrinking from the costlest sacrifices which dueed, it would at least receive in equal to they could make for the truth, have offered up their lives for its sake. Along the highways of time, for the space of twenty centuries, martyr-fires have blased,—like the signal lights in the Highlands of Scotland, which the clans once kindled on every hill-top, to the stoicism, we have confessed to a surprise; and that every page of history. And a thoughtful recollection the blood of every generous and noble man. And yet, the reflection forces itself upon us, that.

if it were possible, the truth suffers more itself, than rights of men!

The largest and most prominent Christian Associaended. Condemned to the fire, they walk into it, and then are quickly consumed. Even in the days of the inquisition, when the most ingenious devices were practised for prolonging life for the sake of prolonging torture, nature would kindly for the sake of prolonging torture, nature would kindly for the sake of prowould come quickly to relieve the rack and the crew-bolt of their victims, long before persecution had wrought out its full cruelty. But the truth is cast into the flery furnace, or bound to the stake, or pressed with the rack, and must endure its torture until they who mock at its calamity shall take pity, and relieve it from the trial;—for the truth is immortal, and can suffer only pain, and not harm. It can feel the flame, but cannot be consumed. It can be bruised against the stone, but cannot be broken. It can be cast down, but cannot be destroyed. It can be smitten, but cannot be slain. It is like Milton's an gels, vital in every part, and cannot but by annihila tion die. And so, when it suffers, it must suffer to the end, for there is no giving up of its life in the

It seems to have been ordained that the sun should every day look down from the heavens, and behold the truth suffering violence. It seems to us that a day never passes when the truth does not receive the stab of a dagger or the stripe of a lash, -either from its known foes or its false friends. At least, men who, in the service of the truth, are ever on the watch, with a hopeful solicitude for tokens of its progress in the earth, seem to expect that, with ever day of their lives, it is somewhere to be insulted and outraged, somewhere stricken down and trodden un-

As for the truth as it is manifested in the great cause of Human Freedom, we have long since ceased to be surprised at any indignity which might be offer ed to it. It has been so often put to open shame where it should have received honor and allegiance it has been so often denied by the Church and the States, as well as by men who 'neither fear God nor regard man, that we have given up wondering at any new form of insult, even though that were 'crue mockings and scourgings.

The State clings to that property which it suppose t may lawfully hold in human flesh and human hearts; and the Church has made her altars a sacred refuge for the monstrous doctrine. We are no longer surprised, therefore, at any thing, whether in the spirit or the working of civil government, or in the teaching and the example of that Church which professe denies, directly or indirectly, that a man who is born black is not a man, or, what amounts to the same thing, which refuses to say that, having once been deprived of his most inviolable rights, he is henceforth nevermore entitled to them !

But we at last confess to a surprise. Our weathful men who profess to be followers of Him whose name laration of a preference of freedom to slavery, and is Truth, has been revived, after long slumber.

movement, in some measure connected with the and in Europe, and whose progress and success we have noticed with no little attentiveness .- the cause of Freedom would at last find, at least in some degree, the friend which the Church has long refused this, unless you give it some hidden meaning, is a gross and still refuses to be. We have observed the move- falsehood. And, among a common-sense and practi ment with the greater interest, because, while in its cal people, your hidden meanings, or metaphysica character it is religious, it is not denominational, and subtleties, are worse than useless—they are discreditawhile in its organization it is of the Church, it is not ble and injurious. The Slave Power no more rule ecclesiastical: and also, because it is a movement on with my consent, than with yours. You say, that my the part of young men, who, having been born into adopting the principle, that the majority shall rule the world at a later stage of its progress than their we agree or consent that the Slave Power shall rule, it conservative fathers and teachers, and having opened it can get a majerity. Suppose this to be the case their eyes in the morn of life to the light of the sub- what is your position? By adopting the principle that lime principles of Christianity, might be naturally any party may rule that can get the power, or the expected, from their generous impulses, to take sides principle that you will not interfere in governmen with the cause of truth and justice, and to utter their matters, you agree or consent that either the ma testimony for the right, with that enthusiasm which jority or the minority-the Slave Power or the Popeis common to young blood.

by which Christianity is struggling to give forth to human government shall be no more. the world a practical expression of itself, additional to that which finds utterance through the Church, talking; but your own opinion, of course, must govis the institution of the Young Men's Christian As- ern you. sociation, which, in a comparatively short period of Por myself, I am glad I have no opinions that pretime-like a quick ripening fruit—has grown to be a vent me from appreciating the anti-slavery action of great moral power in the world. This institution has such men as Sumner, Giddings and Chase, or even of ow its representatives in all the chief cities of the such men as go no farther in the Anti-Slavery cau rope; and is gathering to itself an army of young very. I have seen enough, both in Europe and Amer-men, who, with the right banner at their front, might ica, to satisfy me, that to chide reformers because they go forth conquering and to conquer. The member- do not go as far as myself,—or to deal with them as i than a thousand persons, and sometimes even two or words and actions, or to make them answerable for three thousand; that is, in a single city. These bod-ies are formed on a broad and liberal basis. Though sequences of their acts or principles,—is neither wise it is to be regretted that some of them practice the nor charitable. exclusiveness of admitting to active membership only persons whose faith is of the order termed 'evangelical, yet persons who are not so fortunate as to have that genuine anti-slavery never was at so low an ebb been born and bred 'orthodox' may enjoy a limited in the West as at present. In what sense they use the prerogative as associate members, who exercise every phrase genuine anti-slavery is best known to themother privilege except that of holding an office, and selves. But in what I call the true acceptation of the of casting a vote. And if it be true, as an eminent New England clergyman once avowed, that if he was the West as at present, New England clergyman once arowed, that if he was the West as at present allowed to speak in a public meeting, he would not care to be allowed to vote, the difference as to equality between the orthodox and the heterodox, in those passociations which insist on these distinctions, is not as great as might at first appear.

With profound respect for such men as W. L. Garrison and Gerrit Smith, for Francis Jackson and Theodore Parker, and for all other honest laborers in the cause of humanity, whether they vote or vote not, as great as might at first appear. so great as might at first appear.

The specified object of these organizations is to com-bine and increase the Christian influence of the young men in the various cities in which they are formed To this end, they establish a library and reading room, as a nucleus and centre of attraction; and they hold public monthly meetings, the chief feature of which is an essay—with a discussion following it—on some moral or religious subject. And as the Christons and the chief state of the chi tian Association stands between the Church and the world, it takes hold with one hand of the questions world, it takes hold with one hand of the questions which the Church discusses, and with the other reaches out and grasps those other and equally important questions which the Church seeks to exclude from her sanctified tepth. Accordingly, while Uni-

he has also raised it against us. This proceeding has TRUTH AGAIN PALLEN IN THE STREETS. tarianism, and Universalism, and Romanism, and va-TRUTH AGAIN FALLEN IN THE STREETS.

We have always had a sublime sympathy for men who have suffered for the truth's sake. The noble army of martyrs is a memory precious and inspiring. The thought is most touching of these who were compelled to 'wander about in sheep-skins and goatskins—of whom the world was not worthy.' From the heroic age, when the stones of the highway drank the blood of martyred Stephen, and when the Apostles who were commissioned to go forth and bear winces to the truth, went to the altar of sacrifice and laid down their lives as their testimony; and since those days of the cross and the stake, down through the long years of inquisition and persecution, until now, the world has witnessed—and God has rewarded—the sufferings and the death of men and women who, not shrinking from the costliest sacrifices which they could make for the truth, have offered up their

the light of the faggot and the stake has reddened surprise is this, that the Christian Associations, unlike the incient people of this venerable city, who on of these things, when it croeps in an hour of medi-tation upon the mind, will stir the heart and quicken serve their individual rights, have just now, as we learn from the public prints, determined to retain the tea, but to east out entirely and throw overboard the

is stricken down and made to suffer another wound which comes this time by the hand of one on whom it counted as a friend. We had been looking to the Christian Associations, ever since this question we introduced among them about two months ago, t bear a noble witness in behalf of freedom. We ha hope in them which we had not in the Church We had already seen how the Church and the Stat have combined against the truth,-like Cassius and Casca with Trebonius, Ligarius, and the rest, agains Casar; but we have now seen that even Brutus lifts up his dagger and strikes a blow; so that truth is made to bleed from the steel of a friend turned an Such an act, from such a hand, casts down truth

to the ground. 'The old prophet's prediction ha again been fulfilled-and when does a day pass that t is not verified anew? - Truth is fallen in the streets. And yet, while we may and do despair of the Church, and of the various institutions which the Church sends out like colonies into the world, we cannot and do not despair of the truth. We have sympathy for its manifold reverses, but we know that it shall finally triumph. We have faith in th future, or rather, we have faith in God; and we know that the truth, being immortal, shall outlive its enemics, and shall even triumph before they die. Our vision is clear that they who plot against it shall be put to open shame; for it is true, as the Apostle says, We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth;' only it somewhat tries our present patience when we foresee how long it must still struggle against principalities and powers!

