LLES, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters sains to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inand three times for 75 cents—one square for \$1 00.

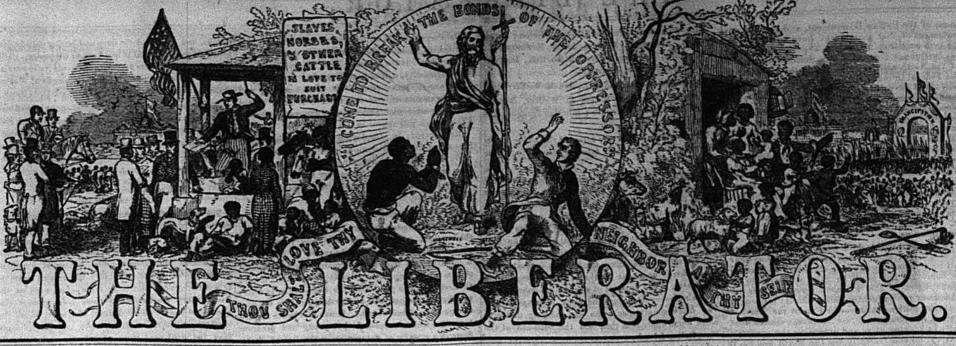
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,

and 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 MING, EDMIND QUINCY, SANUEL PHILBRICK, and VODEL PRILLIPS.

vanis and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are au-

Tathecolumns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of or question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

No Union with Staveholders! THE U.S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to

SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR

SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the sec

THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER PUGITIVE SLAVES -- AL engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal

to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandise, under

the name of persons in fact, the oppressor repre-

senting the oppressed!... To call government thus con-stituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and alavery. 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 COVERNMENT.' - John Quincy Adams.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 32.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 8, 1856.

WHOLE NUMBER 1153.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Charleston (S. C.) Mercury, July 21st.

THE CASTIGATION OF SUMNER.

Whatever differences of opinion may prevail his castigation of Sumner, has given to the ment. Newspapers and orators have resistement. genius at the theme, while fanatie pitiable bleatings of poor Sumner. The whole his has been most opportune. In the first place, . Brooks has acquired, throughout the State and Mr. Brooks has acquired, throughout the State and Sath, a wider popularity than speeches and votes a Congress could ever have given him. He has, ion the first, conducted himself with good taste, god judgment, and good spirit. His letter to the scate his speech in Court, and, finally, his effort the House, have all been characterized by these ities. He will be received by his constituency eith open arms, and sent in triumph back, to conest, and, if need, we trust, to punish, the enies and calumniators of his State and the South. la the next place, it has contributed greatly to the union of Southern men in Congress. We do not remember any act which has been so generally ad heartily approved, from Maryland to Texas, as Mr. Sammer's castigation; and unanimity of sentiant in the people has reacted upon their repre-Washington. On the other hand, farious denunciations in every quarter of the North have developed the same feeling of unanimramong Northern representatives; and the result that the lines of sectionalism have been drawn per than ever before, to the disgust of party es, and the satisfaction of true men in the Sath. We rejoice at any event which makes common me at the South, and foreshadows her destiny as a parate and independent people. It has also contributed to a more complete windi-

such Carolina than was ever before made in Conges. The discussion has not only exposed the seconditions of the North, of superiority ing the Revolution, but convicted them, by kind of testimony, even that of George shington himself, of supingness, cupidity and warlice. It has shown that Sumner, and Woodof and Comins, and Burlingame, are not the deendants of the braggarts and cowards of the

The speeches of Messrs. Butler and Evans. and faily, the complete and conclusive speech of Mr. Kett-the conclusion of which we shall publish corrow-condemn, for the perusal of the North, acts which put to shame their impudent assump-

Mr. Sumner, and his champions in he House familical sympathy or party clap-trap can save such a man from the living death of infamy and mahad is prized and truth admired, the name of barles Samner will descend upon the lips of men, ha father to son, as the perfect synonym of tity calumniator of South Carolina !"

And what of Sumner's champions, those valorous highs, who pranced so gallantly on the plain, sai, like the army in Flanders, 'swore terribly'! At the sound of the trumpet, they dashed into the ing, and, at the appearance of the foe, dashed out cuin. Like their great prototype in the Senate, r courage exhausted itself in empty blustering, like him, they have been branded with the mart of infamy. Fit champions of New England fauticism! Fit standerers of South Carolina! hither had fled the spirit of Bunker's Hill, upon be shadow of which all New England had been ming for three-quarters of a century, that among the rampant representatives there could not be and one to redeem it from dishonor !

BUCHANAN ON SLAVERY-A RECORD WITHOUT A BLEMISH.

The above expressive heading is placed by the sehmond (Va.) Enquirer over a four-column article, whilen to proce Mr. Buchanan's complete sub-strictively to the Slave Power. It closes with the following summary of his Congressional and offial labors, to 'strengthen and uphold slavery':

1 In 1836, Mr. Buchanan supported a bill to abit the circulation of abolition papers through 2 In the same year, he proposed and voted for

the admission of Arkansas.

In 1836-7, he denounced and voted to repetitions for the abolition of slavery in the

eriet of Columbia. In 1837, he voted for Mr. Calhoun's famous holution, defining the rights of the States and the limits of Federal authority, and affirming it

thi-layerr politions.

In 1844-5, he advocated and voted for the an-

In 1847, he sustained the Clayton Compro-

in 1850, he proposed and urged the extena of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific

9. But he promptly acquiesced in the Comprothe of '50, and employed all his influence in fa-

In 1854, he remonstrated against an enactto the Pennsylvania Legislature for obstruct-the arrest and return of fugitive slaves.

L. ln 1854, he negotiated for the acquisition of

12 In 1856, he approves the repeal of the Misrestriction, and supports the principles of the mas Nebraska act. is He herer gave a vote against the interestr

Surery, and never uttered a word which could am the most sensitive Southern heart.

ELLED TWO OF THE DOGS. tars one of Buford's robbers, in a letter to as of his friends in Montgomery, Alabama. We fig from the Alabama Journal as follows:

We give the following extract from a letter re and of one of our compositors from a relative went out to Kansas with Major Buford's

Othello's occupation's gone. I am coming South just as soon as I can make a 'raise.'

Buford's expedition is unfortunate. His men against him. are scattered all along the frontier, trying to make But, we tr money enough to 'carry them back to old Vir-This is undoubtedly the finest country in the

would emigrate with all their household. The South ought to send 20,000 men here this

fall, well armed and provisioned. If she don't begin to 'stir her stumps,' Kansas will be a free

SELECTIONS.

THE ASSAULT UPON CHARLES SUMNER. N. Y., by Samuel J. May, of Syracuse :-

Mr. Sumner is a gentleman of irreproachable character—pure in all his personal habits, given to none of the vices to which it is notorious so the Senate of these United States, and that that many members of Congress addict themselves. Always at his post, during the few hours each day that the Senate devotes to business; and at other times engaged in such studies as increase continually his qualifications for his high office, he wastes neither his own time, nor the time of the Commonwealth he represents, in the frivolities of fashion, ment to the hearts of those, who have cherished much less in the debaucheries, which, I am griev- the faith that the people of a country are capable ed to say, abound at our Capital. Mr. Sumner is of self-government, and been wont to point to this a man of imposing presence, of noble bearing, of Republic as a bright confirmation of that faith. a man of imposing presence, of notic bearing, of high intellectual powers and scholarly attainments — rich in his varied stores of classical, historical, and poetic, as well as legal lore. He is a man of fit, or have the right to rule. Already you may cordial manners, generous impulses, kindly feelings, a pacific spirit, and withal of commanding eloquence. Yet all these accomplishments and present appearances, there are none of us who can graces avail nothing in the estimation of the Southern Chivalry, because he is opposed to slavery.—
Nay, his many excellencies make him all the more the object of their late, because they empower him all the more to do valiant deeds, in conflicting for the right. So from the very first time that he intimated his dislike of their peculiar institution, the slaveholders, particularly Mr. Butler, Mason, and Toombs, have continually annoyed, insulted, and threatened him.

say it is not so. But I trust in the God of our fathers, that the great principles, for which they dared and endured so much, will be saved; though our repentance avert that dire calamity!

