Trans-Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, Fire copies will be sent to one address for TES us, if payment be made in advance. III. apartances are to be made, and all letters ing to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to ed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

Mertisments making less than one square in start times for 76 cents—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts. rania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are aued to receive subscriptions for the Liberator. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial tee, but are not responsible for any of the debts the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY EDSTREE QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and figure rates of The Liberator, both sides of

meetion are impartially allowed a hearing. TH LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Manhind,

THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL'

No Union with Slaveholdere!

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions ro SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PURITIVE SLAVES-AN engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for staves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed ! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPET-UATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'- John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

# VOL. XXVI. NO. 28.

# BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1856. WHOLE NUMBER 1149.

# EFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

# From the Carolina Times.

PROM KANSAS. CAMP CAROLINA, K. T. May 25, 1856. I arrived here last night from Law-our espected battle ground. We had no We mok one twelve pound mounted howit-

are small cannons, and some few Sharpe's though at least one thousand Sharpe's rifles s; though at least one thousand Sharps a riles either mored or buried. We destroyed two next offices and the hotel built by the Aid Solits and the hotel built by the Aid Solits as a perfect fort; the top was filled a port holes, and had they the bravery, two and men could have defended the town against bousind, but the cowards deserted the town. romen only were brave; they maintained has to tell us that they could not be made to seit. Our party numbered about five hundred ; set the first upon the trenches of the city of It also waved over the Herald of Freea day and the hotel.

interest Andrews, of our company, has his hid wounded by the bursting of a musket, Burt, son of Ex-Governor Burt, of Nein was wounded in the head, not badly; he a.w. We have not lost a man, only by a Two of our company died at Westport, Eght or nine Abolitionists were killed arence. We have Brown, the editor of the distribution of the state of the state of the fig treason, and if not hung, the boys will alor him to get off. Robinson, the bogus or, is in custody-he is bound to be hung. s has escaped so far. We had Miller; he is Chester District, and has been publishing an in paper here—he was tried for his life, but out convicted. Every man I meet is armed to th, and if he claims to be a freesoiler, we his arms from him. I saw Hamilton Hardy brid Fleming at Lawrence; they are had James Waddell has gone to Atchison, the Charleston company. I leave with a differenty mounted men for Hickory Point The pro-slavery men were run from right before last by the Yankees.

### WATTER SOVEREIGNTY REPUDIATED. he Richmond Enquirer (Democratic) uses the

Iraly yours, &c.

tweethe fair but false and fatal theories of the ame attracts so much homage as the ' Squatter migaty' courtezan. There is none so radiant p peretricious charms, none so ready with depromise, and none so sure to cover its vic-

a will shame and reproach. The surreignty of the people is a noble princi-

Is tanset conceive how any doubt can arise the full, perfect, unlimited, and sovereign and of the Federal Government over the Terri-Takansis as the agent or trustee of the exist-Sates. By the purchase from Louisiana, and schequent extinction of the Indian titles, the became ours to dispose of and govern repleased, for the common benefit of all the The States can only exercise their soverdunistrative and governmental the instrumentality of the Federal Gov-The writers on national law, it is true. It his limit to the exercise of such powers, no nation has a right to keep unsettled a er val fertile domain." This is, however, mere dative morality, which can never become and question between civilized nations.'

### From the New Haven Register.

I The following remarks, from the Concord The, close an article speaking of the political Times of the day, and the impudence with the they insult their hearers, on the Sabbath:

There are hundreds of such political priests a living upon the bounty of Democrats and ing citizens. Such teachers of treason as should bloodshed ought the countenanced by those who desire are of the country, and the supremacy of the in they should be frowned upon by every sinmetriend of the Constitution and the Union Toman she preaches the . Kill-'em' doctrinese who preaches in favor of the Kansas rebelto one who prostitutes his pulpit to the base open of Black Republican agitators, should rea dollar from Democrats for his support. ocrats everywhere withdraw their contrias for the support of these men, and but few then would continue in this course. This is the efectual remedy, and we hope to see it ap-

It is said that since the flogging of Sumner oks, all the abolition members of Congress amed themselves with Colt's revolvers, and ben in the Halls of Congress. What a It is not reasonable to suppose that the he moral courage to draw one of the aforetrayons. The abolitionists are great on inmeetings, where they are not bodily exwho ever heard of one facing his in the field, where all such affairs of honor The coward who would not give to an injured party, would not defend of hom an assault, though he should be load-

ers with arms. - Kansas Squatter Sovereign. INDIGNATION. The abolitionists every Noth are holding indignation meetings over the which Mr. Brooks administered to the The white-livered Yankees are great on the same of the white-livered Yankees are great on the same of the white-livered Yankees are great on the same of the white-livered Yankees are great on the same of the sa meetings, but very small at defending hea from personal chastisement. Every an of them deserves just such a caning Southern gentleman .- Itid.

No. Mr. Shorter, of Alabama, in the of a recent speech in Congress, said :the Democratic party, the true exponent of a retal principles, triumph in the Presidentection, the Union will be saved, but if Black palicular to the Union will be saved, but if Black on prevail, the history of our Govern-history of our Confederacy will have only way to preserve the Union true Conservative men of the North, ented by sound national democracy, to th the South, and urge an unceasing war-fastics who would tear down the pillars

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard. LETTER TO THE NORTH.

sky, over the flowers and trees that everywhere

'All is but toys: renown and grace is dead, The wine of life is drawn, and the mere less Is left this vault to brag of.'

Worse than all, I shrink to-day, and these many citizen days, from my fellow-men : for I feel like a slave among slaves, and dread lest this wide-spread cowardice and desertion may make me, also, craven.

shame upon shame to know that so many years meet wives for such men, applaud the deed, Gov. of the enjoyment of liberty have brought forth only ernors of States appland it, and all the journals this mean fruit; that no attack upon the dearest rights of freemen, however open, however hold, how, with the exception of three men— Wilhowever infamous, can stir us to any manly no-tion. For a little while, indeed, the North frets resentative, has cowered before these bullies. ters—and then grows cool. Words are but wind, and the silence of cowards is better than the boast

Have I not seen, has not every Northern man seen, lie was founded, the Southerners have gone on, tunities to speak that ever offered itself to any step by step, slowly but surely, to their final victoand seen their forces advancing, not in stealth, not in silence, but with music and banners, and songs of triumph, have been scoffed at and ridiculed.
The clear prophecies of Garrison and Phillips have been laughed to scorn. The truth on which they been laughed to scorn. The truth on which they first took their stand, and which they have never troon—with plain, blunt speech, fit for a man to first took their stand, and which they have never abandoned, namely—that this Union must be dissolved, that there can be no real Union between the North and the South, between Slaveholders and the South, between Slaveholders and the Second of the second Freemen'—this truth we must, sooner or later, ac-cept. Skulking nor honestly-meant compromises to this fellow only in the most distant manner, and, will not shield us, will not help us. We cannot as a fitreward for his servility, size silent under the serve God and Mammon, and that is what the American people has been foolishly trying to do Approved by the South! What unspeakable degfor the last eighty years. It is in vain that we radation!

But I waste words. In this fearful crisis, on us like a cancer, and we rejoice to have heard, within the last few days, men every where speak of it of God, stands forever by her Father's throne, as a thing to be desired. It was always a bugbear, never to be dreaded by any but these Southrons, who would lose in us their protector, their teacher, the very supporter of their lives. It is only by its connection with the North, that the South has BENTON ON THE CINCINNATI NATIONbeen able, for these many years, to pass muster among civilized nations; for in the light of Northern industry, thrift, ingentity, morality and respectability, the ignorance, laziness, improvidence and wide-spread licentiousness of the South, a licentiousness spreading among all classes of society, and fouler than any other nation under the sun, have been overlooked or forgotten. In all how things were done, and to assist a little at a history, I cannot find an instance of any people so safe nomination. I found a garrison of office-holdshiftle s, so immoral, and so ignorant. been able to stand alone. No more terrible sound of the same gentry on the outside of it. Packed could strike Southern ears, than the voice of delegates were there, sent to betray the people.— Northern men demanding a dissolution of the Straw delegates were there, coming from the States and the South has laughed in her sleeve at our simple-minded folly.

I say the South would dread such a separation

now; but she is steadily preparing for it in the fu-All this long story of crime and doubledealing, which stains our national reputation in these base latter days—the foray upon Mexico, the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the invasion of Nicaragua, the attempts to seize Cuba-are the Bullies were there from the Custom House and the slow moves by which the South approaches her Five Points in New York-all with the approbation checkmate. She is sure of her game, and she of the administration; for the office-hole plays it with a master hand. Already she has se- not be there, (absent from their duties, and drawing cured Kansas by force, and Nicaragua ; next she their pay.) without the consent of their employ will have Cuba and California. Then she will re- ers. establish the African slave trade, supported by Northern ships and Northern money, and, having planted firm the feet of her Confederacy of Damnation, she will dissolve her Union with the North, from doing. and make her own terms in the bargain. That this is her aim, I do not doubt every clear-headed statesman at the North sees, and has long seen, and that every honest statesman at the South, if there be such a thing in existence, will frankly admit. And when our Fall comes, as come it surely will, unless we now repent and break these accursed bonds, it will be the legitimate result of a members followed to Baltimore, getting proxies system of policy founded by the signing of the Con-stitution—a system by which religion is separated from politics, placed under different laws, and which declares that the worship of God and Mam-itself was removed from Baltimore to Cin-

on is not only possible, but laudable. Meanwhile, we who sit at home watching the rising and setting of this cloud, no bigger than a forbidden place. Surely the new President will be man's hand, are sick at heart when we see the man's hand, are sick at heart when we see the cowardice of the North in this terrible crisis .-For it is not possible to put any confidence in Washington city came a new corps, never before words, even when uttered at monster meetings and put upon such service—the office-bolders in the history, men who have meant to act, have never —men who have no vote in any federal election—talked. This foaming at the mouth seems to be a political hybrids, unable to act a man's part in pluck, nay, I mistrust the will, of those who hear to support the administration.

Such was the composition of nearly one-half of on, and say, 'Do that again, and see!

What! my countrymen, do you then read History, and keep sacred the Fourth of July, and will

\*The Independent, to which Mr. Cook is a regular contributor, rejected this letter, and it was sent, therefore, the Standard.—Eds. Standard.

SELECTIONS. greatness of the principles involved in the mean circumstances of duty on stamps and tea; but we, after eighty years of liberty and education, have not the wit to see when the very life-principle of the Republic is attacked openly and without sub-LETTER TO THE NORTH.

Newburgh-on-the-Hudson, May 28, 1856.

I cannot write for the Independent on any of my usual topics this week. Art and Literature, Nature itself, seem to me the veriest vanities and shadows. I cannot look at my pictures, nor read shadows. I cannot look at my pictures, nor read out result, like all the other storms. We ought to my books; my eye wanders, listless and unpleas-ed, over this hourly miracle of the river and the until we can show ourselves to be brave. The bones of dead heroes are stirred when slaves chant their praises. I say, and the Future will say, that if we suffer these insults to pass unavenged, Bunker Hill and Lexington were haptized with blood in vain; the name of our country becomes a hissing and a by-word; it is a disgrace to be an American

Think seriously of it. Mark first the wrong, then the way in which this unparalleled atrocity—the outrage upon Sumner—has been applauded and rewarded in all the South, its author feasted, It is a bitter grief to be ashamed of my coun-ry, and to see that in a disgraceful emergency, feted, and made the recipient of lavish favors God gives us no Man meet for the Hour. It is and congratulatory addresses. Southern women, ernors of States appland it, and all the journals applaud it. Then turn to the North, and mark and fumes-for a little while she rants and blus. The President-the meanest ruffian of them allters—and then grows cool. Words are but wind, and the silence of cowards is better than the boast of cowards. If we can do nothing, let us say nothing.

If we can do nothing, let us say nothing, let us say nothing. The two Houses have exhibited on No ridicule that the Southern men can heap this occasion a spectacle of cowardice, brutality upon us, in this regard, is the least exaggerated.
Say what we will, writhe under it as we will, all man at the North tingle in his veins. Not one is true. The South is master of the North, and manly word has escaped Seward or Hale. They will subdue us. The North is afraid of the South. have been as dumb as the South could have demanded. I think Mr. Seward especially deserves how, year after year, tameness and servility and the condemnation of every Northern man; but that omise have come to infest all professions were little to what he must feel in his own, heart and all classes of society ! Ever since the Repub- for having let slip one of the most glorious opporby step, slowly but surely, to their final victo- on any occasion! An opportunity to speak words
Those who have stood upon the watch-towers, that would have made the wide world ring again! d seen their forces advancing, not in stealth, not Oh God! which of us, dumb and private men, unsilence, but with music and banners, and songs able to speak fitly, if once allowed, but has prayed

ent, trusting in politicians, in the influence of time, in compromises, in every quack medicine of the pedestal where it sits and the kicked off the pedestal where it sits and the kicked off the pedestal where it sits and the kicked off the pedestal where it sits and the kicked off the pedestal where it sits and the kicked off the pedestal where it sits and the kicked off the pedestal where it sits and the kicked off the pedestal where it sits and the kicked off the pedestal where it sits and that expedition. But I waste words. In this fearful crisis, one though the people of the North will see the jeopardy in which they stand, and will look Disunion calmly in the face. Let those of us who feel this wrong throw away these

CLARENCE COOK.

# AL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

Extracts from T. H. BENTON's speech at St. Louis : CINCINNATI CONVENTION AND ITS COHORT OF POLITI-CAL EUNUCHS.

I went to Cincinnati to be near that convention that has ers inside of the convention, and a besieging army

Union. Yet, by an ingenious system of tactics, which could give no democratic vote. Members of they have made us believe, ever since the first Congress were there, although forbid by their du-Northern voice was lifted against slavery, that it ties from being at such a place. A cohort of office is the North, and not the South, that will suffer holders were there, political cunuchs in the federal by such a separation! We have been deluded, system, incapable of voting for the smallest federal office, yet sent there by the administration to

impose a President upon the people.

It was a scandalous collection, excluded by the Constitution from being even electors of the President, and yet sent here to vote for the administration-and to vote upon the principle of the ox that knoweth his master's crib—upon the principle of the ass that knoweth the hand that feedeth him. It was a scandalous collection. The bers of Congress were in the double breach of their duties. They were neglecting their legislative duties, and doing what they had been interdicted

Thirty years ago, the nomination of presidential candidates was taken from Congress on account of the corruption which it engendered, and given to delegates, intended to be fresh from the people, and to obey their will; and the nomination removed from Washington to Baltimore, to get out of the pointment from the people; and to get rid of them to get entirely beyond their reach, the Convention itself was removed from Baltimore to Cincinnati Vain effort to escape them. They followed on to

when he comes to the distribution of office. From d omen. Our rage is impotent. I mistrust the any election, but sent to Cincinnati, as a life-guard,

the whole convention--custom-house officers, postmasters, salaried clerks, packed delegates, straw delegates, political cannehs, members of Congress, tory, and keep sacred the Fourth of July, and will you be blind to the fact that, compared with ours, the fathers of this Republic had no provocation what which they met, and which had been provided by ever! None, absolutely! The American Revolution was a mean two-penny struggle for so much pocket advantage, compared to this present battle for the dearest rights of man, which to-day looms in the horizon, and which we vainly strive to ward off. Our fathers, brave and wise men, saw the The Independent, to which Mr. Cook is a regular this latter, and it was sent, there.

This den had no windows by which people could look in, or see, or the light of the sun enter-only row of glass like a steamboat skylight, thirty-five feet above the floor. It was the nearest represent-ation of the 'black hole' in Calcutta, and like hat hole had well nigh become notorious for a similar catastrophe. The little panes of glass above were hung on pivots, and turned flat to let air. A rain came on, drove into the den; and to exclude it, the panes were turned up. Smothering! smothering! was the cry in the den; and the glass had to be turned up again. Over this place was a small box for the admission of spectators, its approach barricaded and guarded, and entrance only obtained upon tickets from the same packed committee-and to whom they gave tickete was seen when the first votes were given for Buchanan; and when each State that voted for him was hissed—even Virginia; and the hissing only stopped by a threat to clear the galleries. Such stopped by a threat to clear the galleries. Such is the pass to which the nomination of President is

INCINNATI PLATFORM COMPARED TO A DOSE OF IPECAC. gave that noive answer; and I am sure his stomach that on that account it is not a rrr subject of in would feel the cleaner after the relief. quiry. Its very importance demands inquiry.

it is superfluous. In any event, then, these plat-forms are, to me, useless—to many, pestiferous— to their authors, stocked-cards, which they throw away when the game is won.

We have a fair nomination for the Presidency, a man who can be nationally elected, and whose aims must be national. He will need support. He is not going to repose on a bed of roses, but rather on the thorny pillow. Our country is in a deplorable condition. Fraternal affection gone—sectional bate engendered—extreme parties in the ascendant. Violence overspreads the land; we open no paper without seeing blood. The whole country seems to be without government, and the territories are so: Kansas in civil war; Utah in revolt; but the land of the seems to be without government, and the territories are so: Kansas in civil war; Utah in revolt; volumes athwart the sky, and gathering in its imlence overspreads the land; we open no royalty; Oregon carrying on Indian wars for itself; and a State-California-driven to the resource of voluntary associations of citizens for the

rotection of life, liberty and property.

