

REV. DR. DEWEY'S DISCLAIMER.

We see it going the rounds of the papers, that Rev. Dr. Dewey, D. D., in the course of a lecture delivered before the Mercantile Library Association in Boston, on the evening of Oct. 20th, took occasion to brand as a 'calumnious' and 'lie,' the story extensively circulated, that, in his lecture before the same body six years ago, he said he would assign his own mother to slavery to preserve the union of the States. He is said to have pronounced his disclaimer with the most vehement indignation, as a vindication due to the honor of his name. Yet the Doctor expressly admits that he did, on the occasion referred to, utter the following language: 'I would consent that my own brother, my own son, should go into slavery—ten times rather would I myself than that this Union should perish for me or mine.'

This is indeed a sorry vindication for the Rev. Doctor to make of his character as a minister of Jesus, and a citizen of the American Republic. And that he did say this we know before his recent confession, for we were present at that lecture, and heard that language. If he had seen a father in the very act of murdering his son, we could scarcely have experienced a more horrible shudder than that which ran through our nerves when we heard that language. And indeed, the instant assassination of the son by the father would be a more fitting companion with him than with words, and delivering him over to slavery for life. And for what? To make the amiable Doctor 'consent' to such a sacrifice of his brother and son? Why, for the sake of purchasing, at this price, the consent of the slaveholders to remain in our confederacy! Of course, if he would consent to the enslavement of his brother, son and self, for purchasing the 'will of the slaveholders to abide with us, and consent to the enslavement of any one else, and all other Northern people, for the same glorious purpose! Of course he must. What a bargain! What a principle to be uttered by an American Doctor of Divinity North! He loves confederacy with the slaveholders so well, that rather than be deprived of it, he would have it perpetuated, if it were to consist in the relation of the whole North to the South as that of slaves to their masters. It was an exceedingly foolish remark, and the Doctor would have acted more wisely to have said so frankly and ingenuously, than to have attempted to frighten the good citizens of Boston with indignant bluster. Whether it were his mother, or his brother, affects not the principle. It was the expression of a willingness to feed, even by human sacrifice, and to satisfy an enormous wrong, for a supposed temporal business advantage. It was intended, in fact, as a bone thrown to the pacification of the bloodhounds in pursuit of human cattle.

When the father will go out, and encourage his brother and son to go, and bare their bosoms to danger and death, in the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, the cause of human right, improvement and happiness, he shall receive the blessing of God and man. But no political union, no magnificent scheme of enriching trade, which is to be sanctified by the doing of iniquity, is worth a straw. If a man would go to the aid of the Negro, the lowest you can find in Boston, or that stupid Irishman, and thrust him into eternal slavery, and we will stand by the present American Union, —if not, we will secede *en masse* to-morrow; what would we answer! What! We would instantly reply, 'Away with you to-morrow! We believe in God, who judgeth in the earth. We will obey his law, and hide the consequences.'

Yet we do not mean to secede from the American Union. If it can be preserved on principles of right, it is a great good. But if the price of it must be our perpetual pandering to wrong, then it is worse than nothing, vanity. Hear ye the word of the Lord: 'Wee unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel and their work from the Lord. Your turning of things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay.' 'Wherefore hear ye the word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule this people. Because ye have despised my commandments, and despised my death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through it, shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves. Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place. And your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand. When ye shall say, Peace, because we have quietness, then ye shall be troubled down by it. Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread.'—Isa. xxxix. 15, 16; xxxviii. 14-18; viii. 12, 13.—Boston Christian Freeman.

SHALL KANSAS BE FREE?

Mr. Mace, of Indiana, has given notice of his intention to introduce a bill prohibiting slavery in Kansas and Nebraska. For this early and yet timely movement, he is entitled to the thanks of the friends of freedom throughout the country. Objections will be made by the friends of the time-serving; we shall hear much small talk about the expediency of reviving the agitation of the last session; we shall be told that the attempt is useless and dangerous. But for all this, we hope Mr. Mace will persevere. The dying man is not abandoned until every known remedy has been tried, and the great West ought not to be left to the doom of slavery, while a single wise and courageous man remains in Congress to resist its encroachments. We think that every effort, however unpropitious, is worth making in behalf of freedom. No man can tell what will be the result of a well-directed blow; a single word spoken in season or apparently out of season, may save Kansas from freedom, and with her how many other embryo States! Those who are disposed to complain, ought to remember the greatness of this question. Within its present limits we find slavery hard to manage. It legislates, directs, controls, bestows offices and shapes policy. It governs the army and the navy, moulds tariffs, and controls the destinies of our citizens, spends our money in negro-catching, makes Presidents, imprisons, frees, divides the church, exposes us to, foreign war, defies treaties, and in every department of the body politic, like a subtle poison, makes itself felt for evil.

This is slavery as it is—arrogant, though confined within certain limits, though bankrupt, though in a minority. What will it be if the schemes which have already projected, and to a certain extent developed, are successfully carried out! What will it be when it has a majority in the Senate and the House—when it is under no necessity of concealing its designs—when it is independent of Northern parties! We need not answer the question; every sensible reader, who knows the infamies of power, and the conflicting interests of slavery and freedom, can answer it for himself. It is enough for us to know that the admission of one more State increases the chances of the extension of slavery everywhere, for each new State is its inevitable moral tendency. An immense public domain, as yet untraced by the plough, and as well fitted for slave labor as any acres of God's world can be, already appeals to us, mutely but not less forcibly, for preservation from an evil sufficient to sap the foundations of a well-established empire, and ten times more fatal to a virgin State. And when Mr. Mace, or any other member of Congress, rises in his place to propose to prohibit slavery in Kansas, he speaks not only for her, but for all her future sisters in the confederacy, not only for the present, but for unborn generations. No matter how few may be the votes which sustain his motion. Though defeated, it can never be disgracefully defeated, and it will be sure to answer some good purpose, if not the great one intended. The offender Northern members are obliged to say 'Yes' or 'No' on slavery issues, the better; and when this question is put, we shall know how much dough has been baked in the fire of recent elections.

Nor can the advocates of slavery complain that an attempt has been made, at this time, to restore the anti-slavery ordinance. They were warned, over and over again during the last session, that this would be done. When the Cabinet was striving not only to restore the ordinance of slavery to Kansas, but to strangle freedom in the womb of legislation, the struggling friends of sound legislation declared in advance that, though defeated, they would return to the contest. The conspiracy was successful; bribery, intimidation, a certain bold, unblinking impudence, and the influence of party drift, triumphed over ancient compacts and still more ancient principles. We admit that the heart of the House was never with this false and dishon-

orable deed; the record of its consummation is not a record of the opinions of representatives, but of their covetous and their ambition. Mr. Mace will give them a chance for repentance and reparation, and they ought to thank him for it. Nor should the verdict of the people be forgotten. It is anything but ambiguous or indecisive, and if the present Congress fails to undo its most miserable work, the next one must perform that service, or be branded as doubly traitorous.—Boston Atlas.

THE CHOCTAWS.

The American Board of Foreign Missions, at its recent meeting, passed a resolution to dissolve its connection with the Choctaw schools, and to withdraw the teachers and money which it has been contributing, unless the Choctaw General Council should repeal an act prohibiting the instruction of slaves. This action of the Board, which was highly approved by most sensible people, and considered as credible and truly Christian, has excited the displeasure of Col. Harkins, the Chief of the Choctaws. The Colonel is a prudent as well as a pious man, and is determined to cast out those teachers who care for the souls of the enslaved, and to send for new teachers, who 'will not teach anything beyond what the Apostles of Jesus Christ taught in their day.' Chief Harkins' notions of apostolic teachings are lively, but limited; and he cannot, for one, be persuaded that our Saviour would have taken the trouble to come into the world to save 'niggers.' The fashionable barber in London, spoken of in Nicholas Nickleby, declined to shave coal-heavers—he felt that he must draw the line somewhere. He refused to shave anybody under a baker. Col. Harkins thinks great advantages would be quite thrown away upon anybody under 'Injins,' and he draws the line of salvation accordingly.