I have intimated that one other, and only one other event has ever awakened in this land a public indignation similar to that, which is now thrilling every heart not seared and hardened by the touch of slavery. I alluded to the treachery of graces avail nothing in the estimation of the South-

swer to the gentleman, who had just then taken his Sumner. The name of Preston S. Brooks is desseat, and to several others, who had spoke upon tined to an infamy as black as that which has setthe same side of the Kansas question. Intimations tled forever upon the name of Benedict Arnold. of displeasure were plainly given, and taunts were True, there are many minions of our American thrown at him, which he parried with dignity and good humor. My engagements elsewhere did not allow me to tarry in Washington until the 19th and 20th to hear his speech. You all, I trust, have were there are many minions of our American Despots at the South, and not a few at the North, and not a few at the North, and 20th to hear his speech. You all, I trust, have read it. If any have not, let them not presume, instigated the traitor at West point, and tried to from the treatment he has since received, to sup-pose that there is a sentence or word in it, that spised it and him. He was, I grant, rewarded by pose that there is a sentence or word in it, that could justify (if any thing could justify) or reasonably provoke that treatment. 'It was,' I use the words of another who is not easily satisfied—'It was perfect in its conception, arrangement, and execution; conclusive in its argument and evisor execution execution execution execution execution execution execution execution exe

to the bottom of their souls by his terrible rehukes, we must suppose they were; ground to powder, they must at times have felt themselves and their speeches to be, by the huge pile of facts and the weight of arguments, that he heaped upon them; yet not one of them found an occasion for calling him to order. With all their itching be limits of Federal authority, and affirming it be the duty of the Government to protect and by the the duty of the Government to protect and by the the fact that make a made upon his life, they are established as a specimen of the sault that was made upon his life, they are established as a specimen of the sault that was made upon his life, they are established as a specimen of the sault that was made upon his life, they are established as a specimen of the sault that was made upon his life, they are established in a neat pamphlet by the fact that no member of the sault that was made upon his life, they are established in a neat pamphlet by of the shareholding oligarchy say what they will off the provocation Mr. Summer gave for the assault that was made upon his life, they are established in a neat pamphlet by of the shareholding oligarchy say what they will off the shareholding oligarchy say what they will off the shareholding oligarchy say what they will off the shareholding oligarchy say what they will or of the sault that was made upon his life, they are estable that assault, by the fact that no member of the Senate found an occasion, during the delivery of that speech, even to call him to order.

Two days afterwards, when the Senate had advocated and voted for the answer of the Senate found and occasion, during the delivery of that speech, even to call him to order.

Two days afterwards, when the Senate had advocated and voted for the answer of the Senate found and occasion, during the delivery of that speech, even to call him to order.

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Two days afterwards, when the Senate had advocated and voted for the answer of the Senate found and occasion, during the delivery of that speech, even to call him to order.

Two days afterwards, when the Senate had advocated and voted for the answer of the Senate found and occasion, during the delive

was seated. There, alone, unarmed—for northern gentlemen do not carry arms—unprotected by the presence of any who were disposed or were near enough to shield him; wholly off his guard, not suspecting there could be any man about him there; thus the Massachusetts Senator was sitting in the place, which, of all places in our country ought to be held sacred to liberty of speech—the very inner temple as it should be of our freedom—thus he sat, when a ruffian, a border roffian he decrease the sall deliberation in the place. thus he sat, when a ruffian, a border ruffian he de-serves to be called, though his home is in South Carolina,—a border ruffian he certainly is, for his spirit belongs to the outermost verge of civilization after he was down. There is reason to believe that, as those who attempt to enforce peace and order had not the ruffian been taken off, he would have by crushing down the moral and religious senti-

Four miles South of Kansas City, (Mo.)

June 22, 1856.

I have been through the 'wars' in Kansas Territory, and am now perfectly tired out. I have been in one battle and several skirmishes, without receiving any personal injury, except a slight bruise received from my horse falling on me when he was killed from under; but I received three bullet holes through my hat, and had a 'tub full' of Sharp's balls to whiz around me. I have KILLED TWO OF THE 'DOGS,' and Cosgrove one.

The United States troops will not permit us to enter the Territory armed any more, and hence Othello's occupation's gone. I am coming South

Brooks was but the agent of a conspiracy, as Mr.

Benton pronounced it. The procedure of the Senator in reference to the outrage, confirms us in the apprehension that it was a conspiracy, and that a larger number of the Senators were in the conspiracy than the few, who witnessed the execution of their plot. Instead of allowing the President of investigation, they chose to do it themselves: and they put upon it not one who was friendly to the injured party. Then the report of that committee was such as to ensure the criminal immunity from punishment, by leaving the case in the hands of the House of Representatives, where, as they knew punishment, by leaving the case in the hands of the House of Representatives, where, as they knew full well, the requisite vote would not be given

But, we trust, the God of justice and mercy has not wholly forsaken the earth. We trust there is another tribunal in our land, at which this deed will not escape the unqualified condemnation it deworld, without any exception; and if some of our serves. We are sure the public sentiment of the wealthy slaveholders were to visit it once, they civilized world will pronounce it an unparalleled This infamous outrage has called out more ex-

pressions of indignation from all parts of the nonslaveholding States of this confederacy, than were ever heard on any other occasion, excepting one. The tidings of this outrage have gone forth to every part of the inhabited earth, borne thither by the white winged messengers that fly continually from our shores in every direction over the great waters. Ere this, the shameful story has been told in Liverpool, London, Paris; flashed thence with lightning Extract from an earnest and eloquent Oration, delivered July 4th, 1856, at Jamestown, Chautauque Co., N. Y., by Samuel J. May, of Syracuse:—

Europe, and is now going post haste to the British possessions in India. So that in a few weeks the report of our disgrace will have gone around the world. The fact will have been told everywhere august body has declared itself helpless in the premises; unable to obtain any redress for its injured member, or to give any assurance to others, that they shall be protected in the exercise of their freedom, in the debates that may hereafter arise in that hall. The fearful fact will send discouragepresent appearances, there are none of us who can say it is not so. But I trust in the God of our

execution; conclusive in its argument and evidence; masterly in its exposure of executive usurpation; sublime in its moral heroism; invincible in its truthfulness; just in its personal impeachment; unsurpassed in its eloquence; and glorious in its object.'

so distinctly as this which is writ there by the line per of public scorn;—'The Traiter: he availed himper of his high official position to attempt the overthrow of the literates of his country.' The same accusation will attach forever to the memory of Preston S. Brooks. If the miserable in the world That there were no violations of propriety in all beyond the grave love company, the execuated that long speech of five hours' continuance, no traitor of the Revolution must be moved with joy breaches of the decorum of debate, we are assurto meet this fellow at his coming — crying ' Ha! breaches of the decorum of debate, we are assured on the unanimous testimony of the august bedy itself, to whom it was addressed. For not once was
be checked by the President, or called to order by
either of the Senators. Eager as they were to
catch him in his words, ready as they were to take
the catch him in his words, ready as they were to take
the catch him in his words, ready as they were to take
the catch him in his words, ready as they were to take
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the catch him in his words, ready as they were to take
the catch him in his words, ready as they were to take
the catch him in his words, ready as they were to take the catch him in him words. offence, he gave them no pretext for stopping him.
Wounded to the quick, those enemies of all rightcousness—the champions of slaveholders—undoubtedly often were by what he said; harrowed the floor of Congress.

'REVOLUTION OR REPORM.'

One of the ablest and most elequent productions of the pulpit, which the alarming state of public affairs has elicited, is entitled 'REVOLUTION OR REFORM-A Discourse occasioned by the Present Crisis-preached their appeal to the President for protection from the burning laca of truth that Mr. Summer was at Wayland, (Mass.) Sunday, June 15, 1856, by Enpouring upon them. Let then the servile creatures MUND H. SEARS '-published in a nest pamphlet by

our laste. It is a paramount journed, and all the members who were friendly to him had left the hall. Mr. Sumner was sitting at his desk, intently engaged in writing. He was closely confined by the desk, over which he was bend-ty should absorb the interest of every man, woman ng, and the strong arms of the chair in which he and child, for they are concerned in it beyond all was seated. There, alone, unarmed-for northern matters of worldly expediency. It concerns the

remedy is to break it in pieces, and let right and justice go free. It is a terrible remedy; but if there is no other, it comes to that in the end. It a border ruffian came upon Mr. Sumner, and dealt a blow upon his defenceless head, which stunned him; then other blows in quick succession, felling him to the floor, and mangling his person

completed the assassination. He went to the perpetration of the deed, accompanied by another member of the House of Representatives, and he did it in the presence of several senators of slave-holding States, who lifted not a finger to stay him. So there is too much reason to believe that P. S.

you it is not. Look at the elements which make up this confederacy. The North has a very large infusion of the Anglo-Saxon element, and this has been the element of liberty both in the old world and the new. The present is the old conflict renewed between the Cavalier and the Puritan.— one fiery and domineering, the other patient, sometimes mercenary, but fertile in expedients, and most to be feared when conquered. To suppose that this expanse of free States, a development out of Puritan labors and institutions, and in which the Puritan spirit is not dead but only sleeps, covering a region which belts the continent from ocean to ocean, sometimes through the degrees of latitude, is to be subjugated and finally absorbed into a centralized and brute despotism, would belie the whole Anglo-Saxon history, from the days of Alfred. The Cavalier spirit here in the United States has already produced its Stuart, its Strafford, its Buckinghams and its Jeffreys. If they push the plan far enough of intimidating the parliaments, and sending a bloody assize over the country, they will undombtedly raise up from the Puritan element a Milton, a Pym, a Hampden and a Cromwell. We may deprecate the issue. It leads us to a chasm which no man can look into without a shudder. But it will be too late, then, to betake ourselves to Union-saving. That work will have passed out of the hands of the politicians. When human nature itself re-

shake in the whirlwind.