The present administration, in violating sacred omprises, is the author of all the violence and disorders which overspread the land. I foresay and foretold it at the time : and strived against it. revention was my remedy; that having failed, a cure of the disease must be attempted. ole have rightly judged that the authors of the disase are not physicians to cure it. They have called in a new doctor, and we must help him in the application of all the remedies he shall pre-

ANDOVER AND SENATOR SUMNER. At a special meeting of the Faculty and Students of Andover Theological Seminary, held on Wednesday evening, June 4th, the following Pre-

mble and Resolutions were adopted : Believing as we do, that the recent assault pon the Hon. Charles Sumner, in the Senate-chamber of the U. S., and the violation perpetrated, with the connivance of the U. S. gove against the rightful citizens of Kansas, indicate the existence in our country, of perils to civil free om, in which the interests of our literary and religious institutions are deeply involved, we esire to express our convictions and our sympa hies by the following resolutions, viz:

Resolved, That we entertain a high appreciacharacterized, for five years, the participation of Mr. Sumner in the debates of the Senate.

ous assault committed upon him by a representative of South Carolina, approved, as it appears to be, by eminent partisans of the pro-slavery power,

military power of the United States, a system of law forced upon the people of Kansas by foreign votes, is an invasion of the rights of that Territory,

the country quieted.

Resolved, That we cordially sympathize with that which we believe to be the Christian sentiment of Massachusetts in extending to the friends of freedom in Kansas the assurance of our prayers in their babels. in their behalf, and our support of all constional and practical measures for their relief. onal and practical measures for their relief.
Resolved, That the Hon. Henry Wilson decrees the thanks of the friends of civilization and

religion for the illustration he has given of the spirit of free institutions, by declining the challenge he has received for just words spoken in debate." CHARLES J. HILL, Sec.

the Virginia House of Delegates, January 20, 1832, On the Policy of the State with respect to her Slave

· Sir, there is one point in which I do most sin-cerely agree with those who are arrayed against me in this discussion. It is, that the proposed inquiry is one of great delicacy and of transcendant importance. I will go further and say it is, in my judgment, the most momentous subject of public interest, which has ever occupied the deliberations of this body. Indeed, sir. if I may be pardoned the extravagance of the expression. I will say, not-withstanding the horror with which the inquiry is regarded by some gentlemen, it is the ONLY subject which, at this time, and under the present attitude of affairs in Virginia, is worthy of the serious gravity of legislation. When, and upon what previous occasion, did a question so grand, so all-pervading in its consequences, absorb the consider-ation of this house! The revolution which agitated Citizens! I have told you of the attempt to kill this commonwealth fifty years ago great and importent Mr. Bochanan in the Convention under the twothirds rule: there was another attempt, of a differ- our political relations with the mother country. ent kind, to do the same thing. It was with a platform—a patibolary structure — with a rope over the head, and a trap-door under the feet—and so contrived that if he got on it, he was strong up in the North; if not, he was laid out in the South. His friends found out the game, and determined to mount it, be it what it might. They said the President does not swear to platforms, but to the Constitution; and, besides, it is lawful to fight fire with fire. It was concected by the old janissaries, and produced at the moment the balloting was to commence—so as to make disorder in the ranks; but the trick failed. It was received ent kind, to do the same thing. It was with a This measure-should it prove successful, and that the ranks; but the trick failed. It was received to forward a revolution so grand and patriotic in in a tempest of emulous applause, and extelled to its results. But, sir, at the same time that I do the skies. I asked one of the most vociferous of accord with those gentlemen who have preceded these applanders, how he could swallow such stuff. me in this debate, on the opposite side of the ques-He answered promptly, 'As I do ipecac! to puke it up again!' It was a New Yorker, of course, who under consideration, I cannot think with them would feel the cleaner after the relief.

Citizens! this business of making platforms is a new invention, unknown to the old democracy, who had no platform but the Constitution—no sim but the public good; and they are generally the work of demagogues who have no thought of the Constitution—no thought of the country—no thought of the country—no thought of anything but to get office, and keep it—changing for that purpose with every change of administration—and swearing to every creed that runs an hour. It has been my prerogative to kick over hour. It has been my prerogative to kick over of this government, which is based upon the right these platforms. I was bred in a political school of the people to a free and full examination of in which they were unknown. The Constitution whatever concerns their interest and happiness. was the only platform known in my school—and the only one to which I swear. If one is made beyond the Constitution, it is surplussage; if short of the Constitution, it is defective; if different from the Constitution, it is void; if the same, cannot, let that melancholy fact be distinctly asprairies of the west, that security and we

> which their native land does not afford. Again, sir, I ask, what new fact has occurred -what new light has dawned upon the gentleman from Mecklenburg, that we should be called upon to retrace our course, and to disappoint the ! which our first manly decision gave! Does not the same evil exist! Is it not increasing! Does penetrable folds, the active materials of elemental war! And, yet, shall we be requested to close our eyes to the danger, and without an effort, without even an inquiry, to yield to the impulses of a dark and withering despair? Sir, is this manly legislation ! Is it correct ! Is it HONEST legislation? Is it acting with that fidelity to our constituents, which their sacred interest requires?

> Sir, if this evil, great as it is, was even station ary—if the worthy gentlemen from Mecklenburg and Brunswick, (Mr. Gholson,) could give us any assurance that it would not increase until it reaches a point which it is horrible to contemplate, I might be induced to acquiesce in the course which their pathetic appeals suggest. But when they know it is otherwise-when they know that each successive billow is detracting from the small space of ground lest between us and the angry ocean chafing at our feet, — how can they advise us, how can they advise their own constituents, to remain still, when the next advancing wave may overwhelm them and us, in hopeless ruin and desolation !

Sir, if the gentleman from Mecklenburg was not satisfied when he submitted his resolution. he must now be convinced that this is one of those questions which no parliamentary adroitness can smother. The spirit of Free Inquiry is abroad upon the earth; and governments and all the in-stitutions connected with them must be sustained -not by any mystical and superstitious reverence for them, as existing institutions, but as they are ascertained, after a severe and searching scrutiny to subserve the great ends of POPULAR weal. The same question which is now convulsing Europe to its centre — which is purifying that most gifted country from the despotism which has for so many Resolved, That we extend to him our grati- centuries hung over it-is in a somewhat mod tude for the manly vindication of liberty and constitutional order, contained in his late speech delivered in the Senate-chamber on the affairs of Kansas.

Resolved, That we extend to him our grass-tude for the manly vindication of liberty and constitutional order, contained in his late speech delivered in the Senate-chamber on the affairs of tolerated the unequal and oppressive institutions of our country!—why have we suffered ourselves to be ground into dust, that others may be pamentally the senate of the control of the co pered in luxury and case !- of what crowns and hereditary aristocracies ?-do they answer any great end of society ?-do they conduce we discern an outrage upon the liberty of every citizen of our land, and that we regard it as one of the many bitter fruits of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

'Resolved, That the attempt to sustain, by the military course of the Liberty of every citizen of our land, and that we regard it as one inquiry must be, is slavery a beneficial institution!—is the prosperity of a nation promoted by nourishing within her bosom half a million of bondsmen alien to her in interest, hostile to her in law forced upon the people of Kansas by foreign votes, is an invasion of the rights of that Territory, perpetrated in subservice to sectional interests; and that the recognition of Kansas as a sovereign State, with its Free State Constitution, is now the only mode in which justice can be done to all portions of the Federal Union, and the agitations of the country quieted. feeling, and prepared at any favorable moment to

WHAT WAS SAID IN VIRGINIA IN 1832. all the grievances of the people, and to the best of our abilities apply the remedy, shall we alone be found to shrink from this inquiry? And here permit me to revert to a remark which fell, I am sure mit me to revert to a remark which fell, I am sure inadvertently, from the gentleman from Brunswick. Because, forsooth, in asking this inquiry, we have chosen to depart from the folly of our ancestors, and to discuss this question, not with closed doors, not in low and breathless whispers, not with all the mummery of an oriental divan, we have been told that we are treating the subject 'flippantly,'—not as was done in the better days of the commonwealth. If flippancy, sir, in the vocabulary of that gentleman, signifies a free and open discussion of that which concerns the people, and which they have a right to know, I plead guilty to this charge; most certainly not otherwise. charge : most certainly not otherwise.

Sir, uniformity in political views, feelings and interests, in all the parts of this widely extended state, would, I admit, be extremely desirable.— But that uniformity is purchased at too dear a rate, when the bold and intrepid forester of the west must yield to the slothful and degraded African, and those hills and valleys which until now have re-echoed with the songs and industry of reemen, shall have become converted into desolation and barrenness by the withering footsteps of

slavery.

Sir, it is to avert any such possible consequence to my country, that I, one of the humblest, but not the least determined, of the western delegation, have raised my voice for emancipation. Sir. tax our lands, vilify our country, carry the sword of extermination through our now defenceless villages; but spare us. I implore you, spare us the curse of slavery, that bitterest drop from the chal-

curse of slavery, that interess drop from the distriction of the destroying angel!

Sir, we have lands, we have houses, we have property, and we are willing to pledge them all to any extent, to aid you in removing this evil. Yet, we will not that you shall extend to us the same evils under which you labor. We will-not that you shall make our fair domain the receptacle of your mass of political filth and cor-ruption. No, sir, before we can submit to such erms, violent convulsions must agitate this state.

The gentleman from Brunswick, and the gentle-nan from Dinwiddie, hold their slaves, not by any patent from God, as the latter gentleman on yes-terday assumed, but solely by virtue of the acqui-escence and consent of the society in which they

But, sir, it is said that society having conferred his property on the slavebolder, it cannot now take which is meant full value. I may be singular in the opinion, but I defy the legal research of the house to point me to a principle recognized by the law, even in the ordinary course of its adjudications, where the community pays for property which is removed or destroyed because it is a nuisance, and found injurious to that society. There is. I humbly apprehend, no such principle. There is no obligation upon society to continue your right one moment after it becomes injurious to the best interests of society: nor to compensate you for the loss of that, the deprivation of which is demanded by the safety of the State, and in which general benefit you participate as members of the community. Sir, there is to my mind a manifest distinction between condemning private property to be applied to some beneficial public pur-pose, and condemning or removing private property which is ascertained to be a positive wrong to sowhole genius of the law; and is founded upon the idea, that any man who holds property injurious to the peace of that society, of which he is a member, thereby violates the condition, upon the ob-servance of which, his right to the property is alone guaranteed. For property of the first class condemned, there ought to be compensation; but for property of the latter class, none can be upon principle, none accorded as matter of right, although considerations of policy, con-siderations of humanity, and a spirit of compronise, may dictate some compensation.
Sir, does not that plan of emancipation which

roposes freedom at a future period, and which parantees to the slaveholder the present enjoynent and profit of that most pernicious species pensation — a fair and just proposition of com-promise! I think it does, and I exhibit my views thus: It is conceded that, at this precise noment of our legislation, slaves are inj and rain of this commonwealth. Their present number, their increasing number, all ad us of this. In different terms, and in more measured language, the same fact has been conceded y all who have yet addressed this house, 'So thing must be done, emphatically exclaimed the gentleman from Dinwiddie; and I thought I could perceive a response to that declaration, in the countenance of a large majority of this body. And why must something be done! Because if not, says the gentleman from Campbell. (Mr. Rives.) the throats of all the white people of Virginia will be cut. No, says the gentleman from Dinwiddie, - The whites cannot be conquered—the throats of the blacks will be cut.' It is a trifling difference, to be sure, sir, and matters not to the argument. For the fact is conceded, that one race or the other nust be exterminated.

Sir, such being the actual condition of this commonwealth, I ask if we would not be justified now, supposing all considerations of policy and human-ity concurred, without even a moment's delay, in staving off this appalling and overwhelming calamity! Sir, if this immense negro population were now in arms, gathering into black and formidable masses of attack, would that man be listened to, who spoke about property, who prayed you not to direct your artillery to such or such a point, for you would destroy some of his property! Sir, to the eye of the statesman, as to the eye of Omnicience, dangers pressing, and dangers that must eccessarily press, are alike present:—with a single lance he embraces Virginia now, with the elecents of destruction reposing quietly upon her cosom, and Virginia lighted from one extremity to the other with the torch of servile insurre and massacre. It is not sufficient for him that the match is not yet applied. It is enough that the magnzine is open, and the match will shortly

Sir, it is true in national as it is in priva of society, it will be tolerated. If not, it must bow before the majesty of that power which is supreme. But, sir, vain and fille is every effort to strangle this inquiry! As well might you attempt to chain the degan or stay the avenging thunderbolts of heaven, as to drive the people from any inquiry which may result in their better condition. This is too deep, too engrossing a subject of consideration. It addresses itself too strongly to our interests, to our passions, and to our feelings. There is not a county, not a town, not a newspaper, not a fireside in the state where the subject is not fully and fearlessly canvassed; and shall we, the constitutional inquest of the commonwealth, sworn to make a true inquiry into tracts, that loss and injury to one party may con-stitute as fair a consideration as gain to the other. Does the slaveholder, while he is enjoying his

Sir, it is, in my judgment, the true and proper round of compromise between the slaveholding ground of compromise between the slaveholding and anti-slaveholding interests of this commonwealth; and by anti-slaveholding interest here, I mean to comprehend every interest, except that mere pecuniary interest which the master has in the property of his slave. Slavery, it is admitted, the property of his slave. Slavery, it is admitted, is an evil, it is an institution which presses heavily against the best interests of the State. It banishes free white labor, it exterminates the menuishes free white labor, it exterminates the menuishes free white labor, it exterminates the menuishes free white labor, it dechanic, the artizan, the manufacturer. It de-prives them of occupation. It deprives them of prives them of occupation. It deprives them of bread. It converts the energy of a community into indolence, its power into imbecility, its efficiency into weakness. Sir, being thus injurious, have we not a right to demand its extermination! Shall society suffer, that the slaveholder may continue to gather his crop of human flesh! What is his mere pecuniary claim, compared with the great interests of the common weal! Must the country languish, droop, die, that the slaveholder may flourish! Shall all interests be subservient to one! all rights subordinate to those of the slaveholder! Has not the mechanic, have not the middle classes their rights! rights incompatible with

the existence of slavery!

Sir, so great and overshadowing are the evils of slavery—so sensibly are they felt by those who have traced the causes of our national decline—so perceptible is the poisonous operation of its princi-ples in the varied and diversified interests of this commonwealth, that all, whose minds are not warped by prejudice or interest, must admit that the disease has now assumed that mortal tendency, as to justify the application of any remedy, which, under the great law of state necessity, we might

consider advisable.

Sir, I am gratified to perceive that no gentleman has yet risen in this hall, the avowed advocate of slavery. The day has gone by when such a voice could be listened to with patience, or even with forbearance. I even regret, sir, that we should find those amongst us who enter the lists of discussion as its apologists, except alone upon the ground of uncontrollable necessity. And yet, who could have listened to the very eloquent remarks of the gentleman from Brunswick, without being forced to conclude that be at least considered slavery, however not to be defended upon principle, yet us being divested of much

of its enormity, as you approached it in practice!
Sir, if there be one who concurs with that gentleman in the harmless character of this institution, let me request him to compare the condition of the slaveholding portion of this commonwealth -barren, desolate, and seared as it were by the avenging hand of Heaven-with the descriptions which we have of this same country from those who first broke its virgin soil. To what is this change as-cribable! Alone to the withering and blasting effects of slavery. If this does not satisfy him, let me request him to extend his travels to the northern states of this Union, and beg him to contrast the happiness and contentment which prevail throughout that country, the busy and cheerful sound of indus-try, the rapid and swelling growth of their population, their means and institutions of education, their skill and proficiency in the useful arts, their enterprise and public spirit, the monuments of their commercial and manufacturing industry; and above all, their devoted attachment to the govern-ment from which they derive their protection; with the division, discontent, indolence, and poverty of the southern country. To what, sir, is all this ascriba-ble! To that vice in the organization of society, by which one half of its inhabitants are arrayed in interest and feeling against the other half-to that unfor tunate state of society in which freemen regard labor as disgraceful, and slaves shrink from it as : burden tyrannically imposed upon them- to that population of things in which half a million of your population can feel no sympathy with the society, in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate, and no attachment to a government at whose hands they receive nothing by condition of things in which half a million of your whose hands they receive nothing but injustice.

If this should not be sufficient, and the curiou and incredulous inquirer should suggest that the contrast which has been adverted to, and which is so manifest, might be traced to a difference of climate, or other causes distinct from slavery itself, permit me to refer him to the two states of Kentucky and Ohio. No difference of soil, no diversity of climate, no diversity in the original settlemen of those two states, can account for the remarkable disproportion in their natural advancement. Sep arated by a river alone, they seem to have been pur-posely and providentially designed to exhibit in their fu-ture histories the difference which necessarily results from a country free from, and a country offlicted with, the curse of slavery. The same may be said of the Sir, if still he should hesitate in the apprehe

sion of this important political truth, that slavery is a curse, which no local advantages can counter balance, let me invite him back again to his native state, and point to the tragedy of Southampton .- There, sir, undisguised and clear to the visions of n, are the evils of slavery, written in blood .-There may be seen a practical commentary upon that institution, as it actually exists among us. The gentleman from Dinwiddie has called it a ' petty offair.' It does not appear so to me. The more reflect upon it, the more am I convinced that it is an important, a most momentous affair. Sixty-one white native inhabitants of Virginia-in a few hours, in the face of day, in a county as well pro tected as most of the counties east of the Blue Ridge, attacked, butchered, mangled, in a style of which the records of atrocity can scarcely furnish a parallel. This a petty affair! Sir, it may suit the modesty of those whose valor and energy suppressed that insurrection, to underrate its importance; but to the statesman, who knows that like causes will produce like effects, it must appear useful and important instruction Let it not be said that these insurrections rarely oc cur, and that a similar one may not take place for half a century to come. To us, no more than to the murdered citizens of Southampton, is it given to know the day and the hour. It is sufficient that such an evil may occur; and that no vigilance o your police can prevent its recurrence.