The aboriginal Colonel also urges upon his tribe, the necessity of notifying government that it is ready to adopt Johnson's territorial bill. He says, 'Our only chance to live and exist as a people, will be to educate and civilize as far as possible the rising generation—meaning, of course, the copper-colored rising generation.' Harkins has very pretty notions of civilization, borrowed, of course, from the patriarchal opinions of the South; but perhaps it has never occurred to him, that for one oppressed people to oppress another is a bad way of awakening sympathy. Harkins must be very benighted indeed, if he thinks that the expulsion of faithful Christian teachers from the country is evidence of Choctaw assent to 'civilization.' Perhaps, however, he still takes an aboriginal view of the subject, and means to follow up the pursuit of civilization by the revival of scapling, burning at the stake, and other agreeable Indian diversions. If so, he ought to put a ring in his nose and red-dress his cheeks without delay.—Boston Atlas.

From the London Empire of Dec. 2.

SALUTATORY ADDRESS.

It is not without reluctance that, yielding to the judgment of those whom I esteem wiser than myself, I to-day address the readers of THE EMPIRE under my own proper signature. My purpose is, firstly, to announce the fact that I have become co-editor and principal proprietor of this journal; and, secondly, to say something which shall indicate, with sufficient distinctness, the principles by which my Editorial Management will be regulated. The general views which I intend to promulgate, and the ends to which my literary labors will be directed.

THE EMPIRE, since its establishment, twelve months ago, has been distinguished for its able and manly advocacy of the cause of social morality, of sound liberal opinions, and of progressive reform. It will continue to be so distinguished, any deficiency of talent on my part being amply compensated by the more meritorious contributions of those with whom I have the honor to be associated, and of others whom I have reason to believe will lend me their occasional and valuable co-operation. What I have been during the whole course of my public life, that I shall inflexibly remain—the ardent friend and supporter of Free-trade and the rights of industry—the absolute and perfect equality of all religions sects—the largest practical extension of the independent political power of the people—of justice to our colonies, and especially to the conquered subjects of our vast Indian Empire—of the exercise of the moral influence of this nation in favor of the total and universal extinction of slavery and the slave trade; and, finally, of the Christian principles of Peace—especially the substitution of pacific arbitration, in all international disputes, for the present senseless, abandoned, and bloody appeal to the sword. My gradual overthrow of those gigantic military institutions of Europe which menace the tranquillity of the world, are the strongest bulwarks of despotism, and the most formidable obstacles to the advancement of civilization, and the triumphs of pure and undefiled religion.

I shall hold morality to be the true foundation of all politics, and shall first enquire—not what is expedient, but what is just; regarding, in as far as the highest good is concerned, the end necessarily injurious, to depart from the principles of truth and rectitude. I shall endeavor to test all questions by the unadulterated standard of Christian ethics, and by their bearing—not on the prospects or projects of a party, but upon the widest and best interests of the human race; trying to adhere to what is morally right—right everywhere, and right for all time. Conducted on these principles, THE EMPIRE will not be a strict party paper, but will be the friend of every party that shall prove its desire to carry out, in whatever direction, the maxims of individual, national and universal justice.

I have a high veneration for the BRITISH CONSTITUTION; but I do not regard every institution that has grown up under it as of equal sacredness and value with the Constitution itself. Institutions are but the machinery for promoting the liberties, and securing the rights of the people, and like all other things which are the offspring of mere human invention, are liable to defects, and prone to decay. They are means to an end, and should never be regarded as the end itself. Institutions for men, not men for institutions, will be the watchwords of this journal. I hold the opinion of Wordsworth, that 'Our life is turned'.

Out of its course, whenever man is made an offering, or a sacrifice, a tool, or implement, a passive thing employed by others, and which he is not acknowledged to be of common right or interest in the end.

In contemplating my future editorial career, I neither expect nor desire to avoid controversy; but it shall be my study and my effort to show myself an honorable and just-minded antagonist, and to preserve the columns of this paper unstained by calumny, and uncorrupted by selfishness. While I shall claim and exercise the liberty to know, to think, to believe, and to utter, freely, according to my conscience, I shall, as I have ever done, most scrupulously respect the same right of free utterance in my contemporaries, and be ready to do battle for it as ardently on behalf of others as for myself.

I enter upon my present labors and responsibilities untrammelled and unprejudiced by any party in Church or State, and I look for support to those only who respect individual independence and political integrity, and who may desire to see me in earnest effort to contribute something towards the creation of a public sentiment, that shall give ardor to virtue, confidence to truth, and freedom to mankind. I have toiled long enough in the cause of reform and progress to be prepared for any measure of disappointment which may befall me. I have never yet stipulated, and do not now stipulate, for success. If I can satisfy myself that I have done my duty, I shall rest contented with the issue.

GEORGE THOMPSON.

SOUTHERN REVIVALS. The editor of the Western Christian Advocate says—'We have the following on authority that admits of no questioning: Recently, in a town of a certain slave State, a revival took place in the church under the charge of Rev. Mr. ... During the meeting, a slave-trader professed conversion, and joined the church, and a local preacher became much encouraged. ... Soon after the close of the meeting, the slave-trader made a purchase from the local preacher of a slave woman who had a child at her breast. The trader not wishing the child, and the mother refusing to go without it, strong cords were obtained; a dray was sent for; she was tied hands and feet, and was carried by main force and strapped down to the dray, and was thus driven off.'

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 29, 1854.

THE BAZAAR.

The weather, for a few days past, has been extremely unpropitious for the ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR, in this city, rendering the walking exceedingly disagreeable, and keeping many visitors away, who would otherwise have attended to cheer by their presence, and aid the cause by their patronage. Notwithstanding this serious drawback, and the severe pressure in the money market, the proceeds of the sales have thus far equalled those of any season. The Bazaar will not close till Saturday evening; and we are happy to announce that, in addition to the stock of useful and beautiful articles still remaining on hand, no less than five additional boxes have arrived in the steamer America from England, the contents of which will give new variety and splendor to the exhibition. Let the time be well improved by liberal purchases and a spirited attendance.

It is expected that this [Friday] evening, ANTOINETTE BROWN will speak at the Bazaar, and on Saturday evening, LUCY STONE. The simple announcement will suffice to fill the hall.

LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

For the report of the proceedings of this Conference, which was held at the London Tavern on the 29th and 30th ult., at the call of the British and Foreign A. S. Society, we are specially indebted to our highly esteemed friend, Rev. FRANCIS BISHOP, of Liverpool. A considerable portion of it is extracted from 'THE EMPIRE,' the journal now under the editorial care of GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., whose Salutatory Address to the patrons thereof may be found in the preceding column. The Conference was in session two days, and appears to have been conducted in a spirit far different from that of the 'World's Convention' in 1840. Two female delegates appeared with credentials from Manchester, and were admitted without objection. We differ from the exclusion of LUCRETIA MOTT, MARY GRAW, and other American women from the Convention aforesaid! And what a change it implies on the part of the Broad Street Committee, either from motives of policy or from higher considerations!—Again—no gag was applied, and free speech was amply vindicated in the fidelity with which PARKER PILLSBURY uttered and applied the truth, respecting the unjustifiable course pursued by that Committee towards the American Anti-Slavery Society for many years past. We will not complain that the Conference did not specially endorse the old Pioneer Society, though it would have been simply just and magnanimous to have done so; and we much prefer the phraseology used in the resolution adopted by the Conference, in regard to 'the abolitionists generally in the United States,' than to have had the American A. S. Society specifically classed with the American and Foreign A. S. Society. All we ask is, a free platform, and no favors.

BLOOD MONEY.