There is another view which leads us to believe that the remedy must come by revolution, unless we provide a better one. It is not very likely ments. It is the cup of the Divine anger. National retribution must follow national crime per-severed in and unrepented of. And it may be as a reward for all our servility and all our compro-mises with wrong; because we have joined hands with oppression; because we have set the com-

that our exodus, 'Like Israel's of yore, Through a Red Sea is doomed to be, whose surges are

cry shame within their bosoms. We believe that self, if Northern men would have put God-worship above man-worship, humanity above party, and the Bible above the ledger. But every time we have dallied with the Slave Power, we have sown the wind, and it becomes more certain every year that we shall reap the whirlwind.

I do not doubt the result. If, in the rhetoric of a distinguished statesman, 'the constellation under which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and der which we have risen to so much glory and the result.

renown' should be broken up, it would not star after star, into obscurity and night.' with a sweeter omen on the traveller; but after much of fratricide, and suffering, and hatred, and desolation, no tongue can tell.

strewn over all our hills and vallies, ought to inspire us with ancient and heroic virtues. Let us repudiate the doctrine, that our duty to the country we live in, and which we ought to love, requires of us to cloak its sins and glorify its crimes. He is no true friend to the peace of the country, who does not oppose faithfully the great evil that infests her. They are the worst of agitators who endeavor to hide the ruin that is working destruction, and is sure to break forth every year with a new desolation. Every day goes to demonstrate the folly and the impotence of your merely worldly-wise statesmen, and to show that truth and justice are the most conservative of all principles of action. The time has come, or is fast coming, when a faithful exposure of the nature and tendencies of the Slave Power would appeal to the very instinct of self-preservation and self-interest, to men of common intelligence, as it certainly does to every sentiment of brotherhood among the followers of Christ.—to all who desire to see Christianity go forth on her Western mission, uncrippled of her power and unshorn of her glories. It is noral opinion, freely uttered, that ancient tone in social life and in public, in the fact, in the field, in the shop, in the pulpit, in the forum, in the church, in the state—and the Northern air would be cleared of the missma that has loaded it, and become keen and bracing as when it swept the Maydower into Plymouth Bay. Servility and venality could not breathe in it and live. Taken once more into the longs of fifas when it swept the Mayflower into Plymouth Bay. Servility and venality could not breathe in it and live. Taken once more into the langs of figure 1 in the langs of figure 1 in the langs of figure 2 in the most conclusive testimony to the power of the orator is afforded by the desperate extremities to the subsidize them to the propaganda of barbarism? Is there a conservative man who fears damage to his business or his investments! Let him watch the steps of revolution, and provide against it in time. Is there a man of peace, who dreads the horrors of civil strife? Let him not rest till the cause of strife is removed clean out of the way.

be too late, then, to betake ourselves to Union-saving. That work will have passed out of the hands
of the politicians. When human nature itself rebounds, after a long and painful tension, a spirit
not of man is let loose and sweeps through it, and
the individual must bend before it like reeds that
in regard to the destiny of our country, says:— The London Morning Star, a paper very friendly to America, commenting upon Brooks's dastardly assault upon Mr. Sumner, and stating what had been its hopes

In proportion, therefore, as we have nursed these ardent hopes, is our sorrow bitter and pro-found, to witness certain incidents which have rethat God will throw away three hundred years of history. It is not likely that a resurgent barbarism will bear us all back to the middle ages. But it comes to that, if this encroaching and brutal oligarchy is to be fixed finally upon our necks, and oligarchy is to be fixed finally upon our necks, and brutal oligarchy is to be fixed finally upon our necks, and but by far the saddest and most ominous signs, to the scene of violence and anarchy which prevail but by far the saddest and most ominous signs, to the scene of violence and anarchy which prevail but by far the saddest and most ominous signs, to the saddest and most ominous signs, to the scene of violence and anarchy which prevail but by far the saddest and most ominous signs, to the saddest and brutal outrages comorigarchy is to be used many upon our neess, and freedom, and light, and education, and thriving industry, and art, and letters, and science, and invention, and Christianity itself, must go down before it, or pale away as the mere fringe on its border. It does not follow, however, because God will save us from that destiny, that he will do it Mr. Summer stands without parallel in the annals of industry. Professional control of the constitution, with a set us from that destiny, that he will do it Mr. Summer stands without parallel in the annals of confidence of the constitution. without judgments and calamities. Reform is civilized communities. While sitting at his deak in the work of man, when there is virtue enough in a people to yield to that change, which is peaceful progress. Revolution is God's remedy, when a people are past reformation and need punishments. It is the cup of the Divine anger. Nabegins to beat him violently upon his bare head with a heavy cane, until he falls down stunned and insensible, covered with his own blood; the cowardly ruffian not desisting even then, when the form of his antagonist lay prostrate and senseless before him. While this is taking place, a number mands of kidnappers above the great law of Je-hovah; because we have hunted the poor man and the unprotected woman through our streets and fields; because we have removed landmarks and Heave Pennington, Burlingame, Comins and Medical property of the slaveholders, particularly Mr. Butler, Mason, and Toombs, have continually annoyed, insulted, and threatened him.

It was present in the Senate Chamber on the 13th of May, and heard the concluding part of Mr. Sumner and politically exposed, as a wilful falsifier of truth in the case. We cannot believe that any amount of matter and the same of the pennington, Burlingame, Comins and the slaveholders, particularly Mr. Butler, Mason, lic indignation similar to that, which is now thrillic indignation similar to that, which is now there were awakened in this land a public deverged or neighbor, and interference. Such countries, and threatened by the fields:

It was present in the Senate Chamber on the 13 abettors should be utterly insecessible to senti-ments of this nature. But the wonder is, that the mere instinct-we were almost going to say the Through a Red Sea is doomed to be, whose surges are of gore.

Twenty years ago—yes, ten—the despotism that is submerging us might have turned back upon itself, if Northern men would have put God-worship above man-worship, humanity above party, and the Rible above the ledger. But every time we have the ledger. But every time we have a simple instinct—of fair play, which is found to actuate even the humblest classes of our population in their roughest physical conflicts, did not cry shame within their bosoms. We believe that there is no company of coal-heavers or costermondate the results of the lowest purious of London, that

