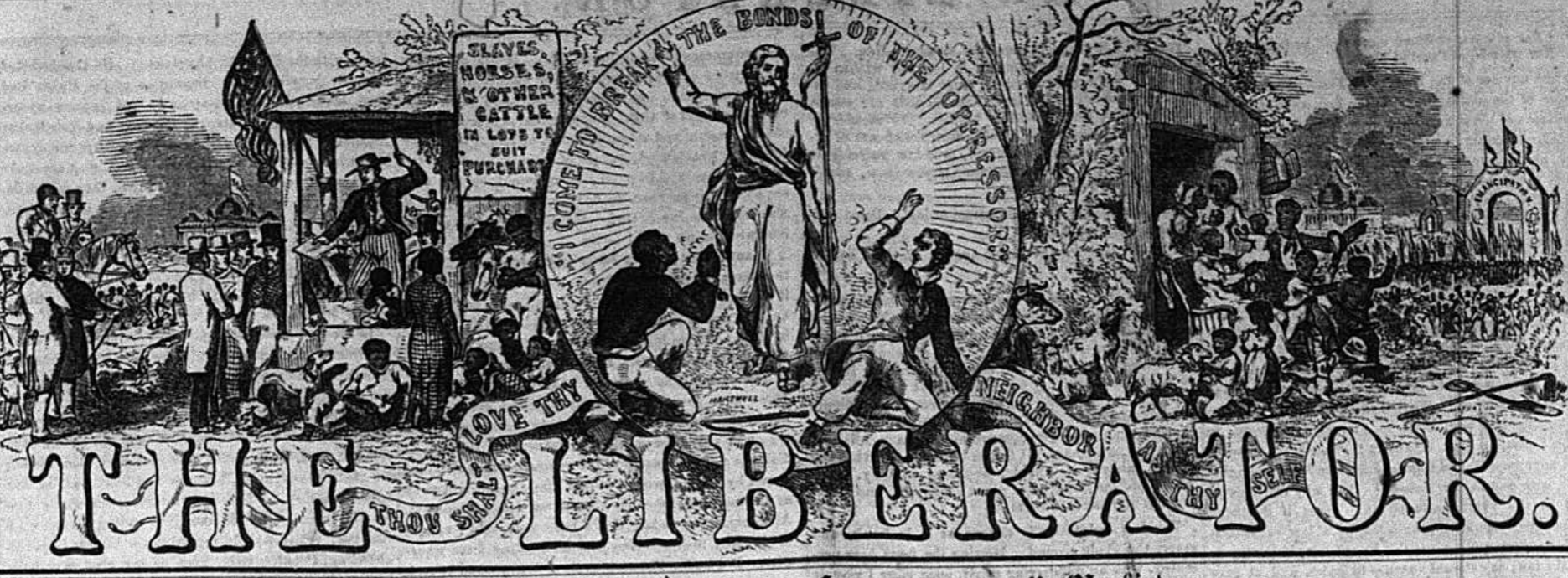


THE LIBERATOR
IS PUBLISHED
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
AT THE
ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL.
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.
Terms—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum,
in advance.
Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN
copies, if payment be made in advance.
All remittances are to be made, and all letters
relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to
be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent,
advertisements making less than one square in-
clude three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-
thorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.
The following gentlemen constitute the Financial
Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts
of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY
LORING, EDWARD QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and
WESLEY PHILLIPS.
In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of
every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.
VOL. XXV. NO. 24.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Manhood.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1855.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.
WHOLE NUMBER 1093.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

MASSACHUSETTS PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

RETIALATION RECOMMENDED IN LOUISIANA.
From the New Orleans Bulletin, May 28.
The deed of infamy is done. The act passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, of which we have before spoken, styled an Act to protect the rights and liberties of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and which had been vetoed by the Governor, has been again passed, in spite of the Governor, by a majority of 92 to 3 in the Senate, and 100 to 1 in the House of Representatives.

The design of this outrageous and infamous proceeding is to render nugatory the Fugitive Slave Law of the United States, by imposing such penalties upon individuals, whose services may be required to give effect, and throwing such obstacles in the way as to make the execution of it impracticable, and, in fact, utterly impossible.

The Executive of Massachusetts had the independence and nerve, with the advice of his official counselor, the Attorney General, who declared the act unconstitutional, to veto it; but over this veto the Legislature has passed the bill, almost unanimously in the Senate, and by a vote of three to one in the House. The assemblage of the Legislature in the House of Representatives, under the influence of the very demon of Abolitionism. They had already debased themselves and disgraced their State by their flagrant outrages on morals and decorum; and they have now put the finishing touch, the cap-stone, to their infamy, by an act of aggressive treason against the Constitution and the Union.

Let them further pledge themselves not to buy a yard of cotton, or other manufactures made in Massachusetts, when a similar article can be had from any other State.

Let the citizens of the whole South abstain from entering the State of Massachusetts, or paying one dollar for the benefit of her railroads or hotels. This, sir, is a method of retaliation, legal in all its bearings, and one which will bring the mad fanatics of the North to their senses far sooner than all the political associations that can ever be devised.

Let no one imagine that this cannot be carried out. I am quite sure it can, for I have conversed with many of our merchants, and all, without an exception, agree that it is a measure which should at once be adopted, and you may rest assured that New Orleans is ready to move.

New Orleans, May 26, 1855. UNION.

From the Nebraska City News.
SHALL NEBRASKA, SOUTH OF PLATTE RIVER, BECOME A SLAVE STATE?
The cry has gone up from abolition throats, 'Slavery shall not enter Nebraska. It is the sanctified of fanaticism that shrieked in Kansas, and called the Missourians there to make that Territory a slave Territory. It is the same voice that reverberated in the halls of our National Congress, that hissed in the negro-saving mobs of Boston and Chicago, and that now calls slavery to this Territory, by a regular challenge. Kansas is a slave State. Who hastened to make it so? Abolition politicians. Who desired to become a slave State more than all other living men? The opposers of the Nebraska Bill, in order that their posterity might prove true; that they might be written down prophets; excite a Northern war on Southern States; sever the Union, or allow each one of them to be President of the United States as early as 1856.