The following shows the amounts paid to the military of the city for their services at the time of the rendition of the fugitive slave, Anthony Burns, some months since:

National Lancers, Capt. Wilmarth.....	\$820 00
Boston Light Dragoons, Capt. Wright.....	1,128 00
Fifth Regiment of Artillery, by Col. Cowdin, for himself, staff and regiment.....	3,945 00
Boston Light Infantry, Capt. Rogers.....	407 00
New England Guards, Capt. Henshaw.....	432 00
Palaski Guards, Capt. Wright.....	323 00
Boston Light Guard, Capt. Follett.....	500 00
Boston City Guard, Capt. French, (of which \$100 was paid by order to George Young, for 'refreshments').....	428 00
Boston Independent Fostlers, Capt. Cooley.....	320 00
Washington Light Infantry, Capt. Upton.....	636 00
Mechanic Infantry, Capt. Adams.....	428 00
National Guard, Lieut. Harlow commanding.....	416 00
United Guard, Capt. Brown.....	476 00
Sanford Guard, Capt. Hogan.....	308 00
Boston Independent Cadets, Capt. Amory.....	1136 00
Boston Light Artillery, Capt. Cobb.....	158 00
Major General Edmunds and staff.....	715 00
Light Dragoons.....	140 00
Col. Holbrook and staff, of the First Regiment of Light Infantry.....	26 00
Brigadier General Andrews and staff, of the First Brigade.....	107 50
Major Bowbank and staff, of the Third Battalion of Light Infantry.....	76 00
William Lord, hardware and sporting apparatus dealer, for ammunition.....	155 78
Total.....	\$13,116 78

Should the Companies here designated consent to receive the BLOOD MONEY paid to them by the General Government, for their services in kidnapping poor Burns, they will make their infamy sure and lasting. If they were ordered out, on that inglorious occasion, simply to preserve the peace of the city, (as Mayor Smith pretended,) then their remuneration is no concern of the General Government; and behind this plea they have shakled till now, to shield themselves from popular contempt. The acceptance of this BLOOD MONEY will constitute every officer and private, who took part in that traitorous, willing accomplices in kidnapping, and they will deserve to be hissed and grouted at afresh, every time they appear on parade.

REV. CALVIN FAIRBANK.

The letter from Mrs. LAURA S. HAVLAND, on our first page, respecting the condition of this unfortunate victim of Southern despotism, will be read with a thrill of horror. It will be recollected that Mr. Fairbank, while signifying in Indiana, was actually abducted by a band of ruffians from Kentucky, carried into the latter State, thrust into prison, and finally tried and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment in the Penitentiary, on the charge of having aided a female slave to obtain her freedom by flight. He was seized against all law, and convicted without evidence. His abduction (aside from the allegation made against him) should have promptly led the Governor of Indiana to demand his liberation, but no notice was taken of it, and no excitement followed among the people of that State. And it appears that there is no hope of his pardon—the Governor of Kentucky declaring, 'All the wealth of Kentucky would not make me pardon him.' It also appears that Mr. F. has been most cruelly flogged by the order of the keeper of the prison, (Craig), whose villainous spirit has been freshly exhibited in his attempt to ruin the character of Miss Della Webster, force her to abandon her property, and flee from Indiana for self-preservation, because sympathizing with the oppressed. We trust this letter will have the widest circulation, and be the means of deepening the popular abhorrence of slavery and all its abettors.

PATE OF ANTHONY BURNS.

The Evening Telegraph says it has information which is authentic, that this poor victim of a treacherous master and cowardly Mayor, was sold by the miserable Suttle to a North Carolina negro trader, (after \$1400 had been tendered both here and in Virginia, and after he had promised to let Rev. Mr. Grimes have him,) for the sum of \$700, with a condition in the bond that he should never be sold to go North. And this is the fate of this poor victim!

CONGRESS.

In the U. S. Senate, last week, Mr. Sumner presented the memorial of the Baptist Free Mission Society of New England, praying for the repeal of the Kansas, Nebraska Bill, and the Fugitive Slave Law. He moved that they be laid on the table, as Mr. Chase will soon call up his bill for the prohibition of slavery in the Territories.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE IN LONDON.

A Conference of the friends of anti-slavery, convened by circular issued by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, was held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 29th and 30th November. The attendance, though not large, was influential, and comprised many well-known names from various parts of the country. At the morning sitting on the first day, Mr. SAMUEL GUNNET was called to the Chair. In opening the proceedings, he spoke of the state of the slave trade on the coast of Africa, and in Brazil and Cuba. He also referred to American slavery as a system of the grossest despotism, particularly disgraceful to the country which cherished it; and, on the whole, he said he was compelled to regard the present position of the anti-slavery cause as one of discouragement.

Mr. CHAMBERZOW, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, mentioned many letters that had been received from persons friendly to the meeting, but who were unable to attend, from some of which he read extracts. He then proceeded to read lists of delegates to the Conference, appointed from various places.

Rev. FRANCIS BISHOP, of Liverpool, at this stage of the proceedings, rose in the room, and handed up the credentials of two delegates then present, of whose appointment, he said, the Secretary had not received any previous notice.

Mr. CHAMBERZOW immediately read the credentials thus publicly handed to him, which were those of Mrs. Moore and Miss Whiteledge, as delegates from the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Manchester; and no objection being offered, the appointment was of course ratified by the meeting like that of all the other delegates. There were many other ladies in the room as visitors, but we heard it said that several among them would have been delegates, had they been aware that women would have been admitted in that capacity.

The Rev. J. H. HAYTON, Baptist minister, read a paper on 'The Present Position of the Anti-Slavery Question in Great Britain as a Public Question, and the Duty of British Abolitionists.' He referred to the labors of Clarkson, Wilberforce and their coadjutors, the motives that had animated them, and the glorious results that had crowned their efforts. From the past he came to the present. The question was one that concerned the whole civilized world. The thief and the receiver of stolen goods assailed interests that were public, and had no right to shelter themselves under the plea of individual right. America nourished an atrocious traffic equally heartless and heart-rending. The motto of abolitionists should be, 'Freedom for the Slave, and no surrender.' The position of the question in this country had for some time been quiescent, but not extinct. Little attention, comparatively, had of late been paid to it, because no great and tangible object had been before them. They had, moreover, been embarrassed in their action by differences of opinion on the sugar duties and other matters. But the time, he thought, had come when they should 'let bygones be bygones,' and their present duty, now that they were happily once more united, was to marshal themselves for action. The question was, what was to be done? and that would be answered by the different speakers to whom the various topics that were to come before the Conference had been entrusted.

Mr. JOSEPH PRICE, of Neath, proposed the first resolution, which, after stating that eight millions of human beings are now held as chattels in the United States, the Brazil, the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonies, asserted the essential immorality and unrighteousness of the doctrine, that it is lawful for man to hold property in man; and encouraged the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to prosecute its labors with undiminished energy. Mr. Price referred in terms of the highest approval to the recent mission of three 'Friends' to the slave States of America, and considered that religious work had exercised a most important influence for good. The question, however, it must be confessed, wore a gloomy aspect in that country, but if men of business and sense would consider how they would enhance the value of their land by abolishing slavery, they would take courage and do it. If twenty millions of pounds sterling abolished slavery in the West Indies, eighty millions would effect the same great object in the United States. The time would come, he thought, when it would be found expedient by the various States to adopt this course.

Major General THOMPSON next made a few observations. He thought that Spain was able to effect emancipation in Cuba, from the fact that France had succeeded in doing so in her colonies. The Americans, he said, were going to take Cuba; but if the Spaniards would preserve that island to their rule, they must abolish slavery. The English government could do much to bring about this happy result; and they had a great political interest in its accomplishment, for if Cuba became the possession of the Slave Power, nothing could save the West Indies from its grasp. The question was one of vast importance, as the possession of Cuba by the United States was only part of one vast scheme for the universal spread of slavery over all tropical regions.

The Rev. JOHN WOODWARK seconded the resolution proposed by Mr. Price. He urged the importance of the wide-spread diffusion of suitable tracts and other publications. He thought the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* should be more generally read.

The Rev. EDWARD MATHEWS, of Wisconsin, expressed the opinion that the question of the anti-slavery cause in England, referred to in Mr. Hinton's paper, was owing to the quieting and repressive influence exerted by churches and bodies of professing Christians in America over kindred churches on this side of the Atlantic.

The resolution was then put to the vote, and unanimously passed.

