

Leicester, (Massachusetts), June 23/58.

Dear Mr. Steinthal;

I have to acknowledge, with thanks, yours of May 19<sup>th</sup>, - a portion of which appears in the Standard of last week, and I trust not to have your disapprobation therein. You will see that the Democratic National Convention threw aside Franklin Pierce, as you anticipated, in making their nomination for the next Presidency; & that they took James Buchanan, as you did not anticipate, - but as I predicted, in some letter to an English correspondent, 2 or 3 months since. Pierce's administration has been so utterly contemptible and has so outraged every decent man in its reckless disregard of honour, faith, justice, & right, that it would have been madness to set him up. Douglas, too, is so notorious in his villainies, that it would have been no less mad & foolish to take him. The field, or "course", was then fairly open to Buchanan, a facile man, cautious, and known to be ready for easy moulding to the will of the slaveholders, but who has not yet committed any great, glaring act of National fraud to prejudice the Northern mind against him. To be sure, he has planted himself full upon the vilest platform that even the American Democratic party ever raised, & said it met his most cordial approbation; but the Northern Democrats argue that this is a thing of course, & to be reduced to practice only if absolutely necessary. So Buchanan is taken,



although, I apprehend, a very indifferent Statesman,  
and a very inferior man. Virginia had agreed with  
Pennsylvania that he should be the man. This was,  
to Pierce, the unkindest cut of all; for to none has he  
been so obsequious  
~~stooped so low~~ as to Virginia. Ever may such reward  
attend such traitors. — Millard Fillmore has just  
landed on our shores again, adding another heartless  
and selfish tool of the Slave Power to the number here  
already. He is the candidate of the Pro-Slavery Know-  
Nothings, and will have (I fear) a considerable vote,  
although much behind the others. Col. John C.  
Fremont is the candidate of the National Republicans,  
in which the Anti-Slavery Know-Nothings (or "North-  
Americans") have concurred. This is a very fair  
nomination — I expected that Judge McLean of Ohio  
would get it, which would have been the ruin of the  
party. Now, they are on the advance; they tie themselves  
to no old and committed conservative. They take a  
man, new, vigorous, with a principle (as he avers) of  
opposition to slavery, whose life has been adventurous,  
daring, & successful, with an indomitable spirit, and  
without personal enemies. He may be considered the  
Pioneer of the Way to California! — and this is a great  
glory with our people! He may disappoint & cheat  
his friends; as Pres. of this pro-slavery Union, he  
must trim & compromise, either <sup>according to</sup> ~~with~~ his nature  
or against his nature. Such are the 3 candidates  
— among whom, Buchanan's chances are decidedly the  
best, and he will — I fear and expect — be elected. Yet



I don't know why I should fear it; great as the shame and the degradation would be, it would be a part of the humiliation thro' which this land must go, - a part of the heavy atonement she must make for her numberless sins, for her terrible transgressions against God & man - an atonement she must make, a penalty she must pay, a discipline she must undergo, before her sight & sense, her heart & conscience, will be so purged & cleansed that she can build up the temple of freedom. Through this discipline the land is now going, - with many painful throes, & most reluctantly, but stem Necessity drives her on. - You have seen the accounts of the foray into Kansas of the ruffians & tools of the Slave power - of their burnings, robberies, & murders; - of the base course of Pres. Pierce in countenancing & allowing these things; and of the conquered condition of that territory. I am happy to be able to say that the spirit of the Free State men is not yet wholly subdued, and that there is a widely-spreading & already very great sympathy with them, throughout the Northern States. Large companies of men are going to their aid, and large subscriptions of money are already made. I cannot go into particulars; - of the difficult escape of Ex-Gov. Peedes from villainy thirsting for his blood, of the imprisonment of Gov. Robinson & six or seven other leading Free State men, of the attack upon Lawrence, the blowing up of the new (stone) hotel, & the destruction of 2 printing-offices with all their types, presses, & apparatus, & of a



multitude of other equally infamous details, you will  
 have seen accounts in the Anti-Slavery papers. If  
 my envelope allows it, I purpose sending you an <sup>authentic</sup> account  
 of the "Lack of Lawrence", written to Dr. Webb, the Secretary of  
 the N. Engl. Emigrant Aid Co, & published in the Boston Atlas,  
 one of the best papers of the city, formerly (and for 20 years  
 at least) the leading Whig paper of the State, but which is  
 now fully & thoroughly committed to the National Republican  
 movement, & to the nomination of Fremont. — I  
 have not yet mentioned Charles Sumner. You can  
 hardly believe what a revolution there has been, in the  
 minds of multitudes at the North, in his favour. His  
 brave and powerful speech, his dignified & manly course  
 under insult, & cowardly attempts at assassination,  
 his penilled life, his unconquered spirit, have all  
 endeared him greatly to his old friends, and created  
 for him a host of new ones. Massachusetts is feel  
 very proud of her two Senators now. Wilson, in his  
 way, has been consistent, manly, and boldly speaking  
 plainly, & evidently prepared to act. His refusal to fight  
 a duel with that miserable Brooks, ~~on~~ the ground of his  
 refusal, & his proclaimed purpose to defend himself from  
 all assaults, have met with almost universal approval  
 at the North. The struggle for the expulsion of Brooks from  
 the House is soon to come on. As it requires a two-thirds  
 vote, it will fail; but a majority may inflict some  
 penalties, if they choose. We shall see what stuff they are  
 made of, — & whether they tamely submit to the insult &  
 disgrace of the presence of Brooks, & of the Murderer Horner.



I am happy to say that Mr. Sumner is recovering though it is very slowly. I fear that it may yet be many months, before his brain can recover its natural & healthy action; the least exertion, at present, fatigues him & causes severe pains in the head.