If there is one thing more than any other that gives vitality to slavery—that propagates it, and spreads it like an infection, that one thing is the frothing, boiling, rampant Abolitionism of the North. Had it never existed, slavery would have died years ago, and the inscription upon its tombstone would have recorded a natural death; but, verging towards its dissolution, the galvanic action of Abolition opposition was applied, and it revived to fight and increase in strength, as the battle longed, until now it has grown a formidable foe to those who first threw down the gauntlet.

And now slavery is here, in a small way, a few negroes, twenty or so, and its supporters are coming faster and faster. What sends them here? A beautiful country is not all that they seek, but a slavery victory over those who have challenged them; they seek to drown that hypocritical voice that cried 'slavery shall not enter Nebraska,' and prove it false; they seek to conquer those who have taunted them, by making South of the Platte river a slave State.

The men who started this excitement live in Boston and other eastern cities, and send now and then a handful of deluded mortals to these Territories to carry out the farce, and illustrate their devotion to freedom, by attempting to govern all men and after the manner of doctrine taught by Seward, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, et al. I have seen and heard some of them, and I have some excitement in my mind, and the question is, 'Shall Nebraska south of the Platte river be a slave State?'

REV. THEODORE PARKER.
This designing demagogue was received with much applause, of course, on the occasion of the American Anti-Slavery Society's anniversary meeting, at the Metropolitan Theatre, New York, last week. He made one of his blasphemous and traitorous speeches, which he is reported to have closed with a comparison of the Union to a vessel which had lost masts, rudder and all its rigging, which had drifted on the rocks and could not be repaired, contending that in such case it was the part of wisdom to abandon the wreck and save the crew. Like the sailor who was asked what he would do in such a case, he would say, 'Let her go to the devil!'

And this is another of the Christian parsons of the North! The ascendancy of sound American principles in the ascending office of a purely American party, bound to maintain the Constitution and defend the Union, may be safely relied on to defeat all such treacherous machinations as these.—New Orleans Picayune, May 20.

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He spoke of some of the disastrous consequences that would probably follow in the wake of disunion. Sir, this is not a question of consequences;—whether, by dissolving the Union, we shall have a civil or servile war, or whether, by preserving the Union, we shall avoid these calamities, and, at some time or other, be permitted to hail the jubilee. The question has every thing to do with principle, and true manhood, and moral consistency. It is—What is the American Union? Did our friend define it? Did he tell us what it is—where it is to be found—whose freedom is protected by it? To descend upon an ideal Union is useless—a mockery! Dealing in generalities will never abolish slavery. Let me tell my friend, Mr. Pierpont, that this tremendous conflict is not a philosophical, is not a grammatical one, as he seems to think it. We are dealing, not simply with verbs and nouns, but with facts and figures; not only with the dead fathers, but with living tyrants of the worst description; not only with dry parchment, but with an awakened Leviathan.

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Sir, the resolution under consideration proclaims the exact truth. It asserts that the American Union is, in the Southern States, in regard to freedom of speech, of conscience, and of locomotion, the supremacy of the bowie-knife and revolver, the slave-driver's lash, and lynch law. No man will deny it! That is the American Union south of Mason and Dixon's line, and ever has been, from the formation of the government. North of that line, it is, and ever has been, the absolute vassalage of the entire North to the despotic commands of the Slave Power. There has been no other Union of the Slave States. We stand here, not to deal in abstractions, not to beat the air, not to indulge in any reverie; but, as practical, common-sense men, looking at things just as they are, taking the American Union for just what it is, we say it is, at the South, 'a union of the bowie-knife, the revolver, and the slave-driver's lash'—nothing else; and that it allows complete freedom to no human being living upon the American soil. When, therefore, any one says—I am no Disunionist, but go for preserving the Union—if he means it in the popular, universal sense of the word, then he is for a pro-slavery Union, for there is no other. If he means something directly the reverse of it, then he is talking about something that does not exist,—that is altogether in his brain, that has never been actualized in the country; and all the disclaimers he may make are but a piece of wind.

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He spoke of some of the disastrous consequences that would probably follow in the wake of disunion. Sir, this is not a question of consequences;—whether, by dissolving the Union, we shall have a civil or servile war, or whether, by preserving the Union, we shall avoid these calamities, and, at some time or other, be permitted to hail the jubilee. The question has every thing to do with principle, and true manhood, and moral consistency. It is—What is the American Union? Did our friend define it? Did he tell us what it is—where it is to be found—whose freedom is protected by it? To descend upon an ideal Union is useless—a mockery! Dealing in generalities will never abolish slavery. Let me tell my friend, Mr. Pierpont, that this tremendous conflict is not a philosophical, is not a grammatical one, as he seems to think it. We are dealing, not simply with verbs and nouns, but with facts and figures; not only with the dead fathers, but with living tyrants of the worst description; not only with dry parchment, but with an awakened Leviathan.

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Sir, the resolution under consideration proclaims the exact truth. It asserts that the American Union is, in the Southern States, in regard to freedom of speech, of conscience, and of locomotion, the supremacy of the bowie-knife and revolver, the slave-driver's lash, and lynch law. No man will deny it! That is the American Union south of Mason and Dixon's line, and ever has been, from the formation of the government. North of that line, it is, and ever has been, the absolute vassalage of the entire North to the despotic commands of the Slave Power. There has been no other Union of the Slave States. We stand here, not to deal in abstractions, not to beat the air, not to indulge in any reverie; but, as practical, common-sense men, looking at things just as they are, taking the American Union for just what it is, we say it is, at the South, 'a union of the bowie-knife, the revolver, and the slave-driver's lash'—nothing else; and that it allows complete freedom to no human being living upon the American soil. When, therefore, any one says—I am no Disunionist, but go for preserving the Union—if he means it in the popular, universal sense of the word, then he is for a pro-slavery Union, for there is no other. If he means something directly the reverse of it, then he is talking about something that does not exist,—that is altogether in his brain, that has never been actualized in the country; and all the disclaimers he may make are but a piece of wind.

