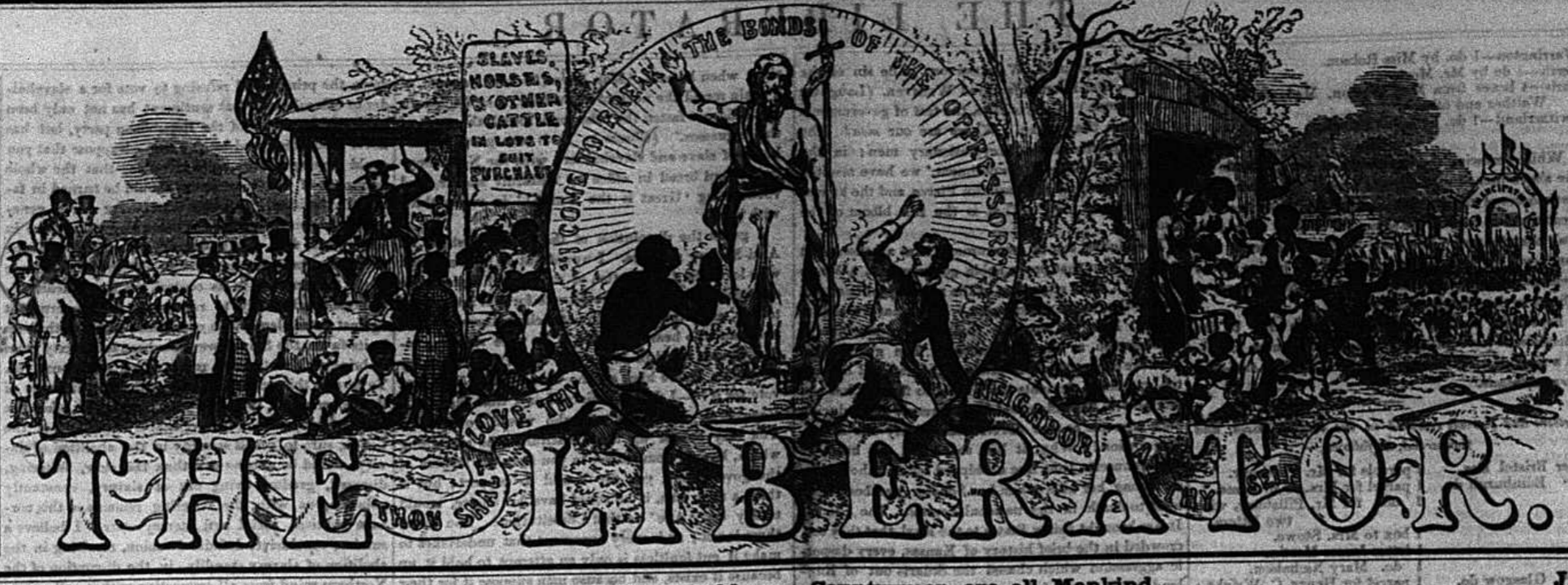


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and WESLEY PHILLIPS.



WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.
VOL. XXVII. NO. 5.

The Liberator.

THE TWENTY-THIRD
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

The receipts of this twenty-third Anti-Slavery Bazaar of 1857 are \$4250; an advance on the most successful previous year of several hundred dollars. Thus, in spite of bad weather, an insufficient hall, and a recent election, the American Anti-Slavery Society is sustained more strongly than ever, to lead through the coming year the van of that national movement against slavery which it began a quarter of a century ago.

We rejoice, as aforesaid, wishing it were a thousand fold greater, to place the whole result of our effort at the disposition of that Society. Not because it is the first movement in chronological order; nor because it is the parent of all the rest; nor because it is the most successful beyond hope or precedent. Such reasons are infantile, senile, partisan, sectarian. But we raise for the American Anti-Slavery Society this ineffectual offering of all we can, (except more hereafter,) because, trampling down all temptations, it alone seeks not itself;—because it alone is without prejudice of race, sex, or color;—because it alone has, on the subject of slavery, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and is not afraid to proclaim it, as of all things most precious, at every risk and cost, as only able to make free;—because it alone, seeing the necessity of advance as the handmaid of truth, and respecting the unity of man's nature, beholds with joy his heart exclaiming his intellect to the search of all reality and the rectifying of all wrong;—because it alone, of all the institutions of our land, has no union with slaveholders;—because it alone, leading the world in its method by centuries of advance, counts slave and master as equal, and frowns alike on bloody despotism and bloody insurrection;—because it is what a fighting, unflinching Church and State pretend to be;—because it has the intellect and the heart to honor itself by identification with the man whose great thought and sublime self-sacrifice gave it existence; and whose slaveholders and their Northern slaves insult and calumniate; whom bold foes acknowledge as the only type of an Abolitionist, and timid friends deny as a renegade, while striving to profit by; of whom Legislatures, borne into public notice by the movement he awakened, are yet ashamed and afraid, while so dull, that after seeing for twenty-five years of \$4000 for his head, they are startled that the heads of Senators are not safe.

In fact, we pay our mite into the treasury of the American Society, because it alone advocates immediate liberty for the slaves; because it alone never postpones its honorable and holy purpose till after election, or after ordination, or after to-morrow; but proclaims now as the time,—if the United States of America are ever to become other than the scuff and scuffling-brawl of the world that they are this day.

And how is this money to be expended? (were we often asked by practical ladies and gentlemen, taking their first look at the Bazaar.) 'We know you will reply, "In abolishing slavery;" but in what shape do you American Anti-Slavery Society's bills come in? "It is a laudable curiosity. Allow us to send to your address "The National Anti-Slavery Standard," our weekly newspaper. Terms, \$2.00 per annum,—published in New York as the official organ of the Society. Besides being one of the best papers in the world in a literary sense, it is the only absolutely free organ of an association, as "The Liberator" is of an individual. You know how many printers and paper-makers' bills are paid for the organ of your sect or party. We pay the same for mankind. Only, as we have this unpopular object in view, the abolition of slavery, we cannot get rich as we could by sect or party; but our high hope is, to see the Cause grow at our expense. It would make us rich if we could convert to mean to do, and manage it as men do whose secondary point it is,—leap upon it, politician like, and instead of carrying it onward to its goal, be carried by it to yours, and you will but commit a common offence against it as to escape all censures. But Anti-Slavery can neither peril their character for honesty by perjury, nor for common sense by assertion against fact,—the alternative before him who sits in the Congress of the United States.

We have other expenses than those of paper and printing. These ensure a free press; and to sustain the only free press in the world is no common gratification. But we have in addition the satisfaction of paying the expenses (insufficiently enough, it is true) of men and women of a character, eloquence and power that this pro-slavery land is not worthy of. It longs, in vain, to degrade them, at any price, into its precincts, its statements, its social ornaments. They are more fully employed in striving, by leading it to repentance, to avert the consequences of its sins. Thus we secure Free Speech to our country. Does the world know how little an Abolitionist can live on? So little, that a whole region can be enlightened for \$4000. Have any of you ever tried to estimate the moral benefit to which the public mind may be raised by the judicious application of no greater a raised than that?

In proportion to the means entrusted to us, we change men's minds. Having done this, we may safely leave it to them to change their representatives; which, with prodigal and corrupt expenditure, they will not fail at length to do.

Thus were we questioned and heard; and we had the satisfaction of seeing our newly awakened visitors for the first time in their lives looking more than a year ahead. May they continue their glance at the future by setting in the present!

If we might fill up our small space with a report of the conversations at the Fair, much light would be thrown on the actual state of mind of the American people, showing how they mistake effect for cause, and spend their strength at the pumps before acknowledging a leak;—how they expect from politics the fruits of piety, and from political economy the work of disinterestedness;—accepting a praiseworthy land-speculation in one corner of the country, (an admirable conjunction, it is true, of labor and capital,) as the

very end of the law for universal righteousness; and object to slavery not as the disgrace and ruin of human nature, but to slavery as the interruption of their laudable plans for their own interest in Kansas. Let us hope that the practical knowledge of it thus obtained will lead men to hate it no less for others' sake than for their own. Already we find instances in which that effect is produced.

It would fill pages to tell all that was said over the beautiful objects on exhibition, in the intervals of buying and selling.

"If you would buy five slaves with your \$5000, and set them free, I would help you. That would be something tangible. Or if you would but help off runaways! But you are visionary; and, I think, cruel. I give the fugitives ten dollars where your people give them a cent; and I don't pretend to be a philanthropist." How do you know what our people give them? Much or little, it is not what we are proud of doing. Is it to a trading community like this, that it is left to us to explain that your proposition would be a sorry speculation? We submit to common sense and compassion whether the cause that has made the freedom of these rapidly redoubling millions the question of the world, be not preferable to the one that buys five or helps off five hundred? Abolitionists do, as a fact, pay more than all the world besides for fugitives,—though not, to be sure, the identical ten dollars that the sight of suffering shames out of pro-slavery men's pockets. This 'helping off' is a comparatively hurtful thing. It perpetuates the evil it alleviates. 'Let mine outcasts dwell with thee!' is the result of that far legislative glance into the future that men call prophecy. It breaks down the manly spirit of a people with a unequalled completeness to submit when slavery thus calls the roll of its victims,—irrespective of color. The white man is the more abject slave of the two. Take the measures that will eventually save the trouble of flight by abolishing its necessity, and make, meanwhile, of every house and heart, a place of refuge. The Romans boasted that to be a Roman was greater than a king. Alas!—to be an American is to be, in this regard, far less than any modern royalty. While the American Anti-Slavery Society delights to be the almoner of those who are more touched by compassion than alive to right and justice, and while its members know and feel more about the fugitive slaves than any other set of persons in the land, its aim is to break the bonds of wickedness; and not to strengthen them by hasty, habitual submission to a wretched law.

And how has the money to be thus worthily appropriated been obtained?—No question was more frequently asked by new comers than this:—'Where do all these beautiful things come from?'

We seize the occasion to acknowledge most gratefully, that it is not in vain we early made 'our country the world, and our countrymen all mankind'—for men and women of all nations have come to our help. We have received, in all cases, valuable and profitable, and in some instances splendid donations from England, Scotland, Ireland, France and Switzerland; and from individuals of almost every other country under heaven. The elegance and profusion with which these gifts were poured out touched every beholder with admiration, and all desired to follow us in imitation to their foreign homes. Many times we made the round of the hall to this effect with admiring friends. In the most conspicuous place stood the bust of our beloved and lamented English friend,—EXETER; as if presiding over the effort he gave his life, to the last hour, to cherish. We entreat his devoted daughter to receive our warmest thanks for sending this successful piece of statuary. To such as knew the fine play of his graceful and expressive countenance in daily life, this bust, taken after his death, leaves much to desire; but to those who have only seen him in public, it gives an excellent idea of the strength, the tenacity, and the dignity of his benign character.

It might seem invidious, where all was so rarely fancied and so beautiful, to mention particular objects as having been extraordinarily successful; especially as novelty, individual taste, and the passing caprice of the hour have so much to do with success on occasions like these, that our report might prove delusive for another year. Still, every consideration of gratitude, good taste and Anti-Slavery foresight bids us not to omit honorable mention of the Ayreshire tartan work, from Edinburgh, sent on the judgment of our beloved friend Mrs. Stowe;—and a sound judgment it proved,—the incomparable shawl, infants' cloaks and Berlin wool-work from Glasgow, the fine table linen from Perth, the complete set of drawing-room chairs, covers from Cork, the elegant writing materials from our friends Mrs. Allen and the Webbs, crocheted-work, after patterns of old continental gipsies from Dublin. The excellent contributions from Leigh, Newcastle and Warrington, the linen damask from that venerable friend of the Cause, Mr. LEVINGS, of Dumfermline, of which he presents the first pattern to Philanthropy in advance of Commerce,—the splendid photographs from Paris, Preston, Edinburgh and San Francisco, the costume-dolls from Bristol, Halifax and Angiers, (France,) each a model for a *bel-couture*,—the splendid hexagonal silk patch-work cushion from Halifax, the charming wood-work and colored views from Switzerland and from Paris, the wonderfully beautiful woolen-knit bed, table and cushion-covers, the chiseled bronzes, and the rarely-modelled bouclier furniture growing out of the region of manufacture into that of art, the exquisite lace toilettes and useful Bridgewater, the curiously carved and useful tea-caddy from Bury, the quilted silk toilet contributions of Nottingham, with all its nice toilet contributions, the truly artistic landscapes and figures in water-colors, from London, Bristol, Nottingham, Leeds and Edinburgh; the splendid reversible drawing-room rug, from Mr. COSSLET, the product of his own manufacturing at Halifax; (we seen to see his English artists, working after Watteau and Mannerer in old Continental palaces, to furnish the bouquet, the landscape, and the Louis Quinze or Louis Seize border of its *no right side*—unlike in this to the popular estimate of the justest controversy, as a thing that has two wrong ones.)

But, beautiful and remarkable as all these things were, no table presented a more brilliant appearance, or attracted a more steady patronage, than the exclusively American one of our devoted friend or

many years, Mrs. OBER; whose organization, economy, perseverance, sound judgment, admirably seconded devotedness to this cause.

The son of our honored and church-persecuted old friend, AMORY BARBOCK, of Sherburne, gave the Bazaar his science as a naturalist, and his skill as a taxidermist. The beautiful group of Birds, which ornamented the table in front of the door of entrance, were speedily disposed of to good advantage for the cause.

The welcome present of Mr. BRAINARD, the enterprising Lithographic publisher of the heads of the 'CHAMPIONS' and the 'HERALDS OF FREEDOM,' was a most valuable one. Competition ran highest for the latter. It is a group of the heads of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, RALPH WALDO EMERSON, SAMUEL J. MAY, THOMPSON PARKER, JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, GERRIT SMITH; and to our foreign friends, as well as those at home, we need only say, it is the best Lithograph existing of these seven Champions and Heralds of the cause. Mr. BRAINARD presented to the Bazaar, in addition, the single Lithograph heads of Mr. SUMNER and Mr. THOMPSON PARKER;—of the latter, we received the valuable present of twelve octavo volumes of his works.