Sir, the evils of slavery stand confessed before us.—
The only question with a Virginia statesman should

is there any remedy, and what shall that reme dy be! The gentleman from Albemarle has ex-hibited one scheme, the gentleman from Dinwiddie has presented another. Other and perhaps less exceptionable projets will be submitted, as soon as it is understood that we are disposed to apply some nedy. THE ONLY QUESTION now before us is we be PERMITTED to make the enquiry! Shall we be allowed to prosecute our investigations in the se-lect committee! Let us manifest the will—the means will assuredly follow. I never could despair, sir, in a cause so just as this. I never could de spair of accomplishing that which eight states—al though, it is true, under more favorable circumstances—have already accomplished. I never could despair of doing that which the venerable fathers ir republic have told us is not only practicable but have admonished us must be done, if we mear to sare the commonwealth from ruin. With a steady perseverance, failure is impossible. The sympa-thies and support of the world would gather around us. The smiles of Heaven and our honest feelings would sustain us.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, permit me again to repeat, that although I am decidedly in favor of some scheme of manumission that will ultimately relieve my country from the catastrophe which threa ens it, let no gentleman suppose from what has fallen from me, that I am in favor of any rash, violent, or hasty legislation. I am for ac must be sober, circumspect, well-considered action I am for no plan which is not mild, gradual, pros pective in its operation. I shall advocate no scheme that does not respect the right of property, so far as it is entitled to be respected, with a just regard to the safety and resources of the state. I would approach the subject as one of great magnitude consequences demanded the calmest and most de investigation. But still, sir, I would approach it—aye, delicate as it may be, encompassed as it may be with difficulties and huzards, I would still approach it. The people demand it. Their security requires it. In the language of the wise and prophetic Jefferson, 'You must approach it— you must bear it—you must aport some Plan or ENANCIPATION, OR WORSE WILL FOLLOW.'

The delivery of so earnest and candid speech as the foregoing, at the present time, in Virginia, would assuredly bring down upon its author an avalanche of popular indignation. Nothing is now tolerated in that degenerate State, except the declaration that slavery ought to be eternized, and fice lom banished from the land! Euch a State is inevitably doomed.

No Union with Slaveholders. BOSTON, JULY 11, 1856.

ANNIVERSARY OF WEST INDIA EMAN-CIPATION.

The Anniversary of BRITISH WEST INDIA ENAN CIPATION will be suitably commemorated (under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society) by a general meeting of the friends of Universal Freedom, in the beautiful land. Grove at ABINGTON, on FRIDAY, August 1st. It is highly important to the success of the Anti-Sla occasion should be improved in the most effectual view of the cheap Railroad facilities which are offered, that a very large concourse will assemble at Abington, on this occasion, from Plymouth, Bristol, Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, and other counties in the Commonwealth. Let every one make seasonable arrangements to be there, if possible.

A Special Train of cars will leave the Old Colony R. R. Depot in Boston, at 9 o'clock, A. M. for the Abington Grove; and return at 6 1-4 o'clock. FARE-to go and return, Fifty cents for adults : Twenty-five cents for children.

From PLYNOUTH to the Grove ; leave Plymouth at 9.20 A. M.; and return at 6.10. FARE-Sixty cents for adults, Thirty cents for children.

The above trains will stop at Way-Stations. The Committee of Arrangements consists of FRANCIS JACKSON, W. L. GARRISON, EDMUND JACK-SON, and SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Boston; NATHANIEL B. SPOONER, of Plymouth; THOMAS J. HUNT, PRI-LANDER SHAW, MICAH H. POOL, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, LEWIS FORD, SAMUEL DYER, of Abington.

Among the speakers expected to be present WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, PAR-KER PILLSBURY, EDMUND QUINCY, CHARLES L. RE-MOND, and others, to be more particularly made of society seem to be loosening-I say it is symbolically

In case of uppleasant weather, the Town Hall (near to the Grove) will afford accommodation to the meeting. B Refreshments will be for sale at the Grove, as usual.

### THE BORDER RUFFIAN OUTRAGE UPON THE WORCESTER COMPANY.

The Worcester Spy states that Rev. T. W. Higginson returned home from Missouri late on Saturday evening. He made a statement at a meeting in the City said, he would read as an appropriate introduction to Hall, as to the Worcester company. The Spy also gives a statement drawn up by Mrs. Dr. Cutter, who was one of the party. We are obliged to abridge it consid-

Mrs. Cutter says that she left home with her husband, and the other members of the company, consist ing in all of forty men and two women, on the 17th of June. At Deposit, on the Erie Railroad, Dr. Cutter was chosen traveling conductor of the party; other officers were chosen, but there was no military organ-ization. No drill, or use of military weapons, but agricultural and mechanical implements and arms be-longing to the party for use and defence. Arrived at Chicago on the 20th, and by advice proceeded to St. Louis instead of lowa City. Sailed in the steamer Sultan on the 24th.

On the evening of the 25th arrived at Boonville, Missouri; here a Missourian named Whittaker went ashore, and reported; there was excitement and threats on the bank. On the 26th met the Star of the with the disarmed Chicago company, who advised their return, and arrangements were accordingly made with the captain of the Star of the West to return to St. Louis. Two of the company entered boat, but others were stopped by armed ruffians, which threatened the life of the captain if others came. The company then resolved to remain in the Sultan. The rifles were delivered to the clerk, and consigned to a house in St. Louis; a receipt written, but not signed when the boat reached Waverley. The shore was lined with armed men, the steamer boarded and the rifles forcibly taken away. The robbers said there were three pieces of cannon and 1500 men on shore; also cannon at Lexington. At Rockland a similar demonstration was made. On Sunday morning arrived at Liberty; here was a military company of 150 men, with United States muskets—also cannon to command the river.

'Threats were here made, and a portion of the mil-

ins were discharged in the air, and directions given to the cannonier 'not to fire too high, as people were on the opposite bank.' At Independence, we had simtreatment, also an accession to our bandit company. (May I never see Liberty or Independence again, if these places are representatives of those words so endeared to every true American.) Before we arrived at Kansas City, my husband, guided by the advice of Free State men not of our party, arranged with Capt. James Shaw and Capt. H. Bledsoe of Indepenclerk of the Sultan, with the positive assurance that

We were now near the shore, and looking from my state room, two hundred of Col. Buford's gang met my eye. The excitement was more intense than at the preceding places. At Parkville the same demonstration
awaited us as at former landings. My pen is inadequate
to describe the motley crowd that we saw on two teremancipation, nor circulate an anti-slavery tract, not races as we approached Delaware City, K. T. I hope looking crew. In their hands were muskets, rifles, pis tols, knives, &c. These were were the 'law and order' militia of the Territory. I was told they were chiefly from South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, ordered by Gov. Shannon to preserve the peace of the Territory.

In passing from Delaware to Leavenworth, the state rooms were examined. Three rifles were stolen from the gentlemen's cabin ; a promise was made that they should be returned, but they were not.

Behind the warehouse at Leavenworth City, there is a deposit of U.S. muskets for the use of the 'law and order men.' Does this look like disarming the pro-slavery men? At this landing, in-ault was heaped upon insult. My pen forbids to tell the tale. Over this city waved the red flag anniversary of our national independence, let us, in with the letters S. R. (Southern Rights.) I now took my berth, as my physical energies were pros-trated. We passed Fort Leavenworth—here on a parapet waved the so called Flag of Freedom, folds are to afford protection to every American citizen. But no protection, no security did it assassination, death ! Here is a portion of the bloody s nailed by the fiat of the slaveholder, and now I felt the force of Douglas's words, "We will sub-

and I saw that I was a prisoner. About six feet OF SUCH SLAVE, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand from me stood two gallant gentlemen from the sunlarceny, and, on conviction thereof, SHALL SUFFER ny South guarding a sick woman, who required a DEATH, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less constant attendant. Here these chivalric men re-mained, with huge pistols fully displayed on the left side, and large hilted bowie-knives on the

Monday Morning, June 30th. The bow of our steamer was turned, and we were floating down the Missouri, under the surveillance of men, armed with rifles, revolvers, &c. All was quiet until we the reached Parkville. A change was now manifest in our captor goards. They visited the bar more frequently—they increased the number of deadly weapons—profanity and threats of murder were rife. They made every effort to get up a words quarrel as a pretext to murder unarmed, unresisting men. They did not succeed—hence, murder is not added to their list of atrocities.

The Regulating Committee refused, at Kansas thereof, SHALL SUFFER DEATH, or be imprisoned at the sufficient to the property of the property of the sufficient to printing, and thereof, SHALL SUFFER DEATH, or be imprisoned at them they can be an an an analysis of the property of the propert

The Regulating Committee refused, at Kansa City, to return the pistols and side arms, as pre-viously arranged. In addition, Captains Shaw and Bledsoe took a bale of goods.'

To this statement, Mr. Higginson appends som further interesting information, for which we regret that we cannot find room this week. 'Hur rah for our glorious Union! One cheer more!

Brooks, the ruffian assailant of Mr. Sum was tried for his murderous assault, at Washington, on Tuesday last, before Judge Crawford, and sentenced to pay the paltry fine of \$300 !!!

THE LIBERATOR. ANTI-BLAVERY CELEBRATION OF THE

In accordance with the invitation of the Manager of the Massachuserts Anti-Stavent Society, an notwithstanding the unpropitious state of the weath er-rain falling heavily during the time of assem bling-a large number of persons came together at National Independence, to spend the day more in ac ordance with those sentiments of humiliation which the American people ought to feel, in view of the ut-ter subjection of their National Government, in all its lepartments, and of the entire Union, to the ignominious service of the Slave Power which now rules the

As the falling rain and wet ground made it impor ble to occupy the grove, at the time of the arrival of very movement in our own land, that every such the cars from Boston, Worcester, Milford and Mariboro'. the company proceeded to the Town Hall at Framingmanner; and it is earnestly hoped, especially in ham Centre, being conveyed thither in the cars of the Boston and Worcester Rail Road, which were kindly furnished for the purpose by the Superintendent of the

At 104 o'clock, the meeting was called to order FRANCIS JACKSON, who, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, proposed the following organization : President-WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Vice Presidents-Francis Jackson, Boston; E. L. Capron, Worcester ; Josiah Hayward, Salem ; Charles F. Hovey, Framingham.

Secretaries-Samuel May, Jr., Leicester ; Jas. M. W. Yerrinton, Boston. Finance Committee-Joseph A. Howland, Sarah H Wall, Lewis Ford, Pliny B. Southwick, Charles Brig-

The meeting accepted, without a dissenting voice, the above as their officers.

Mr. GARRISON said-My friends, we are disappointed o-day by the lowering clouds above us, and the rain that falls around ; but we are not peculiar in that respect, for thousands, doubtless, in every part of the State, are subject to like disappointment. It seems to me peculiarly appropriate, that while our land is fast verging to civil war, and blood and rapine are riding rough-shod over our free territory, and all the bonds appropriate that at a time and on an occasion like this, the sun should refuse to show us his countenance, and all nature should be in tears. This is no time for revelry or festivity, which would be as much out of place now as at a funeral.

The audience then joined in singing the favorite antislavery song-

' Come all who claim the freeman's name. Mr. Garrison presented a poetical effusion, which one of the true-hearted anti-slavery women of Massachusetts had written for the occasion, and which, he

the exercises of the day. [This effusion may be found in our poetical depart-

It was unanimously voted that the poem be printed with the report of the proceedings of the meeting. Mr. Garrison then addressed the assembly as fol-

### SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. President-The land is rocking with an unpar alleled excitement. The conservative and prudent ad monish us to measure our words, and to speak with calmness and deliberation. To be sure of my language. and to run no hazard of rashness, I will not trust my self to the impulse of the moment, but utter only what in the quietude of my study I have prepared for this

Eighty years have passed away since the cry of ' In dependence !" was heard throughout all the Colonies and the gauntlet of defiance was thrown down to the colossal power of the mother country. A long and san guinary struggle ensued, ending in the triumph of 're bellion' over loyalty, of 'treason' over submission and the formation of a government based upon compromise, and cemented with blood. In all that pertains to material wealth, to augmentation of physical strength, to extension of territory, to increase of pop ulation, to internal development, how vast is the con trast between that period and our own ! Thirteen multiplied to thirty-one States-three millions to twentyseven millions of people-a limited boundary, to an itary remained on the boat. On leaving the shore, the extent of territory now reaching from the Atlantic to of public virtue, the demoralization of the entire country, the growth of the Slave Power, during the same term ! Nine new slave States have been added to the Union-half a million of slaves increased to four millions-and all constitutional liberty lies trodden in the dust! We are a betrayed and ruined people; over us is a despotism incomparably more awful and exacting than our fathers ever knew; all the old each man should receive his pistol on the return of the boat to Kansas City. the land ; and ' the end is not yet.'

What is left to us as free, rational, accountable be arraign the slave code for its unequalled cruelty, no attempt to enlighten the benighted bondman, nor giv the Bible to the destitute, nor interpret it on the side of impartial liberty, nor expose the most horrid bar barities, nor denounce the accursed traffic in human flesh, nor protest against the abrogation of the sa cred institution of marriage, nor remonstrate against plundering the laborer of his wages, except at the peril of life, or the certainty of imprisonment. With mor impunity may we arraign Popery in Rome, or autocracy in St. Petersburg, face to face.

I see before me a noble army of the friends of free dom, who are entitled to constitutional protection, in the full exercise of freedom of speech and of conscience imagination, take up our line of march westward, and enter into the territory of Kansas, proclaiming the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. What awaits us? Outrage, imprisonment, State men and women. Its flag:staff code enacted for that territory by the Missouri bandits

Sec. 4. If any person shall ENTICE, DECOY, OR CARRY AWAY OUT OF THIS TERRITORY, ANY On arriving at Weston, Mo., the door that opens upon the guards of the steamer was thrown open, and I saw that I was a prisoner. About it for than ten years.
Sec. 5. If any person shall AID or ASSIST in entice.

Sec. 5. If any person shall AID or ASSIST in enticing, decoying, or persuading, or carryine away or sending out of this Territory, any Slave belonging to another, with intent to procure or effect THE FREEDOM OF SUCH SLAVE, or with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand laroeny, and, on conviction thereof, SHALL SUFFER DEATH, or be imprisoned at

sentiment, doctrine, advice, or insuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffec-tion among the Slaves in this Territory, or to induce such Slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, he shall be GUILTY OF PELONY, and be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term NOT LESS THAN FIVE YEARS.

Sec. 12. If any free person, by speaking or writing Slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, any book, paper be introduced into this Territory, any book, paper be introduced into the property of the right of persons to hold Slaves in this Territory of the right of persons to hold Slaves in this Territory such person shall be deemed GUILTY OF FELONY and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a terr of NOT LESS THAN TWO YEARS.

National Capital, and speak our minds freely as to this daring overthrow of all the safeguards of personal lib-erty; and while bending over the prostrate body of the ing, Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom bleeding Senator from Massachusetts, felled to the floor of the Senate chamber by ruffian blows, we shall be saluted by the Virginia press in the following terms :--

These vulgar abolitionists in the Senate are getting above themselves. They have been humored until they forget their position. They have grown saucy, and dare to be impudent to gentlemen. Now they are a low, mean, scurvy set, with some little book learning, but as utterly devoid of spirit and honor as A PACK OF CHES.

CURS.

The truth is, that they have been suffered to run too long without collars. THEY MUST BE LASHED INTO SUBMISSION. Summer, in particular, ought is a sine-and-thirty early every morning. He is a shide

INTO SUBMISSION. Summer, in particular, ought to have nine-and-thirty early every morning. He is a great strapping fellow, and could stand the cowhide beautifully. Brooks frightened him, and at the first blow of the cane, he bellowed like a bull-calf.

There is the blackguard Wilson, an ignorant Natick cobbler, swaggering in excess of muscle, and absolutely dying for a beating. Will not somehody take him in hand? Hale is another huge, red-faced, sweating scoundrel, whom some gentleman should kick and cuff until he abates something of his impudent talk.

Southern gentlemen must protect their own honor and feelings. It is equally useless to attempt to disgrace them. They are insensible to shame, and can be brought to reason only by an application of cowhide or these scullions. It is equally useless to attempt to disgrace them. They are insensible to shame, and can be
brought to reason only by an application of cowhide or
gutta percha. Let them once understand that for every
vile word spoken against the South, THEY WILL SUFFER SO MANY STRIPES, and they will soon learn
to behave themselves, like DECENT DOGS—they can
never be gentlemen.

Forsaking the Capital, we make an experiment free speech in Carolina, and are menaced by the Charleston Telescope in the following style :-

\* Let us declare through the public journals of ou Let us declare through the public journals of our country, that the question of elavery is not and shall not be open to discussion; that the system is too desprooted among us, and must remain forever; that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out, and cast upon the dung-hill.

Next, with the 'stars and stripes' waving over our heads, we proceed to Georgia, to assert our constitutional right to speak our thoughts freely; and the Georgia Constitutionalist tells us, one and all-

'The cry of the whole South should be,-Death, instant death to the abolitionists, whenever or wherever they may be caught on our soil.' Finally, we turn our steps to Louisiana, to prove the

exact value of 'our glorious Union,' and it is given to us by the New Orleans True American, as follows :-We can assure the Bostonians, one and all, who

have embarked in the metarious scheme of abolishing slavery at the South, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send of interfering in our domestic institutions by being BURNED AT THE STAKE.

territory of Kansas, in our national capital, and through- would be wanting to effect the separation. out the South ! In vain shall we make our appeal to Bunker Hill, and Lexington, and Concord; in vain shall we boast that revolutionary blood is flowing in our veins; in vain shall we point to the Declaration of declaration equally emphatic and revolutionary :-Independence, or to the provisions of the Constitution, or to the commands of God in the Bible; in vain shall we plend our educational views on free soil, and disavow all hostility to the person or interests of the slaveholder; nothing remains for our heads but bludgeons, nothing for our hearts but bowie-knives, nothing for our necks but halters !