Our friend, Mr. Wasson, objects to the Disunion position, on the ground that it is making a drawn-bat-

THE LIBERATOR.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
At the New England A. S. Convention, May 31, 1855,
ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON.
MR. CHAIRMAN:
At the close of our forenoon session, I submitted the following resolution to the Convention:—

Resolved, That the American Union is the supremacy of the bowie knife, the revolver, the slave-driver's lash, and lynch law, over freedom of speech, of the press, of conscience, of locomotion, in more than one half of the nation—and the degrading vassalage of the entire North to the accursed Slave Power; that no Union has existed since the adoption of the United States Constitution; that such a Union is to be resisted, denounced and repudiated, by every lover of liberty, until its utter overthrow shall be consummated; and that, to effect this glorious object, there should be one united shout of 'No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically!'

It will be in order, at this time, to pursue the discussion of this subject. I desire to make a few remarks upon some of the positions taken, this forenoon, by some of our friends who are not yet prepared to join us, in seeking the overthrow of the American Union.

I give full credit to those gentlemen as desiring to do all they can to liberate those in bonds. They mean to be the trust of the true. They mean to pursue such a course as, in their judgment, they think will best subvert the anti-slavery cause. I grant to them, therefore, all that they claim on the score of purity of motive and benevolence of heart. At the same time, I must express my astonishment that they seem unable, as yet, to comprehend the issue we make before the country; that they fail to appreciate the deep conscientiousness, the high sense of duty, the imperative moral obligation, which are involved in our minds in this question of dissolving the existing bonds between the North and the South. My esteemed friend, Mr. Wasson, deemed it not worth while for us, who are Disunionists, any longer to occupy such a position. Why not, he asks, be more practical? Why not, instead of rejecting the ballot-box, use it as an instrument for effecting the overthrow of slavery? As men are in our ranks thousands who refrain from going to the polls, why do they not deposit their votes in favor of JOHN P. HALE or CHARLES SUMNER, and thus do an effective work in putting down the reign of the Slave Power? Now, my surprise is that, after so long a time, and so constant a reiteration of the insuperable difficulties lying in our way to the ballot-box, as a MATTER OF CONSCIENCE, my friend does not see that he is asking us to do what we can neither innocently nor honorably perform, whether as Abolitionists or as men, with our present views of the United States Constitution.

He spoke of some of the disastrous consequences that would probably follow in the wake of disunion. Sir, this is not a question of consequences;—whether, by dissolving the Union, we shall have a civil or servile war, or whether, by preserving the Union, we shall avoid these calamities, and, at some time or other, be permitted to hail the jubilee. The question has every thing to do with principle, and true manhood, and moral consistency. It is—What is the American Union? Did our friend define it? Did he tell us what it is—where it is to be found—whose freedom is protected by it? To descend upon an ideal Union is useless—a mockery! Dealing in generalities will never abolish slavery. Let me tell my friend, Mr. Pierpont, that this tremendous conflict is not a philosophical, is not a grammatical one, as he seems to think it. We are dealing, not simply with verbs and nouns, but with facts and figures; not only with the dead fathers, but with living tyrants of the worst description; not only with dry parchment, but with an awakened Leviathan.

Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down? Will he make many supplications unto thee? will he speak soft words unto thee? will he make a covenant with thee? wilt thou take him for a servant for ever? His heart is as hard as a piece of the nether millstone. When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid. He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood. He maketh the deep to boil as a pot.

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Sir, the resolution under consideration proclaims the exact truth. It asserts that the American Union is, in the Southern States, in regard to freedom of speech, of conscience, and of locomotion, the supremacy of the bowie-knife and revolver, the slave-driver's lash, and lynch law. No man will deny it! That is the American Union south of Mason and Dixon's line, and ever has been, from the formation of the government. North of that line, it is, and ever has been, the absolute vassalage of the entire North to the despotic commands of the Slave Power. There has been no other Union of the Slave States. We stand here, not to deal in abstractions, not to beat the air, not to indulge in any reverie; but, as practical, common-sense men, looking at things just as they are, taking the American Union for just what it is, we say it is, at the South, 'a union of the bowie-knife, the revolver, and the slave-driver's lash'—nothing else; and that it allows complete freedom to no human being living upon the American soil. When, therefore, any one says—I am no Disunionist, but go for preserving the Union—if he means it in the popular, universal sense of the word, then he is for a pro-slavery Union, for there is no other. If he means something directly the reverse of it, then he is talking about something that does not exist,—that is altogether in his brain, that has never been actualized in the country; and all the disclaimers he may make are but a piece of wind.

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THE LIBERATOR.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION.

So, then, there is an insurmountable barrier in the way, which prevents me from taking the oath of allegiance...

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that I should feel none the less called upon to cry, 'No Union with Slaveholders'...

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*Nor wife nor children more shall be behold, Nor friends, nor sacred home.

The last number of the New York Tribune calls the attention of the philanthropic towards the fact, that two colored citizens of New York are now lodged in jail...

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From this position it must not swerve a line. The metropolis of the Republic is located within its limits. THAT METROPOLIS IT MUST CONTROL, and expel therefrom the Goths and Vandals who are undermining our great political edifice.

To this complexion it has come at last. Down with this slaveholding Union!

From the origin of the Government to the present time, the antagonism between the North and the South has been steadily developing itself in all the departments of feeling and of thought...

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the government and being of God. It did not touch the question of the possibility of one man or a legion of men entering into an compact that should take them out of the hand of God.

Grant that it was the settled purpose of our fathers to make a provision for the return of fugitive slaves; it was not in their power to do it, and every one of them knew it was not in their power to do it.

How, then, could he take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States? There was but one oath prescribed in the Constitution, and that was the oath of the President.

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Down with the Union! (Applause.) He thanked God that the doctrine of the dissolution of the Union had been broached. The community had become accustomed to look that bugbear in the face, and it no longer frightened people out of their senses.