The Book-table, with its presentation copies of authors, and portfolios of fine engravings,—its autographs and old books,—its seals, cameo, gems, medals,—was never more attractive. It was in vain to try to enumerate and fully acknowledge all these various curiosities of literature and art. The rare old pictorial Bible, after the old masters, from Monsieur Taupel,—the book of Memorials of the early abolition days of England, from Mr. Burnham,—the illustrations of Henry Longfellow's Excelsior and Samuel Longfellow's Hymn, from the LIBRARY BELL, set to music and returned to us from Dublin by Mr. MOSS,—the Passion-Flowers and Words of the Hour of our gifted friend Mrs. HOWE,—the Sermons which might well bear a similar title, of the honored, well-remembered Vint,—the collection of Poems of our promising Edinburgh friend 'Isa' and 'Bessy Parkes,'—the abstract of English laws respecting Women,—the delicate manuscript 'si mignon,' entitled 'Fleurs,' from Switzerland,—

'De ce Léman Vaudois que domine Montreux,'—words of the sainted Vint, and the learned Troyon, and the youthful Durand,—these were all treasures in a double sense, and thanks are poor acknowledgments.

Natural and scientific curiosities and collections were as abundant as literary ones. There were algae from every coast, sent by the ladies of Britain and the prisoners at Belle. Here were ferns from every field, and shells from every sea, scientifically arranged, or poetically described. The most remarkable were the velvet volume from Glasgow and the framed group from Edinburgh.

The address of these sea-weeds, collected from the Frith of Forth, on the shores of Pinkie and Preston, and in view of the Bass Prison of Carberry Hill, to the American public, merits insertion.

SEA-WEED'S ADDRESS.
Where the Atlantic rolls, wide continents have blossomed;
REGARD US NOT AS STRANGERS! our race rose
At the creative word that call'd forth thine,
And with the doom'd earth share in part thy woes,
And like thee for a new creation pine.

Perchance, too, over our ancestral rostrs,
Thy early patriars while musing stray'd;
And when the Spring call'd forth the tender shoals,
Have tiny feet smudged our leaflets played.

Since then, the Ocean claim'd us for its own,
And we have dwelt beneath its surges free;
Meek and submissive, till His 'will be done,
When sorrow past, there shall be 'no more sea.'

Hast thou forgot the Lord, that we have heard
Oft on our shores the cry of blood and strife,
And every vagrant breeze our groves that stirred,
Hath sigh'd the mournful tale of human life?

And the winds wail the sorrows they have seen,
Oppressed, and the oppressor every where;
Burdened with all the groans that e'er have been,
They bear the record written upon air—

Until the Judge unroll the scroll and read:
O, pray thy page may not then unsmiled be!
Earth shall unfold her secrets, yield her dead,
And thou shalt live where there is 'no more sea.'

The little collection of crocuses, seen through skeleton leaves—
Spring peeping through the prison bars of Winter,
was greatly admired.

Through the kindness of our foreign contributors, our shelves were rich this year in children's stories and illustrated books, and these always sell well. The one in manuscript was read and admired by many. We thank our Philadelphia friends for the interesting young lady, 'Mark and Hasty,' written by one of their young stories of sixteen—a true tale. We thank our Leeds friends for that potent influence that speaks for the midland counties, and warns Americans not to mistake the tone of the Times for the voice of the people of England. The same friends, too, we have to thank for the true English voice which instils a hatred of the loathsome thing we war with into the soul of the very infant in the nurse's arms. This is statesman-like; for the world's action is renewed every fifteen years; therefore take the first five—'with no force, but with influences.' Our hearts were rejoiced by this alphabet of slavery:—

ALPHABET OF SLAVERY.
A Is an African born from his home.
B Is a BLOODHOUND to catch all that roam.
C Is the COTTON PLANT slaves pick and hoe.
D Is the DRIVER who makes their blood flow.
E Is for ENGLAND, which always long to see
Her daughter, fair Canada, whither they flee.
F Is a FUGITIVE—hide him by day!
G The North Star at midnight will show him the way.
H Is for GAMBLEY who drunken and wild,
Stakes money and bowie-knife, mother and child.
I Is SLAVE HUNTER with horse and gun,
The ugliest monster that's under the sun.
J Is for JEVATT at mother's breast found,
Was sold at an auction one guinea a pound.
K Is the JOURNEY when many slaves die,
Their grave the deep waters, their shroud the blue sky.
L The vile KIMWATTS stole a poor man's,
Was the LAWYER who joined in the plan.
M Was the MERCHANT who bartered for gold,
N The poor NEGRO like pig or horse sold.
O Is the OUNCE, the train starts from here
Of that underground railway, the slaveholder's fear.

Are some PARASITES with slaves like the rest,
They buy them, and whip them, then pay to be
blest.
Q Stands for QUAKER, who helps the poor slave,
A hero of heroes both peaceful and brave.
R Is the RICE SWAMP, a sickening place,
Whereague and fever soon finish the race.
S Is for SUGAR—slave-grown—and shrewd sages
Declare 'twould be better if Negroes had wages.
T Is TOBACCO—I don't like the weed,
The less it and slaves in the Negroes of blood.
U Is that UNION of stripes and of stars,
The slaves get the stripes, yes I and plenty of scars.
V Is VIRGINIA where Uncle Tom's wife
With children and home were the joy of his life.
W Is the WHIP, which with paddle and chain,
Sticks, thumbscrew, and ball give them terrible pain.
X Ends the REPLEX of every one's mind,
The better for all men when gentle and kind.
Y Is for YOUTH, and wherever you go,
Z industrious labor to set the slaves free.
Leeds, July, 1856.

A word of information is due to distant friends as to the public attendance. Well continued to the last, it was at first absolutely overwhelming. A stranger wishing to know a Boston public by sight, could not have done better than to have placed himself by our friends Mr. Pillsbury, Mr. Whipple, and Mr. Merritt, who moved, (*quam dilecta*) to keep the door—an act most gracious to ourselves, and profitable to the Cause. There were Senators and constituents, ministers and people paying them tribute as they passed. Many a friend from the old world was admitted by them, to learn by actual observation 'the state of this market.' Some came who have known and heard of the abolitionists in other climes, to show their courtesy, if not to bid them God speed; and all who came found themselves surrounded by acquaintances.

Fugitive slaves, with the hunter hot upon their track, men, women and little children, took refuge here as at an altar in olden time. Woe for Christian New England when such must be upon their way through her borders! In the Greece of Euripides the beasts were 'protected by the rocks, and vile slaves by the altars of the gods.' The New England of to-day affords the slave no rock nor altar. The vile master holds his cane over her head, and she dares not disobey. To know how terribly withering to men's moral nature is this reign of pro-slavery terror, look at the Senator Henry Wilson—the personal friend of abolitionists—their political servant—and their co-worker for the slave's freedom; hear what he is compelled to utter by the torture of his position, ground under the heel of the Slave Power. Did he come greeting cordially his disunion constituents into the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, instituted to raise money for that American Anti-Slavery Society which fifteen years ago proclaimed the Union 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,' and whose watchword is no UNION with slaveholders? Or did the swords and staves wait without the door to follow up his declaration in Congress—'They should die, if we had the power, a traitor death'—or will he interpret to us these his words as men do the Constitution of the United States? No pledge he can make will pacify the Slave Power—no explanation of the words will stay its hand, or save him from dishonor. The sword marshal the South to murder, in the name of the Republican party, as Dr. Channing's did in the name of forgiveness in 1835. We count them *wickedness—all wickedness*.

We were delighted with the lesson to travelers, as to the best use of their time, conveyed in the little box of shells from Iona; that Iona consecrated by the majestic monuments of early Christian Britain, among whose rivers Johnson thought piety should as surely grow warmer as patriotism should strengthen on the plain of Marathon. We shall cause this charming lesson of literature and philanthropy to be reprinted.

It is with very solemn and deep feelings that we proceed to take note of another class of contributions in our grateful record;—the work of young girls at school, and young boys in English homes, whose gifts come carefully inscribed—'With Master Hume's best wishes'—'For the slaves, with Little Arthur's love'—the work of the aged, the poor, the suffering, the bereft—the product of the laborer's short hour of leisure, and the invalid's brief season of ease;—the tokens of the devoted hearts of household servants and charity children;—the touching memorials, sent by survivors, of those who loved the Cause living, and served it dying;—the dedication of the valued presents of dear friends—of splendid jewelry with no name—or with an inscription which explains nothing—but the Giver's noble heart.

We must tell, in her own words, of the charming contributions of Miss PERCIVAL's pupils. She is writing to our beloved Bristol friend, Mrs. HANNAH THOMAS:

MY DEAR MRS. THOMAS:
I think you will be pleased with our contribution, for several reasons. The dear children have made unusual exertions, as we have had no articles sent from Strand this year, ('tis all our own') and feeling, on that account, our collection would be small, they proposed to give up their *pis-sis*, and that the money spent on this should be devoted to purchasing toys for the Bazaar. If the more value this sacrifice, as it is a great anticipated with great delight, from one year to another. After giving them time to think over their offer, I gladly accepted it; and never did I see children more pleased than they were when their companions returned with the purchases. I knew this would interest you, and therefore do not apologise for my note. I hope you will like our dolls; we have endeavored to carry out your hint.

I remain, yours faithfully,
M. PERCIVAL.

In a chest of beautifully-made dolls' clothes from Belfast, was found the following:
Please accept our gift so small,
For a little Boston doll.
Little hands have sewed each hem,
While little hearts have warmed for them—
The poor black children, born to be
Brought up and sold in slavery.
Oh! the gift is poor indeed,
But take, oh take it, we would plead,
Because 'tis all we have to send
To show ourselves the negro's friend.
And, next year, by Mr. DUFFY,
We'll strive to send a better gift.

MARY DUFFY,
MARY HIRLAND,
SARAH MCKIBBIN,
MAGGIE LYTLE.

In the box from Bristol came the subjoined letter:—

LYNNHURST HAVY, September 10, 1856.
To Mrs. CHAPMAN, Massachusetts:
MY DEAR MAMMA—A favor which I venture to request gives me the pleasing occasion of addressing you.

Will you kindly oblige me by transmitting the enclosed letter—as early as your convenience allows—to the Senator Charles Sumner? It contains a signed thing which I offer for his acceptance as a pledge of the interest that I, in common with all England, and all civilization, take in the eloquent Defender, not of Kansas only, but of Liberty herself, outraged and wounded in his person.

'But Freedom's battle, once begun,
Requ coast from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is always won.'

Wishing all prosperity to your noble cause, and to yourself, and with kindest regards to Miss Weston, Mrs. Follen, and all who resemble them.

I remain, my dear Madam,
Very cordially and affectionately,
Your friend,
MARA STORY.

P. S. Thinking you might like to see the seal, I enclose an impression. 'Tis from a design by my late sister, a lyre, on which is pictured an Owl—symbol of Harmony presided over by Wisdom.

We need not say with what high satisfaction and sympathy the ring and communication enclosed were forwarded by us to their destination. Massachusetts has since sent Mr. Sumner back to the Senate. If she had not 'lacked gall to made oppression bitter,' she could not have been so subdued to the shame she works in as to send any son of hers where she can neither enforce his rights nor protect him from assassins. Mr. Sumner will be eager to be again, though it were to die, at the post of danger; but oh, to Massachusetts, what dishonor! Recall him with every other ambassador and representative to the Slave Power!—and save the Massachusetts of the nineteenth century from the contempt of all coming time!

The annexed letter, from the Rev. Dr. MASSIE of London, will cheer and strengthen many hearts, even while filling them with so heavy an individual sorrow; awakening fresh resolution for a higher fidelity while earnestly desiring the continuance of the high example our dear friend's life sets before us.

LONDON, Nov. 14, 1856.
Mrs. CHAPMAN—My Dear Madam—The enclosed Bank post-bill is drawn in your favor, for the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar. Will you acknowledge it as remitted by Mrs. MASSIE? Sixteen pounds are from a sum placed at her own disposal, ten pounds from Miss STURGEON, five pounds from Mrs. BAIN, and five pounds from H. CHAMBERLAIN, Esq. Will you kindly provide that these sums and names shall appear in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*? Some few articles have been sent to Mrs. MASSIE, at Upper Clapton, and transferred to Miss GRANT, of Perth, or Miss BRIDEL, of Bristol, which will be forwarded by those ladies with other contributions. I fear there is little prospect that my beloved wife will again be able to co-operate with you, your sister and other colleagues, in your honorable enterprise. She has long had it in her heart to strive, by prayer and effort, to set the negro slave free. I have known none more constant or successful, and more patient and more patient. Her husband has altogether sympathized with her, and rejoiced in her sacrifices and occasional success. It is possible she is premature in her expectation, but she waits the summons to another land, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. Her confidence is in the Rock of Ages, and her eye is unto Him, in whose sight 'precious' is the death of his saints. Her trust is in an infinite Redeemer, who has made himself an offering for her, and has taken away her sins by the sacrifice of himself. Accept my apology for intruding on your notice and time, as I act in the capacity of her substitute.

You are engaged in antagonism, with a deadly and accursed crime, the national commission of which can meet with no propitiation or atonement under the just judgment of Heaven.

I do not anticipate the return of Fremont, or believe that his platform would secure an equitable or desirable solution of the question. I dread the prospect, as steeped in the blood of the wretched criminal. The Judge of all the earth will do right. The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness; but his day will come, as a thief in the night.

Yours, faithfully,
JAMES WILLIAM MASSIE.

We cannot pass over without comment the saintly grace of life displayed in the above letter of a man in the highest standing as an evangelical divine in England, enclosing the contributions of his own family, with those of persons in the highest standing as Unitarians, to the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose hour of toil and battle knows no distinction of creed; not because its members consider belief as of secondary importance, but because the firmness of their own convictions makes each secretly respect the rights of others.