And yet, I reverently call the God of the oppressed to witness, we have not in any thing transcended the claims of bleeding humanity, the duties of good citizens, the rights of patriots, or the obligations of Christians. We have assailed no man unjustly or by violence ; we have sought the injury of no slaveholder ; we have been law-abiding, in the highest sense of the term ; we have not been guilty of treason, nor plotted insurrection ; we have sought only a peaceful and voluntary emancipation of those in bondage; and we have vindicated Christianity as the religion of freedom, humanity, and

Let not those who defend the act of slaveholding, on any pretence, complain of any atrocities committed by vention : the South, either upon her slaves or upon Northern freemen. Given her right to enslave in any case, and Convention, will and ought to resist, even (as a last reall that the slave system has brought forth legitimately follows. She is neither wanton nor gratuitous in any of slavery in the District of Columbia, or in places subher cruelties, but only faithful to her position and ne- ject to the jurisdiction of Congress, incompatible with not go too far, nor exact too much. Her sleepless vig-not go too far, nor exact too much. Her sleepless vig-ing the slave trade between the slaveholding States ilance, unwearied persistence, and bold determination : her nightly patrols, her vigilance committees, her bor- after der ruffian leagues ; her yokes, and fetters, and whips, and thumb-screws, and branding-irons, and bloodhounds ; her suppression of free speech and her bloody enactments; her outlawry of the free colored and white anti-slavery citizens of the North ; her enforced mental darkness, and moral degradation, and savage barbarism ; her burning of slaves alive by a slow fire ; her invasions of Kansas, and sacking of its villages, and subjugation of its population ; her ten thousand, thousand crimes and horrors, are all, all necessary, if she would perpetuate her terrible system of chattel servitude. She must be perfidious to all her engagements ; false to all her oaths ; full of bravado and insolence ; equally brutal and cowardly ; reeking with pollution and violence; insatiable as death, and remorseless as the grave. She must rifle the public mails, subject every one true to the Lord ; for he is good ; for his mercy endureth for- purpose : ever :- to him that overthrew Pharaoh and his host in . Republicanism is the while man's party. It is no the Red Sea; for his mercy endureth forever. He turnseth rivers into a wilderness, and the water-springs into dry ground; a fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein. He progress of slavery in this country. We like the white man beller than we do the black. We believe the Caucasian variety of the human wickedness of them that dwell therein. He progress of slavery in this country. We like the white man beller than we do the black. We believe the Caucasian variety of the human species superior to the Negro variety; and we would breed the best stock, and fill this noble land of ours— But to think of our alliance and union with such a

South, helping her to smite freedom to the dust, and every way, than the Negro, or the Mongolian, or setting nothing in return but scorp, ignominy, insult getting nothing in return but scorn, ignominy, insult

erican flag as the symbol of unequalled hypocrisy and transcendant oppression, and, casting it into the broad Atlantic, defy all the waters thereof to wash out its bloody stains. To-day, I renew my accusation against American Union a league of despotism, to perpetuate ein against God. To-day, I affirm the 'Higher Law' with the Slave Power on any issue? to be the rightful and paramount law of the land, to the subversion of every statute, agreement and compromise inimical to human freedom. To-day, I stand outside of this tyrannical government, a secoder on principle, a death with life. It is continually proclaiming doctrin revolutionist with Hancock, and Otis, and Warren, but at which applicant torsion would have stood against revolutionist with Hancock, and Otis, and Warren, but at which ancient toryism would have stood aghast, upon a broader platform, with a loftier spirit, with bet-

Fleeling from this doomed territory, let us enter the ter weapons, and for a nobler object. "For the Lord himself; and let him be your fear, and he shall be for a sanctuary.

Let the howl of 'Treason ! treason !' go up from the throats of governmental mercenaries, designing knaves, unscrupulous demagogues, and murderous oppressors It is music to my ears. I tear the masks from the faces of all these conspirators against Justice and the Right, and reveal their hideous faces to the gaze of a loathing world. Their profession of patriotism is a lie; 'they that are led of them are destroyed '; the treason which they falsely charge upon the incorruptible friends of freedom, they themselves openly commit. They are tories beyond all of revolutionary infamy ; contemt of all human rights; scoffers at the Declaration of In dependence as 'a blurred and tattered parchment' advocates of ' border ruffian ' supremacy and universal slavery; revellers in corruption, crime and blood. I such are the leaders, what must be the condition of the led ? When the wicked are exalted on every side, well

may the land mourn and tremble. The preservation of the existing Union is the certain triumph of the Slave Power in whatever it may seek to accomplish. Within that charmed circle, under that sorcery spell, we shall find ourselves powerless. There are a thousand weightier reasons why the North should separate from the South, than our revolutionary fathers had to secede from the mother country. Hear the language of no rash spirit, no impatient soul, but of the calm and deliberate CHANNING, while the question of the annexation of Texas was pending before the coun-

the Free States, in case of the annexation of Texas, to say to the slaveholding States, "We regard this act as the dissolution of the Union." \* \* A pacific division. in the first instance, seems to me to threaten less co Union, such as must be expected under this fatal innovation. For one, then, I say, that, earnestly as I
deprecate the separation of these States, and though
this event would disappoint most cherished hopes for my country, still I could submit to it more readily than t country, still I could submit to it more readily than to the reception of Texas into the confederacy. 'I do not desire to share the responsibility or to live under the laws of a government adopting such a policy.' 'If the South is bent on incorporating Texas with itself, as a new prop to slavery, it would do well to insist on a di-vision of the States.'—Vol. ii. p. 239.

If Dr. Channing could regard the Union as no longe worthy of continuance, the government no longer de serving of respect, in such a contingency, what would he not say, were he now living, to urge an immediate dissolution of the Union, in view of the appalling strides out their men to Louisiana; they will never return to dissolution of the Union, in view of the appalling strides tell their sufferings, but they shall expiate their crime of the Slave Power since the annexation of Texas! Assuredly, upon his banner would be inscribed the motto under which we rally to-day, 'NO UNION WITH Such is the personal liberty granted to us on our own SLAVEHOLDERS!' and no effort of his voice or pen

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, elicited from the Rev. Dr. Wayland, late President of Brown University,

'I value the Union as much as any man. I would tice and liberty. When I must surrender these, as the price of the Union, the Union becomes at once a thing which I abbor. To form a union for the sake of perpetuating oppression, is to make myself an oppr This I cannot be, for I love liberty as much for neighbor as for myself. To sacrifice my liberty for the sake of union, is impossible. God made me free, and cannot be in bondage to any man.' . . . . 'Taking Christ, then, for my example, and striving to imbibe his spirit, can I do otherwise than take to my boson every oppressed and down-trodden child of humanity. Jesus Christ, my master, is not ashamed to call then brethren, and can I have any partnership in an attempt to trample them under foot? The Union, lites!, becomes to me an accursed thing, if I must first steep in the tears and blood of those for whom Christ died.

What other Union than this was framed by our fathers, or is now in existence? What other Union will the South consent to maintain? Our Southern masters and overseers have given us their terms. Listen to their language, as uttered by the Alabama Democratic Con-

'That the State of Alabama, in the judgment of this or any refusal to admit as a State, any territory here applying, because of the existence of therein; or any act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the territories of Utah and New Mexico; or any act repealing or materially modifying the laws now

in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves.

That any interference by Congress for the prevention of slavery in any of the territories would be an inexcusable and unconstitutional infringement on the rights of the South, which, it is the deliberate sense of rights of the South, which, it is the deliberate sense of this convention, it would be the duty of the people of Alabama to resist, even to a disruption of the tier that bind this State to the Union!

That the restoration of the Missouri Compromise

line by Congress would be a great wrong, resistance to which, even to the extent of a disruption of the Union, would be a sacred duty with all who cherish the essential principles of constitutional right and State equali-

What party at the North dare meet this issue? Will the Republican party, even to save Kansas? That parfreedom on her soil to the 'tender mercies' of Lynch ty avows its fealty to the Union, come what may. What law, suspect every stranger of being an enemy in dis- does it propose to do in regard to slavery in the District guise, proceed from one stage of villany to another, of Columbia? Nothing. What as touching the abolitread beneath her feet all the principles of justice, and tion of the inter-State slave trade? Nothing. What set at nought the law of the living God. She can neith- in reference to the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law? er be honest nor pure, neither merciful nor magnani- Nothing. What if Kansas, as a conquered province, is mous, neither enlightened nor civilized. Her fertile admitted to the Union as a slave State? Nothing. soil must gradually turn to ashes, her laborers be with. Nothing, except to submit to it all, endorse it all, and out skill or industry, her subsistence little better than shout, 'Our glorious Union ! it must and shall be prethat of pauperism. She must clothe herself with curses served !' The Republican party has only a geographias with a garment, and plunge deeper and deeper in cal aversion to slavery. Its morality on that subject is barbarity and guilt. There is no help for it. The bounded by 36 deg. 30 min. North latitude. It is a eternal Law of Divine Retribution must be executed : complexional party, exclusively for white men, not for they who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind: God all men, white or black. See what one of its organs, is not mocked with impunity. 'O, give thanks unto the Hartford Courant, says respecting its spirit and

But to think of our alliance and union with such a race of tyrants and barbarians! To think of our glorious North, with her free soil, and free labor, and free institutions; with her wonderful enterprise, matchless skill, inventive genius, remunerative industry, admirable thrift, unequalled liberality, and boundless resources; the pliant tool and submissive vassal of the Vandal of better brain, better moral traits, better capacity, when the Narce or the Monardian or the submission of the trouble in the land of ours—this bread the best stock, and fill this noble land of ours—this bread the best stock, and fill this noble land of ours—this bread country that the Almighty seems to have this bread country that the Almighty seems to have the bread to country that the Almighty seems to have the bread country that the Bread co getting nothing in return but scorn, ignominy, insult and outrage of every kind! What loss of self-respect, what lack of principle, what hardness of heart, what blindness of mind, it indicates on the part of the people of the North, even to this day!

To me, the path is plain. To-day, I disown the Am-

This is far from being the feeling or language of all who are members of the Republican party, but it indicates the precise position occupied by the party. Wit ness the forcible exclusion of all the free colored citizen the American Constitution, that it is 'a covenant with of the North from the soil of Kansas, by the Free State death and an agreement with hell,' which ought to be settlers therein, in flagrant violation of the spirit and annulled now and forever. To-day, I pronounce the letter of the Constitution of the United States, and as a American Union a league of despotism, to perpetuate cowardly concession to the infernal spirit of border ruf-which is a crime against our common humanity, and a finnism! How can such a party successfully grapple

We must separate, or lose our liberties. Slavery centration of all forms of despotism in one. can have no more affinity with true republicanism th

ence as ridiculous and untrue—as the product of in ence as runcaryat the Bible, and the enemy of the delity, at the Christian religion. Hear what the North Cardin Biblical Recorder says of it :-

Dr. Wayland has taken Mr. Jefferson's infide tops 'Dr. Wayland has taken Mr. Jefferson's infide depa-in the Declaration of Independence for his note; and the halo of that false light has seemed to take his his field of vision, God's revealed instructions as to institution of slavery. Indeed, the whole plant institution leaders have planted themselves are institution of slavery. Indeed, the whole plakes of abolition leaders have planted themselves upon the abolition leaders have planted themselves upon the frue and irrational sentiment of Mr. Japon the stand-point in their anti-slavery movement, but it is country and in England. They refer us use this country and in England. They refer us use the declaration of Mr. Jefferson, that all on m in the declaration of Mr. Jefferson, that all on m ing. Wayland has evidently forsaken he frus he oreasted equal, is in itself both folias and without an ing. Wayland has evidently forsaken he frus he tures to support his false theory of heman liberations of dom fails to torture and distort their meaning.

What would have been the fate of the man the late What would are the times that tried any uttered such language in ' the times that tried any uttered such sanguage listed with impunity, lated a souls '? Now it is published with impunity, lated a souls '? Now it is and represents the spirit of the sign with compracency, and the state of the state The Richmond Whig says :-

We are heartily sick and disgusted with the control and mercenary hypocrites of Yankeedon. Its su will enable us to get rid of them, or ten its take upon them, and render them a source of profit hated of expense. It will enable us to regar that was not expense. It will enable us to regar that was not expense. of expense. It will enable us to regain any one planed fered from us by many a sharp transchen. It sill enable us to build up our country by the millions of which we have been plundered it is enable us to get rid of Yankee President, and upserve Anglo-Saxon freedom, by retring the of much tion with the mother country. (Who weld as training the description with the mother country. (Who weld as training the description with the mother country.) tion with the mother country. (Who would not rule is ruled over by a lady like Queen Vic, that by saying, twanged gentleman that Yankee land can probable will enable us, with the United State Sain, man side, in close alliance with England, and Country other, very speedily to bring these lost and side, in cross attractions and continued the other, very specific to bring these long continued the other, very specific to be seen to their senses, by confining them to be seen to be see ing soil on which they were born, and to the thing

· If such things are done in the green tree, what we be done in the dry?'

More even than this. The Southern organ proclaim the right to enslave all laboring most without regard to complexional distinctions! But clare free society and free institutions as atter falo here, and everywhere; and advocate the univende. tablishment of chattel slavery as the renely. But what the Richmond Enquirer rays :-

· Until recently, the defence of slavery has blen under great difficulties, because its apologist, (fring were merely apologists,) took half and greats. Be were merely apologists,) took half my grants. he confined the defence of slavery to next seen stem; thereby giving up the slavery principle stem; other forms of alavery to be wrong, and public stem authority of the Bible, and of the history, putter and experience of mankind. Human experience the state of the stem of the state of ing the universal success of slave secity, and them fence of mere negro slovery involved than in still pea-fer difficulty. The laws of all the Southen Stars is tified the halding white men in slaver, purife he through the mother, they were descended, however, motely, from a negro slave. The bright making according to their theory, were wrongfully bell slavery.
The line of defence, however, is changed now, as

the North is completely cornered, and dank as un-ter. The South now maintains that starry it red. ter. The South now maintains that dancy it not, natural and necessary. It shows that all diets, at almost all human authority justifies it. To but further charges that the little experiment of free moty in Western Europe has been, from the beginning cruel failure, and that symptoms of failure are the dant in our North. While it is far more obvious negroes be slaves than whites, for they are might labor, not to direct; yet the principle of slavers is self right, and does not depend on difference of me plexion. Difference of race, of lineage, of linguage, habits and customs, all tend to render the installation more natural and durable; and although slows has been generally whites, still the masters and should generally been of different national descent. Mosail Aristotle, the earliest historians, are both authorisis

Ponder well the following extracts from a well pi lished in Virginia, entitled 'Sociology; or, Imfinty a failure '; by George Fitzecce :-

\* Make the laboring man the slave of seems, is stend of the slave of society, and he would be for less off. 'Two hundred years of liberty hate not via laborers a pauper banditti.' 'Free society hately and that which is not free must be substituted.'

. Say the Abelitionists-" Man ought not to be property in man." What a dreary, cold, blest, also pitable world this would be, with such a detrier so ried into practice ! ' . . . . 'Slavery has been to me versal not to be necessary to nature, and man street in vain against nature.' . . . . ' Free society is him We slaveholders say, you must recur to dement the ry, the oldest, the best, and most common bras

· Free society is a monstrous abortion, and simple healthy, beautiful and natural being which they are ing, unconsciously, to adopt.' . . . . The slate up erned far better than the free laborers at the Kerk governed Our negroes are not only better if us physical comfort than free laborers, but their men in dition is better."

. We do not adopt the theory, that Ham was the cestor of the negro race. The Jewish state and negroes; and to confine the justification of street and to lose the whole weight of preface authority; we read of no negro slavery in ancient times. ... very. BLACK OR WHITE, is right and necessary.

. Nature has made the weak in mind or hely sim The wise and virtuous, the brave, the greeg is an and body, are born to command. Me are born entitled to equal rights. It would be at set the truth to say, that some were born with saids, their backs, and others booted and spurred to rich -and the riding does them good. They ned from the bit, and the spur. Life and liberty in the bit, and the spur.' ... Life and liberty in inalienable.' ... The Declaration of Isdopenia is "exuberantly false, and abores, eatily following to the state of the state o

Finally, read the following sulogy upon set of in marauders and bandits from the South, who have run Kansas with rapine and blood, as besterel by

Richmond Examiner :-"The 'border ruffian,' the farmer of the ir b The 'border ruffian,' the farmer of the arms and West, is the noblest type of mankind. In his son is regived all the chiralry and scenarity is knights of the middle ages. He is couliy while, far more useful. He is the pianter of its and honorable civilization. He is planting a list and honorable civilization. He is planting a list and honorable civilization as the same of the

Such is the spirit which we of the North are alles ing to conciliate! Where is the Union? What a Union ? 'The fact is,' says the Charlesten Men the people of the South and of the North barr set been one people, and NOTHING CAN EVER ME THEM SO. All compromises and patched up

Such are the proofs I adduce, on this occasion, are in vain. which volumes might be added,) to show the hopes ness, the madness, and the oriminality of steepers! perpetuate an alliance so unnatural and mosern ween principles and interests so utterly irresus

Let us then, to-day-rejecting as wild and close cal, all suggestions, propositions, and contrisent, restraining slavery within its present limits, while tending constitutional protection to it in them dis thirty-one States-register our pledge acer lefer bas en and the world, that we will do what in m is a effect the eternal overthrow of this blood eximation. that thus our enslaved countrymen may fad a make liverance, and we may no longer be answerd blood. Let us not be drawn off by any side into its gard to Kausas, nor be deluded by the ery of Lin national, Slavery sectional! "-seeing it is the ence of Slavery in the South which is the root of sin troubles, the cause of all our dangers, the second our perils. Away, then, with all nostrans, a sions, compromises, expedients, truces, and the But one course is to be pursued—one object sized one blow struck :- The North must separate for South, and organize her own institutions on a set sis—enabling each one of us exultingly to shoet

O, the land for me, the land for me,
Where every living soul is free;
Where winter may come, where storms my ust.
But no tyrant can lord it o'er the slave;

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Before Mr. S. had finished his speech, (it being 12 o' clock,) a laud peal of bells commenced ringing from the reghtering churches, and a cannon planted in the centre of the square commenced its noisy salute, -all in boort of that Union (!) which binds Massachusetts to the hideous form of Slavery, which compels her to see he notices sons stricken down by assessin-blows, for simply speaking the words of freedom, and which disable her from defending them, or redressing their gross and her own. On account of the deafening. and (under the circumstances) absurd noise, out o dors, Mr. Swasey suspended his remarks; and the perting joined in singing the hymn-

'Hark' a voice from heaven proclaiming Comfort to the mourning slave.'