It is impossible for me to say, at this late hour, what it was in my mind to say; but bear with me while I offer a few words.

In the first place, in regard to the last point which my friend, Mr. Pierpont, alluded to. We are told that in deference to the law, and in deference to the personal feelings of individuals in the community, his book was revised, and the objectionable pieces expurgated.

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is clothed in that garment, was never endorsed by the people of the South; for the people of the South were intended to ratify a Constitution, which contained and treated slavery as illegal; which contained and treated slavery as illegal; which contained and treated slavery as illegal...

My friend Pierpont is not in a Union with the Douglases and Masons and Badgers of the South; he is not in a Union with Franklin Pierce in the Presidential chair; he is not in a Union with the members of the Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States; he is not in a Union with any single State of this confederacy, because there is not one which has ever expressed its assent to a Constitution...

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I appreciate instruction as much as our friend (Mr. Wadsworth) does, and I believe we should not need that...

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. Phillips, on coming forward, was greeted with loud and repeated cheers. When the storm of applause had subsided, he addressed the audience as follows...

sets of Prescott, and Cabot, and Story—the Massachusetts of the last generation—is dead and buried, and sealed down in the grave at Marshfield. Its epoch is over...

Just here let me reply to the argument used this afternoon, in regard to the dissolution of the Union. Men say, 'Why, you can get public opinion up to the level of abolishing slavery, up to the level of reforming the Union, up to the level of changing the Constitution...

broke up their Union with England. What was the Declaration of Independence but a dissolution of the Union? A few colonies—three millions of people, a little barren territory—our colonies, as the London porters called us, as they labored along the street...

But, seriously, it is the political creed of the day, that men and nations and countries and states have the right to arrange their form of government for themselves. My dissolution begins first in my own person. Nobody can make me a citizen; God made me a man first. You can—no nineteen of the twenty—get together and form a Constitution—write it out on parchment in large letters—seal it with heavy sealings...

never been able to checkmate or stop, for a single year, the progress of the government. On with relentless purpose, on with unflinching energy, the Slave Power has gone; just as fast since they have been there as before. Where are the proofs of their success? Every man must allow, that, standing upon that platform, with the sounding-board of official position over their heads, they have preached noble anti-slavery lectures, and have had magnificent audiences...

Mark me! I am not unjust. I allow they are faithful—never were men more faithful; but fidelity is not efficiency; fidelity is not success. Men say of CHARLES SUMNER, 'His shield is all white; no sword has ever touched, much less marred it.' I admit it—I know he is honest. (Loud cheers.) Oh, yes; they are all most faithful. But fidelity is one thing, efficiency sometimes quite another. Some dozen years ago, I stood in the once buried city of Pompeii, on the spot where a Roman soldier, the sentinel at her gates, allowed himself to be buried in the falling ashes, rather than quit his post. So stern was the discipline of the Roman armies, so entire the fidelity of her soldiers, that not the dissolution of nature herself, as the eruption of the mountain must have seemed, could fright him from his post. Seventeen hundred years have passed, and the traveller from a then undiscovered country pauses to admire that lone and nameless man's unquailing loyalty to his Eagle and his oath. Yet not all that sublime fidelity could turn back one flake of the ashes of Vesuvius, or arrest for one moment the doom of that fated city...

verish child, long enough. She has always broken her banble, thrown away her rattle, and wanted a new one, and we have given it to her; but she never yet has paid the expenses of her government—never! Let these sovereign beggars of Carolina earn their own living—that is what Disunion means. Massachusetts, with a million of working men, all Yankees, shrewd, active, industrious—getting up by candle-light, and going to bed late—living on nothing, and laying up the difference (laughter),—Massachusetts plants in the granite and reaps her harvest from the sand, and saves four per cent. a year out of it, and that is all. She pays the expenses of her local government, and her other expenses; manages to put a coat on her back and a loaf of bread on her table, and has four per cent. net profit to lay up—every one of us working men. South Carolina has more black men than white—they are nearly equally divided. The whites do not work, and it is proved beyond dispute that one slave's work is worth about one-third that of a freeman. Give it a liberal margin—call it one half. Here, then, we have the equivalent of one fourth laboring population, and the remaining three fourths live on the difference. How much will they lay up? They do not make the year's end meet. Now, then, send out this prodigal son, who has never paid his tailor's bill, and see what his tailor's bill will be. Send out that State to shift for herself. Where is she to get her taxes? The New York custom-house is closed, the Boston custom-house is closed. The North has gone off; the South, with one half her population working men, has got to support the government. Which way is she to turn? She must educate her labor. Educated labor is the secret of Massachusetts' success. An American operative is worth fifty per cent. more than a European, because he is better educated. The South says, 'I must educate these negroes.' Put a hoghead of gunpowder under the Capitol, and touch fire to it, and look the next day for your Capital! (Cheers.) Educate the slaves! As Cowper says—

'One ray of heavenly light Melts all the chain away.' (Applause.)

No man has been allowed to sit with a lapstone on his knees; who has not been allowed to throw the shuttle; who has not wrought out a halter for the neck of a tyrant. The mechanical trades cannot be taught to rude and vulgar people. The slaveholders of Virginia said, 'There is a demand for mechanical labor; we will send our slaves into Norfolk navy yard, and make money out of them.' They did so; but their Southern brethren said, 'No! that cannot be allowed. Our negroes are not safe; if you turn these farming slaves into mechanics, the mechanics of Holland that fled away the Spanish chain. It was the mechanics of France that checked Louis the Grand. It is the mechanics of England that have worked up and up, until, like the gnawing ocean against Massachusetts' rocks, they have undermined the throne of the Guelphs, leaving it as the Spanish Courtier told Philip, 'an etiquette.' Set up a mill in Carolina; the plainest knell of the slaveholder is the weaver's shuttle. Educate your slaves, and their exodus from bondage is sure. Open their books, you open their Red Sea. But you must; you cannot keep your government without it. That is the reason why the slaveholders will never let us separate, if it is in their power to prevent it. Instead of one Anthony Burns, we should have thousands. They would never go back; and it would not need Hallett's fifty dollars to restore them to the freedom their own daring had won. They would swarm here in crowds. The whole working population would rise up some sunny morning, and walk away, and leave the gentlemen to get their breakfasts! (Applause.)