The same catholic spirit which we have always felt it a blessing to exercise, animates the letter of our esteemed Swiss fellow-laborer:—

'Be assured, madam, with all your honored co-laborers, that our gift is no measure of our sympathy for the cause. Yet, having only a mite to offer, we do it to serve Him who came to proclaim the new commandment of Love, and to rescue all those who are battling in the United States for liberty and humanity.

God be with you, ladies!—honored sisters in Jesus Christ!—with his help and blessing!—granting you the joy of speedy triumph for the Christian cause in which you are engaged.

'In the Ladies of Lausanne and the Canton de Vaud, I have the honor of offering you their fraternal salutations, with the assurance of being
Yours, faithfully,
LOUIS BRIDEL.

'One of the pastors of the Evangelical Free Church of Lausanne.

But among the letters of cheer and support received, none was more welcome than that of the venerable and beloved THOMAS STURGE. Such letters are no novelty from him. From the time when he witnessed the selfish and dishonest attempt to disperse the Anti-Slavery body in 1839-40, by the trusted traitors who pretended to be his friends, his contributions have been contemporary with every trying crisis. The present letter enclosed £300 for the use of the Cause, from my sister Esther and myself, because we are old and feeble in health to aid the Bazaar by a box of contributions.' This great good man, who condescends so touchingly to such an insignificant means of raising funds as this, (only adopted because no other is practicable in the present state of things,) was the co-worker for British emancipation of ZACHARY MACAULAY, who, to quote Mr. Sturge's own felicitous expression, 'had the happiness of getting through his work without being overburdened with fame. And yet to him, perhaps, more than to any

other one man, is British Emancipation owing. In all his great labors and successes, Mr. THOMAS STURGE was intimately associated. His name 'rings' the bright link that connects the day of Zachary Macaulay, of Clarkson, of Wilberforce, of Buxton, and of Brougham and O'Connell, with our own—the time when *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* was *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and Thomas Sturge stood by its editor in its publication. Let any who wish to know something of the real facts of that day read Mr. Sturge's invaluable historical paper in the 'Liberty Bell' of 1848, and they will at the same time learn by what experiences he had been trained to recognize at a glance the American Anti-Slavery Society as the true centre of American Anti-Slavery life.

We are not likely to forget the gift of HANNAH MARTINEAU, the only European traveller of a world-wide celebrity who has been true to the feelings, principles, traditions, religion of her own land, by identifying herself with the cause of liberty in its darkest hour in ours,—giving her fame as a successful novelist, great stateswoman and sectarian leader to its stern, unsparring use.

This unrivalled tapestry, which was to us the emblem of a whole nation devoted in all its seasons to the Cause, was displayed before the head of our honored and beloved senior Manager, marked \$100; but speedily withdrawn from public competition in the following manner:—

JANUARY 1st, 1857.
To Mrs. CHAPMAN—Deeming this work of Harriet Martineau's precious hours too sacred for sale, we beg you to accept it from us,—feeling she could wish no better home than in the keeping of her most intimate friend.

Ann Greene Phillips, Francis Jackson,
C. F. Loring, Edmund Jackson,
Louis Loring, Susan Cabot,
Mary May, Carrie Wild,
Mary Gray Chapman, Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Edmund Quincy, Richard Clay,
Samuel May, Jr., Eliza F. Eddy,
Samuel Phillips, Charles Follen,
Henrietta Sergeant, A. W. May,
Eliza Lee Follen, E. A. Kingsbury,
Frances Mary Robbins, Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
Sarah Shaw Russell, Helen E. Garrison,
Thomas Earle.

This array of names, with its statement of reasons, overcome (as what shall they not overcome!) any natural reluctance to appropriate the most beautiful and valuable object in the Bazaar, since its beauty and value were, at that moment, lost sight of in the friendships of which it thus became the sign and the memorial.

Grateful as this occasion ever is, as combining so much of the interest pertaining to literature, taste and art, its chief attraction is as a centre of union to abolitionists. Hence, while it continues, they come daily to impart to each other their hopes, plans and counsels; and never, surely, was there so important a moment for their interchange. The election, from which many hoped so much, is lost. Plainly, it is not by such methods that we are to win. Change your method, we say to all who are disposed to give up the contest:—

Perché la guerra non si rinnova,
A liberar Gerusalemme oppressa!

Letters upon letters are here written and received in strain like those told of by
'The bard that Salem's conquest sung,
'to spur the generous soul, and awaken slumbering virtue.'

To-morrow is the Festival—the quarter-century commemoration—the feast we are to share before we gather with our 'disunion' friends at Worcester. No wonder the bread we break seems a panacea, and the cup a sacrament. No wonder it should seem, in the cheerful, solemn dignity that shines in every face, so unlike any other meeting the men of this generation have looked upon. Such things are hardly to be seen in one life-time twice. No wonder such utterances leave the listener, like Godfrey of Bouillon,
—si detti, allo splendore,
D'occhi abbagliati—altonito di core.

Since last year, two more friends have been added to those for whom we might forget our sorrow in our pride. The death of the excellent Mrs. BAXTON made a breach in our ranks, on this occasion, that it was found utterly impossible to fill. That of the venerable madam HOWMAN, of New Bedford, afflicted all hearts with a feeling of orphanage. Her self a birth-right Abolitionist,—the daughter of one who hated slavery with his whole heart, whose whole life was a battle against it,—she became the friend and firm supporter of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, AMY KELLEY FOSTER, CHARLES LENOX BAXTON, and their coadjutors of the present day. From the retirement of her latest age went forth influences, during all the last twenty-five years, which, for her, completed a century. She was the venerated head of the family, of which our unflinching friend ANDREW ROBINSON is a member, and every abolitionist, whom her wide influence reached, was ready to unite in his heartfelt words:—'Mother! I had not so well stood fast through all these times, but for thee!'

And now, sanctified as this cause is by our hopes for generations yet unborn, as well as followed by every remembrance of the departed, what is our soul's profound conviction as we mark its progress through the world, summoning to its aid 'all memories fair and blest'—while the weary turn to it for cheer, and the sad for consolation? That, verily, this is a cause so deep-freighted with the sympathies of the world, that each of the humblest embarked in its service may say, with exulting effusion of heart—
—They come to shame, who call with me!

Nothing, indeed, can be in the nature of things be more rapid or more sure than this transit from Slavery to Freedom. We know how sure, by the amount of trash we throw overboard, to make way for the world's all-potent sympathy; we feel how swift, by the best—

We are not unmindful of four others, the epistle, the advocate, the friend of the cause,—George Thompson, E. S. Abby, Francis Bishop, and the Earl of Carlisle—all of whom are guarded from the reproach of the above statement.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'
The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the fathers and founders of the institution. There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they expose the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force maintain their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in holding on to an iniquitous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in framing the Constitution, swerved from the right. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.
—WILLIAM KELLEY CHANDLER.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.
WHOLE NUMBER, 1360.

ing of the temper we raise as we are borne onward. All we are willing thus to buy, we shall have—the exact amount of redemption for our land, that we are willing to pay for in personal sacrifice. Hence, we re- assure our distant coadjutors, that Liberty is at hand.

- MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN. SPECIAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. Our home contributions and supplies were from the following cities and towns— Boston, besides the contributions of the Managers and their friends, a parcel of articles was received from Mrs. Goodrich. Brookline, by Miss Putnam, from a circle of friends gathered together by Mrs. Follen. Brooklyn, (Conn.), 1 box and 1 barrel, by Mrs. Whitcomb, from a few friends, including the fine chess from Messrs. Philip and Edwin Scarborough. Charleston, by the Misses Stearns. Cummington, by Miss Kingman, 1 box of articles [The money enclosed (\$8) stolen by the way.] Cambridge, 1 parcel, by Mrs. Howe. Concord, contributions by Mrs. Brooks. Cincinnati, do, by Mrs. Erast. Duxbury, do, by Misses Bradford. Dorchester, by Miss Carlton. Fitchburg, and Milford, (N. H.) by Mrs. Drake. Ghent, N. Y., by Miss Powell. Hanover, by express, from M. Stetson. Highgate, box of refreshments, by Miss Thaxter. Lynn, one box of refreshments and shoes, by Mrs. Johnson. Lexington, 1 box from Miss Watson, received early in the season (sent under circumstances which demand of us peculiar thanks).

New York, from Mrs. Brumhall, a beautiful quilt from Mrs. McLaughlin, Portland, by Miss Southwick. Portsmouth, by Mrs. Hatch. Philadelphia, by Miss Gage. Pictou, handwriting of Alex. M. Phall. Plymouth, by Miss Allen. Staten Island, by Mrs. Gay. Sudbury, by Mrs. Brown. Salem, by Mrs. Smith and C. E. Putnam. Warren, 3 parcels and 1 box, by Miss Cutter and Mrs. Mary Ann Bishop Blair. Upton, refreshments, articles and clothing for fugitives, by Mrs. Bradish. Nothing was in general more saleable than the un- expensive but perfectly made children's clothing, the exquisite pocket-book work, (morocco sewed), and the perfectly proportioned knitting of these contribu- tions. I find this memorandum on the envelope, in which I preserved the lists:—Mem. To mention the perfection of lady-like neatness in all the articles from the New England country towns. To what owing? But to say to what it is owing would involve a philo- sophical history of New England. We hope to see a fuller representation of its towns next year, and invite a preparatory correspondence.

The Refreshment Table, remarkable for its excel- lence, was this year carried on by the plan of each Manager, so far as practicable, becoming responsible for its supply during one day. We were most effi- ciently sustained by friends from both city and coun- try, and hasten to thank them for the Cause's sake. We never before received so much of that kind and accommodation which make a heavy labor light. We are especially obliged to Mrs. Mayer and Mrs. Vinton for generous loans and donations; to Mr. Colring, Messrs. Crocker & Brewster, Messrs. Crosby & Nichols, Mr. Prentiss, Mr. Towett, Mr. Marsh, and Mr. Clapp, Winter street, for generous donations of stationary; to Mr. Nell and his corps of assistants for their kindness in distributing the invitations; to Messrs. Howland and Hinckley for a new Mantilla flag- rope; to Mr. Cummings, for the amount of his bill to Mr. B. F. White, for most hospitable accommoda- tion of our preparators; to the editors of the Tele- graph, Transcript, New Bedford Mercury, (and any others whose kindness may not have reached our eye,) for gratuitous insertion and friendly mention; to Mr. J. B. Smith, for loan of tables and unlimited friendly offices; to those who so obligingly complied with our request to give us the benefit in consultation of real mercantile knowledge as to prices; to Mr. Richardson, recently a slave, for several days' gratuitous service. There are others who have done for private friend- ship what they would not have done for the Cause; others still, to whom thanks might prove embarrass- ing; yet all are appreciated and held in proportionate grateful remembrance, for the Cause's sake. To all the above-named we sent cards of admission, which we greatly regret to learn in some instances failed to reach their destination.

- Received and expended in Paris for the Bazaar, by Car- oline Weston. Anna Shaw, Greene, 500 francs. Other American friends by M. W. Chapman, 520 " H. Wild, " Money received and applied for the Bazaar. Henrietta Russell, 30.00 Sarah S. Sargent, 30.00 John G. Palfrey, (for Liberty Bell), 3.00 Sarah B. Shaw, 40.00 Charlotte Joy, 12.00 Ann T. Phillips, 10.00 Louisa Loring, 10.00 Mary G. Chapman, 20.00 Francis Jackson, 20.00 Mrs. Edwin Chapman, Bristol, Eng., 25.00 Mrs. Follen, through S. May, Jr., 2.00 Thomas Brown, (by W. C. Nell), 10.00 Richard Clay, Dorchester, 3.00 Elisha C. Clay, 3.00 Miriam Johnson, and friends in Lynn, 25.00 Warren Ladies' A. S. Society, 1.00 Elizabeth Gay, 4.75 Elizabeth Coombs, 6.00 Alexander Eddy, (by C. F. Hovey), 1.00 Misses Andrews, (by C. K. Whipple), 6.00 Eliza H. Anthony, (by Miss Thayer), 10.00 Rev. F. Frothingham, Portland, 6.00 Liberty Bell sales, by Miss Holley, 20.00 Sale of picture frames, 7.50 Dr. C. G. Field, (by Mrs. Drake), 2.00 Mrs. Hatch, Torrington, 2.00 John Mason, (Eng.) by F. Pillsbury, 2.00 By the Rev. J. W. Mason, D.D., London: Mrs. Massie, 216.00 Miss Stacey, 10.00 Mrs. Reid, 5.00 H. Crabbe Robinson, Esq., 5.00 Faneuil Hall, Boston, 1.00 E. Howarth, (by Eng.), 3.00 Mrs. Story, (Lynington, Hants), 10.00 By Joseph Lupton, Leeds, 3 18 5 A friend, (for the A. S. tract fund), \$5 00 By Samuel May, Jr., A friend, 85 00 Prentiss & Sawyer, 6 00 Richard Hopkins, (South Whitley, Ia.) 3 50 Dudley King, South Danvers, 3 00 C. F. Hovey, 10 00

The donation of THOMAS and BETSEY STURGEON, (\$200), received during the Bazaar, does not appear in its receipts, but was paid immediately to the Treas- urer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Contributions of Articles from friends in Europe. Ambleide—1 parcel from H. Martineau. Bristol—2 boxes from Mary Estlin and Anna Thomas, enclosing contributions from Southampton, II minister and Chatham. Bury—1 box by E. Howarth. Belfast—Articles from Mary Ireland. Bridgewater—1 box from Mr. Steinthal, including Mrs. Mitchell's. Cork—1 do, by Mrs. Jennings, enclosed in Dublin—2 do, by Mrs. Edmondson and R. D. Webb. Edinburgh—1 do, by Mrs. Wigham, enclosing con- tributions from Reading, and Bolton, and Leigh, and Preston. Glasgow—1 do, by Andrew Paton. Halifax—1 do, by Joseph Scowby, enclosed in Leeds—1 do, by Mrs. Edmondson. Nottingham—1 do, by Eliza Edmonds. Manchester—1 do, by Miss Whittidge, enclosing con- tributions from Sheffield, Birkhead, and

Warrington—1 do, by Miss Robson. Perth—1 do, by Mr. Morton. Paris—2 boxes from Miss Weston, Madame Andre- Walther and others. Switzerland—1 do, by Louis Bridel.