LETTER FROM JOSEPH BARKER. To HENRY C. WRIGHT!

My DEAR FRIEND-I wish to say a few words you about the meaning of a cote. When I vote for such men as Fremont, Charles Sumner and Joshua R. Giddings, the meaning of my vote is simply this I had rather Fremont were President than Buchar an or Fillmore. I had rather Charles Sumner we Senator than G. S. Hillard. And I had rather J. R. Giddings were Representative than Smithy Cantwell. For any one to tell me that this is not my meaning, bu to be of Christ,—at any thing in either of these which that something else is, seems foolish and unjust. It absurd to pretend to know a man's meaning better than himself. And to attempt to make him answera ble for a meaning which never entered his mind, is something worse than absurd.

Nor will it do to say that my vote is understood others to mean something more. For it is plain, that wonder at the denials of the claims of the truth, by both North and South take such votes as a simple decof the friends of freedom to the advocates of slavery.

You may say that the meaning you give to a vote i that the Church, as such, would at any time this side its logical meaning; but that, at least, is but your opinof a far distant future come to a proper position of ion, and my opinion is, that it is erroneous. Besides, witness-bearing on the subject of slavery, we have for some time past, perhaps as a kind of refuge from this and practical tendencies are so plain. I wonder you thought, indulged a hope that in a recently-organized cannot be satisfied with the conduct of such men as Samuel J. May, when you see so clearly, both that his Church, begun almost simultaneously in this country heart is right, and that his acts are seen and felt to be on the side of freedom and humanity.

Again : you say Buchanan and the Slave Power rule the country for four years longer by our consent. Now a priest or a devil, may rule, and that not for fou Among the various institutions of the present age, years only, but till the distant era in eternity, when

You would do well, I think, to give up this way

United States, and in the Protestant countries of Eu- than to attempt to prevent the farther spread of slaship of some of these associations numbers often more they were bound to be logically consistent in all their

> One word more, and I have done. I see that the agents of the Anti-Slavery Society generally complain words, 'genuine anti-slavery' never ran so high in

JOSEPH BARKER Omaha City, (Nebraska,) Jan. 8, 1857.

A few copies of the BAZAAR REPORT, in nea amphlet form, are for sale at 21 Cornhill. Price, sie

copies of THE LEBERATOR for Jan. 9th, will very much oblige us by doing so.

DEATH OF PRESTON S. BROOKS. In the terrible and sudden death of the a Charles Sumner, the truly philosophical and reflect ive, as well as the profoundly religious, will read

ive, as well as the profoundly religious, will read a lesson of most solemn import.

The former cannot fail to observe in it the culmination, so far as this life is concerned, of the inevita-ble law of retribution, or, in other words, effect fol-lowing its cause; while the latter will generally be led to the conclusion, that it is one of those special visitations with which Divine Providence of times overwhelms the perpetrator of a glaring crime.
Several individuals who have observed the a

nce of Brooks since his most outrageous assault or amner, unite in declaring that his spirits had los Sumner, unite in declaring that his spirits had lost much of their usual vivacity; that what of cheerfulness he manifested seemed rather forced than natural; that his whole deportment was such as to indicate clearly that he was sustaining a weight of mental suffering. It is perfectly natural that it should be so. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, without an entire change of the human constitution. Grief, regret or remorse, arising from the eyer-present consciousness of flagrant wrong done to a fellow-man, affects the whole frame, especially the internal organs, and more particularly those of the chest and neck. Who that has ever felt deep grief, or other severe mental anguish, that has not at the same time exper enced a sort of choking sensation in the throat? ahowing that there is a strong sympathy between that part and the brain; hence we hear it said, that such a person was choked with grief, rage, or other violent

assion, as the case may be.

Taking, then, these mental and physiological facts along with the observations of persons above referred to, as to the altered appearance of Brooks since the outrage on Sumner, and applying them to the case that has just terminated so fearfully at Washington the conclusion is, that the mental torture suffered by Brooks, in consequence of his vile abuse of Sum ner, so affected the organs of the throat and chest a to predispose them to take on the disease that afflicted him, and aggravated its action afterwards, until it ter ninated in the fearful manner as reported. How sud en and terrible the retribution!

The miscrable assailant passing through the mortal gony at the time the assailed had just declared him elf as nearly recovered from the dreadful prostration consequent upon the assault, forcibly reminds one of what the gifted bard of freedom says of Truth and Error, in one of his happiest efforts :-

'Truth crushed to earth shall rise again, The eternal years of God are hers; While Error wounded writhes in pain, And dies amid her worshippers.'

Verily the way of the transgressor is hard. May guilty nation profit by this terrible example! Springfield, Feb. 1, 1857. E. W. Twing.

DEATH OF PRESTON S. BROOKS.

In the U. S. Senate, last week, official notification f the death of Mr. Brooks having been made, culc gies were pronounced upon him by Messrs. Evans, Hunter and Toombs, of the South. In the House, by Keitt, Quitman, Clingman, and Savage of Tenne

Keitt, Quitman, Clingman, and Savage of Tennessee.

'Mr. Savage did not approve of much talking at any time; but he would do injustice to his feelings and those of his constituents by remaining silent on this occasion. History records but one Thermopylæ; but there ought to have been, "and that for Preston S. Brooks." Brutus stabbed Cesar in the Capitol; and whatever may be thought of the deed, the world has ever since approved and applauded the act. So shall the scene in the Senate chamber carry the name of the decased to all future generations, long to be remembered after all are forgotten, and when these walls shall have crumbled into ruins. Had he been permitted to choose his own death, he (Savage) was convinced he would have fallen in some great battle for the public of South Carolina. He had seen Mr. Brooks bearing the trials of the siege of Vera Cruz, as an officer of the Palmetto Regiment, ever exhibiting all the characteristics of a true man and a soldier. Under all circumstances, never a morning, came here

This brutal speech, it is said, excited consideral indignation and disgust in the Honse, but elicited no rebuke from any quarter A Springfield paper says: *Savaon, member of Congress from Tennessee, is truly named. None but a genuine savage could have made the speech that he did, on Thursday, as a tribute to his deceased friend. His ruffianly words must have produced a shudder of horror in the most hard-

hearted, on such an occasion.' L. D. Campbell, of Ohio, notorious for his two acteristic manner:

Mr. Campbell said Mr. Brooks merited the dence of his constituents, because he was the faithful advocate of their policy and sentiments, and the zeal-ous guardian of their rights, interest and honor. His relations with the deceased were such as enabled him to know and appreciate his virtues.

The President, Heads of Department, and Ma Buchanan, were all present at the funeral obsequies.

KIDNAPPED New YORKERS.—Gov. King, of New York, has brought to the attention of the Legislature of that State two cases of kidnapping. One is the case of Henry Dixon, a free citizen of Rochester. None of his family were ever slaves until he was kidnapped. While on his way home from Washington, where he had been employed, he stopped at a hotel between Washington and Baltimore, where he was persuaded to lodge. During the night, he was seized by some ruffians, while he was asleep, and kept in a place of confinement for two or three days. He was then taken to a slave pen, and sold to a man named Dean, of Macon, Ga., where he still remained in slavent confinement of the confi Dean, of Macon, Ga., where he still remained in slavery at the date of his last letter. Gov. Clark appointed an agent to see to his case. The agent ascertained that Dean had sold him, but was unable to tained that Dean had sold him, but was unable to obtain any further information concerning him.—
Messra. Poe & Grier of Mason, who were employed by Gov. Clark's agent, say that Dean offers to surrender him for \$700.