'Why, you say, 'this sort of thing would not do; it would create civil war.' Not so. The slave does not ask us to give him that old musket which hangs in our friend PARKER'S study, rusty with the blood of Lexington. He asks a better thing than muskets in the nineteenth century—the might of political economy, and the laws of industry that God fixed. Wickedness is not only wicked but weak; and unless you can seduce free labor and freedom into bulwarking slavery, it cannot stand in the light of the nineteenth century. Let Massachusetts, therefore, say to Carolina—'Go off! Pay your own bills!—that is equivalent to a dissolution of the Union. She threatens to leave the Union! Why, she cannot walk! (Applause.) Nobody will go on, unless we go. She cannot go. 'An empty sack cannot stand alone,' says the proverb. She has not yet stood alone. (Renewed cheers.) When they tell us, sneeringly, as men do sometimes, that we ought to leave, because we are Abolitionists, it is nonsense; but when they deny our right to go out, that is another question. 'I will not, however, detain you longer. (Go on, 'go on.') I will only say that the laws of political economy, the laws of industry, which rest on the laws of God, are stronger than parchment, and that when we ask for a dissolution of the Union, we only ask that each tub may stand on its own bottom. (Cheers.) If Carolina civilization is better than ours, let her girl up her hoins and show it; but do not let her shield herself behind Massachusetts. I remember once standing on the quay of Genoa, and seeing the frigate Ohio at anchor in the harbor; and half Italy, with gay banners and floating pennants had come out to see her, to admire the proportions and gaze at the star-lit banner as the emblem of the liberty of the West; and I thought then, what it gives to our country its strength and name in Europe? It is not bankrupt Carolina—she is never heard of; it is not crippled and lifeless Alabama—who speaks of her? It is the fresh blood of the young giant of the North; it is Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio; it is free labor that tells its tale the world over. It is the resources, the industry, the activity, the vigor of free labor that makes America what she is among the nations. Slavery avers her doom by hiding herself behind it. Disolution drags her out to the light, and she dies in the blaze of the nineteenth century. (Loud and repeated cheers.)

THREE GREAT BATTLES BEFORE SEAS—TOPOL—9000 TROOPS KILLED!! The steamship Atlantic, Capt. West, from Liverpool, arrived at New York on Wednesday morning. Her news is the most important since the battle of Alma. Three great battles have been fought before Sebastopol; eight thousand troops have been killed and wounded; the Russian line has been seized by the Allies, who have also taken Kerch, and 745 Russian prisoners. A French account says the Russians burned thirty of their transports, as well as their four steamships, and destroyed 860,000 sacks of flour, 160,000 sacks of oats, and 100,000 sacks of corn. Fourteen steamers of the Allies had entered the Sea of Azoff. The number of guns found at Kerch by the Allies exceeded 100.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY AT FRAMMINGHAM.

A MASS CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in the unrivalled Grove at FRAMMINGHAM, to which the Friends of IMPARTIAL FREEDOM, wherever they reside, are most cordially invited. Let that day be rescued from the popular degradation to which it has so long been subjected by a spurious patriotism and a time-serving religion; let it be consecrated to the work of breaking the yokes and fetters of the enslaved in our guilty land; let 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS' be the watchword now, as 'NO UNION WITH ENGLAND' was in the days of '76; let the flag which waves over four millions of slaves, no longer be allowed to float over the heads of freemen; and let there be such a blending of means and efforts, such a gathering of stout hearts and true spirits, as THE CRISIS in which we are living imperatively demands.

SPECIAL TRAINS of cars, on the Boston and Worcester Railroad, will run to the Grove, on that day, leaving BOSTON and WORCESTER, at 9 o'clock, A. M. The Boston train will stop at Brighton, West Newton, and Grantville. The Worcester train will stop at Millbury Junction, Grafton, Westboro', Southboro', and Cordville. The Milford train will stop at the stations on that branch.

FARE—Persons attending this celebration will be carried at half the usual fare. From Boston to the Grove, and back, for adults, 60 cents. From Worcester, and back, 65 cents. From Milford, and back, 90 cents. Children between 4 and 12 years of age, half price.

Our friends in Essex and Plymouth Counties, &c., will notice that the hour of departure from Boston will accommodate them in attending the meeting.

Among the speakers at Frammingham may be expected WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES L. REMOND, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, EDMUND QUINCY, ANDREW T. FOSS, WM. W. BROWN, and C. C. BURLEIGH.

The picnic plan will be adopted—persons and parties carrying their own provisions. Refreshments can also be purchased on the ground.

In case the weather shall prove rainy, the meeting will be held in WAVERLY HALL, adjacent to the depot at Frammingham.

FRANCIS JACKSON, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, SAMUEL MAY, JR., HENRY OUSE STONE, AUGUSTINE C. TAFF, Committee Arrangements.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION FOR NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Executive Committee of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY invites the friends of freedom in New Hampshire, without distinction of party, to meet in CONCORD, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, June 21st and 22d, 1855, at 2 o'clock, P. M., on the day first named. The objects of the Convention will be to consider the whole subject of Slavery, in its relations to the Politics and the Religion of the country, and to adopt the most efficient measures for the regeneration of public opinion, and the destruction thereby of the whole slave system, root and branch. The signs of the times indicate the approach of a grand Moral and Political Revolution, which shall array the whole power of the Free States in uncompromising hostility to the Slave Oligarchy. In this movement, the people of New Hampshire have important duties to perform, and it is met that they should come together in Convention to examine the principles by which those duties must be determined.

Among those who may be expected to attend the Convention are WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, and AMY C. FOSTER, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and A. T. FOSS. For the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, SAMUEL MAY, JR., Boston, May 30th, 1855.