While renewing the expression of our gratitude to the above-named dear friends for all these beautiful testimonies of their attachment to the Cause, we ac- knowledge to convey the same to each of their several contributors. We owe acknowledgments that can never be sufficiently made to do justice to our feelings, to every name mentioned in their letters or affixed to the contributions.

- Especially are our acknowledgments due to the friends who have announced their willingness to ful- fill a most onerous service, in the London Anti-Slavery Advocate. Letters and Parcels received in the several Bazaars, and forwarded, as follows— Per Bristol Box, 2 parcels for Mr. Pillsbury. " Edinburgh do, 1 parcel for Mrs. J. B. Syme. " " do, 2 parcels for Mr. Pillsbury, with 2 boxes for two letters. " " do, 1 box to Mrs. Stone. " " do, 1 letter James Martin. " Glasgow do, 1 do. Mary Nicholson. " " do, 1 parcel for Henry C. Wright. " " do, 1 do, for Wendell Phillips. " " do, 1 do, for Frederick Douglass. " " do, 1 do, for W. W. Garrison. " " do, 1 do, for Mr. W. Walker. " " do, 1 do, Philadelphia Bazaar, Miss Pugh. " Paris do, 1 box from C. W. " " do, 1 letter for Mrs. Stone. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., At the Disunion Convention held in the City Hall, Worcester, January 15, 1857.

MR. PRESIDENT, We are assembled to consider the expediency of seeking a dissolution of the Union. For my part, I am for the dissolution of the Union, and I seek it as an Abolitionist. I seek it, first and primarily, to protect the slave. My second motive is, to protect the white race. Primarily, it is an Anti-Slavery measure. I object to the letter of Mr. Wilson, and to all that argument of which this letter is a type, that is treason to the Anti-Slavery movement—to the philosophy of it. No man deserves the name of an Abolitionist, who, in arguing the slave question, sets out with the assumption that any human institution is to be saved at all hazards, come what may of the slave.

The gist of Mr. Wilson's letter is, that in no possi- ble contingency, for no possible purpose, will he al- low the Union to be touched. He is not a fit leader in the Anti-Slavery enterprise, if he lays down any such principle. I do not know where my opposition to slavery will lead me; but I know this, that where- ever it leads me I will go, until I reach the slave. (Loud applause.) The Abolitionist gives no pledge to his fellow, except this—that he will make his way over every obstacle, in order to reach the slave. In Mr. Wilson's letter, and in that whole tone of argu- ment of which it is the representative, the Union is a foregone conclusion. That is anchored. No matter how much you may prove against it,—no matter how much the course of events may open your eyes to new interests and duties,—no matter what form the ques- tion may take,—you must pledge yourself not to touch the Union. How absurd the pretence of argu- ment with a man who has made that pledge at the outset!—he is not fit to argue. On so momentous a question, we have no right to consider any thing but truth and justice as settled—all mere institutions are effluvia. We are launching a great argument; sound- ing on and on in the voyage of statesmanship, with nothing but despair behind. We do not know where our vessel will take us. Common sense requires that we should keep every door open, first to go wherever the issue leads us. Slavery is so momentous an evil, that in its presence all others pale away. No thought- ful man can deem any sacrifice too great to secure its abolition. The safety of the people is the highest law. In this battle, we demand a clear field and the use of every honorable weapon. Even the monu- ments of our fathers are no longer sacred, if the enemy are concealed behind them.

This, Mr. President, is my first claim upon every man who has an Anti-Slavery purpose. One of the greatest, if not the greatest question of the age, is that of free labor. I do not know,—so man can prophesy,—what sacrifices it will demand, no hu- man sagacity divine what shape it will acquire in the kaleidoscope of the future. Nobody can foresee the combinations that will be necessary in order to secure liberty, and turn law into justice. The pledge we make to each other, as Abolitionists, is that to this slave question, embodying as it does the highest jus- tice and the most perfect liberty, synonymous as it is with Right, Manhood, Justice, with pure Religion; a free Press, an impartial Judiciary, and a true Civi- lization, we will sacrifice every thing. If any man disowns, he is not, in any just sense, an Abolitionist. If he has not studied the question enough to know, that it binds up in itself all considerations of govern- ment, then he is not worthy of being called an Abolitionist. The fate of four millions of slaves, linked as it is with the welfare of the white race, with the purity of religion, with freedom of conscience and thought, with civil liberty, with an impartial judi- cary, with personal character, with all civil rights, is a question deserving of every sacrifice. Then, when you come to the Union—what is it? This momentous something, to which every possible importance of the slave question is to be sacrificed—what is it? What has the Union ever done? Where are its merits? Who knows them? Who has stated them? I know of but one: it has preserved peace between thirty-one States—that is all its virtue!

Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster (interrupting)—Is that a merit? Mr. Phillips—They who look on peace as a necessary condition of all progress or civilization would doubtless so regard it. For my own part, I do not think that peace between sin, and servility masquerad- ing as virtue, is a benefit! (Loud applause.) I think, when Massachusetts undertook to be the blood- hound of South Carolina, in order that there might be peace between the two States, it was an exceed- ingly doubtful benefit. But what else has the Union ever done? Some claim that she is the mother of commerce. I doubt it. I question whether the genius and energy of the Yankee race are not the parent of commerce and the fountain of wealth, much more than the Union. That race, in Holland, first created a country, and then, standing on piles, called modern commerce into being. That race, in England, with territory just wide enough to keep its eastern and western harbors apart, monopolized for centuries the trade of the world, and annexed continents only as treasure-houses wherein to garner its wealth. Who shall say that the same blood, with only New Eng- land for its anchorage, could not drag the wealth of the West into its harbors? Who shall say that the fertile lands of Virginia and the Mississippi enriched her because they willed to do so, and not because they were compelled? As long as New England is made of granite and the nerves of her sons of steel, she will be, as she always has been, the brain of North America, united or divided; and harnessing the elements, steam and lightning, to her car of conquest, she will double the worth of every prairie acre by her skill, cover ocean with her canvas, and gather the wealth of the Western hemisphere into her harbors.

I dispute, then, the value of the Union; I do not believe in it. Grant all it claims as the parent of wealth, it has not produced it. Daniel Webster said that the virtue of the colonial institutions was

that they produced WASHINGTON. The sin of the Union, that it manufactured WEBSTER. (Laughter and applause.) Carlyle says, the test of government is the man they make. Where are our men? The colonies produced the Revolutionary men; in the full tide of successful experiment, we have resulted in Caleb Cushing and Franklin Pierce, and the knaves of the present day! That is the full bloom of the Union!

The highest test of government is a school. It is noble men that prove noble governments. Where are they? The education of the nation, political and civil—that is the government. What has it accom- plished? I do not consider that industry masquerade at Washington, as the government. The government is in the elements which produce the national charac- ter, and these elements the Union, so far as it has any power, has influenced to the result of producing such a people as now govern these thirty-one States. The Union! Why, it has so chilled the heart of Massachusetts, that, like a whipped spaniel, she stalks among her hills when her Senator was beaten almost to death in the national capital. The Union! It has brought thirty States to the level, that they see, crowded in the brief history of Kansas, every despot- ic aggression which chased the Stuarts out of Eng- land, and changed her government; and yet Ohio tame States vote the same policy into effect, after such an exhibition! The Union, to which Mr. Wilson undertakes to sacrifice every possibility of the slave question, has yet to find the first good thing that has done for twenty millions of people. For Longfellow, the Union is a gallant bark that outrides the storm. A storm! When have we met one till now? Fair weather, halcyon seas, constant prosper- ity, have been our history—a boat with every other plank torn off, or a Chinese junk, would have found it difficult to sink. (Laughter.) This is the first storm that has ever assailed her, and now man counsel giving up the voyage and skulking into harbor, for fear of being sunk! Who cares for the 'forge' or 'heat' in which were shaped the 'anchors' of such despair? What is the government? It is a machine for education;—and it is free speech that endangers this government! Free speech, the highest attribute of man,—and yet it is the discussion of a great moral question that endangers the government! Then the answer it goes to pieces, the better! As JOHN QUINCY ADAMS said to CHARLES SUMNER, when he stood by his sick bed in Boston, 'I hope to go back to Wash- ington, in order to teach this Mr. DANIEL WEBSTER that there is something better than the Constitution of the United States,—the justice and liberty which it was intended to preserve.' (Loud cheers.)

I object, therefore, altogether, to this exaggerated value placed upon the Union. I do not believe in it. I do not believe history can be made hereafter to bear witness to any high value in the Union. This has been a decent government in its day, but it is pre- sent with momentously bad results. It has prostituted the pulpit,—it has made the people cowards,—it has made slavery triumphant,—it has made litera- ture vassal and corrupt,—it has transformed twenty millions of people into slave-catchers. What a history! We laughed out with the popular determina- tion that the territory of the Union should be secured to liberty. The spirit with which we set out, under the ordinance of 1787, made all national territory sacred to liberty. We came down to 1819, and cowardice, born of the Union, gave up half; we came down to 1852, and treason in the garb of cowardice gave up the whole to slavery. Behold the history of the Union! Willingly do I join issue with the Union- worshippers on the value of their idol. I say, the Fugitive Slave Law was not possible, and could not have been executed in the city of Boston in 1789; it was executed there in 1850. Apply the torture of any circumstances to John Jay, Luther Martin, Chan- cellor Wythe, Patrick Henry, and never could you extort such speeches as Daniel Webster made the last two years of his life. The Union—behold the value of it! If property be every thing,—if, as Daniel Webster said, the whole purpose of government is to protect property,—I do not know but possibly banks make better dividends with the Union than they would without, though of that I have serious doubts; but if men be the object of government,—if liberty be the object of government,—if high thought, high character, a noble party, a noble State, with noble impulses, be the test of government, this Union is a failure; for the character of this nation has been so barbarized in fifty years, that we must hide our faces when we compare the Senate of to-day with that over which even Aaron Burr presided. Look at the outrage on CHARLES SUMNER! Men have been assassinated before. If a man trusts himself with gold in the purses of great cities, he is very likely to be as- sassinated. One who quarrels with drunken bullies in the haunts of vice, risks assassination. But did you ever see before, in the Senate chamber, the focus of a civilized State, the Capitol on which millions of eyes are fixed,—did you ever see an assassination there, with half a score of what are called the 'states- men' of the land looking on, still and silent? I un- dertake to say, that in view of all the circumstances, the outrage on CHARLES SUMNER is not to be paralleled in the history of civilized States. You never saw the assassination in cool blood, of an unarmed man, with twelve of his peers, the foremost men in office, in a civilized community, present, and not an arm lifted in his defence; and yet you now see a State, and perhaps one half the whole country, daring to vindicate and applaud such an act. That is the barbarism to which the Union has brought these States. You know it stands out in all history as the atrocious crime which contravened all the merits of Oliver Crom- well, that he undertook to put his military boot on the Speaker's seat in the House of Commons. Every man who has written history since has regarded that as the lowest point which English history has ever touched. That very act was repeated on the virgin soil of Kansas, and it hardly waked a ripple on the calm sea of American life. Such is the result of a Union to which men are told to sacrifice justice, lib- erty and honor, the welfare of the slave, and an effect- ual resistance to the Slave Power! I do not believe in it. I would like to have those men who are ring- ing perpetual changes on the Union come here, and tell us what good the Union has ever done. It has made our large cities the scenes of riot and of fugi- tive slave surrenders; it has filled our pulpits with Doweys and Adamses; it has filled our literature with Hilliards, and Pierponts, and Bancrofts. I curse the Union in behalf of the white man, as well as a friend of the black race. There never was a greater mistake than this idolatry of the juggle of a Union, and never until we cut loose from it shall we have any hope of a system of honorable government, or any right to respect ourselves.