> whom it was committed; for Mr. Sumper is gentleman in whom there meets a combination of star after star, into obscurity and night.' It qualities adapted in a rare degree to inspire the would recombine with better affinities, and shine affectionate attachments of friends, and to committee as sweeter omen on the traveller; but after mand courtesy and respect from all generous and honorable opponents. A man of a chivalrous and heroic spirit, of a refined and sensitive nature we have moral and religious duties. There is no peace for the country, no safety for Northern institutions, no safety for us and our children, no security for the civilization of the age, until slavery is dislodged from the national organism, and reduced to its first subordinate and local position; minds of America—Quincy, Sparks, Longfellow, until the government of the country is wielded for Goodrich, Dana, Everett, Bryant Everett, Sparks, Longfellow, and cative benevolence—the favorite pupil of Story—the intimate friend and disciple of Channing, the chosen associate of the finest living reduced to its first subordinate and local position; minds of America—Quincy, Sparks, Longfellow, Goodrich, Dana, Everett, Bryant Everett, Bryant Ferrence, the country is wielded for until the government of the country is wielded for Goodrich, Dana, Everett, Bryant, Emerson. 'liberty, righteousness and civilization, and not for think,' says the latter, at a recent meeting at Con oppression, unrighteensness and barbarism. And cord, I may borrow the language which Bishop this cannot be done until the tone of virtue and Burnet applied to Sir Isaac Newton, and say, that moral sentiment here at the North be brought up 'Charles Summer has the whitest soul I ever knew,' moral sentiment here at the North be brought up to its ancient manliness and glory. The ancestral spirit ought to breathe through us again, if we would not have it shake the bones of the fathere under the ground we tread on. The pilgrim other men of delicate moral sensibilities, shrunk ghosts that throng the air, and whose bones are from taking any active part in the stormy life of strewn over all our hills and vallies, ought to inpolitics. He lived among his fellow-citizens, spire us with ancient and heroic virtues. Let us known rather as a philanthopist than a politician,

watch the steps of revolution, and provide against it in time. Is there a man of peace, who droads the horrors of civil strife! Let him not rest till the cause of strife is removed clean out of the way. Is there a friend of virtue, who would not see it tamed down and blighted, and all majesty and nerve taken out of it! Let him oppose its most than ever warrior brought from a battle-field. In-

consecrated his life is concerned, this incident, otherwise so foul a blot on the escutcheon of the United States, is hardly to be regretted. It will United States, is hardly to be regretted. It will inflict incalculable damage on the slave interest and its advocates. That they are themselves aware of this is, indeed, sufficiently obvious. For though the Southern papers speak of presents of canes with ferocious devices, and other appropriate testimonials being sent to Brooks, all this bravado poorly conceals the lurking consciousness every where betraying itself that their champion has committed not only a heinous crime, but an irreparable blunder.

arable blunder.

Indeed, it is clear enough to everybody, that if the Southern gentlemen are compelled to abandon the conflict of reason and elequence—and, confessing themselves beaten in arguments and oratory, are obliged to have recourse to bludgeons and revolvers, as the only resource left to them—if they convert the capitol from the arena of honorable deconvert the capitol from the arens of honorable de-bate, where intellect meets intellect in an inspir-ing and ennobling emulation, into a puglilistic ring, where bullies and blusterers display their superior animal strength and prowess, they will themselves proclaim, trumpet-tongued, that their cause is in-deed irretrievably lost.

Meanwhile, such acts as these upon which we have animadverted are bringing lasting dishonor on republican institutions. If Americans knew the grormous advantage they are giving, by such

the enormous advantage they are giving, by such frantic chullitions of passion, to the friends and champions of despotism in all parts of the world—if they knew what a 'heavy blow and sad discouragement' they inflict on the cause of human progress, surely they would put some restraint upon themselves, and not send forth a glorious form of Liberty haggard and bleeding from the wounds she has received in the house of her friends, to be a laughing stock and a reproach to all the tyrants on

SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH.

In the Kansas Convention in Buffalo, July 10, 1856. Mr. PRESIDENT-Of my series of Resolutions, the Convention has adopted the three which set forth our plan of operations. I wish that the other Resolutions in this series might also be adopted. But it is objected to some of them, that they go to array us directly and dangerously against the Gov-ernment. In point of fact, however, the Govern-ment has disappeared. It has identified itself with the scoundrels who invade and tyrannize over Kansas. It is sunk and lost in Border Ruffianism. Had we a Government, we should have no occasion and no right to be here, devising succor and deliverance for the oppressed and outraged people of Kansas. In that case we should have stayed at home, and called on Government to do this work. With me, Government is a sacred thing. I can never consent to the usurpation of its powers. To it alone, under Heaven, do I accord the right to destroy human life. Not even to subvert a whole system of slavery would I have one drop of blood shed, aside from the legitimate operations of an existing Government. Where Government does not wright make the contract of the state of the not exist-where Government is not present-individuals and communities do as best they can. They may feel bound to extemporize a Government -to make themselves the Government. In such circumstances are the people of Kansas, and we their friends. We may wield the sword, because there is no Government; or rather, because, through the failure of Government, we obey th necessity of the case, and recognize ourselves to be

the Government.

Just here let me advert to the great mistake into which the people and friends of Kansas fell. They took ground against the Missouri scoundrels: but took ground against the Missouri scoundrels: but
the Federal Government—unworthy of the name of
Government, and called such by me only for the
sake of convenience—this Government, the patron
and partner of these less guilty scoundrels, they
declined to oppose. Absurd distinction! disastrous
inconsistency!—for it is this Government which
maintains and enforces the spurious and cruel deminion that the Missouri scoundrels have set up in
Kapass. Are there of late same symptoms of Kansas. Are there, of late, some symptoms of the relentings of the Federal Government? The relentings are, probably, far more politic than sin-cere. It is true that the Kansas Bill, which recently passed the Senate, would nullify some of the worst enactments of the Ruffian Legislature; but it leaves that Legislature still in existence, and it leaves that Legislature still in existence, and free to enact as torturing oppressions as any which it has hitherto enacted—as any which Congress might repeal. I admit that it can hardly do worse than it has done. I admit that a Legislature, which has enacted that, in order to vote, a man must swear to support the Fugitive Slave Act; that holding anti-slavery sentiments is a disqualification for sitting as a juror; and that to be sent to the Penitentiary for two years is not too severe a punishment for expressing an opinion against the a punishment for expressing an opinion against the rightfulness of slaveholding:—I admit that such a Legislature has probably done its very worst, and is no longer capable of beating itself.

What we ask of Congress is to sweep aside this

whole Ruffian Government—its Election, Statutes, Legislature, Judiciary, Executive, and all. Noth-Legislature, Judiciary, Executive, and all. Nothing less will content us. If Congress shall leave the people of Kansas still under that Government, and with the Federal Government still to enforce it, then is Congress, whatever the deceptive appearances it may get up to the contrary, to be re-garded as the enemy of Kansas; and then must the people and friends of Kansas draw the sword to defend themselves, as well against the Federal troops, as against Missouri and other Ruffians.

troops, as against Missouri and other Ruffians.

Another objection to these Resolutions is, that, if adopted, they will embarrass the friends and prejudice the cause of freedom, at the approaching Election. This objection has been urged both within and without the Convention.

Most of you are relying largely on political action, and especially on the next election, to save Kansas. Unhappy reliance! I speak deliberately when I say, that nothing so much as this reliance is now in the way of the deliverance of Kansas. You are looking to ballots when you should be looking to bayonets; counting up voters, when you should be mustering armed, and none but armed emigrants; electioneering for candidates for be looking to bayones; counting up voters, when you should be mustering armed, and none but armed emigrants; electioneering for candidates for civil rulers, when you should be enquiring for military rulers. All the time that you are making this mistake, slavery is fortifying itself in Kansas, and weakening and expelling liberty. Political action is our great hindrance, because it delays the only remedy for the wrongs of Kahsas—because it directs us from the only action that is now called for—the action of armed men. There was a time when slavery could have been ended by political action. But that time has gone by; and, as I apprehend, forever. There was not virtue enough in the American people to bring slavery to a blooddless termination:—and now all that remains for them is to bring it to a bloody one. No man has called longer than I have on the American people to vote slavery to death. For many years, however, I have well-nigh despaired of their doing so; and for the last month or two I have entirely despaired of its For a long time, alavery has been giving proofs to

THE LIBERATOR

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pril, 1854, that myself r medicines, i dangerous has enjoyed a cured from a invalvable LA here which have sed more income the best is, and from

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the whole land of its utterly lawless and piratical character. For a long time it has shown, that no laws, no constitutions, no conventions can bind it; and that it is ever ready to break the mest solemn compacts, the first moment it becomes its interest to break them. But never until within the last two months has it openly, or at least so openly, forced its way by fire and sword into new and free territory. And yet since this outrage, and notwithstanding all this provocation to resolve to vote slavery to death, the American people have held their great political conventions, and resolved to let slavery live. Will it be said there is a large party which forbids its extension! There is not. All the great political parties agree that slavery may live in any present, and also in any future and that it is ever ready to break the most solemn may live in any present, and also in any future State. One of them, it is true, is opposed to its living in Territories; and this is all the difference in this respect between these parties. All but one of these parties say: 'Let the wolf go where he pleases. Let him go among any or all the sheep.' The other says: 'Yes—save only a few folds, into which he must not go for the present. As if any of the sheepfolds could be safe for even any time, so long as the wolf is suffered to live! All had one of the parties say: 'Let the fire rage in every part of the city.' Toe other says: 'Yes—save on-ly a lew parts of it for the present.' As if any part could be saved, unless the fire is extinguished in every part!