After a brief discussion, it was

Voted, That when this meeting adjourns, it be meet in the Grove.

[This was in consequence of the more favorable as pet of the weather-promising a bright and clear af-

PARKER PILLSBURY, being called for, came forward, and was most cordially greeted. [We are reluctantly shiged to defer a prepared sketch of his speech (which res listened to with deep interest) until next week.] Adjourned to meet in the afternoon.

ATTERNOON. Called to order at 24 o'clock, by FRANon Jackson, when the meeting joined in singing the · Children of the famous dead.'

Rev. ANDREW T. Foss spoke, with much eloquence of the value of the Anti-Slavery movement, as a test of every man's principles and sympathies, a genuine and infallible discerner of the thoughts and intents of his heart. For himself, he said, he recognized every man as a true Christian, or the contrary, just in proportion as his sympathies are, or are not, alive and active in the cause of Anti-Slavery. He contended, earnestly, that no help or hope could come to the country from any party, or any political movement in it; that, in the present Union, slavery, with all its attendant atrocities, must necessarily triumph ; neither Fremont nor say other person, nominated against the wishes of the Save Interest, could be elected; or, even if elected, eculd save us from Slavery's despotic and destructive grasp. He honored true manliness everywhere; he red it in Charles Sumner ; but if, by the blows which he received at the assassin hands of the Slave Power, he and his supporters could be driven out of this iniquitous Union, he should deem it a subject of thinkfulness-though he desired no harm to come to say one. He felt exceedingly hopeful of the overthrow of the Union-light is spreading fast, and slavery and the Union cannot bear the light.

Mr. Garrison called attention to the proposed work on the Fugitives in Canada, about to be published by Mrs. Knox of Boston.

WENDELL PHILLIPS then took the stand, and delivered an address of noble thoughts and eloquent appeals. Is the unfavorable circumstances under which the seech was made and heard,—all standing crowded under a tent, for protection against the rain which had sgain commenced falling,-it was not easy to make a mitable report; but the unrivalled phonographic skill of our friend J. M. W. YERRINTON, surmounting all the difficulties, enabled him, without the aid of chair or table, to make a pretty full report of it-as follows :-

### SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS. Mr. CHAIRMAN :-

I was glad to hear the speech of my friend Pillsbury, this morning, and also that to which we have just listenel, from Mr. Foss. I do not think we can do any better work than to examine the positions of the political movements of our day. As I said at the hall, I think we are to understand our friend Pillsbury's direction to let the Republican party alone in the light of his example, and leave it alone just as he does ! (laughter and cheers.) When I was making this remark to one who is now in this audience, he said to me 'It is very easy to criticise the work that other men do. That suggested to me a word to say to the abolitionists shout me, that mere criticism, merely undertaking to criticise and expose the wrong positions of polititians, becomes impudence, nothing but impudence, uns we see to it that we earn the right to criticise b unfaltering devotion and activity in our own field. I hold that no Garrisonian has a right to criticise Henry Wilson or Charles Sumner, until he feels he can honestly say, 'I do all I can in the moral field,' These men are wrong in their position. What our friends have told us is very true. I do not know a greater hirm than, I think, has been done to the anti-slavery cause, even by the unequalled merit, in one sense, of Charles Sumner. It will lead those who love him, into blindness, I think, as to the bad influence of his political and civil position; but no man who has any selfrespect has a right to stand up among his fellows, and call these men to account, who has not, by sacrifice, by contributions, by labor, by self-devotion, shown that, in his own field, he is willing to cover all the ground he can. I always feel, except from the lips of one whose laber recommends him, that such criticism is very ungraceful. I warn you, therefore, that in all our discustions with the political parties, in regard to their leading men, each of these discussions should be a menento to us of a better, more earnest, more thorough performance of our own duty. Let it be a spur in our tiles. Let no spectator have it in his power to say-He spends a great deal of empty breath-that is al he spends, for the anti-slavery cause.' It is a high position that we take, when we undertake to criticise the men to whom the country listens, and to whose conscientious honesty of purpose and rare fidelity. en many occasions, every man must do justice. It was a consecrated hand that touched the ark. He must be a bold man who undertakes to stretch forth his hand with anything but sympathy to the prostrate Massachusetts fenator. Farn the right by an anti-slavery position that shall show that your criticism is based on love for the slave, not hatred, not jealousy, not even the petty differences of opinion that sometimes divide common laborers. We are to guard this point, we Gar-

I want to say this much, because these meetings of burs, especially when such a rain as this has cleared off the surplusage, and left us nothing but heart, are the gathered essence of the most radical anti-slavery. You know when alcohol freezes, the useless matter goes into the ice, and in the absolute centre of the congealed mass there will be found one single drop, living as the toncentrated essence of all spirit. So with this meetisg. We have sloughed off the margin, and have nothing left but the true spirit. (Cheers.)

No man, Mr. Chairman, has a right to be surprised a the present state of things. It is just what we have attempted to bring about. My friend Swasey was telling us, this morning, what slavery has done. She has Folen Texas, crushed Kansas, usurped the government, left the Presidential chair empty. What has she done? She has done just exactly what we have been tempting her to do-that is, she has developed herself. The Slave Power had always the same power and the tame wish ; it is the anti-slavery enterprise that has developed that wish into an act. It is just what we appeted, exactly. The forces at last are ranged face to face. Our friends have not turned to the bright side of the matter to-day; but there is merit in the Republican party. It is this. It is the first sectional party erer organized in this country. It does not know its oun face, and it calls itself national; but it is not na-Logal, it is sectional. It is the North arrayed against the South. Henry Wilson said to me, 'We must get ttery Northern State, in order to elect Fremont.' Ever in imagination, he did not count upon a single Southera State. It was a distinct recognition of the fact that the Republican party is a party of the North,

pledged against the South. THE DOBE PARKER wanted Republican party allows the government to go on, and Northern party against the Southern. They made the first are able, if not to check, at least to commence a system for ten years ; it has come unexpectedly early.

duct which is to create a Northern Republic, those two it is impossible. fast, that they lose their effect. Take the history of the last five years, make a note of it, write it in a book, and then let an indifferent spectator read Macaulay's account of the reign of James the Second, which changed the face of English history, and our history for that brief period is ten times blacker than Macaulay's. But we do not think of it. We think they had terrible times in the Revolution-threepence a pound on tea! They had never begun to feel the weight of a yoke such as Slavery is now fastening on the white men of our State Had our fathers acted in the same way. in a similar position, there would have been no Revolution. The lesson of the present time is, there is no great party willing to face the crisis. The politicians are not willing. They are willing to hold on. I asked a leading politician, the other day, what was to be done, if they did not elect Fremont. 'O,' said he, 'we shall do better four years hence.' So he held on.

I do not know any thing against Col. Fremont, exto that. (Laughter and applause.) But the question is not, what are his defects? but, what are his merits? What has he done to deserve, in this crisis, the confidence of that anti-slavery sentiment that has been thira despotism stronger than the world knows? I have no of slave States. doubt, that if he says he is opposed to slavery, he is; that is, I do not think be is a liar. I think he is an honest man to that extent. But you want a man whose past life pledges him to a consistent, systematic, determined issue with the Slave Power itself; for if this election goes for Buchanan, not only is Kansas to be conquered, but Mexico is to be stolen and Cuba annexed, and with these additional weights thrown into the scale of the Slave Power, the whole nation will soon be

Now, I have great hopes. I think Fremont will be defeated. I think there is great chance that Buchanan lantry in defence,—no enthusiasm in it, until a man is will be elected. I have no hope for Kansas. How can driven to his own hearthstone, and defends his cradle. I have? Where are the hundred men who went from In all great contests, it is the minority attacks, if it Chicago? Why, they went though Missouri, and laid down their arms at the feet of a mob! Fifty men from that we are always crying out mercy; ' we don't mean sand dollars from the town of Concord alone gone into the territory over there beyond.' I suspect every par would rush to the succor and protection of Kansas? But, at the same time, let us see if these men are acting wisely. If we are to aid the Missourians, let us send the muskets bought in New England are to-day in the them gets up, and proves they are not blacker than any ing them. If you want to send muskets, send them; Lexington or Leavenworth.' But do not send them in being only a tchife one !' (Cheers.) They ought to be able ones. Old Concord, that sent those guns to the Missouri meb, did a glorious thing to-day, for she does not fire a musket nor ring a bell. The muskets that met fire her muskets, and when to keep her powder for another time. (Cheers.) I wish there were more such towns in Massachusetts, that knew the crisis in which science, as Walley said he did in Congress ;-- no ma

of the Republican party in the House then and there to the Democrats, and go over to the ranks of Mr. Buhave voted the whole appropriation bill down, unless chanan. Mr. Winthrop cannot find it in his heart to go that item was stricken out. A Republican said to me, to Faneuil Hall, when Massachusetts is outraged on the at the close of our forenoon services, 'Why did Mr. floor of the Senate and Mr. Rives, of Virginia, thinks Pillsbury not mention that CHARLES SUMNER would his position is 'moderate,' 'constitutional,' and report deny his obligation to put down a slave insurrection '! says that when the time comes, you will hear of him in Said I, ' Probably one reason was because, while Mr. the Democratic camp. Well, if he is, the only thing Summer stands in that position, he cannot effectually I should say would be this : Mr. Choate once though Summer stands in that position, he cannot electronity I should say would be this. Air. Choose once thought evade the responsibility. At any rate, he has not op- at Worcester, that he was very severe on Charles Franpored, nor asked others to oppose, the appropriation ois Adams, when he spoke of John Quincy Adams as 'the
bills for the last five years. What right had he to vote last of the Adamses'—annihilating the son. If Mr.
for them? Every one of them has had mixed up in it Winthrop rotes for Buchanan, while a Massachusetts

money for the return of fugitive slaves ; and while the Senster lies on his sick bed, the best friend of the ne

to know once where Disunion would begin. I will tell pays its expenses, without making that a distinct issue, him : just where that party divides. That is a North- and bringing all its force to bear upon that point, I ern party against the Southern. I do not call it an say it is responsible for the return of fugitive slaves anti-slavery party ; it has not risen to that yet. It is a They cannot say that they are not able to do it They little breach. The first crack in the iceberg is visible; you of checking the expenses of the government. I call will yet hear it go, with a crack, through to the centre. upon them to do it. That is a practical point; it is Its first distinct recognition was Banks's election. He one easily made; it is one terrific in its operation; it was elected by Northern men-not a man from the South is one that goes directly to the pocket. It is nothing voting for him. That is the value of that party. I hail abstract; it has a close and every day force, which it as a sign-as a great gain. I did not hope to see it every man sees, and every man may be made to feel it. It is the duty of the Republican party to do this. The Looked at in that light, the Republican party is a great blood of the fugitive slave is on their skirts until they gain. Looked at in any other, it is an absurdity. I do it. They are fairly responsible for all the evil of will tell you what I mean. In 1776, in 1765, had James the government itself, until they undertake it. They Otis, and Joseph Warren, and John Adams agitated have no claim to be considered an anti-elavery party politically through New England, in order to secure until it is done. To do it would widen the breach be themselves seats in the English House of Commons, we tween the North and the South, and so hasten the disshould have been under Victoria to-day. But they solution of the Union or the abolition of slavery. I bewent to Bunker Hill, and here we are. Now, the Re- lieve we are near it. Did you note the extracts Mr. publican party is committing just that mistake. It is Garrison read us this morning? Go back to the Revoagitating for a political result, when the times demand lution, and you cannot find an English newspaper REVOLUTION. If Otis and Adams had thrown away the speaking of America, or an American paper speaking of enthusiasm of 1765 on agitation for the ballot, you would England, in such a spirit as the Southern press use never have heard of them ; or all you would have heard | towards the North to-day. Union ! If the language of of them would have been that they were obscure fanat- the Richmond press, and the South Carolina press, and ics, arrested somewhere as traitors, and who died of the speeches on the floor of Congress, are to be taken as jail fever. They knew their time; they read their any index of the state of Southern feeling, Union will epoch ; they knew it did not ask for ballots, but for bul- not be possible fifteen years. They cannot bear us, and lets, and therefore they went to Bunker Hill. Now, if they continue this sort of criticising, we cannot bear what the present time demands is not agitation about them. It is impossible. There never was such lanthe territories. We shall have a summer of talk, of guage used of a sister country. France never criticised agitation. It will be just as if we took a strong cup of England, when she hated her most, England never tea, and plunged it into an ocean of warm water, and criticised France, when she despised her most, as the made a homosopathic dose of it. You take the Kansas Virginia press criticises Northern men and Northern outrage,or that upon Mr. Sumner, and dilute it into one Senators to-day. You cannot parallel such things in thousand political speeches, and it is a homocopathic dose the political discussions of hostile nations in the history of nothing. But if, instead of doing so, you were to of civilization. Now, do you suppose that such a press take these two events, and carry them to the people, could exist, and the Union survive? Never; it must and say, 'The time has come for Massachusetts to call either be put down, or the Union must be put down. It her representatives home,' and begin that course of con- will not be home forever; it will not be borne long;

events would bear fruit. They never will. They are My friend Mr. Pillsbury compared the nation, very fated to gradually slope down until they are lost. That beautifully, to the ruins of Tintern Abbey. I should is the way all things are lost. Events crowd on us so rather except to his comparison of the anti-slavery movement to the ivy that so gracefully covers the crumbling ruins. The anti-slavery movement conceals no ruins. | O, no! that is Republicanism. I think the Republican party suits his figure, that endeavors, with the green and winding luxuriance of its lavish enlogy of the Union, to conceal the ruin into which it has fallen. My fault with the Republican party is, that it is one of defence. The Liberty party was on the defensive, the Free Soil party was on the defensive, the Republican party is on the defensive; and each one of them has been driven back, back, back, until now the Republican party has nothing to defend-nothing but the anti-slavery spirit of the days of Washington and Jefferson! Fremont is a great discoverer : I know he has scaled the tops of the Rocky Mountains, and fathomed the bottom of the Western valleys ; but I defy him to discover the anti-slavery spirit of Washington and Jefferson's administrations. They want to carry the country back to the policy of the first two admincent that the Boston Post says he once ate dog's meat ; istrations of the government. They were, both of and I do not wonder every Democratic puppy objects them, broad, gigantic steps towards the triumph of the Slave Power at the present day. The very first page of the history of the government is a compromise, and the second is the Fugitive Slave Law of Washington's own administration; and with Jefferson we come to the annexty years in creating, and which has got to grapple with ation of unmeasured slave territory, and the admission

No, we are not the ivy, friend Pillsbury ! The glory of the anti-slavery movement is, that it never stops to be attacked. The only possible anti-slavery movement in this country is an aggressive one. We are very small in numbers ; we have got no wealth ; we have got no public opinion behind us ;-the only thing that we can do is, like the eagle, single to fly at our enemy, and pick out his eyes. (Applause.) We must carry on the battle aggressively ; each man singling out his foe, and fighting him. You let the South gain half the battle, by allowing her to begin the attack. There is no galcarries the day. The great defect of the present day is, the city of Worcester met with the same fate. A thoutreasury of the Missouri mob. Who wishes to ty that begins with an apology. Now every political breathe a word against the earnestness of spirit that party in this country has commenced its platform and its speeches with a lavish eulogy of the Union. It got down on its knees first and said, 'I beg pardon for being suswisely. If we are to aid the Missourians, let us send them the muskers, but not the men. Fifty per cent. of ministration papers call our friends; and every one of hands of Missourians. It is an expensive way of treat- body else. Instead of this, they ought to glory in it, and say, 'Thank God ! you suspect me of being a Black box them up, and label them, 'To the Missouri Mob at Republican ; I was afraid that you would suspect me of the hands of men, to be surrendered at the first summons. to blister the lips of that editor, who, with ten thousand How the South will glory over such a defeat! It is not Southern editors crying out, like Sterne's starling, Yankee to be cheated thus! I hoped, when I read the Black Republican, declares that he has no concern for story, that the men carried Quaker guns, and had sent the black race, and seeks only to save the whites. What the real ones another way, but it seems they were real is our merit? It is that we have earned the right to be called traitors and infidels ;- that is all the merit we have got. We must hold that right. If you go up and down history, and want to find who has done good to his the British on Concord green, did not fire to such a day age, find whom the rascals opposed, and you will be sure as this, Glory to old Concord! She knows when to he did good to his generation. If you will show me party that begins its platform without an apology, I will almost be tempted to vote, and strain my conwe stand. That has the smell of the old instinct that ter-be has earned his pardon-be had a good word sought the British, and that the British sought first, for Charles Sumner in Fancuil Hall. (Cheers.) Whenin the days when they ventured to grapple with the ever a party begins its platform thus- We go for the revolutionary spirit. I like it. It shows that the blood abolition of slavery first, whether the Union survives it that flowed from the wounds on Concord Green left the or not'-let that be the front, the beginning, the very same character of blood behind. I like another thing. sharpest edge of their axe—I know they will pene Off in Missouri, Mr. Swasey tell us, they say that no trate. If they will begin with that, with the declara-Boston man shall be permitted to visit Kansas. Very tion that Mr. Fors wanted the Methodists to make, "We well. There were two Boston men, John Hancock and love the slave more than we love the Constitution,' if Sam Adams, that the British hated in 1776. I am glad they will let the South know it, that is all I will ask .-Boston has earned the same reputation in 1856. Mas- Why, if to-day you will only give me the despot sachusetts was always a contankerous State, and I hope control of Massachusetts, with God's power to turn she will be so in the present Revolution. Men and we- its mind and heart for twelve months, I will abolish she neen, let us earn that same reputation, that when liberty is cloven down, and oppression seeks to gain an un- Representatives. I will tell them to busy themselves in divided triumph, the first obstacle she finds in her way getting up a convention for Massachusetts alone to be a in 1856, as, in 1776, shall be Massachusetts! (Aphouse doors, and write over them, ' No one enters here I have this criticism to make, Mr. Chairman, upon until the emancipation of the slaves bursts these doors the Republican party. I read to-day that the Canada with a shout of welcome from twenty-five millions of Legislature (the lower branch) had voted fifty thousand people.' (Loud cheers.) The moment that news reachpounds to build a Parliament House, and that the high- es Washington, that Massachusetts has begun a revoluer branch (answering to our Senate) had refused the tion, be sure some steps will be taken to get rid of slawhole appropriation bill for the expenses of the govern- very. It is only the first step that costs. Let it be ment : and the Canadian government stands at a dead known that the Choates and the Winthrops, the men lock to-day, because one branch will not vote the appropriations, for the reason that the other has been extravagant in its appropriations for building. That is all the drift-wood comes to the shore,-have bowed to the game I want the Republican party to play here, if Mr. Garrison; that the Daily Advertiser has taken of they have got any principle. Mr. Giddings moved in its hat to the Liberstor; and instantly, if John C. Calthe House of Representatives that the appropriation houn's bones hang together by a single ligament, he will bill should be stopped, because it included forty thou- get out of his coffin, and command the abolition of slasand dollars for the surrender of Margaret Garner at very. (Cheers.) Public rumor says that Mr. Win-Cincinnati. They voted him down; but it was the duty throp and the Whigs are about to close a bargain with

ment that the father of Robert Charles Winthrop was not party, who meet three times a year, pass reso until they became the refuge of all that was basest in the common sewers of the country. (Applause.)

while we recognise every generous act, while we praise

every noble word, while we seek to honor, with gener-

ous magnanimity, every devoted effort, even of the

politician, in this matter, we should constantly bear

our earnest testimony that nothing can be done in

that direction. It is only an experiment to educate men

to something better and higher. Look at it! Suppose

Col. Fremont gets the government, say the Republican

the government when he gets the Presidential chair.