The Antislavery papers will also inform you of our Sayings & doings; of our Annual Meeting in N. Y., the N. England A. S. Convention (a very interesting gathering & discussion), & of the Reception given to Parker Pillsbury. There was universal pleasure in seeing our good friend P. again, and to find him in better health, apparently, than we had anticipated. He has resumed his labours with us; - cautiously, at first, till we & he know what he can bear. His visit to your country has been of manifest advantage to him, and the connexions & friendships he formed there will be to him a never-ceasing source of satisfaction & pleasure.

I am very sorry that you should not have rec<sup>d</sup>. the Unitarian information you wished in season for the late London Meetings. You did not, I believe, in any of your communications, - certainly not in that which I sent to Rev. J. T. Sargent & which he lately returned, - say that you wanted the information for any specified time. But I supposed that you might want it for the next Meetings in London, and I endeavoured to have it supplied in season. On receiving your last, I again communicated with Mr. Sargent.



In his reply, (dated June 14.) he expresses <sup>to me</sup> his "great regret" (as he says - "I would also to Mr. Steinthal") - "that through my neglect ~~of~~ he failed to receive such evidence as he needed, in season for the late Anniversary." He adds - "I shall proceed forthwith to collect such documentary evidence and testimony as I can, to show that Mr. Steinthal is not altogether mistaken in his suspicions of the proslavery tendencies & character of the American Association." \* \* \* "I think it will not be difficult to adduce facts & documents enough to substantiate the general charges against them, and I feel that it would be but a just atonement for my past delinquency that I see to this, and report as speedily as possible." - I shall endeavour to send you, - at the same time with his communication - such documents as you may need.

While I write, comes to me a letter from Rev. George Armstrong of Bristol. I cannot stop even to read it hurriedly, for I have not a spare moment between now & the time when this must be mailed.

You inquire about Mr. Palfrey & his "Slaves!" - Mr. J. G. Palfrey was (I believe) a native of Louisiana. His parents resided near N. Orleans; <sup>- his father was a large planter. -</sup> He came to Harvard College for his education - studied divinity - was ~~settled~~ settled over Brattle Sq. Church in Boston (successor to Buckminster & Edward Everett). He took, early, a good stand in the Temperance Cause. <sup>Became a Professor in the Cambridge Divinity School in 1831.</sup> Though not exactly calculated for a ~~struggle~~, in the rough & tumble of the ~~WMA~~ Anti-Slavery struggle, he yet became deeply interested in it, tho' <sup>it was</sup> at a comparatively late



period, that he made his views public; ~~And this he did,~~  
not till after he had left the Ministry, & the Theological School,  
& had gotten, in a measure, into political life. He  
laboured, with Charles F. Adams (son of J. Q. A.) & others, to  
bring the Whig party of Mass<sup>ts</sup> upon Anti-Slavery ground, -  
His political life was not successful; he could not trim &  
bend & veer, easily or quickly enough, for a politician.

He was editor of the North Am<sup>n</sup> Review, several years. -  
Some 8 or 10 yrs. ago, his father died. His share of his father's  
estate came to him, exclusively or nearly so, in slaves.  
This was at his own instance & request. Immediately upon  
his father's death, he commenced the steps necessary to set  
all these slaves free. He was obliged (I think) to make  
the journey to N. Orleans, and to get a special act from  
the Louisiana legislature. At his own expense, he  
caused all these slaves to be made free, bringing the greater  
part of them to the Northern States, & placing them in situa-  
tions to support themselves. - And this he did, not out of  
his abundance, for his own pecuniary means were very  
limited. The expense, & still more the loss of his paternal  
inheritance, <sup>were a serious consideration with him;</sup> ~~had he~~ had he said the word, or rather had he not  
said the word } his father, knowing his feelings about the  
holding of slaves, would have so arranged his effect will,  
as to leave J. G. P.'s portion free from the slave-property,  
consigning the latter to those who had no objection to holding it.  
Surely, this was a truly noble & generous act, which  
goes far to redeem the Northern character; - and yet we  
must recollect that John G. Palpey was of Southern birth.



of late years, he has been exclusively occupied with literary pursuits. He is engaged upon a History of New England, and is now in England, quietly collecting materials. - I wish you might fall in with him. He is a most excellent man, - of fine mind, high impulses, and agreeable in society. -

You mentioned that I should receive a London Inquirer of 17<sup>th</sup> May. It has not come to hand, nor has Mr. Garrison rec'd. it. Indeed, we may say, we never see the Inquirer. Much pains have been taken to effect an exchange with it, in years past. - Who is its present Editor?

I have taken some little pains to find an opening for your friend M. Czerwinsky. But as yet without success. - I enclose a line from one of the Editors of the N. Y. Tribune on the subject. - There is no journal in Boston, answering to the Tribune, for enterprise, liberality, &c. - McKim might tell you of some Philadelphia journal which could give him a place in its corps; but I doubt. The Phil<sup>a</sup>. newspapers are not, I suspect, even so enterprising as those of Boston.

I hope you will read the speech made at the Annual Meeting in New York by Rev. O. B. Frothingham; - also, that at the N. Eng<sup>d</sup>. Convention by Rev. M. D. Conway; - both Unitarians. The former is son of Rev. Dr. F. of Boston, an exceedingly conservative man, & wealthy; Nephew of Edw<sup>d</sup>. Everett (O. B. F. is.) - Mr. Conway is a Virginian by birth - & was originally a Methodist. He is a "live" man. But the true Boston Unitarians don't comprehend either of them. - Mr. F. has completely alienated himself from them, I suspect. Yrs. ever S. May