What is worse than all—just now, when slavery

is making such unusual demonstrations of its ut-ter lawiessness, the great political parties are especially forward to confess that it is an obligatory and sacred law. Just now, when the deeds of this pre-eminent pirate are calling louder than ever for sentence of outlawry against it, these great par ties are louder than ever in according to slavery inviolable legal rights. They are still guilty of the folly of holding that the Federal Constitution -a paper which is all for liberty, and not at all for slavery-legalizes, or at least admits, the legality of slavery. But how absurd to maintain that any paper, any constitution, any statute, any de can legalize slavery !- that stopendous crime, which overshadows even murder itself - that match-less wick-dness, which is a compound of every other wickedness.

No, the American people have never proposed to

vote slavery to death; and they do not now propose to do so. The only question that remains is, whether they are ready to put it to death by violence. They think that they are not. But I think that they are. I admit that they are not, in purpose. Nevertheless, I think that they are in effect -for, I trust, they are ready to put it to a violent death in Kansas -and in that death will be involved the whole of American slavery.

It is manifest from what I have said, that there

are probably few members of this Convention, in e esteem it is so important as in mine. Most of them are here to help stop slavery from going into Kansas—or rather to help stop it from establishing itself there—for it is there already. They are here to save Kansas. Such is the whole extent of the avowed object of the Convention. No farther than this have I the right to ask it to go. N farther than this would it, in any wise, consent to go. But I am here to serve a much broader purpose. I am here to promote the killing of all American slavery, and the salvation of all America. It is true that I am here to help accomplish the comparatively narrow purpose of this Convention—and in good faith can I work to this end.—Nay, joyfully can I work to this end, since the comparatively narrow purpose is a part, and a very essential part of my comprehensive one. Indeed, as I judge of this Convention-as I judge of it by its character, connexions, bearings, and by its broad and momentous consequences-I am disposed to regard it as the most important Conven-tion that I ever had a seat in.

But why do I conclude that the North will put

slavery in Kansas to a violent death ! Because am certain that the South will persevere in fighting for Kansas; and that the North will do so too .-If all manhood has not departed from us, we will not consent to leave our Kansas brethren to b butchered. If all love of freedom has not departed from us, we will not leave them to be cursed with slavery. And, I add, if the North but re-

solves to conquer, it will conquer.

I was nearly certain, from her trampling the Missouri compromise under foot, that the South wa willing to make a bloody fight for Kansas. But now since she has wrought herself up to such a fight it is quite certain that she will persevere in it. And why, too, do I conclude that a death-strug

gle between liberty and slavery in Kansas will a death-struggle between these powers in all the land! Because I am certain that the South will never give up Kansas, until compelled to give up all slavery. She will fight for it to the last, Read the letter of Atchison to the North Carolina Committee. Read his letter to Amos A. Lawrence. -There is no truer exponent than he of the spirit and purpose of slavery, when it is, as now, in one of its frenzied and rampant moods. He says that he will be prepared to surrender the care and control of Missouri to the abolitionists, as soon as they shall have conquered slavery in Kansas. He is right in his conclusion that all Southern slavery must be conquered, before the South will give up slavery in Kansas. We would look to Mr. Rives of Virginia, as soon as to any slaveholder for moderate counsels in this case. Nevertheless, the tone of his letter to Mr. Winthrop inspires no hope that the South will ever consent to give up Kansas .-And among other similar Southern demonstrations the Alabama Democratic Convention resolves to resist the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. even to the extent of a discustion of the Union But I will cite, in this connection, the authority of your candidate for President-Col. Fremontgentleman, by the way, of admirable traits of char acter-(great applause)-foresees a desperate struggle' in Kansas; and he speaks of the slaveholders as ' ready to hazard everything for success in it. Such is the language of this clear-sighted gentleman, in the letter accepting his nomination

Many are of the opinion, that if the coming presidential election shall not go to suit the South, she will give up slavery. Groundless opinion! However that election shall go, there will be bloody battles in Kansas between liberty Well indeed for liberty to have that and slavery. election turn in favor of liberty. But even then, the South would not give up the conquest of Kansas. Do what you can politically for Kansas. But you should not hope that the bloody strife in Kansas can be thereby terminated. Least of all should you stand aloof from that strife, and wait with folded arms for the verdict of the ball-t-box. Is it hoped that the South will feel morally bound by such a verdict! Idle hope! What cares she, when in her mood to extend slavery, for elections or laws! What cared she for law, when she robbed innocent Mexico of a large part of her terri-tory! What cares she for law, when her gloating eyes are upon all the remainder of Mexico! What cares she for law, when she would eteroize sla-What cares she for law, when she would extend the cursed dominion of elevery over Hayti! What cared she for law, when, with unsurpassed perfidy, she broke up the Missouri Compromise? What cares she for law, when she endorses the brutality of her Brooks upon our noble and beloved Sumner! By the way, much as I had studied the nature of slavery for thirty years, I must confess that, never till I saw the whole South acquiescing in this brutality, could I have believed in the power of the monster thus to pervert and debase all within its reach.

But, I must hasten to a close. I trust that whatever other of my resolutions it shall adopt, the Convention will pass one or both of those which look to the protection of Kansas by physical force, and against whatever foe, federal troops or any other troops. If our brethren in Kansas can be protected only by the shedding of blood, then blood must be shed. And if we would enjoy self-respect, and the respect of the world, and the favor of Heaven, we must deal impartially with our foes. Moreover, to denounce the Border Ruffians, and not the Federal Government, which is in league with those ruffins; to be ready to fight against the one, but not against the other—this would be an inconsistency so gross, and a cowardice so glaring, as to be certainly fatal to our success.

The peril of taking up arms, or only of counse ling to take up arms, against the Federal Government, has been adverted to in this debate. But why should men who have given themselves up to the r duty, be concerned with the perils of doing Moreover, what have such to fear in this case from the Federal Government! That Government, so strong when the State Govern ments are with it, is utterly weak when they are against it. This will be manifest as soon as we shall hear that Federal troops, acting in the bad

cause of the Roffian Government, and for the en-forcement of that government, have killed in bat-tle men sent from the North to protect our Kansas brethren. For then, the State Government sas brethren. For then, the State Governments of the North will be aroused, and the weakness of the Federal Government in their hostile presence will stand revealed. And then, too, Kansas will soon be free. But will that be the end of the bloody strife! No—it will be renewed upon the soil of Missouri, and, in quick succession, in other States also, until slavery shall have perished in all the land. But few battles will be needed—for slavery is intrinsically not only very weak battles. for slavery is intrinsically not only very weak, but very cowardly also. So great and so conscious a wrong as slavery is necessarily a great coward. I scarcely need say, that its strength is only apparent, since it so obviously consists in Northern cowardice and doughfacrism. Slavery has been brave and rampant, because we have run before it. The moment we shall turn and face it, it will

run before us.
With no delight do I look upon these scenes of blood, that seem to me so certain and so near. All the borrors of war are to my heart emphatical-ly horrors. Let us all be filled with sincere and which our pre-eminently guilty country is brought, ers, to endeavor to procure the same blessings for our I say our guilty countryfully in keeping alive and extending the system of West Indian Islands. slavery, no less fearfully has the North sinned; in refusing to kill the bloody and infernal system at the ballot-lox. For the civil war that has already broken out in this land, I hold the North and the South equally responsible.

RESOLUTIONS.

2d. Resolved, that the Administration, instead of protecting Kansas, is the great instigator and older of the oppressions and outrages which

cessions of the pro-slavery party to the claims of righteousness; and that we shall never acknowledge that there can be the least honesty in any of the propositions of that party regarding Kansas, so long as it continues to recognize valid government, or any semblance of valid government, in the devilish despotism which the Federal Administration encouraged the ruffians of Missouri to set up in Kansas.

4th. Resolved, that the attempt to force slavery upon Kansas must, at whatever cost, be defeated :- and that too, whether the Administration shall, or shall not, continue to favor the nefarious

Resolved, that if the issue, which the slave power has provoked in Kansas, shall grow, as likely it will, into a war, in which either all American slavery or all American liberty shall perish, we shall enter into such war with no feelings of sur-prise that the long-expected collision has come at ast; with no sense of responsibility for A, and though not seriously ill, I am suffering too much bodily with no fears for its result.

6th. Resolved, that we will proceed to appoint

7th. Resolved, that by all that is precious and With yours, my spirit will be comforted and refresh call on the friends of justice and humanity to or- dred thousand human beings from the most frightful ganize forthwith State and County and Town Associations, for the purpose of obtaining monthly contributions of money, to enable the National the great work which we commit to its hands.

and dollars; and that those of the present month September ; and in like manner thereafter.