I do not, then, tremble to approach the question of breaking up the Union. I have no faltering fear, no timid balancing of arguments,—my inmost soul is penetrated with the conviction that it is a magnificent conspiracy against justice, and accused of God.—(Loud applause.) Every page of our history since '89 is black with the Union. There is not a page of it to which an American can recur with any pride or honor; and when a pen as impartial as that of HILDEBRAND writes that history, you see it every man must see it. It is nothing but the vain-glorious eulogy of Fourth of July orators; the swollen self- lishness of wealth eager for more gain; of Commerce, crying 'Hush!' in order to have customers; of merchants, in trembling deference to somebody out of whom they expect to make a dollar of profit;—it is only petty lawyers like Curtis, who imagine, because they can draw writs, they can meddle with statesman- ship. (Laughter and applause.) That have under- taken to show the value of the Union. It is rotten all over! It is one great scum! It has proved on a magnificent scale, as if written by the finger of God, 'betwixt Orion and the Pleiades,' that Martinus was

right when he said, 'Man never fastened one end of a chain round the neck of his brother, that God's own hand did not fasten the other end round the neck of the oppressor.' (Cheers.) It is one great bazaar- house of slave and slaveholder, with the North buy- ing toward bread in office by dastardly silence, and vociferating 'Great is the Union!' in voices thick with blood. I go for the dissolution of the Union, first, as an Anti-Slavery measure. I would put it to every man who loves the Constitution of the United States in its essential features, if he would vote for that instrument to-day, as it stands? I do not believe there is a Repub- lican who hears me, who, if he were standing to- day, as man stood in 1789, and this Constitution lay on a table before him, and he were asked, 'Will you vote for it?'—I do not believe, I say, that there is a Republican who hears me who would vote for it. You may bolster up the Constitution as something which, having come down to you from the fathers of the government, you are bound to support; but is there a man who, if he could have his choice, would to-day say 'Aye' to that Constitution? You know there is not; and every argument that undertakes to make it out faultless is only an attempt to hold it up because it exists, and because men suppose it for their interest to maintain it. In the first place, my opposition to the Union is one of personal honor and duty;—and this is the strongest consideration—the nucleus,—all the others are ac- cidental, secondary. It is a question of personal honor and duty with me. I am not going into the question of the technicalities of the Constitution,—I do not care now about them. For the purpose of this hour, we may take it for granted that the Constitution, as at present interpreted and executed, is a pro-slavery Constitution,—used by Slavery for its own purposes; that the power of dictating the course to be pursued under that Constitution is in the hands of the Slave Power. You know what that Slave Power is. I do not mean by that phrase an exclusively Southern power. The Slave Power is here in Worcester just as much as in Charleston, S. C. The Slave Power is three-fold: it has the power of wealth—two thousand millions of dollars invested in slaves, drawing to it the sympathy of all other kinds of capital. That is the first power, and in the nineteenth century, the money- ways is omnipotent. Then it has, secondly, the aristoc- racy of the Constitution; and, thirdly, the preju- dice against color. The aristocracy of the Constitu- tion—where have you seen an aristocrat with half its power? You may take a small town, here in New England, with a busy, active population of 2400, and three or four such men as Gov. Aiken, of South Caro- lina, riding leisurely to the polls, and throwing their voting cards in for ballots, will blot out the entire in- fluence of that New England town in the Federal Government. That is your Republicanism! Then, when you add to that the element of prejudice, which is concentrated in the epithet 'nigger,' you make the three-stranded cable of the Slave Power—the preju- dice of race, the omnipotence of money, and the al- most irresistible power of aristocracy. That is the Slave Power. Whatever you make of the Constitu- tion, its administration is in the hands of the Slave Power. When HENRY WILSON goes up to the Sen- ate of the United States,—if he wishes a part of that Government,—he must vote men into office, and vote money to carry on the Government; and he knows, if he carries it on, he carries on the Slave Power. He knows that when he pays John McLean, the Judge of Ohio, he pays him for returning fugitive slaves. (Hear, hear.) When he votes Judge Leavitt's salary, he votes to pay him for that trick that plun- ged Margaret Garner back into the hell of bondage, and cheated the State of Ohio out of her rights; and I want to know when or where the Republican party, or any other party, ever avowed their purpose to be, to get the power of this Government into their hands in order that no dollar in its treasury shall be allowed to go for the support of the Slave Power! Until they do this, this politics is personally dishonorable to an Abolitionist. It is paying a Government, two-thirds of which is directly, and the other third indirectly covered all over with pro-slavery service, from the Judge on the Supreme Bench, down to the Marshal in the Courts, so mixed up with the salaries of officers, that it could not be disintegrated without stopping the whole appropriation bill. I deem the noblest piece of work the Republican party ever attempted was the effort to stop the appropriation bill. Chief Justice Marshall said once, that whenever Senators were omitted to be chosen, the United States Government fell to pieces. Why do you not let it fall to pieces? As at present constituted, it is the right arm of the Slave Power, and you know it. South Carolina cannot breathe her fetid food a day out of the Union. Bankrupt, she talks of 'walking out of the Union.' Let her beg money to buy the crutches she stands on first! (Laughter and applause.)

I say, sir, it is a matter of personal honor and duty with me. I do not see how any man can volunteer the slightest amount of personal or pecuniary support to a Government which, whatever was its intent in 1789, is now practically a pro-slavery institution. I thank God when I looked into the eyes of ANTHONY BURNS, and in reply to his agonized inquiry, 'Can you do nothing for me?' was obliged to answer, 'Noth- ing.'—I thanked God that at least I could say, 'I never lifted a finger to build a stone of the Government that is resting upon your heart to-day.' That Govern- ment returned ANTHONY BURNS; that Govern- ment is organized year after year, and every dollar in its treasury is spent in direct or in indirect support of slavery. You know a religious man, for instance, protests against idolatry, and the support of idolatrous Governments in Asia. Here is a Government just as much permeated by slavery as China or Japan with idolatry, and I cannot vote under it, nor volun- tarily support it. I do not care for parchment; they are not the Government. There are elements beneath the parchment that fashion the Government, and among these elements, first and beyond all others, is this Slave Power, which controls the Union. I do not know what it may be ten or fifteen years hence; I do not know what it may be when it is changed; I only know what it is now, and I say, no Abolitionist can support it. If there is any man who can tell me how, I should like to have him do so. Then, again, how is the Republican party ever to gain supremacy in the Government? Certainly, by turn- ing every atom of patronage and pecuniary profit in the keeping of the Federal Government to the sup- port of freedom. You know that the policy has been always acted upon, ever since Washington,—and it has been openly avowed ever since Fillmore,—that no man was to receive any office who was not sound on the slavery question. You remember the Debate in the Senate, when that was distinctly avowed to be the policy of Mr. Fillmore. You remember Mr. Clay let- ting it drop out accidentally, in debate, that the slave- holders had always closely watched the Cabinet, and kept a majority there, in order to preserve the secun- dary of slavery. This is the policy which, in the course of sixty years, has built up the Slave Power. Now, how is the Republican party ever to beat that Power down? By reversing that policy, in favor of freedom. Cassius Clay said to me, two years ago, 'If you will allow me to have the patronage of this govern- ment five years, and exercise it remorselessly, down to New Orleans,—never permit any one but an avowed Abolitionist to hold office under the Federal Government,—and I will revolutionize the slave States themselves in two Administrations.' That is a scheme of efficient politics. But the Republican party has never yet even professed any such policy. Mr. Greeley, on the contrary,—and I take the Republican party as the highest type of political action at the present time,—swore in the Tribune, that he had often voted for a slaveholder willingly, and he never expected the time would come when he should lay

down the principle of refusing to vote for a slaveholder to office;—and that sentiment has not only been reiterated by others of the Republican party, but has never been disavowed by any one. Suppose that you could develop politics up to this idea, that the whole patronage of the Government should be turned in favor of Abolition. It would take two or three genera- tions to overturn what the Slave Power has done in sixty years, with the power of aristocracy and the strength of prejudice on its side. With the patronage of the Government in its control, the Republican party must work slowly to regenerate the Government against those elements in opposition, when, with them in its favor, the Slave Power has been some sixty years in bringing about such a result as we see around us. To reverse this, and work only with the patronage of the Government, it would take you long to effect the cure. In my soul, I believe that a dissolution of the Union; sure to result speedily in the abolition of slav- ery, would be a lesser evil than the slow, faltering, diseased, gradual dying out of slavery, constantly poisoning us with the festering remains of this corrupt political, social and literary state. I believe a sudden, convulsive, definite dissolution, resulting in the abolition of slavery speedily,—in the disruption of the Northern mind from all connection with it, all vasa- lage to it, immediately, would be a better, healthier, and more wholesome cure than to let the Republican party, even if it could ever gain the power, exert this gradual influence through the power of the govern- ment for thirty or sixty years.

We are talking about the best way of getting rid of a great national evil. Mr. Wilson's way is to put down the Union as a 'fixed fact,' and then educate politics up to a certain level. In that way we have got to live, like Sinbad, with Cushing, and Choate, and Hilliard, and Hallett, and men like them, on our shoulders for the next thirty or forty years,—with the Doweys and President Lords; and all that class of men,—with the Hunker School Committee approv- ing George Hilliard's school-books, from which no young man, even with a million-power microscope, would discern that WASHINGTON ever wrote an anti-slavery line,—all this timid servility of the press,—all this lack of virtue and manhood,—all this corruption of the pulpit,—all this fossil hunkerism,—all this sel- ling of the soul for a mess of pottage,—is to linger—working in the body politic for thirty or forty years, and we are gradually to eliminate the disease! What an awful future! What a miserable chronic disease! What a wreck of a noble nation the American Repu- blic is to be for fifty years!

That is HENRY WILSON'S cure—and why? Only so save a piece of parchment that ELIZABETH GRANT had fastened enough to think did not deserve saving, as long ago as 1789! He would leave New York united to New Orleans, with the hope (sure to be balked) of getting freer and freer from year to year. I want to place her, at once, in the same relation towards New Orleans that she bears to Liverpool. (Applause.) You can do it, the moment you break the political tie. What will that do? I will tell you. The New York pulpit is to- day one end of a magnetic telegraph, of which the New Orleans cotton market is the other. The New York stock market is one end of the magnetic tele- graph, and the Charleston Mercury is the other. New York statesmanship! Why, even in the lips of Sew- ard, it is sealed, or half sealed, by considerations that take their rise in the cane-brakes and cotton fields of fifteen States. Break up this Union, and the ideas of South Carolina will have no more influence on Sew- ard than those of Palmerston. The wishes of New Orleans will have no more influence on Chief Justice Shaw than those of London. The threats and party tactics of Brooks, Soule, Blair and Benton will have no more influence on the Tribune than the thun- ders of the London Times on the hopes of the Char- lesters. Bancroft will no longer write history with one eye fixed on Democratic success, nor Webster invent 'laws of God' to please Mr. Senator Douglas. We shall have as close connection, as much commerce; we shall still have a common language, a common faith and common race, the same common social life,—we shall intermarry just the same, we shall have steamers running just as often and just as rapidly as now;—but what cares Dr. Dewey, in New York, for the opinion of Liverpool? Nothing! What cares he for the opinion of Washington? Everything! Break the link, and New York springs up like the fountain relieved from mountain load, and assumes her place among decent cities. (Applause.) We mean no special praise of the English courts, pulpit or press, by these comparisons; our only wish is, to show that however close the commercial relations might con- tinue to be between North and South, and in spite of that common faith and common tongue and com- mon history which would continue to hold these thirty States together, still, as in the case of this country and England, wedded still by the same ties, the mere sundering of a political union would leave each half free, as that of 1776 did, from a very large share of the corrupt influence of the other.

That is what I mean by Disunion. I mean to take Massachusetts, and leave her exactly as she is, com- mercially. She shall manufacture for the South just as Lancashire does. I know what an influence the South has on the manufacturers and clergy of Eng- land,—that is irresistible in the nature of things. We have only human nature to work with, and we cannot raise it up to the level of angels. We shall never get beyond the sphere of human selfishness; but we can lift this human nature up to a higher level, if we can but remove the weight of this political re- lation which now rests upon it. What I would do with Massachusetts is this—I would make her, in re- lation to South Carolina, just what England is. I would to God that I could just her off, and anchor her in mid-ocean! (Loud applause.) Where shall dis- union commence? Why, if it cannot commence any where else, I would commence it round Plymouth Rock; (cheers)—begin again, and see if we cannot do a great nation out of this wilderness. Would to God we had only the difficulties of an empty wilderness to deal with!

What I mean by Disunion is simply that breaking of the political arrangements and connections—you cannot break the others—which would leave us our Websters and Everetts—raw material, out of which, as Dr. Johnson said of Scotchmen, 'if you caught them very young, you might make something'—(laughter and applause); that is, if you caught them young, and subjected them to wholesome influences, kept them out of the fatal maelstrom of national temptation. HENRY WILSON was a much more decent man when he was not tall enough to look over the fence of Massachusetts, than when he got so high that he could see as far off as Washington; then his head turned slightly, and now he values Washington far more than he did when his ambition was content with the little Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Then, if you ask me what influence this would have on slavery, I answer, it would have, in the first place, the influence of political economy; that, taking from the government the support of Northern sympathy and countenance, the South would have to set about getting a government. Government is an expensive luxury. You must get taxes to support it. Where will you levy your taxes? They must rest on produc- tions. Productions are the result of skilled labor. You must educate your laborer, if you would have the means for carrying on a government. Despotisms are cheap; free governments are a dear luxury,—the machinery is complicated and expensive. If the South wants even a theoretical Republic, she must pay for it—she must have a basis for taxation. How will she pay for it? Why, Massachusetts, with a million work- men, men, women, and children,—the little fact that can just toddle bringing chips from the wood-pile,—Massachusetts only pays her own board and lodging, and lays by about three per cent. a year. And South Carolina, with some half idlers, and the other half

slaves, doing only half the work of a free man,—only one quarter of the population actually at work,—how much do you suppose she lays up? Lay up as much she lays up bankruptcy,—of course she does! But from the laws of trade by the Union. The first thing her government, we pay for her postage, and we pay for things else. Launch her out, and let her see if she can make the year's ends meet. And let her see if she can make her labor in order to get the land with its furnaces of open wire work, fill chimneys with anthracite coal, and when you have raised it to Whipple's powder manufactory, and you are safe, come to the South. (Laughter and applause.) But South Carolina to support an independent government. The man who does it, she removes the safeguard of the Union. What is the contest in Virginia now? Between the enhanced wages it will secure, and the man who, for fear of the influence it will have on the general security of slave property and white throats, that dispute will go on, if ever the Union is dissolved. Slavery comes to an end by the laws of trade. Lay up your Slave's rifle, my valiant friend! Between the enhanced wages it will secure, and the man who, for fear of the influence it will have on the general security of slave property and white throats, that dispute will go on, if ever the Union is dissolved. Slavery comes to an end by the laws of trade. Lay up your Slave's rifle, my valiant friend! Between the enhanced wages it will secure, and the man who, for fear of the influence it will have on the general security of slave property and white throats, that dispute will go on, if ever the Union is dissolved. Slavery comes to an end by the laws of trade. Lay up your Slave's rifle, my valiant friend!