Charles Granby, also of Rochester, is the other kidnepped person. When last seen, he was at work on the dock in front of the residence of Mr. Hill, in the

parish of Hayville, Louisiana, on the Mississippi. Mr. Joseph Cochrane, of Rochester, went in search of him, but was not able to find him at the place de-

ANOTHER OF THE BEAUTIES OF SLAVERY.—Joseph L. Blodgett, of Charlemont, furnishes the Greenfield Gazette the particulars of his expulsion from the State of Florida, after being cruelly whipped. Mr. Blodg-Gazette the particulars of mis expussion from the State of Florida, after being cruelly whipped. Mr. Blodgett had lived at Jacksonville, and in its vicinity, since 1852. He says that in June last, a company of 'Regulators,' numbering about seventy men, was formed for the purpose of punishing such offenders as they saw fit. This band, Mr. Blodgett says, has already killed several men—one was whipped to death, one was shot dead, and others have been whipped and sent out of the State. On the 26th of December, Mr. B. was seized, taken to the woods, stripped of his clothes, and received eighty lashes from a raw hide, on his back. He was then forwarded to Savannah, and thence made his way to New York. Several citizens of Charlemont certify that the sores and sears on Mr. Blodgett's back are sufficient evidence of his having received a severe whipping, and other citizens testify to his good character, previous to his departure for the South. The offence charged against Mr. Blodgett by the 'Regulators' was, that he had said he had taught negroes to read.—Journal

ATER'S AMERICAN ALMANAC IS now ready for delivery at Weeks and Potter's, who are supplied with it by the publisher for distribution, gratis, to all who call for it. It contains about the richest collection of anecdotes we know of—s calendar accurately calculated for this meridian, and found reliable, besides an amount of valuable medical information which should be in possession of every family. This little annual has become a welcome visitor to the fireside of the American people,—and not to them alone, for its numbers are freely circulated in almost every civilized country an-der the sun. It is published in the English, French, Spanish and C. Spanish and German languages, with calendars ad ed to every meridian of the Northern Hemispl tion of any one book in the world. Our readers are respectfully invited to call and get a copy, and when

TREASURER'S REPORT. d from balance of last year's account,
m donations and collections at annual
meeting in January
Proceeds of National Anti-Slavery Bazaar in Boston
Donations and collections at New Engzaar in Boston.

Donations and collections at New England A. S. Convention in Boston.

Abington A. S. Society.

Donations and collections at Fourth of July celebration at Framingham.

Donations and collections at First of August celebration at Abington.

Proceeds of A. S. Fair at Worcester.

Proceeds of do. at Abington.

Treasurer, to re-leem pledges.

Weymouth Female A. S. Society.

Reading Female A. S. Society.

Reading Female A. S. Society.

In T. Hilton and Alfred G. Howard, in trust, to be applied to specific pass.

Total amount of receipts. 9031 03 Disbursoments during the same period. l rent and taxes of office. 21 Cornhill... 353 Wm. W. Brown, for his services and ex-S. May, Jr., for his services and expenses

as General Agent
Expenses of Annual Meeting in Boston,
J. M. W. Yerrinton, for reporting speeches at sundry meetings and Conventions
Sallie Holley, for services and expenses

Sallie Holley, for services and expenses
as Agent. 267 69
C. C. Burleigh, do. do. do. 10 10
Francis Jackson, Treas. American A. S.
Society, by order of the Board 5438 63
Furniture for office 400
Stephen S. Foster, for services as Agent 11 70
Prentiss & Sawyer's bills for printing 110 50
Marius R. Robinson, for services as Ag 25 00
Expenses N. E. A. S. Convention in Boston 94 63
Postage bill 770
Expenses of Fourth July celebration at Tramingham 50 17
Expenses First of August celebration at Abington 37 22
R. F. Walleut's bill for books purchased for office 159 60

for office.

Fifty copies Liberator furnished members of Congress.

Deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings in Boston, in trust, for the Board to apply to uses specified by the denors.

Total amount of disbursements. \$248 50 Leaving a balance in Treasury, 1st } 782 63 Jan., 1857, of

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline, Jan. 1, 1857. Boston, Jan. 11, 1857.

I have examined the foregoing account of the Treasurer, and find the same correct, and properly rouched. EDMUND JACKSON, Auditor.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

SALLIE HOLLEY will be in Cortland cou y, N. Y., until about Feb. 20th. Letters, &c., for

Conventions, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in the State of New York Bath, Steuben Co., Tuesday and Wednesday, Fel

10 and 11.

Belfast, Alleghany Co., Tuesday and Wednesday, Feb. 17 and 18.

Elliottville, Catt. Co., Tuesday and Wednesday, Feb.

To be attended by Stephen S. Foster, Benjamin S and J. Elizabeth Jones.

Rochester, Tucsday and Wednesday, Feb. 10 and 11.
Syracuse, Friday and Saturday, Feb. 13 and 14.
Utics, Monday and Tucsday, Feb. 16 and 17.
Wm. Lloyd Garrison, C. L. and Sarah P. Remond, Parker Pillsbury, Aaron M. Powell, and Susan B. Anthony, to be in attendance.
Sessions to commence at 2 o'clock, P. M., of first day, and continue by adjournment. Admission to evening session 124 cents, to defray expenses. Day session free.

Hepson Convention, at the New City Hall, Wednesday, Feb. 18. Sessions at 10 1-2, A. M., 2, P. M., and 7 1-2, evening. Day sessions free. Ad-mission to the evening session 25 cents. Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, and Aaron M. Powell, to

NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CON NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CON-VENTION will be held at ALBANY, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, Feb. 20, 21, 22d, at Associ-ation Hall-commencing at 2 o'clock, Friday, P. M. Admission to evening sessions 25 cents. Day ses-sions free.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Charles Lenox Remond, Sarah P. Remond, Anron M. Powell and Susan B. Anthony will attend.

Friends of Freedom, let there be a full attend-ance!

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an address in the Second Universalist Church in Lowell, next Sunday evening, on the Proper Mode of treating Crimi-

HENRY C. WRIGHT will speak at Richmond Hall, (Howard Block,) PROVIDENCE, R. I., in the regular course of Anti-Slavery Meetings, on Sunnay next, Feb. 8, afternoon and evening.

Also, in the Universalist Church in Abington, on Sunday, Feb. 15.

MEN AND WOMEN.—A young man of proper acquirements, and furnished with good recommendations, desires a situation as clerk.

Another as porter or blacksmith.

Another to learn the art of printing.

A young woman is anxious for a teacher's occupation.

Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

DIED-In Attleboro', on the 25th ult., WENDEL PHILLIPS, son of Noah and Maria L. S. Jackman, age 4 months and 4 days.

NININGER CITY.

THIS new town in Minnesota (the best territory open for settlers) is situated on the west bank of the Mississippi, twenty-five miles below St. Paul. It has a very fertile and thickly populated back country, and will be one of the most important points in the country. The attention of all classes of mechanics is requested to the advantages here presented. By agreement, several hundred thousand dollars' worth of improvements are already engaged to be put up. Large hotels, mills, an Athenesum, and numerous warehouses will be commenced early in the spring. Nininger was surveyed in Angust last, and already contains several hundred inhabitants. Property is fast rising, but is yet very low. Rare chances for investment are presented to those who come out early next season.

Further information can be obtained by addressing LOUIS LOICHOT, Postmaster, Nininger City, M. T., IGNATIUS DONNELLY, Philadelphis, Pa., or Feb. 6. Nininger City, M. T.

Legion of Liberty.

A NEW edition of this work, (compiled by the la Juntus R. Ames of Albany,) which did so much good service in the anti-slavery contest of forme years, has just been published by the American Anti Stavray Society. This edition is larger than an preceding one, and forms a neat volume of 536 pages. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices, 21 Combill Boston; 138 Nassau street, New York; and 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia. Price, Fifty cents.

THOMAS RYANGE LAVING returned to Boston for the season, prepared to resume his teaching of SINGING, PIANO, and THOROUGH BASS.

Residence, 15 Dix Place. Mr. R. visits pupils Brookline twice a week.



CATHARTIC PILLS

you.

FOR A FOUL STOMAGH, or Morbid Inaction of the Bousels, which produces general depression of the spirits and bad health, take from four to eight Pills at first, and smaller doses afterwards, until activity and strength are restored to the systems.