9th. Resolved, that, with all the earnestness of our souls, do we call on those members of Congress ing disgrace to America, which, in the face of her who are defenders of human rights and lovers of Declaration of Independence and the Gospel of Christ, liberty, and haters of fraud and usurpation, and to no pacification of the disturbances in Kan-sas, which shall not provide for the total abroga-and the 'higher law,' persists in extending her bloody tion of that infamous despotism, which the knaves sway, and planting chattel slavery as her one cherished and ruffians of Missouri have forced upon that un- and ' peculiar institution' wherever her flag advances!

happy Territory.

10th. Resolved, that we assure unoffending and sellieted Kansas of our deen, abiding sympathy.

But God reigns, and is omnipotent, and either through moral power inducing repentance, or by fire and blood and of our stern, irrepealable determination to come effectually to her help; and that we call up-on her imprisoned heroes, her pillaged towns, and upon all her hunted, hungry, impoverished people, who survive the wrongs and murders that crow her history, never, no never, to surrender-never, no never, to despair of seeing Kansas & home of freedom to ALL, who shall come to dwell within

her borders.
In addition to the 6th, 7th, and 8th Resolu tions, the 2d, 4th, and 10th, with slight verbal changes in the 2d and 10th, were subsequently

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, AUGUST 8, 1856.

ANNIVERSARY OF WEST INDIA EMAN-CIPATION.

The twenty-second anniversary of that truly noble act of the British people, by which, at a very heavy cost to the nation, all the slaves in their West India possessions, in number amounting to Etony HUNDRED THOUSAND souls, were made free, - rendering the First of August, 1834, a memorable and a holy day in the Annals of Humanity, Justice, and Liberty,-was duly August. commemorated by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and the friends of freedom in the eastern part of tucky was present, whom we should all welcome-the the State, on Friday last, at the well-known beautiful editor of the only anti-slavery paper in the State, the Grove in Abington, Plymouth county.

gloomy, and in all respects unfavorable for public gath- Mr. Bailey said that he was no speaker: he was raised erings, this day was bright, beautiful, and nuspicious. a mechanic, and only attemped to talk in a plain way t A thin veil of clouds partially obscured the sun, and, plain people. He said, in 1850 we commenced the pub so continuing through the day, rendered the tempera- lication of an anti-slavery paper in Newport, Kentucky ture of the air comfortable and agreeable to all. At Many called to advise me to say nothing about slavery 9 A. M. a very large company, comprising delegates but confine myself to the news of the day. I told there the numerous Boston friends, left Boston by the cars of ry should be abolished; that I deemed slavery wrong the Old Colony Railroad, and, meeting with reinforce- and should speak of it as such. Finding that they ton Grove soon after ten; where a very numerous com- stroy my building, and press, and at length succeeded pany, from Plymouth, Kingston, and other towns at But I raised a little money, stretched my credit, obtain county, was found already assembled. We could not tablished a pro-slavery paper there, and endeavored by but be impressed anew with the beauty of the spot. The rivalry, by appeals to mobs, and in every conceivable Grove itself, nearly surrounded by its picture-que sheet way, to destroy me; but be failed, and was obliged to of water, the tall pines extending to the water's edge, leave the place. Paper after paper was successively esthe soft dry carpeting formed by innumerable needlelike spires shed by the pine-trees, the slight swaying another failed and ceased to exist. I have had much to and murmur of their branches in the wind, the grace- endure-have been frequently attacked-had many ful boats moving swiftly before the breeze, were all features of the scene before us, and seemed to welcome us of my body, but I never was schipped, -though I have to the duties, the hopes, and pleasures of the day. been very badly beaten! My children are six girls and With spirits in harmony, we trust, with the beautiful four boys, and they all set types, and so we keep up sorne, and gladly accepting its good omens, we had the paper. Suits for slander have been brought against come together to dedicate one more day to the cause of me, but have so far failed to break me down. We are Human Liberty, and, if possible, of the Redemption of going on to publish our paper, which now circulates our Land from the Scorn and Contempt of Ages, from the irretrievable ruin which now impends over her, and Kentucky is a free State, (loud cheers,) and if the which must overtake the oppressive and impenitent Na-

At 11 o'clock, the meeting was called to order by FRANcis Jackson, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, who proposed, from the Committee of Arrangements, the following organization :

For President-EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

tion, not less surely than the wicked Man.

Vice Presidents-Francis Jackson, Boston ; Micah H. Pool, Abington; William Ashby, Newburypert; O. W. Albee, Mariboro'; David B. Bartlett, Dorches ter ; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth.

Secretaries-Samuel May, Jr., Jas. M. W. Yerriston Pinance Committee-Robert P. Walleut, Boston Nath'l B. Spooner, Plymouth ; Elbridge Sprague, Abington ; Briggs Arnold, do.

The meeting unanimously accepted the above as it. officers, and the Chair was taken by Mr. Quincy, who spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen-I desire to thank you for the honor you have just done me, and to congratulate you on the return of this day, and our assembly here, in "God's first temple," under the green trees, not like the idelatrous Jews of old, for the purpose of offering up incense to false gods, but to offer up that service which is most acceptable to God-service to our fellow-creatures-rejoicing for the blessings which He for I mean the North as own fellow-countrymen, who are suffering under so as the South. If the South has sinned fear- much worse oppression than did the bondmen of the I have said often before, that I considered it peculiarly

fortunate that the First of August should come precisely one month after the Fourth of July-that we should have something to take the taste of that anniversary out of our mouths, - that we may be reminded that all those who named the name of liberty have not been false,-1st. Resolved, that armed men must be sent to that there have been those who regarded civil liberty Kansas to conquer the armed men who come against as including the black as well as the white, -who did her: -and that our justification for sending them not regard the liberty of '76 to mean the slavery of is to be found in the refusal of the Administration one-sixth of the population of '56 I for the slavery of the population of one-sixth of the population of '56. I for one thank God for what the English people did. Though we have reason to blush, to put our hands on our mouths, and our mouths in the dust, and acknowledge that we are verily sinners before them, in the light of their great 3d. Resolved, that we must not allow ourselves example, yet we should thank God for that example to be deceived by the Kansas Bill, which recently passed the Senate, nor by any other apparent conthe safety and happiness of immediate emancipation

The company then united in singing the original hymn, written for the day by DANIEL S. WHITNEY.

[This hymn was published in our last week's issue.] Mr. Quincy announced that ill-health would prevent Mr. Garrison from being with us to-day, and would deprive us of his expected and ever-welcome presence. He understood that Mr. May had this morning received a letter from Mr. Garrison, which he was sure the audience would like to hear.

Mr. May read the following letter, which was listen? ed to with the closest interest, and at the end was warmly cheered :

Boston, August 1, 1856 MY DEAR MR. MAY :

My disappointment is very great in not being able to be at your commemorative meeting, to-day; but, pain, and am too much affected by a pressure upon the a National Kan-as Committee of wise and upright brain, to make it either prudent or pleasurable for me men, to whose discretion the whole conduct of our to participate in your proceedings, or to be even only a brain, to make it either prudent or pleasurable for me sacred cause shall be entrusted. Said committee mere witness of them. Fortunately, the presence of so shall be composed of one person of each State, so many able and eloquent advocates of freedom will renfar as there are States in which a suitable person | der my absence of no account whatever. Still, I deepder my absence of no account whatever. Still, I deepcity of Chicago shall be put upon said committee.
Three shall constitute a quorum, and Chicago shall
be the usual place for the meetings of the committee.

in the claims of Kansas and Liberty, we ed to think of the wonderful deliverance of eight hun records no event so marvellous and soul-thrilling, in re-Committee to bring to a speedy and successful close lation to a change in human condition. All praise and honor to British philanthropy, which, against throne he great work which we commit to its hands.

Sth. Resolved, that the contributions each and parliament at home, and the whole body of West month should not fall short of one hundred thous- India planters, dared single-handed to grapple with should be paid to the committee by the first day of August; and those of August by the first day of and long-protracted struggle, succeeded in vanquishthe demoniac spirit of Slavery, and, after a tremendous ing them all-opening the prison doors, and setting every captive free beneath the British flag ! Everlaststill holds in a bondage equally cruel and degrading four millions of victims, derides all appeals to conscience

> in the way of divine retribution upon the heads of the oppressors, will yet effect a greater jubilee and ransom a still more numerous host. Yes-

. The end will come-it will not waitains, yokes and scourges have their date : Slavery itself must pass away, And be a tale of yesterday!' Yours, to break every yoke,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON. Rev. Samuel May, Jr. ANDREW T. Foss, of New Hampshire, being called

forward by the President, addressed the meeting in an eloquent and thorough anti-slavery speech, repudiating THE LIBERATOR, eloquent and thorough anti-slavery speech, repudiating THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON then addressed the meeting in a speech of great beauty and power; a full report of which, from Mr. Yerrinton's phonographic notes, will be found in another place.