Mr. Wilson is for preserving it to every kind I like to learn from the enemy. If the slaveholder loves the Union, I hate it; the love of so sagacious a spirit is authority enough for my hate. (Applause.) If the slaveholder clings to the Union, it is his instinct. 'The stinnet is a great matter,' says Shakespeare. Every Abolitionist that ever got his head above water was saluted by the title 'Traitor!' The slaveholder knows what he was about when he said so, for he felt that the man ever got his heart also above water, he would feel that treason was his first duty. The Union has been too great a temptation for Northern Liberty. The South has bought up our great men faster than nature could make them. (Applause.) It ways will. It is true of our pulpit, of our literature, of our statesman- ship—the temptation is too great. All the temptations of self-interest are on the side of slavery. You say you are going to change them. How are you going to change them? You cannot change them by the Sermon on the Mount. I do not doubt the power of the Sermon on the Mount in the long run. Truth will conquer, if you give her time. Centuries back, Ideas will conquer even the material strength of the country; but to-day, in Wall street, two per cent. a month is its Sermon on the Mount (laughter); and as long as it is so, Wall street will be before two thousand million of dollars, invested in slaves; and as long as it is so, the Banks, who think themselves fortunate to get upon the steps of the Merchants' Exchange, will bow to Wall street, and its Gospel of two per cent. a month. You cannot raise politics above the level of the average public sentiment. I know that, in the long process of time, we could re-educate the nation. But what new circumstances that far future may bring, I know not. We are working with the tools we have on hand. I believe that Banks and Webster, and the class of men, are as good men as in the ordinary-ness of the country; but to-day, in Wall street, two per cent. a month is its Sermon on the Mount (laughter); and as long as it is so, Wall street will be before two thousand million of dollars, invested in slaves; and as long as it is so, the Banks, who think themselves fortunate to get upon the steps of the Merchants' Exchange, will bow to Wall street, and its Gospel of two per cent. a month. You cannot raise politics above the level of the average public sentiment. I know that, in the long process of time, we could re-educate the nation. But what new circumstances that far future may bring, I know not. We are working with the tools we have on hand. I believe that Banks and Webster, and the class of men, are as good men as in the ordinary-ness of the country; but to-day, in Wall street, two per cent. a month is its Sermon on the Mount (laughter); and as long as it is so, Wall street will be before two thousand million of dollars, invested in slaves; and as long as it is so, the Banks, who think themselves fortunate to get upon the steps of the Merchants' Exchange, will bow to Wall street, and its Gospel of two per cent. a month.

Does any man think that anarchy will result? Why should it? Anarchy does not consist in the absence of parchment. The same conservative elements that keep the government in place now, will exist there. Massachusetts does not make money merely because South Carolina has the right to whip slaves. That is not the element of her prosperity. The element lies in the fact, as WALTER BANCROFT says, that in most such heads. Therefore we make money; therefore we are a well-ordered State; and we shall always be so while that fact remains. Disunion of the Union gets rid of slavery, because it is an artificial institution, backed up by artificial laws, which, when you let down the waters to a common level, must go to pieces by the action of gravity. The dissolution of the Union is removing the dam. To-day the white man stands with his heel on the head of the slave. You aid I stand behind him,—you, voters, directly, and all of us, by the impossibility of making our peo- ple fully known. When dissolution takes place, the slave will be free to go to his master's throat, or to his mansion-house. All I say is, that he will prob- ably try to do it, unless the master plants in his heart a motive not to do so; and until he does, God speed the first insurrection in the Carolinas! I have no love for insurrections; but 'Hands off!' is a good motto. Let the two races fight it out; and let the white man have no means of defence, by making the black man love him, then he will suffer for the indignation of two centuries. That is his own lookout. Gen. WILSON says, he 'believes that the liberal, high-minded, just (I men of the South will, in their own time and in their own way, bring about a safe emancipation.' I never knew of a race of oppressors that was preached into doing justice; they have always been balked into it. If any man thinks otherwise, let him show me a single instance where a powerful, despotic class ever voluntarily surrounded themselves with circumstances which give to the slaveholder being brought to give bonds to be placed, by the necessities of his position. Talk of charity! The whole South is one great magazine of cowardly. Ten

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slaves in the upper corner of Tennessee are suspected, for they did not keep the poor fellows alive long enough to prove it.)

The Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVERHOLDERS. BOSTON, JANUARY 30, 1857.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston, on Thursday and Friday, Jan. 29th and 30th, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., each day, and holding morning, afternoon and evening sessions.

Such are the men and the women who are banded together for the utter extinction of American slavery. Of all the issues they have yet presented to the country, whereby this glorious object is to be speedily effected, no one is more vital, or more imperative, than that of the dissolution of the Union.

ACCEPTANCE OF MR. SUMNER.

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on Friday last— A letter was received from Hon. Chas. Sumner, accepting the post of United States Senator from this Commonwealth, for the term of six years from the 4th of March next.

The Boston Courier of Saturday says of the cold on Friday— The thermometer at eight o'clock indicated 14 or 16 degrees below zero, at various portions of the city. Every body was half frozen, and passengers in the streets had their noses and cheeks congealed without knowing it, and had their attention drawn to their sufferings by those who met them in omnibuses and streets.

DONATIONS TO THE TRACT FUND. Collected by Aaron M. Powell: Friends at Potsdam, N. Y., \$1 71; P. Farmer, Cleveland, 0 35; A. D. Brooks, 0 25; W. A. Brown, 0 25; P. Dickinson, 0 25; G. W. Perkins, Rome, 1 25; Lathrop Halsey, Fairfield, 1 00; Friends, 0 34.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

PARKER PILLSBURY. An Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows: Lowell, Sunday, Feb. 1. GAILLE HOLLEY will be in Cortland county, N. Y., until about Feb. 20th.

On the last page may be found an earnest and effective, though brief speech, delivered by Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., at the close of the morning session of the Convention at Worcester.

THE STATE DISUNION CONVENTION AT WORCESTER.

The Convention recently held at Worcester, to consider the practicality, probability, and expediency of a separation of the free and slave States, has already accomplished something toward the end it had in view, in eliciting the hiss of the serpent and the howl of the wolf, as embodied in the districts of the pro-slavery press, far and near.

LAMARTINE.

There is now lying at the Anti-Slavery office a most ardent and happily expressed appeal to the people of the United States, from their most prominent literary and statesmen, in behalf of this great and good man.

YOUR FAITHFUL SERVANT AND SENATOR,

CHAS. SUMNER. Boston, 22d January, 1857. In the U. S. Senate, on Saturday last, Mr. Wilson presented the credentials of Mr. Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, for six years from the 4th of March next.

WRECK OF THE BRIG EMELINE.

The New York Tribune gives a thrilling account of the loss of the crew of the brig Emeline, Capt. Bradbury Farham, of Penobscot, Me., which was wrecked on Jersey beach, and of the attempt to save the crew.

DISMISSAL OF A FEMALE SLAVE.

FOR sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill— and also by PUTNAM, SANDERS & Co., Winter Street—the AUTOGRAPH OF A FEMALE SLAVE, written by her own hand, and published in New York.

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FITCHBURG ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

This Fair closed at the Town Hall on Friday evening, Jan. 16th, with unusual success, its proceeds being \$340 70. Every thing passed off in the most pleasant and desirable manner. All seemed to feel it a common cause.

PETITION.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio— The Memorial of the undersigned, citizens of County, Ohio, respectfully represents: That from the nature of the case, and from all our great experience, it is manifest that the existing Union between the free and slave States involves all the supporters of our national government in the support of American slavery.

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DEPARTURES TO THE FAIR.

From Lydia L. Walker, Loomister, \$3.00; J. T. Everett, Princeton, 2.00; Maria G. Phillips, Clinton, 1.00. On behalf of the Committee, Loomister, Jan. 26, 1857. F. H. DRAKE.

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POETRY.

For the Liberator. NEW YEAR. Written for the Ladies Fair of the Unitarian Society in Montague, January 7, 1841.

Another Year is bursting with its beams; Another Year is sending forth its streams Of happy children, laughing in the sun Of the New Year that now has just begun.

Another Year expands before our view, To lure us on to efforts fresh and new, To realize the beautiful and true, Another Year calls forth our dormant powers, Just as it does the earth's—her April showers— Her incense-breathing, May's earth-gladdening flowers—

See gorgeous Summer's rich, inviting bowers— Her royal Autumn's overflowing stores— O, may it thus awake and ripen ours! And, standing on its threshold, may we pray That it may sweep the wrongs of life away!

At least, may hasten the predicted day When all that mars earth's prospects now shall cease— When man shall dwell with man in love and peace— When Slavery, War, Intemperance shall end— When strife no more Christ's holy cause shall rend— His seamless garment be no longer torn By mad discissions, of ambition born— That song above the manger-cradle sung In Bethlehem once, and by angelic tongue, To God, of glory in the highest—then Of peace on earth, and of good will to men, And practically now be sung again— Christ's powerful spirit conquer every foe, And make of earth a paradise below.

From 'Frank.' SONG OF THE BORDER SLAVIAN. 'Free society! we sicken at the name.—Alabama paper.

America the land of Liberty? I tell you what!—I'll put a chunk of lead Inside your brain, if you say that to me: I'll raise your skull-top for you off your head, America's the land of Slavery now—

To Slavery's cause the North we mean to win; And if what I assert you won't allow, I'll rip you open upwards to the chin. There's some men here as I have got to shoot, There's some men here as I have got to stick, Let any on you jest my words dispute, I'll put this bowie-knife into him, slick. Wherever our star-spangled banner waves, And our proud stripes eternally defend, We'll buy, and sell, and whip, and brand our slaves: Object to that, and I'll back both your eyes.

Not only niggers, but them darned mean whites, To servitude who stoop themselves to lower, Mind—or I'll drill a poop-hole through your lights! Yes, Sir-ree, we'll make slaves on all the poor. Such critics as that beggar, f' other day, That water-feller, for his sars that got What he deserved—and some on you too may— The base, degraded, brutal wretch was shot.

Them as descends a servant's place to take, The treatment of a servant must expect; If any man has a remark to make, This here is loaded, let him recollect. I'd make all sirs slave soil. You disagree? Mind! I was never known to miss my aim; I loves the land of slaves, but as to free Society, I sicken at the name.

From the New York Evening Post. MODERN CHIVALRY. Who, like a catfish, base and low, Came treacherously upon his foe, And stunned him with a murderous blow? Preston Brooks!

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL MAY, JR. At the Disunion Convention held in the City Hall, Worcester, January 15, 1857.

MR. PRESIDENT: I desire to occupy the few moments before adjournment with an expression of the interest with which I first read the call for this Convention. I saw it with a degree of satisfaction which I have seldom felt in the case of any other meeting for the furtherance of the anti-slavery cause; and I rejoiced that the time had come when there was to be a meeting of Massachusetts men and women to consider if the time has not fully come when it is their duty to make a broad line of separation, in every particular, between themselves and slavery.

Sir, the only thing which has troubled me since I have sat here to-day, has been to see indications of a feeling of distrust and fear in some quarters with regard to the position we take in holding this meeting. It would seem, from some remarks here, that there is a hesitation at being identified with this Convention; and the number present, though respectable, certainly, yet when we remember that this is a State Convention, does not indicate that spirit of courage, determination and zeal which ought to characterize Massachusetts in such an hour and on such a question as we are assembled to consider.

But, sir, I desired to take the floor mainly to express my devout thanks to God that I have lived to see the day when a Convention is called to consider this question of the longer continuance of our Federal Union,—when I may be a member of that Convention, and declare my own conviction before God that it is time, high time, and long has been time, when we should cut for ever the bloody bond which unites us to the slaveholders, slave-brokers and slave-traders of this nation, and henceforth have no part nor lot with them in the iniquity and infamy which are determined to perpetuate, and in which so long they have made us, or we have consented to be made, instruments and participators. The idea of 'treason,' we ought to cast from us with contempt; we ought to put it beneath our feet as with and for ever.

We ought to remember, sir, that 'old man eloquent,' when he arose on the floor of the House of Representatives, (I wish to God Massachusetts had representatives there now with the same spirit in them!) to present the petition of the Haverhill shoemakers for a dissolution of the Union, and the representatives of slavery sprang up on every side with hisses, crying out 'Treason, treason!' and demanding his expulsion. The old man calmly called on the Clerk of the House to read the Declaration of Independence, and the Clerk began:—'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to promote these ends, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.'

Again the hisses went up, and the old man said, 'Read it again.' 'It is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.' 'Read it again!' said Mr. Adams, and the Clerk read it again, until those men were shamed into silence. We want such men now-a-days. We want men who will put their foot upon this cry of 'Treason.' In the name of all that is reasonable and just, I ask, if our fathers had the right to make a Constitution, have we not the right to unmake it? And is it not our duty to unmake it, when it proves a failure and a curse? Or, if we may not say a word about this Heaven-defying Union, let us be off to Russia, and become the servants of the Czar, or hide ourselves in some servile place, and never dare to call ourselves freemen again. The time has come when we are to decide whether there is any manliness or justice left in the land; whether we will blink this question for ever, and like miserable cowards, turn it over to our children, for them to grapple with, and compel them to grow up ashamed of their fathers and mothers, who dared not resist nor denounce the over-grown wickedness of their day.

Theodore Parker, in his letter, has told us a very good story of a man and his turgid and vicious wife, a story which might have been made true of the nation as long ago as when Missouri first applied for admission to the Union as a slave State, for then the Northern husband had been firm and honest, might have maintained his rights, and possibly the Union too. But I remember, sir, another story of a man and his wife, which I think much better illustrates our present condition. In this story, the wife usually got the upper hand in their disputes, and she enforced her words by blows. One day, the husband, to escape from the effects of his wife's temper, crawled under the bed, and there lay growling and grumbling until she ordered him to be still. 'No,' said he, 'I won't be still!' As long as I have the spirit of a man in me, I won't be still! (Great merriment.)