FOR NERVOUSNESS, SICK HEADACHE, NAUSRA, Pain in the Stomach, Back, or Side, take from four to eight pills on going to bed. If the do not operate sufficiently, take more the next day until they do. These complaints will be swept out from the system. Don't wear these and their kindred disorders because your stomach is foul.

s foul.

For Schopula, Envergelas, and all diseases of the For Schofula, Erraipelas, and all diseases of the Skin, take the Pills freely and frequently, to keep the bowels open. The cruptions will generally soon begin to diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulters and sores have been healed up by the purging and purifying effect of these Pills, and some disagusting diseases, which seemed to saturate the whole system, have completely yielded to their influence, leaving the sufferer in perfect health. Patients! your duty to society forbids that you should parade yourself around the world covered with pimples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the unclean diseases of the skin, because your system wants cleansing.

cleaning.

To Purify the Bloom, they are the best medicine ever discovered. They should be taken freely and frequently, and the impurities which sow the seeds of incurable diseases will be swept out of the system like chaff before the wind. By this property they do as much good in preventing sickness as by the remarkable cures which they are making every where.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Bilious Affections arise from some derangement—either torpidity.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Billous Affections arise from some derangement — either torpidity, congestion, or obstructions of the Liver. Torpidity and congestion vittate the bile, and render it unit for digestion. This is disastrous to the health, and the constitution is frequently undermined by no other cause. Indigestion is the symptom: Obstruction of the duct which empties the bile into the stomach causes the bile to overflow into the blood. This produces Jaundice, with a long and dangerous train of evils. Costiveness, or, alternately, costiveness and diarrhos, prevails. Feverish symptoms, languor, low spirits, weariness, restlessness, and melancholy, with sometimes inshifty to sleep, and sometimes great drowsiness; sometimes there is severe pain in the side; the skin and the white of the eyes become a greenish yellow; the stomach scid; the bowels sore to the touch; the whole system irritable, with a tendency to fever, which may turn to bilious fever, bilious colic, bilious diarrhosa, dysentery, &c. A medium dose of three or four pills taken at night, followed by two or three in the morning, and repeated a few days, will remove the cause of all these troubles. It is wicked to suffer such pains when you can cure them for 25 cents.

RHEUMATISM, GOUT, and all Inglammatory Fevers are rapidly cured by the purifying effects of these Pills upon the blood and the stimulas which they afford to the vital principle of Life. For these and all kindred complaints they should be taken in mild doses, to move the bowels gently, but freely.

As a DINNER PILL, this is both agreeable and useful.

they should be taken in indicate, the gently, but freely.

As a DINNER PILL, this is both agreeable and useful.

No pill can be made more pleasant to take, and certainly none has been made more effectual to the purpose for which a dinner pill is employed. J. C. AYER.

Practical and Analytical Chemist, LOWELL, MASS.,

THEODORE METCALF & CO., Boston; BROWN & PRICE, Salem; H H HAY. Portland:

J. N. MORTON & CO., Concord, N. H.; And by Druggists and Dealers in Medicine every where. REPARTMOUNT NO METPADI2 6m

Heralds of Freedom. 'TRUTH, LOVE, JUSTICE'

PUBLISHED THIS DAY.

BY C. H. BRAINARD, 14 t. to west on 124 Washington Street. A MAGNIFICENT lithographic Print, with the

'Champions of Freedom,' in which are presented the Portraits of

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, THEODORE PARKER, RALPH WALDO EMERSON, GERRIT SMITH,

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, sampe to acce to SAMUEL J. MAY. Le him of the These Portraits have been drawn in the highest style of the art by that unrivalled French artist, L. Grozelier, from daguerreotypes taken expressly for the purpose, and are the most faithful likenesses of the distinguished originals ever presented to the public

emah Sara Parce, \$1 50. LT A copy of this admirable Print will be sent to age, and in a safe manner, at the same price it is seling in Boston—\$1.50. The companion to this, the 'Champions of Freedom,' will be sent to order on

Address C. H. BRAINARD, 124 Washington street, or W. C. NELL, office of The Liberator.
December 25. Imois

DISSOLUTION COPARTNERSHIP. REUBEN 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. 5 and 7 Haverhill street, and Japanned Ware, at Nos. 5 and 7 Haverhill street, and would selicit a continuance of the patronage which ha been so liberally bestowed on the late firm. DAVID B. MOREY.

Boston, January I, 1867.

The United States Constitution ming facts strong with the sto tree tipe or come to

PRO-BLAVERY COMPROMISES. THE Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact; or, Extracts from the Madison Papers, etc. Selected by Washington Papers, etc. Selected by Washington, Papers, and Faition, Enlarged. 12 mo. 208 pages. Just published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and for sale at 21 Cornhill, Boston, Also, at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York and Philadelphia. Price, in cloth, 50 cts.; is thick

and Philadelphia. Price, in cloth, 50 cm; use paper covers, 374.

Copies of this work will be sent by mail on the receipt of its price and the amount of its postage, viz., forly-four cents for those in paper covers, sisty cents for those in cloth. Address the Anti-Slavery Office, of Cornhill, Boston, or 138 Nassau street, N. Y. Boston, Feb. 1.

Prophesies the coming morn. Doubt not-fear not, brother !-lifted Be thine eyes in faith and hope; Bee-the low ring clouds are rifted-Soon our prison-doors shall ope!

Clustering constellations brighten, Radiant with Freedom's light. Wh so immortal beams enlighten The dark noon of Slavery's night. Stands the old Bay State-God bless her !-

Like Orion, stout and brave, Crying ' Woe!' to the oppressor, Whispering 'Hope!' unto the slave. At the breath of Freedom blowing, A pure, rich Æolian strain

Through the lyre-like pines is flowing, On the far-off hills of Maine. Young Iowa, like Perseus, Springs across the heavenly plain With a flaming sword to free us

How they gather fast and faster ! 'Tis no meteor we see, For their burning hearts were lighted At the Sun of Liberty !

From the Gorgon's hated chain.

Soon thy soul shall rise, off-flinging The degrading iron thrall, And from off thy right arm, ringing To the ground, thy fetters fall !

Then the wife upon thy bosom Shall be thine-and at thy knee, Thine own little ones shall blossom Like spring violets, pure and free.

Preedom! can thy soul contain it? Canst thou grasp that thought of might? Free, my brother, God proclaims it! Freeman in the heaven's free light! Ellsworth, Me.

For the Liberator RE STRONG

Lulled by a promise, A sun-lighted promise That beckons before theo,-Yet, the night cometh ! Mortal, be strong! Omnipotence sendeth A bolt and a blessing; The arrow may wound thee The blessing shall heal thee; Each an Evangel, And neither of wrong.

That faith is sublimest Which shrinks from no trial: Which urges to battle With Doubt and with Darkness; That faith shall endure. The tempest may beat it, The bolt may assail it, The surges may lash it-Its Rock is Eternal-

Eternal and sure. Be truthful and trustful; Be hopeful and carnest; That when the Soul waits in The deep of the midnight That veils the Unseen, The soul-paining Silence, The darkness of Chaos, May never eclipse it, And thou pass the dread ordeal

Unawed and serene. Jan. 1, 1857. M. N. Cons.

BATTRE ON DOUGHEA Such are the men who, with instinctive dread, Whenever Freedom lifts her drooping head, Make prophet tripods of their office-stool And scare the nurseries and the village schools With dire presage of ruin grim and great, A broken Union and a foundered State! Such are the patriots, self-bound to the stake Of office, martyrs for their country's sake ; Will fill themselves the hungry jaws of Fate, And by their loss of manhood save the State! In the wide gulf themselves like Curtius throw, And test the virtues of cohesive dough ; As tropic monkeys, linking heads and tails, Bridge o'er some torrent of Ecuador's vales! Such are the men who in your chambers rave, To swearing point, at mention of the slave, When some poor parson, haply unawares, Stammers of freedom in his timid prayers; Who, if some foot-sore negro through the town Steals Northward, volunteers to knock him down Or if some neighbor, flying from disease, Courts the mild balsam of the Southern t With hue and cry pursue him on his track, And write Free Soil upon the poor man's back. Such are the men who leave the pedlar's cart, While passing South to learn the driver's art, Or in white neckcloth soothe with pious aim The graceful sorrows of some languid dame, Who, from the wreck of her bereavement, saves The double charms of widowhood and slaves! Pliant and apt, they lose no chance to show To what base depths apostacy can go; Outdo the natives in their readiness To roast a negro or to mob a press; Poise a tarred schoolmate on the lyncher's rail, Or make a bonfire of their birth-place mail! So some poor wretch, whose lips no longer bear The sacred burden of his mother's prayer, By fear impelled, or lust of gold entired. Turns to the Crescent from the Cross of Christ And, over-acting in superfluous zeal, Crawls prostrate where the faithful only kneel; Ont-howls the Dervish, hugs his rags to court The squalid Santon's sanctity of dirt! And when b neath the city gateway's span Flies slow and long the Meccan caravan; And through its midst, pursued by Islam's prayers, The prophet's Word some favorite camel bears The marked apostate has his place assigned The Koran bearer's sacred rump behind, With bush and pitcher following grave and mute, In meek attendance on the holy brute. - [WHITTIES

> COMPLAINT AND REPROOF. BY COLERIDGE.