The Rev. P. H. CONROD (late missionary to Jamaica) proposed the second resolution, which declared that the results of West India emancipation were on the whole truly gratifying and satisfactory; and that most of the evils existing in the West Indies were attributable either to the pernicious influences of slavery, or to other causes altogether irrespective of the Act of Emancipation.

Mr. CRAWFORD, in the course of a long and able speech, mainly unadvised on the 'truck' and 'contract' systems, and the introduction of free emigrants, as exercising a very injurious influence upon the physical and moral condition of the free laborers of the West India Islands. He paid a high tribute to the character of the negroes of these islands, and declared that they were a most industrious class; but, he asked, what has the commercial question to do with the rights of the wrong of slavery? As well might one ask what is the value of virtue, or the worth of justice. One out of every six of the colored population were members of Christian churches, and none were admitted without the most rigid test of their qualification. The Baptist Missionary Society found that, at the present time, all the money they had ever spent in the West Indies was from those represented in chapels, school-houses, and other religious property built by colored communicants in Baptist churches. The great treat-mill erected at or near Port Maria, under the apprehension that emancipation would engender a vast amount of crime among the blacks, had never been used, and he had not heard, during his long residence among them, of one of their number breaking into a house at night. Indeed, their virtues were quite of a venal character. Black men occupied pulpits, black men filled important posts in the press, and they even took their places as legislators in the House of Assembly. The speaker concluded by an eloquent denunciation of the doctrine that man can hold property in man.

The Rev. Mr. HENDERSON, of British Guiana, seconded the resolution. He referred to the gigantic evils which slavery must necessarily create among the enslaved population, many of which must still cling to them, even at the end of sixteen years' possession of their rights, but he believed, from practical knowledge, that where justice is done to the free laborer, he generally becomes a respectable man, and a good member of society. He referred to various laws existing in British Guiana, (among others, to the masters' and servants' act,) which he believed exercised a demoralizing influence upon the negro population. The speaking-room read copious extracts from the most recent reports of several magistrates residing in the colony, in confirmation of his statement that the colored people were rapidly advancing in civilization. These documents particularly referred to their increasing regard for education, and the great progress which habits of temperance had made among them.

Mr. S. BOUNE, late stipendiary magistrate in Demerara, said that he formed the acquaintance of Mr. Joseph John Gurney when he visited the West Indies. Mr. Gurney asked him whether slave labor was as cheap as free labor. At that time he was making searching inquiry into the affirmative, but on making searching inquiry, he came to a totally opposite conclusion. He believed that it would be of great advantage to the colonists if cotton, as well as sugar, was cultivated. Many benevolent persons of his acquaintance had been hampered with difficulties on the subject of emancipation. He was ready to prove to such persons—1. That by properly draining the land, one-third more cane would be produced. 2. That this measure would improve the general health, and also attract fresh capitalists to the colonies. 3. That the introduction of a more simple machinery (such as he had placed on view, in another part of the building), would double the quantity of sugar produced. 4. By the suitable industrial education of the laborers. He suggested that the Conference should appoint a sub-committee to consider the subject.

The Rev. W. JAMES, of Bristol, remarked that he had conversed with gentlemen connected with the West Indies, who complained that the negroes would not work. Mr. BOUNE replied that he never knew of any deficiency in the labor market when a sufficient remuneration was offered.

The CHAIRMAN asked if the negro would work properly for stipulated wages.

Mr. BOUNE replied in the affirmative.

A conversation then ensued, in which Mr. Chamberzow, Mr. Woodwark, and Mr. Joseph Clark took part.

Mr. CHAMBERZOW stated that the substance of the numerous letters that he had received from the West Indies on the subject, was to the effect that there was no indisposition to work on the part of the colored population, and that when they refused to do so, it was almost invariably the fault of the planter.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON earnestly recommended every member of the Conference to peruse Dr. Davy's recently published work on 'Slavery before and after emancipation,' which contained the results of a very extensive personal inquiry on the subject which had been considered by the Conference, and furnished a most valuable body of evidence to all abolitionists.

The resolution having been carried, the Conference adjourned.

FIRST DAY—MORNING SITTING.

At three o'clock, the Conference reassembled, and J. T. Price, Esq., was voted to the chair, in the absence of Mr. Gurney.

Mr. VICTOR SCHÖLCHER (a member of the late French National Assembly) arose amid much cheering to propose the third resolution, which declared that the results of emancipation in the French West India colonies were highly encouraging, considering the brief period this measure has been in operation, and that they were an additional illustration of the perfect safety of immediate abolition. Mr. Schölscher reviewed the state of public opinion in France on the slave question prior to the revolution of 1848. One of the first acts of the Provisional Government, (which he should ever consider it an honor to have been associated with) was the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. They abolished it without transition, and in so doing, the planters themselves had declared that the government had acted wisely. In proof of this, he quoted from various colonial newspapers. With regard to the insurrection of negroes at Martinique, that took place before the Act of Emancipation had taken effect—in fact, that was a result of the revolution at home. He drew a rather gloomy picture of the present state of the colonies under the Empire. Slavery had been for ever abolished in the colonies by the decrees of the Republic, but much injustice was still perpetuated. The Governor of Guadeloupe had dismissed the Attorney General, and driven away the Bishops, because they refused to make their high offices subservient to compulsory labor. Pride of caste, he thought, was an evil which takes the longest time to cure. It is because the free blacks have had the impudence to say, 'Am I not as much as you?' that these difficulties have arisen. But there is order now in the Antilles, as there is in Paris. Any negro is liable to be arrested on the highway, if he have not a passport, for which he is obliged to pay. The education of the blacks is subjected to equally onerous regulations. He spoke of the evils of free immigration, connected with which there are always the evils of slavery. But he found consolation in the fact, that the destiny of evil is to be temporary, of good to be everlasting. He referred to the statement that the European republican leaders had agreed to overlook American slavery. It could not be so. He, for one, as a Republican, believed that slavery is nowhere so great a shame as in a republic. He denounced, in terms of strong indignation, the slavery of the United States, but believed that the American abolitionists would yet overthrow this, its last stronghold. Mr. Schölscher's address was frequently interrupted by the plaudits of the audience. In reply to a question, he stated that 120,000,000 francs had been paid as compensation to the slaveholders by the French government.

Mr. STURGE stated that he believed no man had done more than Victor Schölscher towards effecting emancipation in the French colonies.

Mr. CHAMBERZOW said that he had ascertained from French colonial authorities, that the prosperity of the Bourbon and of the other islands had considerably increased since the abolition of slavery.

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER, after paying a tribute of respect to the anti-slavery labors of Schölscher, Lamarine, and Arago, stated that, during a recent visit he had paid to Guadeloupe and Martinique, he was glad to find but little of the prejudice against color.

The resolution was then passed unanimously.

Mr. RALPH CARR, of Waterford, urged the great importance of the land-slave trade over the sea slave trade, considering, as he did, that the latter could not exist without the former.

After a suggestion from the Rev. James Ballantyne, M.A., of Edinburgh,

Mr. PARKER PILLSBURY, of Boston, in a short but eloquent speech, referred to the deliberate violation of the slave trade statutes of the United States by the Government of that country, in proof of the uselessness of remonstrating with the Spanish authorities. Nineteen thousand Africans were imported into the States every year, and nobody could wonder at it, seeing that nearly every President is a slaveholder, and being one is a recommendation to the office. Slavery has only to say, 'Do this,' and it is done; and it will obtain Cuba.

The Chairman, Mr. Price, who had once interrupted Mr. Pillsbury in the course of his speech by a most uncalculated expression of a desire that he would be closely to the question, curiously remarked, when Mr. Pillsbury resumed his seat, that it was not by railing at America that any good was to be effected. After a few remarks by the Rev. Mr. Ball, the Chairman ordered to stand over until the following morning, that the committee might make it in certain resolutions which had been suggested during the afternoon.

SECOND DAY.

At the assembling of the Conference on Thursday morning, JOHN CROFTON, Esq., of Liverpool, having been requested to occupy the chair, opened the meeting with a few brief observations.

Mr. JOHN CANTLER then moved a resolution in reference to the extinction of the slave trade in Brazil, which was seconded by Mr. BONAUM CHATELAIN, and supported by Mr. WILSON BERRIES.