That is the mistake. The government is not office ; the

government is the Slave Power-nothing else. The

present President, so called-what is his name? (Great

laughter.) [A voice-'Pierce.'] Yes, Pierce, is not

President of the United States ; it is the Slave Power

behind him. Poor fellow! he is the object of every

Slave Power-a sort of magnetic spirit that seeks its publican,) when we tried to get Judge Loring out of own. The Slave Power is the government. The merchants of Boston are the Slave Power, who want the profits of the government ; the manufacturers of New England are the Slave Power, who want the profits of cotton. It is the wealth of the country. A man said to man, is this: Garrisonians! go on! spend every oth me in Boston streets, ' If you were to thrash CHARLES SUMMER twenty times, you could not thrash him into a gentleman.' You will find hundreds of such men walking the pavements of Boston, owning the wealth of a hundred thousand dollars. That is the Slave Power, inst as much as the ' nephew of my uncle,' who held the cape over Sumper's head, and let it down with so much force ; that is the government. Now, put Fremont into the Presidential chair, and if he endeavored to be an anti-slavery President, it would break the Union. If he continued to be President, he must be a pro-slavery President, for the very elements of strength are on that side. Take this town of Framingham in which we are. You know-you who live here-that the education and wealth of this town rule; that there are some score of families holding that sort of respectability and position in the town, that they may be considered the town, to all intents and purposes; and if, now and then, you get the control of the town, by a spasm, out of their ands, it falls back again. The people rose up in the Know-Nothing days, and by a spasm of excitement, took Massachusetts out of the hands of the Whige, who ruled it, not because they knew how, but because they could not help it, because they were the wealth of Mas sachusetts. It is a sort of firm anchorage, a deadweight power; they were that power-they could not over, and you had the Legislature that has just adjourned, they did not rule Massachusetts ; it was the old sented. He thought there was never a time when those Whigs in new shapes. Gen. Devereaux and Mr. Lord a table spread with every variety of food, but somehow or other, said he, it all tastes of gruel. (Laughter.) It was the old party that took the lead again. It will rule Massachusetts unless you can keep people at a white heat, and you cannot do that for any length of time. Could we have got those three thousand men, who got together at that spontaneous meeting in Tremont Tem-What we want is to create an everlasting principle; a what the government shall be, and as to the agents to at the bottom of it.' (Cheers.) No, it is doing discred- to enact. it to the assassin ; a coward, a skulking thief ;-a man whom, as the resolutions at Cambridge, adopted by the Professors there, said, 'language has no epithet to deupon Charles Sumner. They sent to ask him why, rightfully may do it. He was overseer of Harvard College ;-thought it would compromise his eminent official position ! And the next report brought an account of a meeting at Cambridge, and the adoption of resolutions that went a whole arrow's flight beyond the Worcester resolutions; and the Professors and officers of the College were all in it. (Laughter and cheers.) I rejoice in it. It taught the skulking time-server what honest men felt it right and fit-I want a few more such. Excitement will waste away its strength. When Kansas is beaten to the ground, the enthusiasm that now stirs the Northern pulse like watch events. When you see Buchanan elected, Kaneas trodden down in fire and blood, Mexico destroyed, Cuba purchased or stolen, will you be disunionists? figure ; he will never do that ; but he will do it in es-You will never see the time when the country will be lower than it will be the next two years. It

century. It may be so with this anti-slavery reform. whom the sun looks down. It is by no means certain that this very effort will The following letter, addressed by our respected free the slaves. Money and interest, the love of the friend and faithful co-worker, ADIN BALLOU, to one of Yankee for the dollar, the hatred of the negro be- the Committee of Arrangements, very properly finds a cause he is black, the peculiar condition of the coun-place in our record :try, may smother out ideas that, like Cromwell, had triumphed for a time. A century of despotism may follow it; and then, some other Garrison will rise up, like a phenix, from the ashes of the first, and perhaps God will bless him with the absolute redemption of the slave. That the time will come, I know it; but we cannot count too much upon the certainty of our success, because bless will triumph. This government is against emancipation. Four thousand millions of dol lars the slaves are worth to-day; and Heury A. Wise mays 'if Buchanan is elected, the price of slaves will be doubled, if not trebled.' Do you suppose that such a location of the slaves are worther. The times are replete with eloquence. I welcome the spray of each dashing wave, as higher and higher the incoming tide of a strong but glorious revolution rolls toward us. We shall have a wild and bloody time; but there is a blessed calm to succeed, when justice shall be doned to the content of the slaves are worther.

Hopping, June 28, 1856

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

Excuse me for not promptly answering your favor of the 19th instant, inviting me to attend and speak at Pramingham on the 4th prozino. I intend to be present there, if nothing prevents; but I am unwilling to think of speaking where so many better soldiers,—full of energy and electrifying eloquence,—will be ripe and ready for the stand. The times and their almost daily events are replete with eloquence. I welcome the spray of each dashing wave, as higher and higher the incom ing tide of a strong but glorious revolution rolls toward us. We shall have a wild and bloody time; but there is a blessed calm to succeed, when justice shall be doned doubled, if not trebled.' Do you suppose that such as try, may smother out ideas that, like Cromwell, had

of Winthrop that ever lived will have cause to la- power can be met and vanquished by the Republican the last of the Winthrops. (Prolonged cheering.) - and then go home? No, indeed; it is to met, if not a When a Massachusetts man, and in a Massachusetts at- the point of the bayonet, then by measures of mora mosphere, held up by Massachusetts confidence, is so power equally decisive;—by men who say—' No furblind to the spirit of his own day, so servile to the conwe mean.' I want one single earnest step from the trolling elements of the government, that for office, for we mean.' I want one single earnest step from the success, for revenge upon his rival, who took his own North, that shall convince the South that she loves place in the Senate, he can violate all the memories of the freedom of the slave more than she loves the Union the past, and even at this day join the vile cohort that and the moment I get that, I am as certain of goes out for the conquest of Kansas, for the annexation the liberty of the slave as if I saw it. But the South of Cuba, and for the robbery of Mexico. Massachusetts knows the North better than the Daily Advertiser .cannot find, in all her vocabulary, epithets stinging She knows that the Abolitionists, the Republican party enough to describe his degradation. [A voice-'Tories.'] men, do not represent the whole of Massachusetts \*Torics! The tories were honest men comparatively. Why, WALDO EMERSON made a speech the other evening They were only young Democrats gone to seed. But at Concord. Mr. Garrison has been there, I have been Winthrop never oven wandered into the Democratic ranks there, Mr. Pillsbury, Mr. Foster, and Miss Holley, and many others have been there, and I look upon that speech as the 'bright consummate flower' of the last Yes, friends, it seems to me the main thing is, that thirty years; and the labor of those thirty years has not been thrown away, if it produced one such speech as that. The whole literature of the Sumner outrage has no parallel to it. Now, if we could have, not on Waldo Emerson-whom we used to look upon as dreamer, as a man hid away in the woods-but twelve hundred thousand, in the State of Massachusetts, w should have four million freed slaves next summe (Cheers.) I want a million of men in Massachusettsjournals, cannot he abolish slavery? He does not get a million of souls. We sometimes say there are a mil lion of souls in Massachusetts. Bless me ! that is giving a soul to everybody! (Laughter.) I want million of souls in Massachusetts, penetrated with an idea; willing to die for it; willing better than that, to live for it, and by it, and up to it.

But, my friends, I must not occupy your time longer [Cries of 'go on, go on.'] No, my friends, I shall not man's pity-even Benton despises him. He is not Pres- go on. I have said all I have to say. I want to hear ident of the United States; but Caleb Cushing, who our friend Burleigh, and friend Remond, and others cannot be considered an individual, but only an imper- And we have with us, too, a man who stood by us like a sonation of rascality itself—the essential servant of the true Garrisonian, as he is, (though he thinks he is a Rehis office ; and we should not have come within beat of drum so near to it as we did, had we not had a noble Senator from Marlboro' inside the Senate chamber to help us. (Cheers.) But my point to-day, Mr. Chair er hour of your life in criticising your neighbor politi cian, and spend your other hour in doing your whole duty for the two hours. Mark you that ! And if you do not do that, remember that you have no right to criticise the Republican party. (Loud applause.)

> Hon. O. W. Alber, of Marlboro', being called upon spoke briefly of his deep and abiding interest in the Anti-Slavery movement, and of the pleasure it had given him to render it, at any time, his service.

> CHARLES C. BURLEIGH came forward, and endorse and ably supported the arguments of the previous speakers, touching the necessity of a dissolution of the Union. How is it, and why is it, he asked, that Mas sachusetts desires, or is willing, to remain one instant longer in Union with men so vile as now control and represent the slaveholding States, and have subjected the entire country to their will and pleasure? Massa chusetts is insulted, assaulted, degraded and disgraced through her connection with slaveholders,-and so are the Northern people everywhere. Both as a matter of policy and of duty. Massachusetts should break her connexion with the slave States ; and every other Northern State, to be hopest and safe, should do the same,

Rev. Mr. KINBALL, of Barre, being present, was in vited to address the audience, and came forward. He help it. Well, when the Know-Nothing spasm was said he was reluctant to utter a word, after so much of the ablest and most eloquent argument had been pre who can conscientiously exercise the elective franchise were only old Whigs with new names; it was the same should feel a deeper responsibility than now in the exthing. As the Scotch mapiac told his company, he had eroise of it. He argued that he might consistently and fairly appoint another man to act as his representative in the United States Government, provided that other men can occupy such position with a clear conscience. although he himself could not occupy such a position.

that Mr. Kimball had mistaken the nature of the ballot. He had spoken of it as a simple expression of ple, to speak a word against the outrage upon Charles opinion, an indication of individual preferences and Sumner,-could we have got those men together, and wishes. Voting, said Mr. Burleigh, is far more than kept them as excited as they were then for a month, we this ; it is an act of sovereignty : it is the act, by which could have revolutionized Massachusetts. But that the sovereign people, from time to time, new-create and spirit cannot be kept up. Enthusiasm dies out in an continue the government which they at first set up ; it hour. It is like heat, here to-day, and gone to-morrow. is declaratory of their sovereign will and pleasure as to sentiment deep in the heart; a determination that loses whom they will confide the administration of it. When, no opportunity, that maintains its representatives in therefore, Mr. Kimball votes for Charles Sumner to be everything. I like Gen. Wilson's letter to Brooks, say- his representative in the national councils, Mr. Suming that he would not fight a duel with Brooks. It was ner becomes, in the Senate, the impersonation of Mr. a fair representation of Massachusetts feeling. But I Kimball, and of every other man who voted for him. should have liked it a great deal better, if, when he re- A vote is an act of government. And again-by the ceived Brooks's letter, he had called for the fire-tongs not of suffrage, a virtual promise is given that obediand thrown it out of the window, and said, 'No decent ence shall be rendered to all the acts which the repreman can touch a letter with the name of that assassin sentative—Charles Sumner or some other—shall help

responsible for my own acts, appoint another to do an act which I should think it wrong to do myself? If, scribe.' That was a good meeting at Cambridge-a said Mr. B., I believe any action immoral, I become a very good meeting. Ex-Governor Washburn, moderate sharer in the immorality by appointing another to do man ! conservative man ! prudent man ! could not go it, no matter by what argument, (it may be by what to the Worcester meeting, held to consider the outrage casnistry,) he may have persuaded himself that he

The rain having caused a change in the arrangements of the Railroad Company, which rendered it necessary for such of those present as came by Railroad to leave nearly an hour sooner than was expected, the mreting, at this time, voted to adjourn.

interesting and useful meeting was thus held. The words spoken were earnest, condensed, full of fire, and ting to do. It taught him that there was an outrage so our hearts burned within us. Like the children of Isdeep that it could stir up the icy and crystalline depths racl, when preparing for their final departure from of Cambridge coldness to at least thought on the subject. Egypt and from the service of their oppressive masters our (spiritual) food was eaten in haste, standing, and, as it were, ' with our loins girded, our shoes on our feet, our staff in our hand.' May it be emblematical of our fire will be wasted and gone. All I ask is, that you ready attitude to break away from the guilty bonds which unite us to the Slave Power, and to make our exodus from this into a better union, into a more ' goodly land,' which God will assuredly give us, if we go forth You do not mean to wait for Toombe to actually call the trustful in him. May we be wise to depart before our roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill? That was only a selfish and ever more-exacting masters have made us their bond-servants forever,-us and our children after us. The redemption of four million slaves ; our own cannot go any lower ; for the North will be thoroughly beaten to the dust, and if its spirit does not revive then, safety and peace; our own honor; the prompt and it never will revive, except by some great convulsion thorough settlement of every distracting question,—in short, whatever consideration ought to weigh with self-Men will say- This is rant; God reigns; Ideas respecting and honorable men, -all appeal to us to will govern ; the Right will triumph.' No doubt of it. bring our union and partnership with these murderen But, gentlemen, you know many efforts for liberty and men-stealers to an immediate and perpetual end. have failed. Wickliffe, Huss, and half a dozen others, Let us lay aside every weight, every doubt, every un set up the banner of reform, as Luther did, but went worthy fear, and, in the contest which must come, quit down to the grave, and the wave of triumphant Cathol- us like men, and not slink away like slaves. Let us cism swept over them; and if Luther had not succeed- join together, one and all, upon high and honest ground, ed, you would never have heard of them. Reform against the common fees of man and of God, -against

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, in reply, said that he thought

The question is this-Can I, as a moral agent and

Notwithstanding the very unfavorable weather, an movements may fail, and be trodden out of sight for a the cruellest, meanest, and most cowardly despots on

The Finance Committee collected forty-siz dollars towards paying the expenses of the meeting.
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
J. M. W. YERRINTOS, Secretaries.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS To the American Anti-Slavery Society, in aid of the

new series of Tracts. Mrs. Daviel Thompson, by Seth Hunt, Northampto Mass., Prentiss and Sawyer, Boston,

John T. Sargent, ... 4 0
Henry V. Pond, South Weymouth, Mass., 1.0
E. Schlaeger, Chicago, Illinois, 0 6
FRANCIS JACKSON, Trias.
Boston, July 10, 1856.

ONE HUNDRED ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Siavery Society have projected, and with the aid of Aux-Iliary Societies propose to hold, during the ensuing season, a series of ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS. These Conventions will be held in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, &c., - wherever, indeed, opportunity and means will allow. The Committee earnestly invoke the co-operation of the members of the Society, and of all Friends of Freedom and Humanity, in every part of the land, their sympathy and their contributions, that these Conventions may be rendered in the highest degree effective, and the presage of the near approach of the perfect triumph of Liberty.

The series, which has already been commenced, will be continued as follows :

The Annual Meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Sla-pery Society will be holden at PEMBROKE, in the Town Hall, on Sunday, July 13th, at 101 o'clock, A. M. WM. LLOYD GARRISON and other speakers will be pres-ent; and the members of the Society, and all the friends

of Freedom, are earnestly requested to attend.

BOURNE SPOONER, President. SAMUEL DYER, Secretary.

MANCHESTER, N. H.—An Anti-Slavery Conty, will be held in that city on Sunday, July 18th, and will be attended by PARKER PILLEBURY and ANDREW T. Foss, on behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society. See local notices.