How seldom, friend, a good great man inherita Honor and wealth, with all his worth and pains It seems a story from the world of spirits When any man obtains that which he merits, Or any merits that which he obtains.' For shame, my friend ! renounce this idle strain; What wouldst thou have a good great man obtain Wealth, title, dignity, a golden chain, Or heap of coress which his sword bath slain; ess and greatness are not means, but ends. Hath he not always treasures, always friends, The good great man? Three treasures,—love, and light,
And calm thoughts, equable as infant's breath;
And three fast friends, more sure than day or night, Himself, his Maker, and the Angel Death.

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF REV. T. W. HIGGINSON, At the Disunion Convention held in the City Hall. Worcester, January 15, 1857.

PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY MR. TERRESTON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

that I have been able to learn from colleges and pro-fessors and tutors, and compare it with what the radical abolitionists have taught me, the first seems too light a thing to weigh in the balance at all. These men whom you deride, friends, as fanatics and as fools, do you know they are the educators of you and your children? and do you know that the time will come when Worcester will look back upon made it rock as it never rocked before? (Applause.)

We have come here to-day, Mr. President, with very different views on the subject we meet to disyears; others, men who have neverfailed to vote when they had a chance, and only regretted that the chances from beginning to end; others, like yourself, Sir, by the door, and thought there was nobody inside deed, as to slavery, what Mr. Bird believes the Philadelphia platform was meant to be, for he says of that, myself, on purpose.' (Laughter.) Sir, there is no common creed among us who stand here to-day, except on the subject of anti-slavery, to which we rewe follow into disunion, because it leads us there, today. No one of us can enumerate all the causes that, gradually working on our minds, have brought us to this clear vision at last, which shows us the nation's danger and the nation's salvation. But I know my-

self, that when I took part in issuing that call, I did not appreciate, as I now do, the importance of the movement. I did not know how near the people of Massachusetts are to disunion. I did not know until I heard the weak reasonings by which they try to shelter themselves against it. I did not know until then how thin the soil was growing beneath our feet, and crumbling into disunion, with our friend here, the senior editor of the Spy at the head. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Chairman, if I had felt careless or heedless upor this matter-if I had distrusted the instinct-if I had doubted the policy-if I had ignored the facts, that drive us to this position, they would all have been driven back into my soul, revived there forever by one hour that I spent last week in the Athenseum Hall. in Boston, with the wreck of what was once Charles Sumner. When I stood before that noble form, once so strong and stately, now, even after months of convalescence, so weak and tottering-when I heard the heroic tones of that unchanged voice, and saw the lightning from those unblenching eyes, but remembered that there might never again be physical force enough for those superb powers to clothe themselves in their native eloquence-when I saw what Charles Sumner was longing to be, and what he was, O, then live coals from heaven upon it, on which I could pledge myself, once and forevermore, to an eternal war against slavery. (Loud applause.)

There are many weaknesses to which the best of us are subject, and one is, that of believing that men will say after election what they said before. I do not indulge that weakness very freely now; but when I think of the confessions made by the Republican party three months ago, and the positions of the men who now lead the statesmanship of the free States, why, I say there is nothing more necessary for our disunion arguments, than to take the scattered sentences of these men, and put them one by one together. The whole argument lies in a nut-shell. Again and again has it been stated by Republican orators and presses that 'the time might come' when disunion would in deed be necessary. Again and again has the picture been drawn of possible horrors and evils yet to be endured, the end of which might be this. Mr. Banks immortalized himself, if he is destined to immortality at all, by that one sentence, in which he offered, 'in a certain contingency, to let the Union slide.' Well. all we have come here to-day for is, to see whether the time has not come to let the contingency slide.

(Applause.)

Has it come? The contingency was this :- When all political efforts fail-when the North loses its power, when the government is delivered over, bound hand and foot, to the slaveholders-then at last comes the period of disunion.' How is it now? Take the confessions of these very men-their statements, publie and private, their explanations, their prediction and we have all we need for the other premises of our argument. Again and again did the same Republican presses and orators volunteer the confession, in the words of the New York Times, that the election of Fremont was 'the last hope of freedom.' These, you tion, of course, we admit that our orators, like the other orators, may sometimes have spoken for effect. Did the same men speak only for effect, when, in private conversation with personal and political friends, they made the same admissions? Every gentleman of the Republican party here has heard it admitted in conversation among Republicans, before election, that, in case of defeat this time, it would be scarcely possible for the party to rally successfully again. Henry Wilson himself told me that, in Washington street, in ington, post-haste, and says they had better keep still the city of Boston, a year ago this last summer. I have heard from high authority, that a few weeks before the election, Mr. Banks said to his friends, 'This election decides the politics of the country for the ing the process. The laws of human nature are taking next thirty years.' And yet you talk about the Re- care of those difficulties very rapidly. If our calcu publican party rallying in 1860! Do you know more lations are correct, it will be easier to hasten than to about it than Henry Wilson? Are you better judges postpone it. The geographical line of division, about of statisties than Mr. Speaker Banka? If you say those men have been wrong before, and may be wrong determine itself as soon as we are ready for it. We now, ask yourselves if they have ever underrated the used to call Southern Iows the darkest spot in the strength of the party to which they belong?

you who profess to know all about the pulling of the where the soil was hot and hotter with the suppress wires, that the recent condition of the parties at the volcano. I tell you, let another war come in Kansa Presidential election, instead of being any thing and no power on earth can prevent a border war bestrange, unexpected, contrary to all the dreams of the Democratic party and of the South, baffor us soon enough by the passions of men. The calm fling all their calculations and frightening their wits deliberations of conventions like these, only prepar out of them; instead of this, was a thing expected, the way for it. If we cannot bring it about peaceably predicted, calculated upon by the Democratic party it will come forcibly, that is all. The great forces of four years ago? If you do not know it, I do. If there is a Democrat who was not aware of the fact, let me are brought into collision—the carthquake comes-

Republican compatriots give them credit for being About the time of the election of General Pierce. happened to be in conversation with a gentleman who is now a Senator of the United States. He had just come from a conversation with leading Democratic politicians, the chosen advisers of President Pierce, who had met together in New Hampshire, to map out the future policy of the administration. And what was that policy? To identify the Democratic party with the South, and take the consequences. 'It is the only source of political power,' these men reasoned and they researed from a research.' I heard almost every word that was spoken in this hall this morning with pleasure, until Mr. Garrison etood here to thank anybody for coming to this platform, or to say to anybody that it should be recogform, or to say to anybody that it should be recognized and honored as an act of courage. Mr. President, if such tributes are to be paid, I beg leave, once for all, to renounce my share of them. It is honor enough to stand upon the platform at all, to speak for the cause we advocate to-day, and if there were really dangers around us, it would be a thing to be still more grateful for. I desire to have it distinctly unsupport to the cause we advocate to-day, and if there were really desired to the cause we advocate to-day, and if there were really desired to the cause we advocate to-day, and if there were really desired to the cause we advocate to-day, and if there were really desired to the cause we advocate to-day, and if there were really desired to the cause of the cause of the cause we advocate to-day, and if there were really desired to the cause of the cause ly dangers around us, it would be a thing to be command voice enough to command voice enough to come sneaking back to us, derstood, for one, that I endorse the brave words of or else they will have to dissolve the Union. That derstood, for one, that I endorse the brave words of Oliver Johnson: 'The cause owes me nothing, but is what leading politicians said four years ago; and I owe everything to the cause.' When I think of all that I have been able to learn from colleges and prohave become true!