Sir, you rightly said, that the thing of all others needed at this time is, the formation of a earnest, resolute, courageous public sentiment; but let us look at one question behind that. How are we to form it, when our hands are clasped with the slave-trader and slave-slender? There is the trouble. Mr. Garrison, ANBY KELLEY FOSTER, and a noble band of men and women—few but fearless—have tried to form that public sentiment for twenty years and upward. Why is it not stronger and better? Because, sir, our union with slavery has been all the time sapping our moral foundations. Our union with the slaveholder continually paralyzes the Northern conscience, and makes us cowards. There is the difficulty. I recall a piece of local history which illustrates this point. I would not speak too confidently, but I fear that even Worcester county does not stand, on this question of Union or Disunion, as high as it did in 1845. In that year there assembled in this very hall a large convention, from every part of the county, called to protest against the annexation of Texas to the United States. I was present in that Convention, as a citizen of Leicester. Judge Strong, of Leominster, was President of the Convention, and into it came such men as Levi Lincoln, Emory Washburn, Charles Allen, Abijah Bigelow, and others. It had been called without reference to party politics, yet some wens of the opinion, which afterwards grew to be the general conviction, that the design of the leaders was a mistaken theory of morals. Conceding, if you please, that slaveholding is sin, as bad as you can paint it, I do not understand it as a part of the Christian faith, that we are to have no society with it on that account. If such be the doctrine as to sinners, where are we to stop at home, and who of us will have a right to claim exemption from communication? I do not mean to charge upon slaveholders, as a class, that they are irredeemably wicked any more than I should upon bankers, or brokers, or hotel-keepers, or liquor-sellers, or chess-dealers, or any sort of traders. In all these classes, we very well know that every variety of moral distinction is to be found; yet we are not for that reason to condemn them all as utterly unworthy of a position in our community. If good is to be expected, it is from an opposite course, from continuing to mix with them, and learning to discriminate

and on his own responsibility moved a resolution to this effect:—That the annexation of Texas to the Union would be a just and sufficient cause for a dissolution of the Union. This resolution was received with acclamation; and though the leading men of the Convention, and the Business Committee, protested against it, and urged that it should be withdrawn, yet it was not withdrawn, but went to vote, and a respectable majority of the Convention adopted it. But having been adopted in the face of such opposition, the defeated gentlemen took the attitude of supplicants, and begged the majority, as they had had the pleasure of a triumph, to reconsider it, as it might injure the good effect of what else the Convention had done! This weak and inconclusive reasoning had sufficient effect upon a few who had voted with the majority (I will call no names, sir, now) to induce them to reconsider their votes, and so the resolution was lost. But the fact remains, that nearly two hundred men, on that day, twelve years ago, adopted that resolution with acclamation; and I confess to some doubt whether we should get such a vote as to-day, in a similarly-called Convention in this county. Taking the country at large, I have no doubt that there has been a great advance on this point, and that this Union is no longer worshipped as it has been, and set above Right, Justice, and God himself. Yet, when I see such men as HENRY WILSON, and even CHARLES SUMNER, refusing to touch this question, I cannot but fear that the twelve years which have elapsed have seen, in the minds of many Massachusetts men, a great degeneracy, while they will undoubtedly show great progress in other quarters. And I know, sir, my own soul tells me, that there can be nothing more fatal to the formation of such a public sentiment, as you have well described as indispensable, than our continuance in union with the Slave Power. It is this which corrupts and weakens us, and always must.

Mr. President, you said there was a difficulty in drawing the line of separation. In answer to that, allow me to give the reply of a man who has been an Abolitionist, faithful and true as steel, from the beginning, always stepping forward, never backward,—I mean, FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston. (Applause.) When he was asked where he would draw the line, 'I would draw it,' said he, 'directly here'—describing with his hands a circle round his own person. But, sir, if a further reply be called for, we say, Let Massachusetts draw the line around her own borders; let New England draw it around her borders; that she may defend the slave, and no longer be his overseer. (Applause.) New England, sir, has all the elements of a nation—industry, energy, enterprise, skill, wealth, knowledge,—ability to feed and clothe herself and her children; and if she chooses, she can do it against the world. But who would be against her in that just and honorable position? Believe me, sir, none of whom she would have the slightest fear. She would have very few enemies in such a position. But you may be sure she would not stand alone. By the time that New England has rubbed her eyes and got ready to take this stand, she will find many others ready to stand with her. In the name of God, I say, let us give such an impulse to-day to this desire for a new union, on the basis of freedom, justice and righteousness, as can never be mistaken, and never be again rolled back.

Sir, this is not a mere question of expediency; it is not whether the Republican party, or any party, is going to be benefited by this movement or not. We are now, while in this Union, ourselves conspirators against the rights and liberties of our fellow-men. We are co-partners in an infernal scheme for depriving men and women of their God-given and inalienable rights. We are members of a Union which, by the concurrent testimony of the clearest-headed men, South as well as North, is now, and long has been, the chief means of sustaining slavery, and giving it its vitality. It is not a question, therefore, of expediency. It is one of duty before High Heaven. IT IS OUR DUTY TO SEPARATE OURSELVES from all connection with the dealer in human flesh, with the oppressor of his kind; and if we may not, as we do not propose to do, go on to his plantation, and say, 'You shall liberate your slaves!' we have a right, and it is our duty to say to him, 'If you will insist on holding your slaves, you shall do it without our help!' (Applause.)

LETTERS TO THE CONVENTION.

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. BOSTON, JANUARY 10, 1857. REV. T. W. HIGGINSON, Worcester, Mass. DEAR SIR,—I have received your invitation, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, for a Convention to be held on the 15th inst., to consider the practicability, probability and expediency of a separation between the free and the slave States, to be present, or else to express some opinions on the subject in question.

I am well aware that my study of the slave-question in the United States began many years before that of many respectable individuals who have adopted very opposite conclusions to mine. It is about fourteen years since I reached the conviction that it was the duty of every man having the interests of his country at heart, to form in his mind some definite plan upon which to regulate his share of the public action. But even then, the persons to whom I allude had made up their minds that nothing would do short of an entire separation of the free States from all community of interest with the slaveholders. One of the things, therefore, which I was called to do, was to examine carefully as I could the grounds upon which this proposition was maintained.

The result of my labor was, that neither as a moral, as a social, nor as a political question, could I give an affirmative answer to the doctrine of a separation. My reasons for this could not be embraced within the limits of a letter, nor do I suppose that it would be worth while to give them. It is enough to say, that I regard the government which has been instituted in this country as one which will run its term as all other human governments have done, and that all efforts to cut it short are simply futile. It is not perfect, nor approaching to perfection, I admit. But it works better thus far for the good of the people than any other system that I know of, and quite as well as any new one likely to be adopted at this day in its place. That it has faults, and grievous ones, no reasonable man can deny; and its greatest defect is to be found in the anti-republican provisions which it gives to the slaveholding class. But this is in no way, nor is it more caused by any error in the instrument of government itself, as by the vastness and weakness of the great body of freemen who have the power in their own hands to correct it, and yet refuse to use it. So long as they remain unconvinced of the necessity of action, it is idle to expect a separation for this cause. And whenever they do become so convinced, they can act in such a manner as to render separation unnecessary.

between the upright and the dishonest, between the worthy and the unworthy, from honoring the former and endeavoring as far as possible to reclaim the latter. This is the only basis upon which any government extended over human beings so imperfect as we are on this globe can be expected to rest. On this basis, I am willing to continue indefinitely to live with slaveholders, even though some of them should trench a little upon my rights. I can at least hope, under such circumstances, to exert a little beneficial influence in the way of countervailing the more or less greater evils of the Union, as far as the people of the free States are concerned. There are high-minded, honorable, and conscientious men scattered thick all over the slave States. Their difficulties, in the way of acting upon this subject, are very great; and they are necessarily timid, and averse to confronting public opinion. Shall we help this excellent class by deserting it, and leaving that public opinion to retrograde until it sinks into impenetrable darkness? I do not so read my duty. Great reforms in the social condition of nations must, in the nature of things, move slowly, if to be effected without the aid of a more or less greater evil of the Union, as far as the people of the free States are concerned. It is not for us, then, to be impatient because twenty or thirty years have passed away without any decisive results in this cause. Yet I would not do, as some have done, under the shelter of this reasoning, I would not seek to excuse myself from doing any work, and put the responsibility of the moral condition of the country, which will bring out its greatest ends by natural means. This is the responsibility of men full at the heart; it is not the argument of a chimney sweeper, if truly devoted to prosecuting his business. No! The work is to be done with the Divine force, but by human means. I am in favor of going on as we have been doing for years past, under the Constitution, and by the use of legitimate instruments. That much has already been effected, it seems to me is not to be denied. But a great deal remains to be done. Public opinion is not yet so general as it should be on this subject. We who live within the limits of the United States, do not see slavery in the light that all people living outside see it. There is a familiarity with its most revolting features even among our most intelligent classes, which tones down the feelings with which we ensure it. A very large part of the citizens of the free States are in the habit of considering the law of slavery, wherever it exists, to be in fact as valid and good law, and as firmly to be supported as if it had its foundations in the most perfect political justice. They believe in the dogma so boldly put forward by Mr. Clay, some years ago, that 'whatever the law makes property is property.' Along the entire border of the free States south and west, is to be found a population who sympathize in opinion more with slavery than with freedom. This whole region is missionary ground. And I think nothing really effective will be done in the way of reform of the system of the General Government, until the doctrines of Liberty shall have been firmly established, so here they are as yet imperfectly understood, and there they are not understood at all.

What does the so-called democratic party of the free States now know of the principles of the American Revolution? Where can it now venture to say a word in defence of human liberty? Yet, although in a minority, it still holds in the aggregate a large number of our citizens. They have lost all their watch-words—and yet they continue a party. Their doctrines are now confined to the limits of extreme conservatism—of protection to all abuses, however great, because it is dangerous to disturb them. Do not think that I will weaken the link on public opinion by proposing a separation? But a separation from whom? Not from the slaveholders merely, for the work is not thorough whilst they still remain among yourselves a large class who sympathize with them more than they do with you. You must separate as well from these Democrats, the apologists of slaveholders, as from the slave-owners themselves. Do you not perceive that you change the issue at once from a stronger to a weaker ground? You make a domestic question to divide you at home, instead of a question which divides you against the real evil which is outside your borders.

For my part, I cannot see the wisdom of this course, however others may view it. I think the obvious policy is to persevere in reforming opinion in the free States—to educate the rising generations in a determined hostility to the spread of slavery in America—to infuse something of the genuine spirit of liberty into the still torpid regions of the middle and the western States—and then to trust to time and to the providence of God for a favorable result. I am, however, not prepared to give up your patience. And yet I have scarcely touched the subject. If in the little I have said, I am so unkindly as to differ with some whose individual character and purity of motive command my esteem, I trust that I have said nothing in an offensive spirit, or which will render me liable to be misunderstood. This cause will never be aided by strife among its sincere upholders. There is room for all to work, even though they may not all join in one direction. I am, with great respect, Your friend, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

LETTER FROM HON. EDWARD WADE, OF OHIO. WASHINGTON, JAN. 14, 1857. REV. THOS. W. HIGGINSON: DEAR SIR—Your favor, enclosing the proceedings of a meeting of citizens of Worcester, Mass., was received in due time, but unavoidable business engagements have delayed an answer until the 'eleventh hour.' The objects contemplated by the meeting on the 15th inst., are, verily of a magnitude sufficient to demand the most anxious consideration of every Christian, patriot, and philanthropist. I feel as deeply as any man can feel, the enormous mischief which have already resulted from the admission of slavery as an element of representative power into the Union, and the three other blameworthy acts of a like character, would therefore, as a matter of course, be ready to give up the Constitution. But you know the effect of 'dead flies in the ointment of the apothecary'; so these most disastrous admissions bid fair to destroy that Constitution which, it is said, could not have been established without them. Still, I do not admit that the Constitution of the United States, rightly and honestly construed, furnishes any guaranty for the existence, much less the extension of slavery; I do admit, that the concession of such a power in the hands of slaveholders, as a means to rescue the Constitution from the hands of its violators. But this unity of the free States, it is said by croakers and unprincipled office-seekers at the North, and howled by the slaveholders, will dissolve the Union. Well, if so, then so be it; for one thing is absolutely certain, and that is, that the moral and physical necessities of free and slave institutions do constitute irreconcilable contradictions; and it only needs time to develop the destructive operations of the one upon the other. In my view, the only way to rescue the Constitution from the hands of its violators, is in the nature of things, the institutions of the two sections of the country must become homogeneous, or a separation is inevitable. But these institutions can only become homogeneous by a conquest the one of the other, by either a physical or moral conquest, or by the combination of both. Hence, to know which of those systems will yield to the other, it needs only to be known which of them has the strongest influence over human nature, taking into the account man's capricious oscillations between good and evil, and the influence of the passions. These, in my own mind, bear directly on the question to be considered by the proposed meeting at Worcester. Viewing the matter in this light, I can concur with the assertion in your letter, viz: that 'the existing Union is a failure.' I believe that while the masses of the people of the free States are very partially instructed on the nature of the relation of slavery to the Federal Government, and the non-slaveholders of the slave States are in the habit of regarding it as a necessary and legitimate measure for a dissolution of the Union, and at best, premature. The people of the free States, even, have not yet extended, within constitutional limits, the maximum of their moral and political force against the atrocious system of American slavery.

Time seems very slow, indeed, when its ear is impatiently dragging to us some longed-for blessing; while wheeling from us some unbearable curse. This great fact is liable to be overlooked while counting the weary ages of the bondman's woe, or the lazy advent of the quickening of a nation's palid conscience. But can any one of us now affirm that all has been achieved, towards the freedom of the slave? Or can any one affirm the dissolution of the Union to be the remedy, and the rightful remedy, for the crime and crime of slavery? Have the resources of Christianity been exhausted on the effort to bring the people of the free States to exert their utmost moral and constitutional power against slavery? Have the slaveholders, and the non-slaveholders, of the slave States, been made to feel that the utmost has been done by the people of the free States morally, religiously, socially and politically, against slavery, that can be done inside of the Constitution? I am constrained to answer all these questions in the negative; and hence, until all has been done which can be done, and proved a failure, we are not at liberty to pronounce that the Union is a failure. But when all has been done that is hinted at above, and still slavery shall go on, 'conquering and to conquer,' then it will not have been the Union only, but human nature also, of which the Union is one exponent, that has failed. For it seems to me that if the people of the free States (those of them, I mean, who do not hold the Constitution of the United States to be a guaranty of slavery to the slave States) cannot be sufficiently impressed with aversion and opposition to slavery to oppose that institution, up to the very verge of constitutional power, by the efforts to bring them to the ultimatum of discarding the Constitution and the Union must prove utterly abortive. If the least and easiest of attainments of these is impracticable, then the greater must be next to impossible.