A gentleman inquired whether the proposition in color in Brazil was as great as in the United States. Mr. BONAUM believed it was not, and attributed the fact to the circumstance that the Brazilians were themselves so very near the completion of their own emancipation.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The Rev. JAMES SHERMAN, in an able and eloquent speech, next proposed a resolution on the subject of slavery in the United States, which was as follows: 'That whilst this Conference cherishes the most friendly disposition towards the people of the United States, it cannot contemplate without the deepest sorrow the revolting spectacle presented by the existence in that country of the institution of slavery, which by its compromises under the Constitution, by its recognition as national, and otherwise, sanctioned and protected, until it has attained to colossal dimensions, and embraced in its oppressive grasp nearly three millions and a half of their fellow-citizens. Nor can this Conference refrain from expressing its repudiation of the professing ministers of the Gospel, who, by the perversion of Scripture, and by the promulgation of the iniquitous institution; or who, whilst admitting the enormity of the evil and its unrighteousness, have borne a testimony against it, but have failed in their duty, in view, therefore, of the extensive implications of the great majority of the churches of America in the system of slavery, and of the flagrant reproach thus brought upon the Christian religion, this Conference deems it to be its solemn duty

Mr. McLAUREN, being appealed to, objected to the proposed amendment, on the ground of his ignorance of the character of the various American Anti-Slavery Societies, and of the fact that the resolution included all Societies.

The Rev. W. JAMES maintained the catholicity of the anti-slavery platform, and was at a loss to understand why the committee should object to a recognition of the Society of the most important Anti-Slavery Society in America.

The Rev. R. WARD was satisfied with the resolution, because he considered that the phrase "the abolitionists generally," included the American and Foreign Societies, to which he belonged.

The Rev. E. BASSOR said that it was necessary distinctly to recognize the American Anti-Slavery Society, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, that under a false name it had been generally understood, that under a false name it had been generally understood, that under a false name it had been generally understood.

Mr. CALDWELL denied unequivocally that there was any ground for such a statement.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON paid a glowing tribute of respect to the American Anti-Slavery Society. Originally formed by a distinct meeting in this city, it had been the first to take into account various circumstances, and was disposed to press the point at the present time.

Mr. BASSOR, upon being further appealed to, said he felt himself in a difficulty. The Secretary had given a satisfactory answer to his question, and he was about, in consequence, to withdraw his amendment; but Mr. Foster had by implication thrown doubt on the Secretary's reply, and compelled him, Mr. B., to persevere.

Mr. CALDWELL declared that he had carefully searched the books, and that no resolution condemning or misrepresenting the American Society had ever appeared on the minutes of the Committee; and that they were animated by a desire to receive all abolitionists to their platform and fellowship.

Mr. BASSOR then said, that after that public and official declaration, he withdrew his amendment; but he hoped that they would, for consistency's sake, strike out of their resolutions the reference to the anti-slavery members of Congress.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON urged that this should be done, as, in truth, there were no members in the American Congress who held to the principles of anti-slavery as they were understood and acknowledged by that Conference.

This suggestion was agreed to, and, after a few words from Mr. Sturge, thanking the friends for withdrawing their amendment.

Mr. PARKER PILLBURY was called upon and delivered a speech of great eloquence and power, which produced a deep impression on the meeting. The manly fidelity, and the bold, uncompromising truthfulness with which he spoke, enchaind the attention of all, and commanded the respect even of those who must have felt the strength of his rebukes.

At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Cropper was compelled to retire, and Mr. McLAREN was installed in the chair. A very long and most important discussion respecting the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions now ensued.

The Rev. CUTBERT YOUNG spoke in behalf of the American Board, and declared that its present action was of an anti-slavery character.

The Rev. JAMES VINCENT, of Cincinnati, Ohio, at considerable length analysed "the Treat letter" which Mr. Young had referred to as substantiating his statements, and endeavored to show that its pretended anti-slavery was a blind and a delusion. Mr. Vincent also presented serious accusations against the official members of various British missionary societies, and charged the office of the British Banner with inconsistency in having at one time denounced the American Board, and now being its advocate.

The CHAIRMAN thought the discussions on the subject should stop here.

depths of the heart, went, we feel assured, to the hearts of many present, leaving an impression that will not soon be effaced. It was felt, however, by the friends who took part in the discussion in the earlier part of the day, that they could not, after having consented to withdraw their amendment, reopen the question.

A member of the Conference, whose name we did not gather, said that it was not unreasonable if these people (the Am. A. S. Society) had lost their character, that they should come and ask that conference to enforce it.

After a few words from Mr. PILLBURY, Mr. BISSOR appealed to the Chairman (Mr. Price, Mr. McLAREN having been obliged to leave the meeting at an earlier period) to require the above gentleman to withdraw his most offensive and unjustifiable remark. This call met with the warm and general approval of the meeting, though the Chairman had not seen it to be becoming in him to allow the remark to pass, and the gentleman complained of rose and said that if he had uttered anything that was improper, he was sorry for it, and begged to withdraw it.

It was resolved, rather hurriedly, and amid the bustle of breaking up, to hold a World's Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris next year.

LECTURE OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, AT THE TREMONT TEMPLE.

The fourth of the Independent Course of Anti-Slavery Lectures was delivered in the Tremont Temple, in this city, on Thursday evening of last week, by WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., to a crowded and brilliant assembly.

It was listened to with intense interest, and notwithstanding its radical character, was warmly applauded. It was, of course, characterized by his usual eloquence. Mr. P. spoke in substance as follows:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am asked to speak to you on the subject of slavery. It is a very broad question. To lift but a corner of the dark curtain that shrouds it will crowd, if it does not trespass far beyond the hour that you lend me to-night. I ask your patience, therefore, if an abolitionist, at such an epoch as this, which, so unexpectedly to all of us, crowds these walls, night after night, with listening thousands, to hear a lecture on slavery—such a "good time," not "coming," but come—should talk to you a little longer than the ordinary measure of a literary lecture!

I ask, too, your constant recollection that this is no question of any individual; it is too large a question to belong to any party; it concerns us all—every man who loves his country; it touches our common interest and our common honor.

It is your question; not the question of those who speak from this platform. "If you would love your country," said Edmund Burke, "see to it that you make her worthy to be loved." When Daniel Webster came home from abroad, and found that some of the States had repudiated their debts to Europe, he said to the farmers of the West, "I would work these arms to the elbow to wipe off a blot from the remotest corner of my country."

If this be duty when we owe debts of silver and gold, how earnest should be the effort to pay the debt of justice and mercy that we owe to God as well as our fellow-man! (Applause.)

It is a very grave question, that of slavery. No man doubts how it will end. Slavery is to be abolished, because a just God reigns. (Loud cheers.) The question for us is—How? and When? and What can we do to hasten it? How shall we earn for ourselves the great benefit and the honor of laborers with God in this ministering to the welfare of millions of our fellow-men? How shall slavery be abolished? That is our question. What can we do to abolish it, as citizens and as Christians?

Friends, we sometimes mistake the slave question, by supposing it to be a mere question of the blacks—a mere question of sympathy. It was so once. It was a question once which touched only the colored man. It has long ceased to be that. The rights which we so remorselessly sacrificed, when they were the rights of the colored man only, have been fully avenged upon us, and this question of slavery has become the question of the age here. "It is no question of the South; it is no question of the blacks; it is the question of free speech in Massachusetts and in Faneuil Hall. (Applause.)

We mean to vindicate that right by all the laws that are left us; and when there are no laws left us, we will go to that higher law that can never be repealed. (Applause.) It is a question of the whites; whether this great experiment of popular government is to be successful; whether our institutions, as our fathers gave them to us, are to be handed down to our children.

They knew well what the system of slavery was at the South; a system that makes a man a thing—that robs him of his wages—that robs him of his wife and his children—that practically robs him of the Gospel—that robs him of every thing that makes a distinction between a man and a brute. What was it that defended that system?—a system that sells women and children at the auction-block, that forbids the Bible by statute, that turns three millions of human beings into promiscuous concubinage, without marriage, in a Christian and republican country, as it loved to call itself? It was the Slave Power, and that comprised several elements.