We have got to go deeper and deeper yet, before we get hold of the principle that rules the states

nanship of America. Mr. Chairman, I do not care how small the begin nings, or how trifling the aspect of a movement. time will come when Worcester will look back upon this Disumion Convention as the proudest spot in her history since the night when George Thompson, driven out of the first Cradle of Liberty in Boston, came to the second Cradle of Liberty, here in City Hall, and there stood here just now a man who stood alone in the Union twenty-five years ago; and now fourteen hundred thousand voters, in solemn act, record their endorsement of the position of Wm. Lloyd Garrison cuss—with various antecedents, and various habits of in 1830. (Applause.) We, fellow-citizens of Wormind. Some of us are men who have not voted for cester, of all others, should know what small beginnings lead to magnificent conclusions; for all of us were not more frequent; some have come, like Mr. party of Massachusetts could have been brought into Garrison, believing the Constitution to be pro-slavery this hall, and a careless observer would have passed (Dr. Mann,) believing it to be as thoroughly anti-sla- All the strength of an action depends upon the right very; and yet others, like myself, believing it to be which lies behind it. You cannot convince me that both of these things, and some things more—being in
I am in the least danger in the position that I take, no matter if I am the weakest of mankind, and stand alone, so long as truth be on my side: let truth as Tallyrand said of the French Constitution: 'It be against me, and though I have the world to back means nothing, and can mean nothing, for I made it me, I am powerless. We all talk of believing this, but there is not one in a thousand who believes it for one hour out of the twenty-four. Mr. May has told us of that convention which talked so bravely in this ioice to have devoted our hearts and lives, and which hall, twelve years ago, about dissolving the Union I have seen old Fancuil Hall echo, years ago, in response to sentiments as revolutionary as those we have uttered to-day. The difference between us is, then those sentiments did not mean any thing; now they do. Why was it, that that band of energetic and intellectual men, meeting here, and threatning so bravelev, effected nothing? Every one of them drew a glittering blade, and waved it until the whole air seemed to flash with enthusiastic resolution. Why didn't it come to something? Simply because every man of them had a neat little scabbard by his side, and when he had done waving his blade for popular effect, he how soon those of us who thought ourselves safest tucked it back again, and there it has rested ever since would be likely to break through the crust, and go You know what a stir was made when Charles Allen in 1848, undertook to take his out, and air it a little the others seemed to have all rusted in. But give me a convention of ten men who have drawn the sword for the right, and thrown away the scabbard, and I will revolutionize the world. (Loud applause.)

You say, we are 'traitors,' 'fanatics.' That is wha we came here to be. That is a clear compliment You say we are ' weak,' 'powerless.' Are we? Give us five years, and let us see. You say, 'O, they come together, and try to get up a great flame; but some are old flints, that won't strike fire, and some ar young steel, that won't give out sparks; the tinder is a little damp, and if we only throw a little mor water upon it, they won't get any fire.' Well, the steel may be bad, and the flint useless, perhaps; all we ask is, open the doors of your powder magazine, and let us try. Will you do it?

I tell you, friends and fellow-citizens, that there are are new to many of us to-day, have been the deliberate purpose of years; and there are other men here, who have embraced them so earnestly, that in their hearts the work of years has been done in a day. How many years is it since, in the city of Boston, the action of half-a-dozen men lined the streets with bayonets from Court Square to Long Wharf, and brought the country to the very verge of civil war? Unprepared unpremeditated, unpractised, half-a-dozen men did that; and there has notbeen a fugitive slave case in Boston since. Give us another one, another chance to come face to face with the United States govern ment, on such an occasion as that, and see if we have not learned something by the failure. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, the difficulty that I find in ou operations thus far is, that all the talk in the newspapers, and all the bluster in Washington and out of it, dies away before we have a chance to learn whether it means anything. Talk of treason! Why, have been trying for ten years to get the opportunity to commit treason, and have not found it yet. What brings us here to-day is the hope that, by the blessing of Providence, as things are getting further on, somewhere or other, here or at Boston, in Kanzas of at Washington, there may be an opening by which we may come face to face with this slave power, which calls itself a government, and see if its threats mean anything.

The reason why the newspapers do not respect this ovement is, that they have got out of the habit of respecting any movement. They know their politic don't mean anything; they suspect other men mean no more. They know they wage war only en paper they do not know that these men, non-resistan though some of them are, are waging a war that may cost men's likes. It is an easy thing to fight in news papers-to go abroad in the streets armed only with corrected proof sheet-(and we have lately had some proof here in Worcester that needed a great deal of correcting;) but when a man is in the position of that Portuguese soldier at the battle of Goa, bearing a barrel of gunpowder, in his arms, and a lighted torch in his teeth, and crying out at the same time, ' Make way ! make way! I carry with me the lives of a thousar men ';-when men, like Garrison and Phillips, are engaged in such a duty, do you suppose they will be frightened when Henry Wilson sends on from Washthey will damage the anti-slavery cause? (Applause,

No, sir; disunion is not a desire, merely; it is destiny. It is in vain to talk of difficulties in effect free States. Last summer, I went along the borders of More than this : are you not aware, that those of that State, and laid my hand upon the earth : at every nature are sufficient. The vast antago

SPEECH OF FRANCIS W. BIRD, ESQ. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I read this morning, in the New York Tribune, an extract from the Worcester Egis, which, as it illustrates the present condition of things about us, I will

gaged in business as long as I have, is unaware of the fact, that it is as much as a man's political prospects and business prosperity are worth, (unless his position as a business man is perfectly assured,) and as much as his social position is worth, to differ from his neighbors upon any question in this community. Still, I have felt, for the last four or five weeks, and particularly for the two last weeks, that as one of the humblest members of the Republican party of the last campaign, and one of the humblest members of the political organization that may hereafter be called to act politically against slavery, I desired to enter my protest against the construction which representative depublicans are putting upon the Republican platform, upon the present position of the party, and upon their future intentions. I undertake to say to my friends who belong to the Republican party, and who read no other papers but those of Boston or Massachusetts, you know nothing at all about what the representatives of the Republican party are doing at Washington. You do not know how leading Republicans at Washington are selling out the party. God knows, the Philadelphia platform is low enough; but it took at least one step in advance of all other platforms. For the fifst time in the history of political parties in our country, it made this one issue with the Slave Power. We declared ourselves to be a party of one dea, recognizing the fact, that no political party can have more than one paramount idea. The old Whig and Democratic parties professed other issues, but the real fact was, that there was but one idea in their platforms, and that was, which should most actively perform the behests of slavery. They ridiculed us for our Buffalo platform, because, as they said, it con tained but one idea; whereas, the only trouble with that platform was, that it attempted to present other issues. I say the Philadelphia Convention took the position of opposition to the extension of slavery as their one idea; but the Philadelphia Convention did not estop us from going further. There is not a word in it which prevents those who accept Lysander Spooner's doctrine, that the Constitution is an Anti-Slavery instrument, and that under it we can, when ever we get the power, abolish slavery, from standing on that platform. But what say our friends in Congress? Representative Republicans in Congress declare before the country and the world, that the Republican party do not intend ever to interfere with slavery in the States; that they do not desire to do it: that if they had the power, they would not exercise it; that if they believed the Constitution gave the Federal Government power to abolish slavery, they would not vote for it. Says Gen. WILSON- Senators have declared on this floor, that we have not disclaimed the right to interfere with slavery in the States. I understand the Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Pugh,) to say that we have not made that disclaimer. I say to that Senator-I say to all, that it was intendbe preserved '-to cover that and other questions of State rights.' I simply desire to enter my protest, as one of the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention, against this construction of the 'intentions' of that Convention. We did not 'intend' that 'State rights' means the right to enslave men and women. If w had so intended, we should have so said.

Gen. Wilson says further- We vindicate the rights of the States-the right of the Southern States, now, give us any rights as members of the Northern if they choose to hold men in slavery'! This is portion of the Union. It never was worth any thing Gen. Wilson's notion of State rights-with his private opinion we make no quarrel; but such is not the of the government, our fathers, having just emerged doctrine of the Philadelphia platform.

power'-(the trouble is, he disclaims the power to entertain, banish the negro discussions we are having in a safe emancipation '!