Now, you and I have had enough of the experience of the ways of the Supreme Governor over the destiny of nations to appreciate the saying,—'The kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation.' Slavery is in itself suspicious, restless, nervously fearful of its own security. For this reason it will never rest, and there will be no peace to the wicked. Its own intestine and desperate struggle for security, are not only the tokens but the means of its decay and ruin. But I am not such an 'Antinomian' as to advocate waiting 'God's time.' I mean by it that the necessities of slavery are so great that it will never suffer us to sleep over its devastations. The slaveholders have too little confidence in the inherent strength of the slave system to leave it to the silent workings of its antagonist Liberty. They will provoke hostility by throwing up redoubts about their 'domestic institutions.' One question is, whether we will permit our own quietude and peace to the wicked?—that our own quietude may as well hang their harps on the willows. The slavery excitement is more intense now, more widely spread, and more deeply seated in the hearts of the people, than at any former period. The tide has been rising, since the voice of Mr. GARRISON was first lifted in behalf of the oppressed. It must be suffered to continue its rising, in the way its first ripple was stirred on the sluggish surface of Northern society. The agitation of the slave question, is up, and there will be no down. This is needless, and, in my opinion, is not for the good of taking human nature as it is, then to attempt to take a step so radical and startling, and so well calculated to frighten the timid, and encourage the mercenary, as a proposition to dissolve the Union. It is the 'little leaven' that 'leaveneth the whole lump.' The 'dough' of freedom will be more likely to be spoiled by such yeast as disunion, than to be transformed into healthful food. Still, no one can say how soon this step may be needed, to save us all from the dishonor and crime of sustaining an institution, so contrary to nature, to the honor and glory of our country, and to the sentiment of humanity, as American slavery. For, rather than to give the strength, moral and political, of the people of the free States to the extension and perpetuity of slavery, let the Union perish; for it is better, infinitely better, that our artificial structure, designed and capable of being made an instrument of unmeasured good, should perish forever, rather than turned into an engine for the perpetuity of the curse and shame of human slavery. Most truly yours, EDWARD WADE.

LETTER FROM PROF. C. E. STOWE. ANDOVER, MASS., JAN. 12, 1857. REV. T. W. HIGGINSON: MY DEAR SIR—If I were in despair as to the Republic, as you seem to be, I should take the course which you adopt. But, when I reflect that the reality determined, aggressive slaveholders of the country are probably less than 150,000 against more than 20,000,000 of people; when I perceive that their cause is sustained entirely by falsehood and violence, without one particle of truth or goodness in its favor; when I see what wonderful progress has been made during the last twenty-five years in enlightening our citizens in regard to the true nature of slavery, and its aggressions on all that is right and honorable; when I expect that this process of enlightenment will go on with accelerating rapidity, and the five years next to come do more than all the twenty-five years that have just passed; I cannot help thinking it is the part of wisdom to hold on and vote, and help the 20,000,000 turn the 150,000 with their corruptions out of the house, (which they had no business ever to occupy,) and not allow the 150,000 to turn out the 20,000,000, to whom the whole justly belongs. One of the other, I admit, must be done, and that soon. Very truly yours, C. E. STOWE.

LETTER FROM HON. O. W. ALBEE. SENATE CHAMBER, BOSTON, JAN. 12, 1857. DEAR SIR—I thank you for the invitation to be present at the Convention to be held at Worcester the 15th inst. As I do, all men who set up to their convictions of duty, however much those convictions may differ from my own, it would give me pleasure to be present at your discussions, were not other labors and obligations pressing upon me, and demanding my immediate attention. If the Union cannot stand the practical working of the truths enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, it seems to me its value has been calculated. I am, however, prepared to receive the dissolution of the Union. Whether it does or not, I am ready to separate and stand by the sentiments I have held and advocated ever since the contest upon the repeal of the Missouri Compromise began—viz.: Let freedom be preserved to Kansas at all hazards. Yours, very respectfully, O. W. ALBEE.

LETTER FROM REV. HENRY M. DEXTER. BOSTON, JAN. 14, 1857. REV. THOS. W. HIGGINSON: DEAR SIR—Your polite note from the Committee of Arrangements, inviting my presence at the Convention to be held in Worcester to-morrow, lies before me. In reply I beg to say, that while I look forward to a separation of the Free from the Slave States as an event that is very possible, and that ought to be consented to by all good men in preference to perpetual subjection to the Slave Power, I do not see clearly that the time has yet come to despair of a renovation of the Government, and a delivery from those great and grievous evils which now exist, without resort to that last remedy. So believing, I would not in conscience take part in the deliberations of your proposed Convention. I am, very truly and respectfully yours, HENRY M. DEXTER.

As I have already said, I am in favor of going on as we have been doing for years past, under the Constitution, and by the use of legitimate instruments. That much has already been effected, it seems to me is not to be denied. But a great deal remains to be done. Public opinion is not yet so general as it should be on this subject. We who live within the limits of the United States, do not see slavery in the light that all people living outside see it. There is a familiarity with its most revolting features even among our most intelligent classes, which tones down the feelings with which we ensure it. A very large part of the citizens of the free States are in the habit of considering the law of slavery, wherever it exists, to be in fact as valid and good law, and as firmly to be supported as if it had its foundations in the most perfect political justice. They believe in the dogma so boldly put forward by Mr. Clay, some years ago, that 'whatever the law makes property is property.' Along the entire border of the free States south and west, is to be found a population who sympathize in opinion more with slavery than with freedom. This whole region is missionary ground. And I think nothing really effective will be done in the way of reform of the system of the General Government, until the doctrines of Liberty shall have been firmly established, so here they are as yet imperfectly understood, and there they are not understood at all.

What does the so-called democratic party of the free States now know of the principles of the American Revolution? Where can it now venture to say a word in defence of human liberty? Yet, although in a minority, it still holds in the aggregate a large number of our citizens. They have lost all their watch-words—and yet they continue a party. Their doctrines are now confined to the limits of extreme conservatism—of protection to all abuses, however great, because it is dangerous to disturb them. Do not think that I will weaken the link on public opinion by proposing a separation? But a separation from whom? Not from the slaveholders merely, for the work is not thorough whilst they still remain among yourselves a large class who sympathize with them more than they do with you. You must separate as well from these Democrats, the apologists of slaveholders, as from the slave-owners themselves. Do you not perceive that you change the issue at once from a stronger to a weaker ground? You make a domestic question to divide you at home, instead of a question which divides you against the real evil which is outside your borders.

For my part, I cannot see the wisdom of this course, however others may view it. I think the obvious policy is to persevere in reforming opinion in the free States—to educate the rising generations in a determined hostility to the spread of slavery in America—to infuse something of the genuine spirit of liberty into the still torpid regions of the middle and the western States—and then to trust to time and to the providence of God for a favorable result. I am, however, not prepared to give up your patience. And yet I have scarcely touched the subject. If in the little I have said, I am so unkindly as to differ with some whose individual character and purity of motive command my esteem, I trust that I have said nothing in an offensive spirit, or which will render me liable to be misunderstood. This cause will never be aided by strife among its sincere upholders. There is room for all to work, even though they may not all join in one direction. I am, with great respect, Your friend, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

LETTER FROM HON. EDWARD WADE, OF OHIO. WASHINGTON, JAN. 14, 1857. REV. THOS. W. HIGGINSON: DEAR SIR—Your favor, enclosing the proceedings of a meeting of citizens of Worcester, Mass., was received in due time, but unavoidable business engagements have delayed an answer until the 'eleventh hour.' The objects contemplated by the meeting on the 15th inst., are, verily of a magnitude sufficient to demand the most anxious consideration of every Christian, patriot, and philanthropist. I feel as deeply as any man can feel, the enormous mischief which have already resulted from the admission of slavery as an element of representative power into the Union, and the three other blameworthy acts of a like character, would therefore, as a matter of course, be ready to give up the Constitution. But you know the effect of 'dead flies in the ointment of the apothecary'; so these most disastrous admissions bid fair to destroy that Constitution which, it is said, could not have been established without them. Still, I do not admit that the Constitution of the United States, rightly and honestly construed, furnishes any guaranty for the existence, much less the extension of slavery; I do admit, that the concession of such a power in the hands of slaveholders, as a means to rescue the Constitution from the hands of its violators. But this unity of the free States, it is said by croakers and unprincipled office-seekers at the North, and howled by the slaveholders, will dissolve the Union. Well, if so, then so be it; for one thing is absolutely certain, and that is, that the moral and physical necessities of free and slave institutions do constitute irreconcilable contradictions; and it only needs time to develop the destructive operations of the one upon the other. In my view, the only way to rescue the Constitution from the hands of its violators, is in the nature of things, the institutions of the two sections of the country must become homogeneous, or a separation is inevitable. But these institutions can only become homogeneous by a conquest the one of the other, by either a physical or moral conquest, or by the combination of both. Hence, to know which of those systems will yield to the other, it needs only to be known which of them has the strongest influence over human nature, taking into the account man's capricious oscillations between good and evil, and the influence of the passions. These, in my own mind, bear directly on the question to be considered by the proposed meeting at Worcester. Viewing the matter in this light, I can concur with the assertion in your letter, viz: that 'the existing Union is a failure.' I believe that while the masses of the people of the free States are very partially instructed on the nature of the relation of slavery to the Federal Government, and the non-slaveholders of the slave States are in the habit of regarding it as a necessary and legitimate measure for a dissolution of the Union, and at best, premature. The people of the free States, even, have not yet extended, within constitutional limits, the maximum of their moral and political force against the atrocious system of American slavery.

Time seems very slow, indeed, when its ear is impatiently dragging to us some longed-for blessing; while wheeling from us some unbearable curse. This great fact is liable to be overlooked while counting the weary ages of the bondman's woe, or the lazy advent of the quickening of a nation's palid conscience. But can any one of us now affirm that all has been achieved, towards the freedom of the slave? Or can any one affirm the dissolution of the Union to be the remedy, and the rightful remedy, for the crime and crime of slavery? Have the resources of Christianity been exhausted on the effort to bring the people of the free States to exert their utmost moral and constitutional power against slavery? Have the slaveholders, and the non-slaveholders, of the slave States, been made to feel that the utmost has been done by the people of the free States morally, religiously, socially and politically, against slavery, that can be done inside of the Constitution? I am constrained to answer all these questions in the negative; and hence, until all has been done which can be done, and proved a failure, we are not at liberty to pronounce that the Union is a failure. But when all has been done that is hinted at above, and still slavery shall go on, 'conquering and to conquer,' then it will not have been the Union only, but human nature also, of which the Union is one exponent, that has failed. For it seems to me that if the people of the free States (those of them, I mean, who do not hold the Constitution of the United States to be a guaranty of slavery to the slave States) cannot be sufficiently impressed with aversion and opposition to slavery to oppose that institution, up to the very verge of constitutional power, by the efforts to bring them to the ultimatum of discarding the Constitution and the Union must prove utterly abortive. If the least and easiest of attainments of these is impracticable, then the greater must be next to impossible.

Now, you and I have had enough of the experience of the ways of the Supreme Governor over the destiny of nations to appreciate the saying,—'The kingdom of heaven cometh not with observation.' Slavery is in itself suspicious, restless, nervously fearful of its own security. For this reason it will never rest, and there will be no peace to the wicked. Its own intestine and desperate struggle for security, are not only the tokens but the means of its decay and ruin. But I am not such an 'Antinomian' as to advocate waiting 'God's time.' I mean by it that the necessities of slavery are so great that it will never suffer us to sleep over its devastations. The slaveholders have too little confidence in the inherent strength of the slave system to leave it to the silent workings of its antagonist Liberty. They will provoke hostility by throwing up redoubts about their 'domestic institutions.' One question is, whether we will permit our own quietude and peace to the wicked?—that our own quietude may as well hang their harps on the willows. The slavery excitement is more intense now, more widely spread, and more deeply seated in the hearts of the people, than at any former period. The tide has been rising, since the voice of Mr. GARRISON was first lifted in behalf of the oppressed. It must be suffered to continue its rising, in the way its first ripple was stirred on the sluggish surface of Northern society. The agitation of the slave question, is up, and there will be no down. This is needless, and, in my opinion, is not for the good of taking human nature as it is, then to attempt to take a step so radical and startling, and so well calculated to frighten the timid, and encourage the mercenary, as a proposition to dissolve the Union. It is the 'little leaven' that 'leaveneth the whole lump.' The 'dough' of freedom will be more likely to be spoiled by such yeast as disunion, than to be transformed into healthful food. Still, no one can say how soon this step may be needed, to save us all from the dishonor and crime of sustaining an institution, so contrary to nature, to the honor and glory of our country, and to the sentiment of humanity, as American slavery. For, rather than to give the strength, moral and political, of the people of the free States to the extension and perpetuity of slavery, let the Union perish; for it is better, infinitely better, that our artificial structure, designed and capable of being made an instrument of unmeasured good, should perish forever, rather than turned into an engine for the perpetuity of the curse and shame of human slavery. Most truly yours, EDWARD WADE.

LETTER FROM PROF. C. E. STOWE. ANDOVER, MASS., JAN. 12, 1857. REV. T. W. HIGGINSON: MY DEAR SIR—If I were in despair as to the Republic, as you seem to be, I should take the course which you adopt. But, when I reflect that the reality determined, aggressive slaveholders of the country are probably less than 150,000 against more than 20,000,000 of people; when I perceive that their cause is sustained entirely by falsehood and violence, without one particle of truth or goodness in its favor; when I see what wonderful progress has been made during the last twenty-five years in enlightening our citizens in regard to the true nature of slavery, and its aggressions on all that is right and honorable; when I expect that this process of enlightenment will go on with accelerating rapidity, and the five years next to come do more than all the twenty-five years that have just passed; I cannot help thinking it is the part of wisdom to hold on and vote, and help the 20,000,000 turn the 150,000 with their corruptions out of the house, (which they had no business ever to occupy,) and not allow the 150,000 to turn out the 20,000,000, to whom the whole justly belongs. One of the other, I admit, must be done, and that soon. Very truly yours, C. E. STOWE.

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