The first element was money—that was the first item of its strength. Two thousand millions of dollars were to-day invested in property in men and women, recognized by the laws of one half the States of this Union. The product was cotton mainly, and other items that lie at the base of our commerce, and this swept into the train of the Slave Power the mercantile interests, the merchants. The very function of America was to make money. It was our "manifest destiny," more than the acquisition of territory. Dr. Johnson had described us, when, talking of the Scotch, he said, "if you put a dollar on the other side of hell, the Scotchman will leap for it, at the hazard of falling in." (Laughter.) The anti-slavery organization had to fight two thousand millions of dollars, in the hands of 850,000 sagacious and desperate men, educated to steamship, constantly on the alert, vigilant, because they were aware that the spirit of the 19th century was undermining their title, that literature and religion and the pulses of the world were beating down their claim.

him, Mr. Phillips, you are right, no doubt; but the principles you advocate would cause the grass to grow in Milk street, and we cannot afford it.

The anti-slavery sentiment, to contend with such a power, must be a deep, radical, outspoken, determined, vigilant sentiment—one which had become a conviction, and passed into an instinctive element of character. They wanted to abolish slavery, and they sought to do this by sending up men to Washington, putting a different voice into the pulpit and into the press. How should they effect this? These were all weathercocks, the whole of them. Make the wind right, and they would all point North. (Cheers.) When the Green-lancers went hot weather, says an old traveller, "they boil the thermometer." (Laughter.) That man who wished an anti-slavery effect, and went up to Washington to beseech a politician on the subject, without first creating the heat at home, would be just as wise.

"Parties," says Lord John Russell, "are like snakes; the tail moves the head." (Laughter and applause.) Was there a public sentiment here to be relied on? Did it treat this sin of slavery like other sins? Was it willing to brand the slaveholder and his abettor as a sinner, as it would the thief and the murderer? Mat. Ward, in Kentucky, shot a Yankee schoolmaster. The jury acquitted him; but Kentucky knew he was guilty of murder, and Kentucky thinks murder a sin—thinks it with her whole heart—believes it—realizes it—means it when she says it; and she spared him only because she was afraid of the mob.

She sent him to Illinois and Indiana, but he found no rest for the sole of his foot, and he went to New Orleans, and took refuge beyond the ocean. There were men walking in this city who had done a fouler deed than Mat. Ward. They had given up to a bondage which was worse than death, a man who had proved a better title to be free than any they had, for we were born free—an accident, no merit of ours; but the man born under slavery, who had a heart to imagine the liberty which he did not see, and a right arm to vindicate his claim to it, and put his feet on the soil of Massachusetts, had proved before God a better fitness for freedom than we who were simply born upon the soil. (Loud applause.) Such a man as that, men who still walk our streets had thrust into the hell of bondage. No public sentiment made them quit Boston, or made the streets too hot for them to tread. The slave commissioner—he was unworthy the name of judge, since he made up his mind before he sat in the case—lives amongst us. His circle takes his hand as freely as ever. And those who abetted them, where are they? Respected to office in the very city in which he stood. (Shame, shame.) These were evidences of what? A public sentiment against slavery as strong as Kentucky has against murder? No; a qualified, half-way, faltering, skulking public sentiment, that hides itself in corners, that contents itself in words, that does not fill the heart of the whole community, that does not speak out and make itself obeyed. What right had we to call ourselves an anti-slavery State, on that tenure on which Kentucky could call herself an anti-murder State? None.

He allowed there was a kind of anti-slavery among us; but how much?—what could it do? Did it make men tremble before it? Did it make itself heard in the press, in the pulpit? Did it take up Massachusetts by the four corners, and shake out the Curtises and the Lorings? He would he had a drink of water to rinse his lips after naming them! (Loud applause.)

Mr. Phillips then proceeded to criticize, at some length, the institutions of the country—judging them by the men which they had created, and contrasting their conduct with that of the great men of the early days of the Republic. Our country, he said, was rich in glorious names far back—men who did their duty to their generation, and acted up to their light. The inheritance of their good name was his as well as that of his fellow-citizens. He would utter no unjust criticism upon them. But what had our government done? Washington was the product of colonial institutions. He was a great man. There was but one blot upon his fame—and that they would be almost willing, treading reverently backward, to cover with the mantle of their charity, when the slave was freed, and they could afford to. Washington, a Virginia slaveholder, educated in the midst of slavery, wrote that letter to the Collector of Portsmouth, which they were all familiar, requesting him to return a fugitive slave who had escaped from Mr. Vernon, if it would not offend the prejudices of the people of New Hampshire; for he would not agitate the community by a claim which would offend their consciences. That was the product of colonial institutions. But, at the very time that Washington wrote that letter, there was running about on a New Hampshire farm, a bare-footed boy, whom God gifted with the noblest intellect, perhaps, of his age. He grew up to manhood. All that the pulpit, all that the school could do for him, was done. He walked in the highest walks of American responsibility. When he was seventy years old—and eloquent lips had told them elsewhere that he was the "prime fruit of American institutions"—he could stand upon the steps of a house in Boston, and command us to smother those very prejudices which the great Virginia slaveholder respected sixty years ago! What had changed us from 1790 to 1850? Our institutions—nothing else. We had fallen from the magnanimity of that virtue which could grow even in the soil of slavery, down to this Boston recommendation of a New England statesman!

The life of Edward Everett was then reviewed, and he was shown to have always bowed in willing and servile subservience to the Slave Power;—but, nevertheless, the people had again and again elevated him to office, and lavished upon him the highest honors. You blame Edward Everett, said Mr. Phillips, but I do not. He is but the child of the schools you have kept. When did the public sentiment ever say, "This is not Massachusetts which you represent? When was the breaking up of institutions which had gone far to shipwreck the experiment of self-government here. (Loud applause.)

The announcement that the next lecture would be delivered by CASSIUS M. CLAY, of Kentucky, was received with marked approbation.

The Boston papers, (says the Worcester Spy,) with one accord, speak of the lecture of Wendell Phillips last Thursday evening, as a magnificent and masterly effort, and of surpassing eloquence. The impression it produced upon the immense audience which thronged to hear it, may be judged by the following article from the Boston Courier, the most thoroughly servile and hunkerish pro-slavery paper in Boston:

THE ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES. The Tremont Temple, usually so full during this course, was crowded to almost capacity on Thursday night. Wendell Phillips was the orator of the evening. His subject was the character and extent of the anti-slavery feeling in New England, and never were the splendid abilities of this most accomplished and able fanatic more amply displayed than on this occasion. Sentiments were most eloquently and powerfully expressed, and to those who were not of the feelings of every patriot, and to those who were not of the feelings of the abolitionists themselves, were absolutely unappreciated when clothed in the graceful and magnificent diction of the anti-slavery Cicero. No pen can describe the gross injustice of the matter, or the exquisite felicity of the manner with which he treated the characters of Webster, Everett, Judge Curtis, and Mr. Commissioner Loring were held up to the hatred and contempt of the vast audience. Topics of the most odious character—topics which an ordinary man would have been hissed and pelted for alluding to—topics, such as the dissolution of the Union and the destruction of the Constitution—were dealt upon with such unparalleled force and beauty; that disapprobation of the subject was lost and overwhelmed in admiration of the man. When he said that "he would have a tumbler of water to rinse his mouth" after mentioning the names of Judge Curtis and Mr. Commissioner Loring—when he intimated that Massachusetts should have treated Mr. Everett as Kentucky treated Mat. Ward—when he spoke of a "Yankee with moderate abilities, which nature had doubled by omitting to put a conscience into him," and said that he need not mention the name of Caleb Cushing—when he compared Dr. Gerrard Spring of 1850, with Dr. Gerrard Spring of 1790, and wished the latter back if the Union were destroyed in getting him,—the vast hall rang again and again to rounds of enthusiastic applause. Truly there has been a great change since 1850, but great as it is, it is insufficient to explain the favor with which this Abolition orator was received by

do, their creators. The Catholic priest was created by a Pope, and he reflected him; the Episcopal ministry was created by the aristocracy of England, and represents it; and Macaulay describes it truly when he says that the Episcopal church has never found itself, even by accident, for one hundred and fifty years, on the side of the people.