WENDELL PHILLIPS and WM. LLOYD GARRISON will address the citizens of CONCORD, (Mass.) and vicinity, on the subject of Slavery, on FRIDAY AFTERNOON, and on SUNDAY, June 23d, at 2 and 7 o'clock, in the Town Hall. Come and hear.

ABINGTON.—An Anti-Slavery meeting, for the town of Abington, will be held on Sunday next, June 17th, at the Town Hall.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON and CHARLES LESOX REMOND, on behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will attend the meeting.

WILLIAM W. BROWN, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows: North Dennis, Sunday, June 17.

WORCESTER NORTH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—A regular quarterly meeting of the Worcester Co. North Anti-Slavery Society will be held at HOLDEN, commencing on Saturday evening, June 23rd, and continuing through the day and evening of Sunday, July 1st. Further particulars next week. D. M. ALLEN, Secretary.

OLD COLONY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The annual meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society will be held at PEMBROKE, Sunday, July 1st. Further particulars of place, &c., next week. ANDREW T. FOSS, NATHANIEL H. WHITING, and other speakers will attend. SAMUEL DYER, Secretary.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at NORTH EASTON, on Sunday, June 24th, at 10 1/2 A. M., and 1 P. M., and at STOUGHTON, same day, at 5 P. M.

SITUATION WANTED. A young colored woman of excellent family desires to learn the dress-making business. WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

MARRIED.—In Andover, 11th inst., by George Foster, Esq., Mr. THOMAS W. DEXTER to Miss MARY E. B. KEAY, both of North Andover.

DIED.—In Salem, 25th ult., Mr. JOSEPH C. SMITH, aged 26. His many amiable traits of character endeared him to a choice circle of friends, who anticipated his recent return from California a long season of new enjoyment. But his young and much-bereaved partner, together with the family connections, can derive solace from the belief that his exchange of worlds has proved an ineffectual gain to him.

In Boston, on the 6th inst., Mr. JOSEPH NOXES, aged 76, formerly of Newburyport.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS.

To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the new series of Tracts. Nathan Heaton, Waterloo, Wisconsin, 60 cts.; R. G. Wilson, Craftsbury, Vt., 50c.; Anna Howard, New Bedford, Mass., 81 cts.; D. P. Harmon, 25 cts.; V. B. West, 1 cts.; John Gardner, 1 cts.; Clark J. Amherst, 50c.; W. A. McCillis, 50c.; John Gardner, 1 cts.; Lyman Worthen, 50c.; G. W. Davis, 1 cts.; Johnson Noyes, 60c.; Warren Ordway, 2 cts.; C. W. Wentworth, 50c.; Addison Brown, 50c.; Edmund Fletcher, 50c.; Hazen Moore, 1 cts.; O. W. Osgood, 60c.; George Ames, 50c.; C. B. Leborgne, 1 cts.; C. W. Adgate, 25c.; all of Groverhill, Mass.; Benj. Chase, 1 cts.; Clark J. Amherst, 50c.; Zachary Colby, 50c.; all of Auburn, N. H.; Charles C. Beck, Sterling, Mass., 1 cts.; Hiram A. Morse, Holliston, Mass., 1 cts.; Deborah Kimball, Hanover, Mass., 50c.; Abby K. Foster, collections in Fall River, Mass., 85c.; George Miller, Trenton, N. J., 10c.; J. W. 6c.; Worcester County South Anti-Slavery Society, in part for pledge, by Samuel May, Jr., 25c. FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

It was observed this afternoon, that there was a time when the first Abolitionist for the first moment awoke to the real character of the Constitution, and it seemed to be intimated that therefore we ought to be patient with those who are in the same position that such an Abolitionist was before he came to that conviction. Doubtless we ought to be; and the very object of this meeting is patience; the object of all this discussion is patience to drag them up, or down, to the right, or to the left, to our own position—to convince them. What have we done? Argued, or tried to argue, this question. We are as patient with the community as it is possible for men thoroughly convinced to be. That is why we devote day and night, all our energies, our influence, our purse, our voices, our lives, to the inculcation of the doctrine which has been brought home to our convictions. We do not suppose or expect that a community like this will receive so radical a doctrine tolerantly, much less gratefully. We presuppose from the beginning that it will create repulsion; that in many minds it will close the door almost against argument, that others will listen to it hesitatingly, falteringly. Faced says that a cat, even if she be most kindly, never approaches you in a straight line—she comes up sideways—turning round your stupidities, rubbing against your antipathies; and when she reaches you, perhaps she begins to scratch. (Laughter.) So it is with truth. It comes up sideways; it turns round old habits, makes its way through narrow views, bigotted attachments to things we have never examined, faith in words, not things,—catch-words, that have kept our infant minds in leading-strings, though we be eighty years old; and when it gets near us, we repel it. I was alluding last night to this point, in connection with the touching story told us by Mr. Robinson of the last words of John Davis, uttered almost tearfully in his private room at Washington—the conviction of his life. What was it? With his arms resting on the table, and his face full to know the experience of my long official life? It is, that slavery rules every thing here! What said Adams? The same. Your venerable father, Mr. President, (Edmund Quincy), after a life that had uttered the same truth, with eighty years on his brow, comes to tell us, in his recent letter, that with the capital, and the prejudices, and the Constitution of the country against the anti-slavery movement, he hardly saw where there is any ground for hope of its success. These are remarkable testimonies. They are not young men; (turned aside by present interests, or led astray by passion.) They have reached that epoch when, as Chancellor Kent says, 'Men begin to act less from the promptings of ambition, and more from a profound sense of duty.' As young said of the value of time, so may we of the character of politics—