Mr. HALE says- The Republican party believe that in the States they have no more right to ineddle with slavery than they have to meddle with it in Turkey or Russia.' The Republican party never said that; and a great many of them do not believe it, and would not have acted with the party if the plat- any man who believes in God and right believe that form had announced that doctrine.

Again he says- I have said, over and over again. speaking in my representative character as a Senator on this floor. I have no desire to meddle with slavery in the States-not the slightest.' Yet he adds-'I desire to see slavery abolished; and then says, I do must come. How it is to come, I do not know. My not desire to see the Constitution amended to give me only hope is in framing a public opinion at the North the power to do it. I disclaim the power entirely. I do not want it. I would not take it if I could have it. and then that public opinion will find an effective form I do not want it. I would not take it if I could have it.

The responsibility of what I now have to do is quite of expression. Undoubtedly, the moral sentiment of the free States against slavery is stronger to-day than appealing to the enlightened consciences of those who it ever was before, but it lacks efficient organization.

Savs Mr. SHERMAN of Ohio- If I had my voice would not have one single political Abolitionist in the Northern States. I act with the Republican par- and the assault upon Mr. Sumner, to have annihilated ty, with hundreds of thousands of others, merely bedoes not seek the abolition of slavery.'

Mr. SHITH of Tennessee asked- Do I understand Olitionists succeed ? frant I down Mr. SHERMAN-I do not desire to see them suc-

I might multiply similar quotations from speech of prominent Republicans at Washington; all, with only the exceptions of Gov. SEWARD in the Senate.

to utter my public protest, as a Republican, against ter:tion of our platform. It is worse than To the Directors of the Manchester Lyceum: idle for politicians to declare what they will or will

and sub-treasuries, or are we, as intelligent, progressive word, and his sneers at the sinless characters, to prepare to meet the coming crisis? I held Jesus Christ, and who is thus directly understand the control of the binding sinless characters.

and all we disunionists say is—if it is coming, in that our duty, as Republicans, is to prepare for the God's name let it come quickly! (Applause.) future. The verdict of the country has been rendered in favor of the pretended principles of the Nebraska Bill. Slavery goes wherever the people choose to carry it. The decision of the Supreme Court, in the Scott case, is soon to be given, affirming the extreme Southern doctrine, that slavery goes everywhere under the Federal flag. These are the issues we have got to meet, in the ballot-box or out of it, under The truth is, that venom and passion have so dispossessed the New England heart of its natural decency, that it requires more moral courage in a son of old Massachusetts, or of the Granite State, to stand up, even upon his own acres, and express his own sentiments upon public policy, if they do not accord with the whisperings of political demagogues and partisan saints in the popular ear, than it would for Foster or Garrison to address a meeting under the very nose of Henry A. Wise. The time is coming, we patriotically trust, when the circumstance will not so exist; but at present there is no denying its presence and vitality. Of course, my friends, no man who has been in collities as long as I have, no man who has been in collities as long as I have, no man who has been enthe Constitution or over it, in the Union or out of it not be arrested as traitors, under the construction put upon the Constitution by the Federal authorities; and it would be no greater outrage upon any of our rights to imprison us to-night in Boston as traitors, than was the arrest of the members of the Topeka Legislature in Kansas. Of course, I do not refer to the policy of that movement. It was a sad mistake; but they had perfect right to meet, if they would. But our right to assemble peaceably to discuss grievances, is not only denied by the administration, but by Republican presses and Republican leaders. The Providence Journal

> The Northern Disunionists will hold their Con-'The Northern Disunionists will hold their Convention at Worcester on the 15th inst., 'to consider the practicability, probability and expediency of a separation between the free and slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.' It is neither practicable, probable, nor expedient. It cannot be done, and it ought not to be done; and those who try to do it, only add treason to folly, reducing themselves to the level of the nulliflers of the South, and unlike them, wanting the sympathy of any considerable portion of their own section of the country.'

> Gen. Wilson converts the whole Republican party into hangmen, in the following extract from his speech in the Senate :- 'In the public press, and before the people everywhere, the doctrine was maintained that we were for the Union; and if any man, North or South, laid their hands upon it, they should die, if we had the power, traitor deaths, and leave traitor names in

> the history of the Republic." Now, if that means anything at all, if it is not the merest brutum fulmen that ever a child uttered, it means that if Gen, Wilson and the Republicans had the power, they would hang every one of us upon the next tree. They proclaim us traitors, because we are laying hands upon this Union. I say Liberty and Union, if it may be; Liberty first, and Union afterward, if need be. Liberty in the Union and under the Constitution, if possible; but Liberty out of the Union and over the Constitution, if it must be. Liberty any how, and that speedily! (Loud applause.) If that be treason, let Gen. Wilson and Franklin Pierce 'make the most of it'! These declarations mean something when they are uttered by the Federal authorities, and when they are reiterated by our own Massachusette men, Representatives and Senators in Congress. We must not assume that it is mere idle talk. They mean something; and we are to assume that we come here with halters around our necks.

Gentlemen, I occupy this position altogether unex pectedly to myself. I came here entirely as a private individual; and at a later hour, I had intended to say a few words, somewhat differently from what I have said. But I have felt that it is time that this question of abolition should be met, and I came here to enroll myself among those who believe that the mission of this nation is Freedom, and who go for the abolition of slavery at the price of dissolution, if need be. At the same time, I do not believe that a dissolution of the Union is to be hastened or retarded by any ed by this expression-'The rights of the States shall acts of ours, or of the Union-savers. I do not see how dissolution is possible.

I look upon the map, and I do not see where you can find the geographical line of division. Of course I believe, with every intelligent man, in the eternal antagonism between freedom and slavery. There is no Union between the North and the South. have no rights. This Union never did, does not now, and never can, governed by the same influences as from the Revolutionary war, felt the necessity of Again he says-'I am opposed to slavery. I am Union to prepare for the 'common defence.' In that in favor of its abolition everywhere where I have the age, when it was supposed that rights could be maintained only by war, and the power of the strongest abolish it anywhere.) Gen. Wilson proceeds- I want was the only power recognised, they felt the necessity all men, who are opposed to slavery, to take a mod- of a Union to protect the infant Republic from foreign erate and reasonable position, to abandon the ex- aggressions. That necessity no longer exists; and it treme notions which those men (Wendell Phillips, &c.) seems to me that no same and sensible man, who looks upon this matter apart from any political aspirations, these Halls, and leave Slavery in the States where the can make himself believe that this Union is of any Constitution leaves it, to the care of the people of value to any body in the free States now. Still. those several States. I believe that when that is done, it is an existing fact, and I cannot see where the the liberal, high-minded, just men of the South will, division is to take place. But that freedom and in their own time, and in their own way, bring about slavery can exist under this form of governmen much longer, so long as I believe there is a God in heaven, so long as I believe in eternal right, seems to me impossible. It cannot be.

Gentlemen say, 'We do not propose to meddle with slavery in the States, In the progress of ages, it may be abolished, but we shall not interfere with it.' Does these four millions of slaves can increase to eight millions, in the next generation, and this government hold together? It seems to me that the antagonism is necessary, inevitable, and that unless slavery is speedily abolished, a separation, in some form or other, as true to freedom as that of the South is to slavery, There was opposition enough to slavery excited by the repeated outrages of the Slave Power in Congress, the passage of the Nebraska Bill, the Kansas outrages, the Slave Power, if it had been allowed to exert itself. The jar was charged overwhelmingly, and if the wires had been directed to the citadel of slavery, it would have been blown to atoms; but the operators conductthe gentleman to say that he does not desire to see the ed the charge into the territories, and it was lost. We need an efficient organization of the anti-slavery sentiment of the free States. Is it possible? I leave this to others wiser than myself to decide.

> THEODORE PARKER AT MANCHESTER. Rev. Theodore Parker of this city, was engaged to

and brave 'Old Grp.' in the House, take the same lecture before the Lyceum at Manchester, N. H., last ground, that the Republican party never intends to week. Clergymen of that city protested against his take a step in advance. I came here to-day expressly appearance as a lecturer, and wrote the following let-

idle for politicians to declare what they will or will not do hereafter. They are mere waifs upon the surface of the mighty stream of ideas. Man proposes, but God disposes.