His method to meet the question, the scholars having school, was to change the school. What a "large lapse" had they fallen from the "battlements of heaven"—from Washington and Jay to—Pierce and Cushing! (Loud cheers.) Our politicians were bought, our merchants were vassals, and the press was in chains. Why, there were the Harpers, millionaires, able, certainly, to afford to keep a conscience, and yet not daring to republish an English work which had a portion of it devoted to the anti-slavery cause. We would change this Union (said Mr. Phillips)—dissolve it—break it to pieces, and tear this Constitution, which every man prides but us, into tatters. (Applause.)

Suppose for a moment that the States were broken asunder, what would the result be? Suppose the Southern States were left alone, what would they have to do? Support a government. What was necessary to support a government? Pay for it. How much did it cost to support a government? Millions. How much did it cost to support a government when three millions of people were kept in chains, and only five millions to do it, and the three millions restless and uneasy, and the spirit of the nineteenth century arming them to get rid of their fetters? It costs a great deal. How were the Southern States to find the means? They must educate their labor, for educated labor was the only basis upon which a government could get taxation enough, in the keen competition of this day. Educate a slave! Put gunpowder into your cellar. What had educated labor done? Broken its fetters, and vindicated the right of the laborer to freedom. (Applause.) All the wealth of the South could not support a government with three millions of educated slaves to be kept down. There were two alternatives before the South when the Union was broken,—one was bankruptcy, with uneducated labor; the other emancipation, if they educated the slaves.

If Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and New England did not pour the resources of free industry into the barren veins of the wasted labor of the South, it never could have supported itself to this moment. Put it out there in the sunshine, on the promontory of its own responsibility,—that was all the slave asked of us. He did not ask us to vindicate him in a resort to arms, as our fathers did at Bunker Hill. We need not tell him that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." No, the craven sensibility of the modern New England dare not say that, when the victim is black: it is only the whites who have a right to Bunker Hill names. "All white men." "All men are created equal." That was the first result of the dissolution; what was the second? The pulpit and the press would stand erect. The common people were even now on the side of freedom, and they would not stand idle by thousands on the sidewalks of State street, while the old Indian on our banners were floating down over two thousand armed men, carrying one helpless black man into bondage. (Applause.)

He wanted State street and the Old South on our side. He wanted the money power and the religious sentiment of New England on the side of freedom. Faneuil Hall would always have free speech, no matter who indicted it. (Enthusiastic cheers.) But free speech, after all, was but words; they must break up the sources of New England character. State street and the Old South is the complement of Faneuil Hall. He wanted a religious sentiment not like that of Dr. Gardner Spring of New York, who said he dared not pray that God would break the yoke of the slave, for fear he would do it, and jeopard the Union. There was a Dr. Gardner Spring of Newburyport, in 1790, who used to pray that God would overturn, and overturn, and overturn, till He whose right it was should reign. Give us back these clergymen of 1790, said Mr. Phillips, though you dash the Union to pieces. Break this charter, in order that the men who tenant the pulpits may read the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah, from beginning to end, no matter what happens to the Union. Slavery had ruled in the government of this country for sixty years. She had made vassals of all the sources of national strength—she stood at Washington, at this hour, more powerful than any single interest in the country. It was useless to attack her with parties or enthusiasm; she beat her back as the crabs of the coast beat the sea-birds in a storm. We were to set against her the counsels of God, the laws of labor, the laws of justice, the laws that God founded when he made it expensive to be tyrannical, when he made justice dear, costly, ruinous—by taking away the shield of the North, and letting the slave right himself. All he asked of us was to stand out of the way, withdraw our pledge from his master to keep peace on the plantation, withdraw our pledge to return him into bondage, withdraw that aristocratic privilege of the Constitution which gives the slave-owner a representation in proportion to the number of slaves which he holds; and then, without any help from the city of Boston, without any agitation here, without any individual virtue which the times have eaten out of us, God would vindicate the oppressed by the laws of justice which he has founded. Trample under foot, said the speaker, our own unjust pledges; break to pieces our compact with hell by which we became the abettors of oppression; stand alone; let no cement to the Union be the blood of the slave; and the slave will right himself. He commended to their justice and their magnanimity—he commended to their consciences—this consideration; and he asked them, in laws higher and stronger than we are, that we would put aside our prejudices against words, and go for the breaking up of institutions which had gone far to shipwreck the experiment of self-government here. (Loud applause.)

The announcement that the next lecture would be delivered by CASSIUS M. CLAY, of Kentucky, was received with marked approbation.

The Boston papers, (says the Worcester Spy,) with one accord, speak of the lecture of Wendell Phillips last Thursday evening, as a magnificent and masterly effort, and of surpassing eloquence. The impression it produced upon the immense audience which thronged to hear it, may be judged by the following article from the Boston Courier, the most thoroughly servile and hunkerish pro-slavery paper in Boston:

THE ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES. The Tremont Temple, usually so full during this course, was crowded to almost capacity on Thursday night. Wendell Phillips was the orator of the evening. His subject was the character and extent of the anti-slavery feeling in New England, and never were the splendid abilities of this most accomplished and able fanatic more amply displayed than on this occasion. Sentiments were most eloquently and powerfully expressed, and to those who were not of the feelings of every patriot, and to those who were not of the feelings of the abolitionists themselves, were absolutely unappreciated when clothed in the graceful and magnificent diction of the anti-slavery Cicero. No pen can describe the gross injustice of the matter, or the exquisite felicity of the manner with which he treated the characters of Webster, Everett, Judge Curtis, and Mr. Commissioner Loring were held up to the hatred and contempt of the vast audience. Topics of the most odious character—topics which an ordinary man would have been hissed and pelted for alluding to—topics, such as the dissolution of the Union and the destruction of the Constitution—were dealt upon with such unparalleled force and beauty; that disapprobation of the subject was lost and overwhelmed in admiration of the man. When he said that "he would have a tumbler of water to rinse his mouth" after mentioning the names of Judge Curtis and Mr. Commissioner Loring—when he intimated that Massachusetts should have treated Mr. Everett as Kentucky treated Mat. Ward—when he spoke of a "Yankee with moderate abilities, which nature had doubled by omitting to put a conscience into him," and said that he need not mention the name of Caleb Cushing—when he compared Dr. Gerrard Spring of 1850, with Dr. Gerrard Spring of 1790, and wished the latter back if the Union were destroyed in getting him,—the vast hall rang again and again to rounds of enthusiastic applause. Truly there has been a great change since 1850, but great as it is, it is insufficient to explain the favor with which this Abolition orator was received by

an audience such as is seldom collected even in this city. It was the lecture of the course thus far, and can only be exceeded by Wendell Phillips himself.

The Traveller says:—

MR. WENDELL PHILLIPS' SLAVERY ORATION. This gifted and brilliant orator delivered the fourth of the course of lectures on slavery, last night, at the Tremont Temple. It was, as had naturally been expected, a remarkable discourse—a masterpiece of oratory, skill, and noble diction—graced with all the beauties of the speaker's matchless manner, earnest in its tone, strongly stamped with all his characteristic fervency upon this subject, and illumined by flashes of the keenest and most withering sarcasm. No one disputes the sincerity of Mr. Phillips—no one admires his genius; but it is generally accorded, at the same time, that he is, to a great extent, emphatically a man of an idea, and that one wrought up to a brilliant but unhealthy intensity. In his lecture last night, of which an abstract will be found in another column, carried away by his North should throw its shield over an institution, the existence of which he without reservation regards as an equivalent to murder. His hits at the attempt to repress free speech in Faneuil Hall by indictment, appeared particularly acceptable. No sham or half measure found countenance with him or mercy at his hands; and whenever he has been thought of some portions of his discourse, it is certain that he succeeded in securing an electrical influence over the sympathies of his vast audience.