The audience joined in singing ELIZABETH M. CHAN DLER's well-known hymn :

'Think-of our country's glory, All dimmed with Afric's tears; Her broad flag stained and gory With the hoarded guilt of years. Adjourned to 2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON

Met according to adjournment, and joined in the hymn by George W. PUTNAM, written for the 1st of

Unlike the late Fourth of July, which was wet, line-WM S. Bailer, editor of the Newport, Ky. News. only anti-slavery paper south of Mason and Dixon's

from Norfolk, Middlesex, and Essex counties, as well as that it was for their interest as well as mine that slave ments at each station on the way, arrived at the Abing- could not otherwise overcome me, they attempted to dethat end of the railroad, and from all parts of Plymouth ed new type, and began again. Samuel Pike came and es about 2800 copies, and we mean to continue it until Union is divided, we mean to go with THE NORTH ! (Renewed and prolonged cheering.)

Mr. PHILLIPS said we shall all feel it is a great thing publish an anti-slavery paper in Kentucky; and if w lesire to help so good a work by giving a few dollars to Mr. Bailey, we may receive his paper, or provide for it

Kentuckian ; now we should hear from a Virginian. Washington city, a native of Virginia.

spoke in an earnest, free and natural manner, to the great pleasure and edification of the vast audience. [This speech will appear in full hereafter.] Mr. Quincy, in introducing to the audience Mr.

STRONG, of Racine, Wisconsin, spoke as follows: We have with us to-day, my friends, a representative

from one of the youngest States over which the star of mpire has hong, as it has taken its westward way, and of which I may truly say-'Time's noblest offspring is its last.'

You all remember Racine! It was from Racine that the hundred went up when the tidings reached that young city, that a slave was in prison in Milwaukie. A hundred men from Racine, taking their own blacksmiths with them, proceeded to Milwaukie, formed State in a position of antagonism to the United States government at this moment, which absolutely reaches the sublime; which has made Chief Justice Smith, the man who declared the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional, and discharged Sherman M. Booth from the sentence inflicted on him by the United States Court,which has made Chief Justice Smith, of Wisconsin, do with pleasure, to the large number of our colored of the United States. Would to God, my friends, we had a few more Wisconsins! Would to God that that young blood might be sent back to the old heart from Chief Justice Smiths; that that numerous and respecslaves in the free States ; to put an end, to all intents and purposes, to all connection of the North with the South, so far as concerns the question of slavery.

But, my friends, I did not intend to make a speech. I only wished to introduce to you our friend, Mr. STRONG, of Racine, Wisconsin.

Mr. Strong came to the platform, and was received with applause. He said he had come to this meeting only as a visitor and listener; he was originally a democrat, and in 1848 went to the Buffalo Convention. when Martin Van Buren was nominated for President, and there he became a free-soiler. He and his associates had continued true to the principle of freedom. while the New York barn-burners had lapsed into their old democratic party again. And now, said he, I have come to this meeting perhaps to be carried on to a high- devout and very reverend demeanor, that when, a er position in the Anti-Slavery contest. (Cheers.) I while ago, I had the good fortune to induce him to ochave listened attentively to-day; and if this be a disunion meeting, I can only say I have heard no senti- the people asked what Episcopal Doctor of Divinity I ment uttered that I could not heartily accede to. (Much had got to honor me with his society! (Laughter.) cheering.) Mr. S. went on to say that it was time that I heard him say a thing which I suppose we shall al morality was brought back into politics ; there are men, say in our turn, that this is a great day, -- a great day, said he, who will never put the least particle of hones- and a great meeting to match it. There are several reaty into their ballots, for fear there should be a union be- sons why it is a great day. I happened upon a new tween Church and State. We must unite politics and bistorical fact recently, which perhaps you do not genmorality. The better and purer a man is, the more he erally know. I met a man a year ago, - a good little will hate slavery. It was not the personality or the se- German Jew, - who was going to New York to attend, verity of Mr. Sumner's speech, but the truth of it which offended and stung the slaveholders.

Mr. Strong concluded his remarks as follows:

the young State of Wisconsin. I hope, in the cause of August is not only the anniversary of the emancipation reform, she may always truly deserve it. There are, of slavery in the West Indies, but also of the day, Mr. perhaps, no great, distinguished men in our State, to Chairman, when Satan originally fell from heaven. lead off the cause of freedom, but there is a very healthy The first of August Satan fell from heaven; and state of moral feeling there. If it were not for the for- thinking that the matter had not gone far enough, eign population of Wisconsin, who are at present de- they afterwards had a meeting in the West Indies, and luded by the name of Democracy, and by prejudice pitched him out of hell. (Cheers.) It was Dr. Chapin, against the Temperance movement, and the American I think, who said in New York, that 'the best kind o movement, the whole State would be to-day almost pick-nick a man can take hold of, is a pick at Oldunanimously anti-slavery. And having spent some Nick.' (Laughter.) I go for taking a pick at him atime last winter in Northern Illinois, I can say that often as possible. the people of that section of the State utterly loathe It does me good, Mr. Chairman, to be here. I have ists against James Buchanan-or rather, against the chanan, but the Cincinnati platform (Cheers.)

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. said: When we were gathered here last year, on this anniversary occasion, we remembered one who then lay in a Pennsylvania dungeon, for unjust judge, John K. Kane, sought to send back into unjust judge, John K. Kare, sought to get a lew thousand miles of slavery, from which they had legally been made free by between you and America; and you learn what the true said Mr. M, we have that woman and her boys present with us in this meeting, and participating in our joys and our proceedings to-day ! [Many voices- Let us see her. Let us see them all.' Jane Johnson and her two sons came to the platform, and were heartily cheered. A contribution in their behalf was suggested, and the sum of thirty dollars was quickly collected.

PARKER PILLSBURY being earnestly called for, came forward, and was warmly greeted by his many Plymouth County and other friends. For some time be could scarce command his voice. Being advised by the President not to try his strength too severely by speaking in the open air, he said : My weakness now. I believe, is one less of the flesh than of the spirit. I was thinking, sir, that I could no longer speak as I used to speak. I remember that, on my first espousing the Anti Slavery cause, here in Plymouth County was the scene of my earliest labors; and if I must fall here, I thought, I could be content to cease from them. Mr. Pillsbury said he should not have come to the platform, but that he felf the duty to bear his testimony, not only against those politicians, lawyers, and Governors, who had been spoken of, and most justly, as enemies to the cause of freedom, but also against those clerical and ecclesiastical bodies, those men high in church stations, who are so far guiltier than the others, and by whom battalions of unprincipled politicians are constantly being trained and instructed for the vile work of compromise and pro-slavery which they do. Mr. Pillsbury adduced several recent and most striking instances of this clerical double-dealing, fully equalling the worst acts of political caucusses and bargain-makers.

Miss SARAH PELLETT, formerly of Massachusetts, now of California, addressed the meeting. She chiefly desired to vindicate Col. Fremont from some criticisms which had been made upon him by some of the speakers, and which she deemed unjust. Miss P. spoke eloquently, and quite to the minds of many of the audience. Rev. EDWIN THOMPSON being called to the platform

made an eloquent and characteristic speech. He said dark hour by her side. (Loud applause.) there had been a most assonishing change in public sentiment. He contrasted these days with the former days of mobs of meetings in garrets and private hous es. Now every man that opposes this movement is killed off. He wondered that Wendell Phillips was not more hopeful. For his part, he was full of hope. He thought anti-slavery had gained triumphs as fast as it could expect them, and he believed it would go on to its complete victory. Mr. Thompson differed from Mr. Foss in the opinion

that Franklin Pierce had any generosity or humanity in him. He defied any one to show the first really generous act which Franklin Pierce has ever performed. Hon. Mr. Alnes, of Marlboro', was called up, and received with hearty cheers. He spoke a few words of

The President said we had had a good specimen of a thanks, and expressed the deep and lasting satisfaction He introduced to the audience Rev. M. D. Conwax of a member of the State Legislature, to aid in crystalizing the anti-slavery sentiment of the people of Massa Mr. Conway was received with great cheering, and chusetts into Law, in the Personal Liberty Bill. (Cheera.