PROVIDENCE, R. I. -- An Anti-Slavery Conven-July 20th, at usual hours of meeting; to be attended by Parker Pillsbury and Joseph A. Howland, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society. See local

MIDDLESEX CO. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY The Annual Meeting of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at READING, in Lyceum HALL, on Sunday, July 20th, at the usual hours of meeting, morning, afternoon, and evening. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES L. REMOND, and oth-

er speakers, will be present.

The members of the Society and residents of neighboring towns are earnestly requested to attend as above.
WILLIAM WHITING, President. MARY M. BROOKS, Secretary.

All communications for the undersigned, until further notice, should be sent to Leicester, Mass. SAMUEL MAY, JR., General Agent Mass. Anti-Slavery Society. June 6, 1856.

Persons wishing Dr. J. S. Rock to lecture, should address him at No. 60 Southac street, Boston.

A COLORED BOY, nearly 12 years old, wishes a place upon a farm. Apply to R. F. Wallour, 21 Cornbill.

COLORED DOMESTICS IN DEMAND .- Several excellent situations in families in adjacent towns can be secured by immediate application to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

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Two young colored men, well qualified, desire situa-

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A gentleman having recovered from a settled

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year: Five Copies, \$4 00; Ten Copies, \$7 00; Twen-ty Copies, \$10 00. Now is the time to subscribe. FOWLER AND WELLS. 808 Broadway, New York.



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### Hopedale Home School.

THE next Quarter of this Institution, established and operating with the sanction of the Hopedale Community, will commence on Thursday, July 24th. For particular information, please address either of the Principals, at Hopedale, Milford, Mass.

WILLIAM S. HAYWOOD,

ABBIE S. HAYWOOD,

June 27.

A Masements—Their uses and abuses:

A Testimony of the Progressive Friends. A tract of 16 pages, sanctioned by the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, and by the Waterloo (N. Y.) Yearly Meeting of Friends of Human Progress. For sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Price 3 cents single; 60 copies for \$1. This tract treats upon the subject of amusements in a very admirable manner, and is deserving of the widest circulation.

### POETRY.

INDEPENDENCE DAY. Written for the Anti-Slavery Celebration at Fram ingham, July 4, 1856.

No naure flag, with silken folds, waves o'er us mid the No bugle note, no triumph shout, is borne upon the

breeze ; The Eagle of the Stars and Stripes is now the Spoiler' bird. And only mournful, bitter thoughts are by its presen

stirred. We are not met the dead to praise, in proud histori strains. And boast that heroes were our sires,-the men of Con

cord's plains : We dare not speak of Lexington, or Bunker's Hill, to Can we forget that slave-ships ride in the waters of our

And that, amid our fair green fields, rich with the way ing grain. Within our quiet sheltered vales, and on our sunny

plains. There is no spot where man is free-no refuge for the No shelter where the outcast ones may find a home of

And we, New England's sons, have met with saddene hearts to-day. Not of our fathers' deeds to boast, but for ourselves t

And for our brothers, bound in chains, the earnest word to speak-

We would not strengthen giant Wrong, but we would raise the weak.

Oh ! sadly on our listening ear, there comes a plaintive 'Tis wafted from the Southern plains upon the summe

gale ; We know it is our brother's voice, that moan of ag-And shall those sad and pleading tones still disregarded

And is it not a vain pretence, this boast that we are free.

While millions in our land still wear the yoke of slavery? At Freedom's pure and hallowed shrine shall we dare bend the knee?

Ah ! well we know 'tis but a sham-a hollow mockery Will not the slave, with fettered hand, still beckon us

And spectral forms, with outstretched arms, hover around our way ? Will not the frenzied mother's voice demand of us be

And outraged womanhood still plead in anguish deep and wild? We must not hope to hide our guilt from the all-seeing

Nor to deceive th' omniscient One with words of flattery:

Will politicians' subtle wiles avail us in that day, When Death removes all earthly veils, and bears us bence away ?

And can we plead before our Judge the laws our country gave, And that 'twas lawful in our land our brother to en

slave?

And can we hope with cotton bales, and fields of rice and cane, To buy his pardon for the past-his favor to obtain?

Better than Ophir's golden ore, or wealth of India's mine. One noble word for Truth and Right, -one gift on Mercy's shrine!

Better one cup of water given in our dear Master's name. Than gilded shrine by Mammon reared, his worship to

proclaim ! And while, to-day, with earnest hearts, we labor for the Right,

May wisdom unto us be given to do our work aright! Still bravely walk in Duty's path, nor fear the tyrant's Knowing that we must bear the cross, if we would win

the crown. Barre, Mass.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard. LINES. On reading the Account of the Purchase of a Slave in

Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. BY FRANCES D. GAGE. Weep, weep, ye Christian people ! Let your souls in sorrow melt Over woes that crush the mother,

Over wrongs ye've never felt ; Pile the plate with gold and silver; Free one victim from the grasp Of the Christian lord and master-Aye, one galling chain unclasp.

Sob aloud in pity, woman, Child of wealth, in lace and flowers, As you think of all the anguish Of the slave girl's youthful hours ; Cast your jewels in, O mother ! What are gems and pearls to thee ? They will break a mother's fetters. They will set the prisoner free.

Shout, shout for human freedom, O, ye Christians, long and loud-Shout o'er the rescued stranger; Of the deed ye may be proud ! Let the chorus swell to heaven For the one good work ye've done : Ye have broke the bond of slavery For one mother and one son!

But see ye not, behind her, A dark despairing throng-Three million human creatures, Suffering slavery's curse and wrong ? Will your tears give hope and comfort? Will your sobs assuage their pains ? Will your gold or silver buy them? Will your jewels break their chains?

Were the million suffering mothers On your pulpit-stand to-day, Could your generous offerings help them, Or tears wash chains away? And the million sable fathers, Who like beasts must turn the sod, Could your tears or gold redeem them From the tyrant's galling rod?

And the million little children, Could you see them chained and driven. Like the young lambs, to the slaughter? Those dark-browed types of Heaven, Could you buy them, could you save them From their dark and fearful doom, And, with hands of loving kindness, Scatter sunshine o'er the gloom ?

No !- but they to you in anguish Cry for sacrifice more bold Than giving tears and pity-To take your stand for freedom, Men and women, true and strong ; Working bravely, working hourly, Till ye right the fearful wrong.

'Ye have helped to bind our fetters,' Goes the slave-cry ever forth ; . Ye have helped to bind our fetters, O ye freemen of the North ! Rouse, ye Christians, now from slumber, Break the tyrant's chain and rod : If ye will it, ye can po it, standing true to Right and God !

I think of spending perhaps a month more here THE LIBERATOR. Shall go next to the county town of Allegan county north-west of Kalamazoo.

LABORS AT THE WEST. Hastings, Barry Co., (Micb.,) } June 18, 1856.

DEAR FRIEND-I sit at a window, looking down on the Thorn Apple river, which flows past within a stone's throw, at the foot of a bluff fifty feet below. It is a clear stream, perhaps a hundred feet wide; on the north side is the forest, southward is the valley. Its bright waters, gleaming in the conshine, or shaded by fact of this development of Quakerism on its re-pleasantly to the ear this afternoon. The town is in homes of a thousand people, as though asserting the

the log-cabin of the pioneer the most common dwelling. dience, on the Kansas outrages, and kindred deeds of Bonaventora, Tauler, and Gerson, they taught a evil. A few hissed-most listened attentively. The substantial and immediate communion with God people are much roused by these late events, and come out in good numbers to the meetings. I was at Battle nence of God in the soul, and religious faith in Creek, some two weeks since, at an indignation meeting recognizing this immanence. Dissatisfied both largely attended, and have talked on these subjects in with the formalism of the Church of England and largely attended, and have talked on these subjects in Albion, Parma, Concord and vicinity, to good audiences. Slavery is beginning to lay hands on Northern men, and people are surprised and indignant. They God, for which the mediation of the Church and are but reaning the results of their own position and the creed were not essential. Barclay says, that acts, and a consciousness of the fact seems dawning on their minds. '

reached the shore, and got on board a vessel for Phila-delphia. Gold and jewels his mother had snatched in denied the duty of keeping the Sabbath, rejected a gold, -a fortune in itself, -on another vessel for the of dress and address, kept on its hat in the pres same port, belonging to Stephen Girard. All arrived ence of dignituries, said Thee and Thou, and thus safe, but they not being able to prove property, the bar- displeased the whole community. It refused to rel was kept—this and other similar precious trusts, so seemed to renounce patriotism and the defence the owners of which never lived to present their claims, of one's country. Before there was any Anti-Slalaying the foundation of Girard's great wealth, very Society, the Quaker preached against slave-wealthy Frenchmen befriended them, the lad was put ry; before there was any Prisoner's Friend Sociein a counting-room, in due time went to the island of ty, he sought to abolish capital punishment and iming tired of it, he sold and left, and it is now the home and broad was the movement of the early Quakers, of Henry and Phebe Willis—a sister of Lydia Mott, of It really involved in itself almost every subsequent

meetings in my native New England, this summer. It to be done as a matter of form. By and by the gives one cheer, and faith, and strength, to feel the body which at first rejoiced in its individual charmoral magnetism' of such an atmosphere. Most es acter, and loved its separate existence, begins to sential, too, is it, now, that men and women should desire to be again like others. Of late years, the sential, too, is it, now, that men and women should Quakers in England and the United States have speak absolute truth, bound by no limitations of party cultivated Orthodoxy. Many of them, receding or sect ; such are the hope of the country. now more from the early doctrine of their founders, conform than ever. Let them keep their position, then, and every free, brave word shall thrill through the land, giving vitality to every grade of anti-slavery effort by sounding ever the cheering call, 'Come up hither.' It is interesting to meet in lone places those who have is interesting to meet in lone places those who have question of the Trinity and Unity, but presently heard such utterances, and gained a vigor and health led to other things, and among the rest to the proof soul and conscience, a beautiful perception of the gressive religious movement of which we have now sacredness of universal liberty, precious to themselves, to speak. Originating with the Hickeite Friends, saving to those around them.

MAPLE GROVE, June 20. first; no hissing, but quiet attention until a late hour.

Yesterday I came by stage fourteen miles south-east.

The road wound round some miles through heavy openings—groves of great caks grandly heaviful—then ings-groves of great oaks grandly beautiful-then past large clearings with orchards and good farm-

The morning after writing from Maple Grove, I heard were allowed, however, without molestation, to join at sunrise the crack of a rifle. A deer had been seen in the wheat field: a few bullets hastily run, and it was the wheat field: a few bullets hastily run, and it was many the control of the control of

clock in the morning, with the school-house filled. Ev-responsible, while the Monthly Meetings, in their turn erywhere around the clearings, the heavy forest, the were answerable to the Quarterly.

might look out of a window, expecting to see the mountains of Vermont close at hand.

Leaving southward the next morning, a half-hour's ride brought us to the forest again. Crossing the Thorn Apple, I was shown the spot where, a week ago, two hundred pounds of fine fish were caught in a few hours. Three hours' ride brought me to this village of ave hundred people. I intend to visit Charlotte, the county seen, is that it has adopted a Congregational principle of Eaton county, soon. It is amidst the forest, fif, ciple of church government. This is significant of teen miles north east. I go next to Battle Creek, only Three bours' ride brought me to this village of five

twelve miles distant. The beautiful groves of the oak openings are in eight from the open door as I write. But this letter is too long already. I send it, think ing that a fortnight's journeyings in the Michigan for ests may be of interest; that some friends may per chance be glad to hear of my whereabout; and espe cially because a word in your columns seems like welding a link by which I am bound to the Abolitionists -a tie I would be sorry indeed to sever.

> With best wishes, your friend, G. B. STEBBINS From the Christian Examiner.

THE PROGRESSIVE PRIENDS The secession from the Friends which has taken

pleasantly to the ear this afternoon. The town is in nary one. Consider how much it included in itself, sight in the valley; every house can be almost looked It was the most radical enterprise ever yet uninto. Meeting-houses and court-house rise above the Church and State. It was at once a spiritual movement, aiming at a loftier piety, -a the dignity of Church and State. All around is the forest, movement, seeking a broader creed,-a reform its leafy wall reaching up to the verge of the village, movement, aiming at the overthrow of war, slave-

stretching away many miles. A hundred people have come here within a few months—more coming constantly. I came by stage from Battle Creek, seven hours' ride writings of the early Friends. The spiritual charover a bad road, the country not densely settled, and acter of their system showed itself in their doc trine of the inward light. Like the mystics of Last night I spoke in the court-house, to a good au-lience, on the Kaness ourrages, and kindred deeds of Madame Guion, like Erigena and St. Bernard, like the dogmatism of the Puritans, the founder of Quakerism sought for a more substantial and inwhere the true inward knowledge of through the revelation of his Spirit, there is all I wish you could have been with me on the banks of This faith in the constant presence of the Comforter neither is there an absolute necessity of any other. St. Mary's Lake, a beautiful stream of water, a mile across, and very deep, four miles north of Battle Creek.

All around, trees tower up close by the beach, and their branches hang over its transparent waters. On the east side is a spacious and pleasant dwelling, built doctrine of the Church was attacked by it; for though the Friends did not make it their direct aim a year since by a wealthy Philadelphian of French birth, named Poizett. His grandfather was Governor of St. Domingo, his father was Lieutenant-Governor when the massacre occurred, the result of the effort to re-enslave the blacks. His mother and aunt were disaguised as market women by a faithful slave, and he,—
then but three years old,—nut in a basket, covered with then but three years old, -put in a basket, covered with tion of society as upheld by government and united evergreens, and placed on a donkey's back. Thus they by law. It rejected public worship of the usual haste, and concealed on her person, paying their way.

The slave also managed to get a barrel of plate and tian Church. It refused to conform to social usages rel was kept-this and other similar precious trusts, fight, would pay no tax for the support of war, and St. Thomas, and in a few years returned with an ample prisonment for debt; before there was a Peace fortune. Interested in western lands, he fancied a home Society, he renounced war; before there was a St. Thomas, and in a lew years returned a home fortune. Interested in western lands, he fancied a home in the woods for summer would be delightful, and the level with man, and called on her to speak in his level with man, and called on her to speak in his tasteful building was put up by his order. Soon grow-meeting, and to preach in public. Thus radical

of Henry and Phebe Willis—a sister of Lydia Mott, of Albany. What reality stanger than romance in such a life! What a delightful place! you would exclaim.

But, however free the first movement of any religious sect or party may be, it is apt very soon to stiffen and harden into a routine. That which It would be very pleasant to be at some of your great was first done from an inward impulse, continues it now embraces many persons hitherto belonging to other sects and to no sect, who have associated together on a pretty distinctly defined platform of The second meeting at Hastings was larger than the perfect freedom of religious opinion, and united

'The whole matter may be summed up in a few words past large clearings with orchards and good farmhouses on the farms—the surface rolling, the soil good,
except some light ridges; then a long straight line cut
through dense timber land, the column trunks of imthrough dense timber land, the column trunks of immense trees standing thick on either side amidst tan-gled undergrowth, towering up to great height, and masses of leaves piled up above, through which sunlight masses of leaves piled up above, through which sunlight could hardly reach. So deliciously cool in those shades! so grateful the dim light as shelter from a glaring sun! Spoke last night in a school-house.

I am stopping at a two-story white house, a mansion truly of dignified pretensions among the cabins along the road on either side. There are flowers in the grassy yard, trees for fruit and ornament, evidences of taste. Broad fields spread away southward, but the forest closes on every side, and is now near at hand across the road. In seventeen years this fine farm has been opened; not a tree was cut then; they stood all over it, thick almost as grass in a harvest field. What a lesson of persistent energy the lives of these pioneers!

Bellevue, June 26.

The morning after writing from Maple Grove, I heard shot, bounding off for the woods, but leaving blood on its track. A dog was sent for to run it down, but I the Reformers were compelled to choose between distance without waiting its capture.

Going north seven miles, I found a school-house more than full of people. In five days, talked six times to good audiences, the last meeting at half-past seven o's clock in the morning, with the school-house side. For a seven o's clock in the morning, with the school-house filled. For a seven oil while the Monthly Meetings were held directly clock in the morning, with the school-house filled. For a seven oil while the Monthly Meetings in their turns.

responsible, while the Monthly Meetings, in their turn, strokes of the pioneer's axe ringing through its gloomy shades, and dense smoke-clouds rising from the burn-light, and fitted for a first harvest. The soil is rich, equal to the best parts of Western New York. Settlers are fast coming in.

Tuesday, the 24th, I reached Vermontville, settled sixteen years since by a colony from the Green Mountains. Fifty or more neat dwellings are scattered over a clearing of some thousands of acrea. In its centre, an academy, a store or two, and a faw houses. Homes, people and farms, New England-like. The academy was filled in the evening. After seeing the audience, one might look out of a window, expecting to see the mountains of Verment also, at head. rewith yet remain.

therewith yet remain.

Next in order comes the Waterloo Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends.

Next is the Ohio Yearly Meeting, formed in 1852. The Michigan Yearly Meeting was next formed. The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressiv Friends, though the youngest, is yet the most numerous and efficient of all.