'Ask the death-beds—they can tell.' Ask the octogenarians, who have outlived ambition, outlived every thing but the love of country—they can tell you. It is from voices like these that we learn the hidden disease that eats out our nation's life. Disunion then is proposed by us solely as the means toward the abolition of slavery. (In the first place, it is the simple dictate of experience—nothing more. In politics, there is no testimony like that of experience. The country has lived under this government sixty or seventy years, with as good men as we can hope in times to come. We have had every variety of questions, foreign and internal, the enactment of laws, pecuniary policy, and all others. Is there a man here who can point to a single question,—one single question—where the South has put forth its strength, in which it has not been victorious? I said the South; I mean the Slave Power, which resides as much in State street as in Richmond; in the bosom of Lemuel Shaw, as in South Carolina. That poem which you have just listened to is the voice of a triumphant heart over the nullification of Massachusetts. Massachusetts cannot nullify! Lemuel Shaw rests like a nightmare on her Judiciary, and the Legislature itself cannot get over the colossal institution, the Judiciary—the Supreme Court, anchored in the prejudices of a past generation, and which neither the discussions, nor the change of sentiment of the present day, can reach. We must elect our Judges, before they will answer back to the enactments of the people. (Loud and repeated cheers.) The Massachusetts of 1812 and 1820—the Massachu-

But, says my friend, 'I am going to join it. I know that you have put a certain construction upon it that I do not put;—no matter—I am going to join it. I know you understand my promise to be that I will return fugitive slaves—but I do not so understand it—I never shall do any such vile thing. I am going to take office, in order to bring the nation over to my mind. I have a right to do so. I have a right to be a Senator, Judge, Commissioner, and not return slaves, although I acknowledge that the nation understands me to agree to do so.' That is what Abolitionists say—those who call themselves 'Abolitionists!' So far as we have yet heard from Mr. CHARLES SUMNER, he says so; and Joshua R. GIDDINGS says so. He says—'Why do you Garrisonians stay outside? Why don't you come in and exercise your influence, to convert the people, and turn the government into your channel?' Let us look at it! You say, 'We don't mean to return slaves; but, in the mean time, you hold out all hands now, for the sake of the argument, does agree that slaves shall be returned—we have a right to swear to support it, to get influence? Suppose me to be a Unitarian. There is an Orthodox church in Essex street—Dr. Adams's. I go to the clergyman, and I say, 'Dr. Adams, what is your creed?' He hands me a little book, containing it—the trinity, the atonement, and all the other Orthodox doctrines, and says he—'Do you believe that?' I reply, 'Yes.' 'Do you want to join the church?' 'Yes.' Will you sign that creed and swear to maintain it?' 'Yes.' 'Then you are a member.' Having thus entered the church, the exercises are finished, and I walk into the street, and I meet one of these friends here who knows me, and he says, 'I hear you have joined Dr. Adams's church.' 'Yes.' 'I thought you was a Unitarian.' 'So I am.' 'How did you get in there, then?' 'Why, I signed the creed.' 'Did you say you believed in the trinity?' 'Yes.' 'Did you say you believed in the atonement, &c. &c.?' 'Yes.' 'What did you do for?' 'I signed the influence.' (Laughter and loud cheers.) Perhaps he pauses a little, looks puzzled, and asks me what I mean; and suppose I should say, 'I have gone in there to convert those gentlemen, and my first object is to tell a lie, and say I agree with them—then they will respect me. (Laughter and cheers.) You know that would not be manly; you know it would not be honest; you know it would not gain influence; you know it would do no good. Well, now, the country stands exactly like that church. It holds up to us a Constitution. It says—'Mr. A. B., do you believe that?—that is, do you swear to support it?'—and to swear to support a thing of course includes the affirmation that we think it right, otherwise, we must think, being wrong, it ought not to be supported. Old Fletcher of Saltown said—'I would die to serve my country; but I would not do a wicked thing to save her.' So I say to this nation, 'I will do any thing I can to save my country, but no man can ask me to do a wicked thing to get influence; and certainly it is a wicked thing for me to say I mean to support the Constitution, when I mean to do no such thing.' (Applause.)

Let me ask, Do these men really get any influence when they go to Congress? I do not stand here to place a leaf from the laurels of Adams, Giddings, Hale, Chase of Ohio, Wilson, or Sumner. I believe that they have done and will do all that men in their situation can do; but I do not believe that they have done or can do any thing effectual, standing where they are. They have stood there at Washington; they have done many service. No brave, honest word or deed is ever lost. But there is in all things a way and a wasteful one—a right path and a wrong one. They have made great speeches; they have presented elaborate arguments; they have shown sleepless vigilance; they have warned the country;—but where is the measure they have arrested? Giddings devoted himself life-long to prevent the Government paying for slaves killed in its service, and has been beaten. All the national questions have been carried against them. I have not time to dwell upon the particular instances; but I say that these men are only sentinels at Washington, to warn us of the danger they can neither diminish nor avert. Adams with his age, Hale with his wit, Sumner with his eloquence, Giddings with his dogged persistency, hav-

never been able to checkmate or stop, for a single year, the progress of the government. On with relentless purpose, on with unflinching energy, the Slave Power has gone; just as fast since they have been there as before. Where are the proofs of their success? Every man must allow, that, standing upon that platform, with the sounding-board of official position over their heads, they have preached noble anti-slavery lectures, and have had magnificent audiences. That is a great benefit; and if a man could get it honestly, who would not covet to stand in the position Henry WIZOZ occupies to-day—a great nation at his audience, and the conscience of Massachusetts at his back? No man is insane enough not to value that noble position before the world which makes his service glorious. But these men can do nothing—have done nothing; they are only sentinels on the watch-tower, to warn us of the danger they can neither diminish nor avert.

Mark me! I am not unjust. I allow they are faithful—never were men more faithful; but fidelity is not efficiency; fidelity is not success. Men say of CHARLES SUMNER, 'His shield is all white; no sword has ever touched, much less marred it.' I admit it—I know he is honest. (Loud cheers.) Oh, yes; they are all most faithful. But fidelity is one thing, efficiency sometimes quite another. Some dozen years ago, I stood in the once buried city of Pompeii, on the spot where a Roman soldier, the sentinel at her gates, allowed himself to be buried in the falling ashes, rather than quit his post. So stern was the discipline of the Roman armies, so entire the fidelity of her soldiers, that not the dissolution of nature herself, as the eruption of the mountain must have seemed, could fright him from his post. Seventeen hundred years have passed, and the traveller from a then undiscovered country pauses to admire that lone and nameless man's unquailing loyalty to his Eagle and his oath. Yet not all that sublime fidelity could turn back one flake of the ashes of Vesuvius, or arrest for one moment the doom of that fated city...