Well, friends, the battle has been fought, politically, against the extension of alavery. It has been fought and lost. No intelligent man doubts that. The verdict of the country has been given unequivocally in favor of the extension of alavery. It cannot be denied that this is the practical we wish deep rogret in your list of lecturers for the present winter, the name of Theodore Parker. We had hoped that your honorable organization would never again compromise the Christian religion by the employment of this gentleman as the public teacher of a Christian community. And we now think that the arrangement must have been made without a full view of the bearings of the case, or a careful converge. unequivocally in favor of the extension of alsvery. It cannot be denied that this is the practical result of the last campaign. The only question now is, what are we to do? Are we to stand still—those of us who act under the Constitution—and fight over dead issues as the Whig party did over banks, tariffs, and sub-treasuries, or are we, as intelligent, progressive and his spects at the sinless character of

the foundations of society, ought not to receive your official and public endorsement, as a fit guide in public sentiment, and thereby gain additional influence to spread his skepticism. We urge another and even more decided reason: Mr. Parker is bold and unscrupulous. By frequent implications or assertions, he violates the neutral ground of the lecture-room. One of the last lectures by him before you—his lecture on progress—contained by the fore you—his lecture on progress—contained ments distinctly in conflict with the fact of a Revelation from God, and with its contents.

Whatever may be his qualifications in the second service of the second second service of the second s

whatever may be his qualifications in other respects, we think that such a man has forfeited his claim to be employed as a lecturer by the chief literary organization of a Christian city. And we believe that if such a selection has been made, for the sake of increasing the revenues of the Lycem, regardless of the consequences to the community, you may yet see that pecuniary gain can be purchased at too dear a rate.

Gentlemen, we beg leave to present the

chased at too dear a rate.

Gentlemen, we beg leave to present this subject to your most serious attention, with the hope that if the circumstances will permit, the arrangements may still be changed. We are yours, most respect. fully.

(Signed) C. W. Wallace, H. H. Hartwell, R. C.
Bartlett, J. M. Coburn, J. G. Hubbard, C. W. H.

Clark. Manchester, Dec. 25, 1856.

The Mirror publishes the reply of the Executive Committee of the Lyceum, through Mr. Joseph Kidder, their President. They have unanimously agreed that they cannot adopt the course suggested in the protest. In this reply they say:

Our association is composed of men holding 'Our association is composed of men holding a great variety of opinions, and it allows the largest liberty of thought and of speech. As a society we endorse no lecturer's opinion, but are content to give all men whom the literary public of Manchester deall men whom the literary public of Manchester de-sire to hear, and whom we can induce for a reason-able compensation to appear before us, a fair field and a candid hearing, having confidence in that pub-lic that it is able to discriminate between truth and error, and that any unscrupulous violation of the neutral ground of the lecture room, so far from al-vancing, will only injure the cause it is meant to

promote.

While there is, perhaps, no member of our committee who can be considered as endorsing Mr. Parker's peculiar views, but, on the contrary, there are ker's peculiar views, but, on the contrary, there are many who are equally decided with yourselves in the condemnation of those views, we yet believe that truth is mighty, and will prevail; that it can, occasionally, afford to be generous, and to give a candid hearing on neutral subjects, even to the advocate of error; and if, as may sometimes occur, a bold and unscrupulous man, by implication or assertion, advances sentiments at war with the truths of the Christian religion, we recollect that that plain

vances sentiments at war with the truths of the Christian religion, we recollect that that religion has in our city able and fearless champions.

'We recollect that, on every Sabbath day, you come before our people, standing on no neutral ground, but, on the contrary, having the utmost liberty, nay, absolutely required by considerations the most solemn and momentous to contend carnestly for what you believe the Eternal Truth of God. If it be so, it is invulnerable and seither. ly for what you believe the Eternal Trum of 666.

If it be so, it is invulnerable, and neither covert implication nor bold asseveration can subvert it. We should therefore be paying but a sorry compliment, either to you personally, or to the doctrine you advocate, by withdrawing Mr. Parker from before a Manchester audience for such reasons as you sug-

'The protest of a citizen' was offered against the protest presented above, and is as follows:-To the Directors of the Manchester Lyceum :-

Gentlemen,—While cherishing, I trust, kindly feelings towards the Reverend gentlemen who remonstrate against the right of Mr. Parker to lecture before the Lyceum, and regretting the occasion for any animadversion to the course touching your action thereon; yet, prompted by considerations affecting freedom of thought, opinion and speech, I enter my protest against the propriety, any, ere right of those Reverend gentlemen to attempt to control your action in this matter. Their motives are no doubt good; yet, if they fear one Lyceum lecture from Theodore Parker will efface the fruit of their united labors for twelve months in this attention to something else besides preaching, as the presumption will be inevitable that they have mistaken their vocation. If six hundred evangelical sermons can be spoiled by the delivering of one Lyceum lecture, of but an hour's duration, then there must be something 'rotten in Denmark'-some screw loose in the pulpit machinery, which need tightening. The plea that Mr. Parker violated the neutral ground of the lecture-room in his lecture on 'Progress,' is astonishingly unjust. That he went behind the Revelation to the Hebress, to the Revelation of Nature, which has more than once, in the development of science, corrected the interpretation of the former, is true; but I haveyet learn that that lecture vitiated anybody's faith it the fact of a Revelation from God; though I rejoice to know he gave a broader scope to our mental, nay spiritual vision, by leading us into beautiful fields of thought, outside, if not above, these gentlemen's

plane of vision.

They denounce the Catholic priesthood for the exercise of authority outside the Church, and weep bitter tears at the slavishness and ignorance of the Catholic masses; yet, with an assumption really astonishing, they would in another way, to be surto the same thing. They profess the tude for the Lyceum; possibly they have yet to learn that partizan dictation has already made it s pankrupt concern, to sustain which, you and I centlemen, have been made to bleed freely in the socket. While a member of the Board of Direction, I twice presented the name of Mr. Parker as a lecturer, but his religious notions not squaring with the Board, he was rejected; though no lectheme evinced a deeper or truer desire for the adwas more acceptable to the people. The result of this course was a loss of public confidence—and hence, the balance was found on the wrong side of the Treasurer's account at the close of the

You, gentlemen, profiting by the errors of your predecessors, have this season engaged Mr. Parker to lecture, and hence this remonstrance from six of the evangelical clergy, a portion of whom are not members of the Lyceum, and not hearing Mr. Parker in the profit of the large and the large are not members of the Lyceum, and not hearing Mr. Parker itself to what the ker's lecture on 'Progress,' subscribed to what they were personally ignorant of. Rev. Mr. Strait, of the Free Will Baptist Church, refused to sign the remonstrance—for which he is entitled to the thank of every friend of freedom. Rev. Lyman Becher e invited to a consultation of the Evangelical Clergy of Boston, as to the best means of stay ing the influence of Mr. Parker's preaching. When apprised of the object of the meeting, he, in substance, very gravely informed them that Mr. Parker was doing his own work in his own way; let them but be as faithful to their mission, and their apprehensions would cease. They took counsel by his advice, and pocketed their fears. Had Mr. Strait's example been followed, these gentlemen would have been saved this occasion of appearing ridiculous,—for a false position is always a ridiculous one. lous one.

The friends of liberal Christianity-patrons the Lyceum—could as consistently have objected to a lecture from the Rev. Mr. Wallace, because his religious faith is not in consonance with theirs, as could he and his contemporaries object to the right of Mr. Parker to lecture, because his theological notions do not square with theirs. The Lycens ground is an open one, and he who attempts to fence
it in with sectarian rails, will make very crocked
work of it. The history of the Lyceum teaches to
every careful observer, that to be sustained, it must
be made a live institution; its lecturers must be
free men; no sectarian tape can be permitted to
span their dimensions, no priestly consorbin be span their dimensions; no priestly censorship placed over them. It is an institution designed instruct and edify the masses:—failing to do this, it will, as it ought, to dis.

In closing, permit me, gentlemen, to tender to you the thanks of the masses for your wise manage ment of the Lyceum this senson; and especially are you deserving of praise for your rejection of the wishes of these remonstrants. Had you listened to their behests, and again put shackles upon it, it could not have outlived, had it lived out, the lecture will be the could not have outlived, had it lived out, the lecture would have readture season. And its epitaph would have read-

With high considerations of JOHN L. KELLEY.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, 21 Cornhill PRINTERS;