America in the seventeenth century, as one of the first results of the second Reformation. Papacy, Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, and Congregational-ism are, in the Church, the same thing that Royalty. Aristocracy, Republicanism, and Democracy are in the State. But the seventeenth century was not ready for this form of government, and consequently there has been a long reaction in the Protestation. Thus they gave to each church the power of con- It would be hard for the Peace Society, after it had this declaration, the whole distinction between clergy and laity was struck away. But the Congregational churches have not acted up to this, their own principle, but have always had as much their own principle, but have always had as much thought and philanthropic action. The difficulty of a clergy as other churches. They have, how-exists only as regards associations, not as regards ever, maintained the independent principle of individuals. An individual can think freely on church government, although they have not seed overy subject, and, when he wishes to act, can join creded in extending its domain, since the beginning the particular association with which he agrees. of the eighteenth century. But we may be sure of the may be radical as regards slavery, very conserthis,—that whenever a body arises in the Church vative as regards woman's rights;—on the quesceking a broader activity, it will pretty certainly tion of war, he may agree with the ultra party, plant itself on the Congregational principle of and be a non-resistant; but as regards temperance, church government. It must necessarily do so, in he may belong to those who think it right to drink order to escape the oppressive tendencies and the in moderation. All he has to do is to think for narrow spirit which come from an authoritative himself, and when he wishes to act, to join the union of churches. Such, therefore, was the ac- special sect with which he agrees. When he has tion of the Friends who, in New York and Ohio, joined the philanthropic association, he has indeed took the name of Congregational Friends, but who renounced, for the time he belongs to it, his free

Christianity. The idea which the Progressive Friends have in ceed in solving the problem which we have sugview appears very plainly in the annual reports gested. We, too, have longed to see a church which now lie before us, of the New York Yearly which should be at once practical and progressive; Meetings for eight years back, the Pennsylvania which should be liberal without being lakewarm ; Yearly Meeting for the last three years, and the which should take up every question of humanity, Ohio Yearly Meeting. All of them contain testimonies in regard to Temperance, Slavery, the Rights of Woman, Amusements, War and Peace, the treatment of Criminals, the Use of Tobacco, constantly stimulated to new thought and the and the like. They are in correspondence with freest inquiry, in which the heart should be fed by distinguished persons in different parts of the prayer and the outpouring of the deepest spiritual country, whose letters are printed in these reports. They appear to be well provided with zeal and firmly to shoulder, and hand grasped strongly in carnestness in behalf of their ideas. Their Year-hand, in the closest union for all Christian uses. ly Meetings are well attended, and they have the ardor of a new people.

This body of Progressive Friends is trying a great experiment, namely. Can a Christian denom-ination exist without a distinct theology of any kind ! And again, Can a Christian denomination take an active part in the different reforms of the day! The experiment is certainly worth trying. For our own part, we do not believe in the necessity of a fixed theology in a church. There must, no doubt, be some common consiction as the basis of union; there must be some central belief, and some standard to which to appeal. Roman Catholics have the Bible and Tradition, and an Infallible Church to decide what these teach. Protestants have the Bible, and the Creed, and a majority in the church, to decide what these mean. Unitarians have the Bible, and each man's reason to decide what it teaches. But these Friends go a step farther, and take all nature and history as the source of truth, and individual reason as its rule. such enterprises as the one before us .- J. F. C. Now this may well constitute a church of seekers and students : but how is it as regards a church of believers! Can such a church be said to have any belief at all! and if no belief, can they be a teachin any sense ! who have nothing to say! And if they have nothing to teach, have they any evangelical or missionary character? have they any gospel,—any method by which to save the souls of men? Have they, in fact, anything to do, except to discuss and de-bate! In reply to this, the Progressive Friends would doubtless say, We are more of a missionary church than any other; for our mission is to carry to the world practical Christianity; we preach a gospel of practical Christianity; we preach a gospel of practical goodness. But "the question returns, What goodness? what practical Christianity! Practical measures are based on speculative ideas: there can be no union as to practice where there is not first a union as to principle. There may be a temporary union which shall agree to oppose intemperance and slavery. But how does it follow that a man who is willing to act with others against slavery shall also be willing to act with others. against slavery, shall also be willing to act with others against slavery, shall also be willing to act with them against the use of tobacco? Does it follow that, because a man is opposed to capital punishment, he shall also be in favor of the rights of woman! For a time, men may be led by their interest in leading reformers to follow them into the

terest in leading reformers to follow them into the various reforms which they advocate. But evidently, unless it can be shown that there is a clear connection among them all, there must soon be a divergence of action, because there will soon come a difference of opinion. Even in the Anti-Slavery movement, how many sects there are agreeing in the end, but differing as to the means! There is the party of Mr. Garrison, who hold the Constitution of the United States to be a pro-slavery document; and who think that, by supporting it, and even by voting under it, they are supporting slavery, and who therefore demand a dissolution of the Union. Then there is the party headed by Gerrit Smith, which believes the Constitution to be an anti-slavery instrument, and that it is the duty of Smith, which believes the Constitution to be an anti-slavery instrument, and that it is the doty of Congress to abolish slavery in the slaveholding States. And thirdly, there is the Republican party, who believe the Constitution a mixed instrument, which is in the main anti-slavery, but in some particulars pro-slavery, — which does not think it has a right to abolish slavery in the slave States, but thinks it ought to be abolished by the general government in the Territories. Now, if these three parties are unable to work together, when they have the same end, how can it be expected that a body can remain united who have so many different objects in view!

One way of chylating this difficulty and the

One way of obviating this difficulty, and the most obvious way, is to have it made a condition of union with the body, that one shall be willing Instead of making it a condition of admission into the church, that one shall hold certain opinions, the condition would be, that one should do certain actions. But this test of fellowship is more objectionable than is belief of doctrines. The creed will often alumber in the church, doing no one sould free both parties, she employed T. T. plied to the Circuit Court of Jefferson county in that State, which Court on good and sufficient evidence, granted her a Divorce on the 30th of Sepwill often alumber in the church, doing no one sould be a provided by the condition of the condition of the condition of admission into the church, that one shall hold certain opinions, the condition would free both parties, she employed T. T. plied to the Circuit Court of Jefferson county in the State, which Court on good and sufficient evidence. will often slumber in the church, doing no one any harm; but this practical test would interfere very unfavorably with Christian liberty, and would put a stop to Christian progress. It is evident that any such condition of membership would be in fact as stop to Christian progress. It is evident that any such condition of membership would be in fact a creed. The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting, in its invitation for 1855, says that 'the chief characteristic of the Progressive Friends is, that they prescribe no system of theological belief as a test of membership.' But to require those who join them to unite with them in opposition to slavery, intemperance, war, capital punishment, the denial of the equal rights of woman, &c., is to prescribe a system of ethical belief as a test of membership. In its invitation for this year it says, 'The Progressive Friends have no creed as the basis of association.' Last year, the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting adopted a memorial to Congress, requesting it to take immediate steps for the abolition of the army and navy. There are those who are opposed to war, and who believe in human brotherhood, but who do not think it right to abolish the army and navy. No doubt such persons would be army and navy. No doubt such persons would be

admitted members of this body; and thus the resolution adopted would represent, not the senti-ments of the body, but of the majority of the body. But if this majority was thoroughly in earnest, it would hardly tolerate opposition to any of its prac-tical measures, and those who differed with it must are in the State. But the seventeenth century way not ready for this form of government, and consequently there has been a long reaction in the Protestant Church in favor of less democratic institutions. The first, or Protestant Reformation, did not tend to Congregationalism, but rather to Episcopacy;—in England being pure Episcopacy; in the Lutheran Church, a mixture of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism; in Sweden and Denmark, a system varying very little from the Roman Catholic, except in the absence of the Pope. But the second, or Puritan Reformation, tended to Presbyterianism or the government of the Church by the whole body of the clergy. In this system the laity whole body of the clergy. In this system the laity that scarcely any influence, and it is a church of the clergy rather than of the people. But Congregationalism, in its strict form, does not recognize the distinction between the clergy and the laity. The Cambridge Platform declares that printed; witness the resolutions adopted at the printed; witness the resolutions adopted by the majority of a convention, and we all know how small is the influence coming from such a testimony. Witness the resolutions adopted by the majority of a convention, and we all know how small is the influence coming from such a testimony. Witness the resolutions adopted by the majority of a convention, and we all know how small is the influence coming from such a testimony. Witness the resolutions adopted at the printed in the printed there may be the essence and being of a church without any officers.' Ordination, according to this Platform, is not a sacrament conferring any spiritual character. 'We account it nothing else,' says the Cambridge Platform, 'but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the church whereunto he had right hefore by election.' be merely for speculative objects, if it is to church whereunto he had right hefore by election.' be merely a meeting for discussion, there may no ladeleses that 'imposition of hands may be perchurch whereunto he had right before by election.' be merely a meeting for discussion, there may no It declares that 'imposition of hands may be per-doubt be perfect freedom there. But as soon as it formed by the brethren'; 'for if they may elect officers,' it says, 'which is the greater, and where in the substance of the office doth consist, they may much more impose hands in ordination, which is less, and but the accomplishment of the other.'

who believed in the Constitution and the Union. tinuing its own existence, which it could have on decided to oppose all war, to allow those who still no other principle, and struck at the root of the believe in defensive war to take part in its affairs. no other principle, and struck at the root of the periodic periodi which case he ought to be again ordained. By would these dissenting brothers undo that work

now are generally known as Progressive Friends. dom of opinion; but only on that particular sub-But the main point of their testimony is in behalf ject, and while he remains a member. of various moral and social reforms, or applied Here seems to be the difficulty. We shall re-

Here seems to be the difficulty. We shall rejoice with all our hearts if this society shall sucfreest inquiry, in which the heart should be fed by experience, and in which shoulder should be placed firmly to shoulder, and hand grasped strongly in Conflict of thought, communion of heart, co-operation in action, -this is what we need If the Progressive Friends will help us to realize this, we shall heartly thank them. But it is necessary that the difficulty should be distinctly seen in its full extent, before we can hope to over-

come it. We hope that the Progressive Friends will go forward in their undertaking, and plant every-where small local associations, which shall mee together for purposes of piety and charity, and send delegates every year to the General Yearly Meeting. We believe in trying. Speculation concerning the Church is good, but edification is better. The exposition of sentiments for 1855 says well, 'We must build, as well as destroy.' We are satisfied that destructive reform is a poor thing as surely it is a very easy thing, when compared with that which is constructive. Accordingly, we desire to see encouragement and aid given to all

From the Spiritual Telegraph. THE MARRIAGE OF A. J. DAVIS. A SLANDER REFUTE BROOKLYN, L. I., June 18, 1856.

Editor of the Telegraph : DEAR SIR-Among a series of resolutions pub lished recently in Dundee, Yates county, N. Y., at the close of Dr. Morron's lectures against Modern Spiritualism, I find the following scandalous accusation, to which I beg leave to give a brief re-

that Mrs. Love should undertake the task of getting the divorce; and she accordingly went West for that purpose, in the Spring of 1854. Preferring Indiana, because there a divorce obtained by

On the following February. (four months afterward,) the legally divorced Mrs. Love, for the first time, formed an acquaintance with A. J. Davis, although she had met him some three months pre-

Address, corner of Folton and Franklin Avenues

AYER'S Are caring the Sick to an extent never before known of any Medicine, INVALIDS, READ AND JUDGE FOR TOURSELFE

JULES HAUEL, Esq., the well-known perfuner, of Courses Street. Philadelphia, whose choice products are found at alone

Street Philadelphia, whose choics products are found at know ever; safet, says,—
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JOHN F. BEATTY, Enq., Sec. of the Penn. Rathread by "Ptr. R. R. Office, Philadelphia, Inc.]

"Str.: I take pleasure in adding my testimany to the of your medicines, having derived very material lense of both your Pectoral and Cathartic Pills. I am no out them in my family, nor shall I ever consent to be, means will procure them."

means will procure them."

The widely renowned S. S. STEVENS, M. D., of Wetters, N. H., writes,—

"Having used your Carnario Pills in my practic, I seek from experience, that they are an invaluable purgative. In see from experience, that they are an invaluable purgative in see foliasy clearly discussed in the great variety of discusses the file, they are a surer remedy than any other. In all case were the purgative remedy is required, I confidently recommend the present process of the purgative remedy is required, I confidently recommend which make them an invaluable article for public as. I have for many years known your Cherry Protocol as the lost Cupt for many years known your Cherry Protocol as the lost Cupt for many years known your Cherry Protocol as the lost Cupt for many years known your Cherry Protocol as the lost Cupt for many the properties of the protocol and the protocol as the lost Cupt for many years known your Cherry Protocol as the lost Cupt for many years known your Cherry Protocol as the lost Cupt for many years known your Cherry Protocol as the lost Cupt for many years known your Cherry Protocol as the lost Cupt for many years are considered to the protocol as the lost cupt for many years are considered to the protocol as the lost cupt for many years are considered to the protocol as the lost cupt for many years are considered to the protocol as the lost cupt for many years are considered to the protocol and years are

"Dr. J. C. Aven. Dear Sir: I have been afficied from myior with acro' als in its worst form, and now, after twenty year in and an tantold amount of suffering, have been applied on in a few weeks by your Pills. With what feelings of twisting write, can only be imagined when you realize what like neigh-and how long.

write, can only be imagined when you realize what I have used and how long.

"Never until now have I been free from this bestheme dieses in some shape. At times it attacked my eyes, and make ne il most blind, besides the unendurable pain; at others it setted a the scalp of my head, and destroyed my hair, and has bet m partly baid all my days; sometimes it came cut in my fac, and keep it for months a raw sore.

"About nine weeks ago I commenced taking you taken pills, and now am entirely free from the complaint My eyes well, my skin is fair, and my hair has commenced a bailty growth; all of which makes me feel already a press.

"Hoping this statement may be the means of courting tile.

the first statement may be the means of our riag into that shall do good to others. I am, with every splane tractitude,

Yours, &c.,

of gratitude, Yours, &c., MARIA EICERY

"I have known the above-named Maria likker from her dishhood, and her statement is strictly true.

ANDREW J. MESERY.

Overseer of the Portsmouth Maschetzing &c.

CAPT. JOEL PRATT, of the ship Marion, writes from being,
20th April, 1854,—

"Your Pills have cured me from a billious stack which area
from derangement of the Liver, which had become very series.
I had failed of any relief by my Physician, and You reny
remedy I could try; but a few doses of your Pills have engaledy
restored me to health. I have given them to my diletes for
worms, with the best effects. They were prompty cond. I
recommended them to a friend for continence, which had mable
him for months; he told me in a few days they had ourd him.
You make the best medicine in the world, and I an he to
say so."

in this but the neighboring States.

"Str.: I have great satisfaction in assuring you that one and family have been very much benefited by your relican. My wife was cured, two years since, of a series and family have been very much sense and sayans cough, by your Cherry Perconal, and since the ha signal perfect health. My children have several times been cured from attacks of the Influenza and Croup by it. It is an insulable remedy for these complaints. Your Catanara Funt has edirely cured me from a dyspecsia and contrense which has grown upon me for some years: indeed, this cure is much nerically carried to the second of the country affects, and fent any of the numerous remedie I had take. "Your seem to us, Doctor, like a provid-inful bissing to ser family, and you may well suppose we are not unminded of a Your respectfully, LEAVITT THANTEN."

"Enable Chamber, Obio, April 88, 184

"Dr. J. C. AYER. Honored Sir: I have made a through relight of the Cathakure Philas left me by your agent, and have been cured by them of the dreadful likementian under which is found me suffering. The first does relieved me, and the which could me suffer the countriely removed the disease. 4 feel in both quent, does have entirely removed the disease. 4 feel in both quent doses have entirely removed the diseas. 4 feel a ba-health now than for some years before, which I attribute sub-to the effects of your CATHARTIC PILLS.

Yours with great respect,
LUCIUS B. METCALF.

The above are all from persons who are publicly knows they reside, and who would not make these statements without theorough conviction that they were true.

Unprincipled dealers may attempt to put you of with size public, on which they make more profit. Be not imposed ups by Prepared by Dr. J. C. AYER,

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THE NUTRITIVE CURE. MR. EDITOR—Having in my own family fully test ed LaRoy SUNDERLAND'S New Method of Cure by

Pure Nutrition, (the VITAL FLUID.) without drugs, desire to give my testimony in its favor by a brief state. ment of my daughter's case, whose sufferings hare set only been mitigated, but I think I may safely affirm that her life has been prolonged to us by Mr. Sudir-land's treatment. Mrs. Hannan II. Brass, see St. that her life has been prolonged to us by Mr. Countiand's treatment. Mrs. HANNAH II. Bram, seed Si, was born with a scroilouse temperament, and teels from a child. For the past seventeen years she has been an invalid, and a great sufferer from a complexition of causes, such as Ague. Asthma. Headache, See Eyes, Kidney and other Diseases peculiar to her se. Dyspepsia, (the bowels were never regular till now.) Paralysis, Numbness of one side, affecting her spech. Som Stomach, and general Nervous Debility. For five years past, she had been tormented with Sik libeum, covering nearly the whole surface, and shick resisted all the old and the new processes of medicine, his we had begun to despair of her recovery. Finally, having had begun to despair of her recovery. Finally, having lost all confidence in drugs and drugging, last Octobet, we put her under the treatment of Lir Roy Sudderland, author of the 'Nutritive Core,' and now (thanks to list skill and kindness) her leprosy is all gone, and bet skill and kindness) her leprosy is all gone, and bet skill and kindness) her leprosy is all gone, and her general health is so much improved in all repects, that ahe, with her husband and a numerous circle of friends, joins me in making this statement of her case, that my others similarly afflicted may know where to apply for help. One dime, addressed to LAROY SUNDERLARD. Boston, Mass, will spaces, he setum mail, a pample-Boston, Mass. will secure, by return mail, a pamph-let of information, from which Invalids and the Blind may learn what his Method of Cure is, and how its benefits are to be obtained nefits are to be obtained.

C. S. WHEELER, P. M.
Flowerfield, St. Joseph Co., Mich.

June 27 VALUABLE PAMPHLET.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA TEAB LY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS. for 1856-a pamphlet of 84 pages-just published; and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston.

Minutes of the Meeting.

Minutes of the Meeling.

Exposition of Sentiments.

Testimonies of the Society: Amusements—Slavery—
Woman's Rights—Tobacco—Temperance—Treatment
of Criminals—First-day Meetings.

Sermon by Samuel J. May.

Correspondence—Embracing Letters from L. Maris
Correspondence—Embrace
Correspondence—Embrace
Correspondence—Embrace
Correspondence—Embrace
Correspondence—Embrace
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