So stand our sentinels, our Sumner, Giddings, Chase. History will guard their names as rare instances of sleepless vigilance, of unflinching loyalty to right. Fraud cannot cheat, danger cannot fright, office cannot buy them. But, alas! like the Roman soldier, all that fidelity cannot lift one feather's weight from the yoke of the bondman, or arrest, for one moment, the shadow of despotism as it steals over the troubled mirror of the republic. (Loud applause.)

On the Personal Liberty Bill. By GEORGE W. PUTNAM. See Liberator of last week.

POETRY.

For the Liberator. THE SLAVEHOLDER'S PRAYER. BY B. CLARK, SEN.

From the National Era. MASSACHUSETTS. On the Passage of the Bill to Protect the Rights and Liberties of the People of the State against the Fugitive Slave Act.

By JOHN G. WHITTIER. I said I stood upon thy grave, My Mother State, when last the moon Of blossoms clomb the skies of June.

From Putnam's Magazine for June. ROBERT OF LINCOLN. BY WM. CULLEN BRYANT.

Robert of Lincoln's Quaker wife, Pretty and quiet, with plain brown wings, Passing at home a patient life,

From the Vermont Chronicle. THE SO-CALLED ANTI-SLAVERY PARTY. It seems almost a total waste of words to say anything about what is known as the Garrison Anti-Slavery Society; yet as you, as faithful chroniclers of passing events, felt obliged to notice the denunciations of the language used by that party in New York, perhaps it may be allowable to enlighten the public by a still further notice.

Who the writer of this sneering effusion is, we are left to guess. We think it not unlikely that it is from the pen of the Rev. JOSEPH TRACETT, of Boston, the slippery General Agent of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, whose vocation it is to barrow mischiefously in the dark.

Robert of Lincoln's a humdrum crone; Off he flies, and we sing as he goes: Bob-o'-link, bob-o'-link, Spink, spunk, spunk;

THE LIBERATOR.

A VOICE FROM THE SPIRIT LAND!

At the recent anniversary of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Mr. JOHN OAVIS, of Boston, said he would read, as a part of his speech, and pertinent to the subject under consideration, a communication that he had received from a deceased friend, with a request that he would lay it before the Convention.

OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

Individuals and societies have their respective circles. Before the second can be commenced, the first must be complete. What, then, are man's individual rights? Each individual person should be able to answer an interrogative of this character, so that socialities may not conflict with individualities.

Whoever, then, interferes with either of these individual rights is an usurper, a tyrant, not only claiming individual rights for himself, but usurping the rights of another.

It is one thing to speak, and write, and talk; another, to think, and act, and do. Among the nations on this planet, no single one has made louder professions of liberty, talked bolder of human rights, than this, the American nation.

It is time now to raise the flag, and fling it to the breeze, on which shall be written these words:—UNIVERSAL LIBERTY! The liberty to live—the liberty to move—the liberty to speak—the liberty to seek one's individual happiness!

Let, then, the friends of emancipation who this day will assemble, make this subject a prominent theme of deliberation, discussion, action. Designate a day, and a favorable location, when and where prominent persons, both men and women, can assemble, that the whole subject, in all its length and breadth, may be thoroughly canvassed.

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FROM THE LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATE.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN A. S. SOCIETY. The London Empire of May 19th has just come to hand, containing eight large columns of a report of the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was held in Crosby Hall on the evening of the preceding day.

The Rev. B. Hill moved, and the Rev. Dr. Hewlett seconded a resolution to the effect that the report now read be adopted, and that the gentlemen whose names have been read be the committee and officers-bearers for the ensuing year.

The CHAIRMAN was about to put the resolution, when the Rev. Cuthbert Young, Secretary to the Western Turkey Missions Association, having taken the opportunity to speak, stated that the society he represented comprised the names of gentlemen familiar to all present as associated with religion and liberty; and to prove that they were decided abolitionists, he mentioned the names of Lord Shaftesbury, Sir E. N. Buxton, Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, and the Rev. Thomas Binney.

Mr. THOMPSON then proceeded, in connection with a resolution which he had read in reference to the slave trade and slavery. We denounce the African slave-trade, but how much worse is the highly professing Christian who joins hands with him! Yet in America you have hundreds of men filling the pulpits of the land, who, while they hold the New Testament in their right hand, have, at the same time, their foot upon the neck of those for whom they profess to be Christ.

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FROM THE TORONTO 'PROVINCIAL FREEMAN.'

THE 'NATIONAL COUNCIL.' The meeting of the 'National Council,' previously announced to be held in New York, came off in anniversary form. There seems to have been a little 'muddle' of a gathering, and the where-abouts and resolutions adopted were most beautifully contradictory, as will be seen by perusal of some of them given below.

Mr. Frederick Douglass presented the following resolutions from the Business Committee: Whereas, Long years of oppression and slavery have debarr'd colored youth from gaining a practical knowledge of mechanical science, and have doomed them to menial avocations for a livelihood;

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MOTORPATHY.

Dr. H. HALSTED, the present proprietor of the Mpton, Mass. formerly of Rochester, N. Y., well known for his success in the cure of chronic diseases, especially those incident to the system of chronic diseases, Levere House, Boston, on Monday, the 10th of March, they will be happy to receive calls from their friends, and to enquire into the merits of his system of treating diseases, without mechanical appliances, or any of the usual remedial means.

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HOPEDALE JUVENILE AND COLLEGIATE HOME SCHOOL.

HOPEDALE JUVENILE AND COLLEGIATE HOME SCHOOL. DESIGNED FOR YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES. Sanctioned by the Authorities of the Hopedale Community.

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