The Atlas says:—

The lecture may be considered as a fair presentation of the ultra abolition view of the subject of slavery. Mr. Phillips devoted a large portion of his lecture to showing that there was not and never had been a true anti-slavery sentiment in the North, and concluded with an earnest appeal in behalf of the slave, urging Northern men to abstain from protecting Southern oppression, and to stand in the vanguard of the oppressed. The hall was completely filled, and Mr. Phillips' remarks, with the exception of his argument in favor of disunion, were warmly applauded.

The Transcript says:—

Mr. Phillips was very eloquent, and gave the ultra-radical view of the best means to abolish slavery in our country. Few of those present probably sympathized with him in many of his positions, and however much they may admire his learning, and listen with admiration to his brilliant periods and almost faultless oratory, they fail to recognize the expediency of his suggestions, and would shrink from giving practical vitality to his recommendations. His eloquence, like the logic of John C. Calhoun, fails to find a popular response, and yet he is one of the most engaging of our orators, and is personally very popular.

PRINTING OFFICES BURNED. On Friday night, the building in School street, Boston, known as the News-Exchange, was partially destroyed by fire, which commenced in the fourth story, and in which was the printing office of Mr. Bemis, who printed the Christian Register, New England Farmer, and Massachusetts Ploughman. The printing office of the Puritan Recorder was in the front part of this story, and was entirely destroyed. In the rear was the printing office of John Wilson & Son, which escaped without damage. James E. Farrell & Co. also had an office on this floor, in which were printed the American Patriot and the Ladies' Enterprise, which was likewise entirely destroyed.

Mr. A. Hall, printer, occupied a portion of the premises, as did also Charles H. Simons, printer, and their offices were considerably damaged by water. Most of the occupants were insured. Yet the loss by the interruption of business must be very large.

PARTICULAR NOTICE.

THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE LIBERATOR, to whom its pecuniary interests are entrusted, have instructed the GENERAL AGENT to pursue the following rule hereafter, without deviation, and without respect of persons, as essential to the permanent welfare of the paper—viz:—On the first day of January, 1855, or from the subscription book the names of all such subscribers as at that time stand indebted for more than one year; also, on the first of April, 1855, the names of all such as are owing for one year's subscription on the first of January, unless it be paid before the limitation designated; and, finally, to require payment in ADVANCE of all new subscribers.

It is not doubted by the Committee, that the friends of THE LIBERATOR, who are solicitous for its preservation and usefulness, will cordially approve of the rule here laid down, and be ready to comply with it; nor will they take offence if, at any time, it shall happen, through forgetfulness or oversight on their part to pay their subscriptions, that their papers are discontinued—for they will immediately remit what is due, being unwilling on any account to give up a paper which they have so long sustained, and which they prize so highly. This rule, being strictly and impartially observed, will, it is believed, prevent those losses which have occurred, through an inexcusable indulgence to delinquent subscribers, year after year, and which amount in the aggregate to a very large sum; while it is hoped it will not materially affect the number of the patrons of the paper.

By direction of the Financial Committee, ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR IN LEOMINSTER. The third Annual Anti-Slavery Fair of Worcester North will be opened at Tilton Hall, Leominster House, on Wednesday, Jan. 10, at 1 o'clock, P. M., and will continue through Thursday and Friday.

A great variety of rich and valuable foreign and domestic articles from the Boston Bazaar will be offered for sale.

We cordially invite the active cooperation of every friend of the cause in Leominster and vicinity. Friends can do the cause no better service than by contributing Refreshments, Bread, Butter, Milk, cooked Meats, Pies and Cakes are particularly desirable.

Public speaking by Rev. Mr. BABCOCK on Thursday evening, and by Wm. WELLS BROWN on Friday evening.

Vocal and instrumental music will be discoursed each evening.

We confidently trust we shall be encouraged and cheered by the presence of all.

Articles of refreshments may be sent to the Hall on the morning of the 10th; or previously to either of the undersigned Committee:—

Frances H. Drake, Catharine A. Linn, Lydia L. Walker, Hannah C. Field, Catharine C. White, Leominster; Douglas Weld, Elvira Kimball, Margaret P. Snow, Emily J. Weld, Louis Jocelyn, Fitchburg; Caroline A. Cushing, Rebecca W. Reynolds, Lavinia Abercrombie, Lunenburg; Sarah Perkins, Anna R. Gerrish, Mr. Spooner, Shirley; Mary E. Thompson, Elizabeth Nash, Abby Hussey, Lancaster; Maria G. Phillips, Clinton; Sarah Allen, Catharine Goodnow, Sarah E. Stuart, Sterling; Sarah Mirick, Elizabeth Howe, Princeton; Lucinda Miles, Mrs. Bigelow, Westminster; Catharine S. Brown, Caroline Wait, Hubbardston; Sarah Lawrence, Martha Barker, Gardner.

We understand that Miss Holley has been invited to occupy the pulpit of Rev. Mr. Babcock, of Lunenburg, on Sunday afternoon, 31st Dec.

WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in the following places:—

Worcester, Mass., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an Address in the School Street Universalist Church, (Rev. Mr. Miller's), on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject: Effect of crime on Home.

WARREN, MASS., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an Address in the School Street Universalist Church, (Rev. Mr. Miller's), on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject: Effect of crime on Home.

WARREN, MASS., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an Address in the School Street Universalist Church, (Rev. Mr. Miller's), on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject: Effect of crime on Home.

WARREN, MASS., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an Address in the School Street Universalist Church, (Rev. Mr. Miller's), on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject: Effect of crime on Home.

WARREN, MASS., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an Address in the School Street Universalist Church, (Rev. Mr. Miller's), on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject: Effect of crime on Home.

WARREN, MASS., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an Address in the School Street Universalist Church, (Rev. Mr. Miller's), on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject: Effect of crime on Home.

WARREN, MASS., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an Address in the School Street Universalist Church, (Rev. Mr. Miller's), on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject: Effect of crime on Home.

WARREN, MASS., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an Address in the School Street Universalist Church, (Rev. Mr. Miller's), on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject: Effect of crime on Home.

WARREN, MASS., Wednesday evening, Jan. 8. West Brookfield, Thursday, " " 9. North Brookfield, Friday, " " 10.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS. Leonard Gibbs, Esq., Union Village, N. Y., \$5 00. Ladies' A. S. Society, Rochester, N. Y., by A. W. Weston, 20 00. D. D. Haskell, Greenfield, N. Y., 3 00. Charles T. Bosh, East Otto, N. Y., 5 00. Marquette M. Palmer, Williamsburg, N. Y., 3 00. James Richmond, Hartsville, do, 1 00. Phoebe T. Richmond, do, 1 00. Zachariah Ober, Newbury, Vt., 2 00. Levi Whitney, Dunbarston, Vt., 2 00. A. D. Tasker, Lumm, N. H., 2 00. A. A. Higgins, do, 1 00. Rev. Amos Smith, Leominster, Mass., 1 00. Abner Sanger, Danvers, do, 3 00. Mr. Whittemore, Lynn, do, 2 00. William B. Towne, Brookline, do, 5 00. Ladies in Blackstone, Mass., by Mrs. Nancy B. Hill, 30 00. Ezekiel Wood, Uxbridge, Mass., 1 00. Hannah Wood, do, 1 00. Perry Wood, do, 2 00. Daniel Farnum, do, 1 00. James M. Farnum, do, 0 25. Mary Farnum, do, 0 50. L. Farnum, do, 0 50. Betsey E. Smith, do, 0 50. Elizabeth Southwick, do, 0 50. W. Lacey, do, 0 25. C. A. Traut, do, 10 00. Franklin King, Dorchester, Mass., 2 50. Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, Boston, Mass., 2 50. Thomas H. Hinkley, Milton, do, 2 00. B. Warren Cogswell, Haverhill, N. H., 0 80. Dr. James B. Whitcomb, Brooklyn, Conn., 0 50. DONATIONS TO THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY. Dec. 25. Enoch Clark, Marion Co., Ohio, \$21 60. Anson Clement, Harding Co., " 20 00. FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