Although the vast audience seemed undiminished and unwilling to separate, yet, as the hour of 6 o'clock had arrived, it was necessary to close the day's proceedings, which was accordingly done by singing, to the tune of Scots wha hae, Alonzo Lewi.'s Ode, which closes thus

'In the might of Truth we stand, Freedom's true and fearless band; Well we love our native land, And it shall be free!'

The meeting then adjourned, and the multitude pou ed from the grove in all directions, having apparently highly enjoyed the favorable occasion, the beautifu weather, and the unusually interesting meeting; and with ardent aspirations for the Advent of Freedon Peace, Justice, and true Nobility to our own country It was the general testimony that never, even on the themselves on the pier, with the black-miths in front, li was the general testimony that never, even on the marched to the jail, took off the doors, and let the captive go free. (Loud cheers.) It was that brave and no- quence, or a more elevated moral character, in all the ble action which has placed that young and generous speeches, without exception, than on this occasion May the good seed, thus abundantly and faithfulls sowed in the good ground of honest and good hearts spring up and bear abundant fruit, to the honor of God the great Father of All, and to the redemption, in body and in soul, of all His children, of every country an of every name!

day. Never, on any previous First of August, we think, which it came! Would to God that we had a few more meeting. It is indeed a day to be held by them it thankful and special remembrance, for their brethren's table family might have furnished Chief Justices to all sake. Never let it be forgotten by them, nor by any the free States, our own included, and first of all | the true friends of freedom, until the full birth right (Laughter and cheers.) We only want a few such ex- and blessing of personal, civil, and religious Liberty amples as this to put an end for ever to the hunting of shall be possessed and enjoyed by every human being EDMUND QUINCY, President.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
J. M. W. YERRINTON, Secretaries.

N. B. The Finance Committee collected the sum of \$103.82, for expenses of the meeting, and for the ad vancement of the cause.

SPEECH OF REV. T. W. HIGGINSON.

MR. CHAIRMAN: ring unexpectedly,-but here I am. I heard a part of Mr. Foss's speech. You know in these meetings, each speaker is expected to take his text from his predecessor ; and how can I, a humble laborer in this field. do better than take my text from the man who is of such he told me, the Anniversary of the Creation of the World ; and I found the Jews knew all about that, and had kept that anniversary, I suppose, from the year one. Mr. Chairman, you have paid a high compliment to So I have the pleasure to inform you, that the first of

Douglas, and are determined to redeem their State from not, it is true, got the hang of this school-house, but I his rule. I tell you, I think there is ten times the feel. have got the hang of these school-fellows. It is a good ing in the State of Illinois, in regard to the approach- thing for a man to be here who has been condemned to ing election, than in any other State in the Union. I pass eight months in a solitary island that hangs like a very is; you all know, too, what freedom is an any believe, that if Douglas had been nominated at Cincin- teacup in the Atlantic ocean, where they never had a now. Once there was a man who had a bose shell nati, men would have turned out, hundreds of them, to public meeting and never had but one paper and one out of health, and he sent him to Vermest to next. Think of a Yankee passing eight months in such a Cincinnati platform, for he says he is not James Bu. place as that ! It is a hard thing, I tell you ; but, hard as it is, it is worth all it costs to realize what home is : WENDELL PHILLIPS was received with general enthu- and if, as I hope is the case with all of you, home means siasm, and spoke with his wonted ability and eloquence. freedom,-wherever free hearts beat,-then home is A full report of his speech will be found in another doubly dear ; dear in its peace and prosperity, - dearer for in its sorrows and its dangers. There is another advantage in a residence in a foreign land, or a land that is half foreign,-that it puts you far off; you have things at arm's length ; you see things as they his faithful performance of a humane and brave deed- are. The miserable superstitions that confine you at the rescuing of a woman and her two sons, whom that home—the reverence for ' men of property and standing' in Boston, for men of political power at Washington,-

America is, and you care to hear of that and that only, and therefore you read the Boston LIBERATOR, because that means what in America is best and noblest. You weigh America against Europe ; and I tell you, you can hardly realize, without such experience, how little the events of Europe seem compared with those going or around us now. A single meeting of Abelitionists in some country school-house, where our friends Foss and Pillshury labor so devotedly, a single gathering of a handful of Abolitionists any where in this Union, becomes more momentous to you, more full of predictions of the future, than all the petty manageverings of politicians in London and Paris, Vienna and St. Petersburg. The war in Kansas seems infinitely more than the war in the Crimea; and you wonder at the done more than all the outrages of the Slave Proc pt glittering baubles for which men play at public life in Europe, when only here is the battle worth fighting, will bear an injury to their principles or their issues the only work worthy to be done. O, my friends, it was strange to me, when there came from across the ocean, horne by the twin winds that sometimes blow there the same day, from east to west,-it was strange to me, when there came one day the news from Paris or one side, and the news from Boston on the other, to turn from the petty records of the birth and haby-clothes of the Imperial infant of Paris, -all the royalty of Europe Mr. Burlingame has yet to account to Managhore aroused at midnight to salute its coming, -to turn from all that mockery of a day, to the realities that were occurring here ;-to that one poor, hunted, robbed, defrauded woman, that MARGARET GARNER in Cincinnati, of whom my LIBERATOR was full; to read of her before that Slave Court in Cincinnati, with our own LUCY STONE-noble as ever-by her side. (Cheers.) What a contrast was there ! A few centuries, and tim will utterly sweep a say the memory of that new despot of Europe; it will lie very low among the Cushings and Curtises of our own land ; but that deep instinct of humanity, which remembers nothing of Roman history so clearly as the story of Virginius and his daughter,

My friends, I want to congratulate you on living in land of realities; in a land where people are living in earnest. I am glad to meet you in a place where peo ple come to talk of living in earnest. When I cam back to this country, a pilot came on board to take charge of the ship. Now a pilot has three duties The first is, to pilot the ship into the harbor; the second, not to speak a word to the passengers; and the third, to have a newspaper in his pocket. I got hold of the newspaper, and the first sentence I looked at have the whole story of Kansas and the assault on Charles Sumner, all done up in a piece of paper about as big a hullet. You remember that Horace Mann said, on on occasion, 'I was smitten down, as Paul was, though fact out of sight, and recognize them as gallant and

speaking to the pilot; and he opened his ment in say that he had never seen such excitement among people. I went up State street, and found all the people. I well a like a mong the prophets. (Laughter.) The first ba dissolution of the Union. I told him I did sat h dissolution of the better. I tried again and apa feel the sentiment of the people, and all seemed to Still, I did not trust State street; I had seen that pot agitated a good many times, and I knew that h went to Worcester, and tried the thermometers I found it, as I expected, at blood-heat; and Base and I have been there ever since,

the past excitement, there was fresher case of ment, though the old great cause was belief a taught me no new lesson. I had studied the there long, and under too able teachers, to be assault what I saw. It was only the gradual drawing, an step, sin by sin, act by act, of the great dean nation's Union and Disunion, nearer to as end was all ; but that was much. How much that is! H Revolution? If you have not, I advise not his he he have Revolution:
Take the Diary of John Adams, or From the to See of Boston, "-the best picture of the cely panel how precisely, step by step, the earlier feeding by us now. The same events, the same nea, the vision of parties, only with new medication of parties, itials and details, and that is all. You find the ma strange ignorance on the part of the people that the was any Revolution at all. Why, if you had him, was any seconds, the day after the Sgat at Coool o at Lexington, or even at Bunker Hill, to m view at Lexington, or the Revolution was coming or as, for would have answered no. Even after the Busher his fight, which seems to us about the middle of the code we find leading men expressing the opinios that he would be no separation, after all. Instead of search going round and appouncing to all the world, topa Oyez, there is a revolution coming!" we find the g are half way in a revolution before they have the going on ; just as even now, when the state of think such that future historians will wooder that then up one man in the Union who could think the tries mil be avoided, we find men who look round in the nine of the impending crash, and say, like the man in the firm of the flood to Nouh, 'Go nlong with your old ut; h is n't going to be much of a shorer.' (Laugher.) bal you find in other points the same analogy between the old Revolution and the new one. You foithe mar cantion in taking any positive action; the same villagness to submit even to outrages befor thing sich step ; even the same fact of arms and annuation by ing taken away from the friends of liberty; yes fal the same shrinking back on the part of conneccial sid professional men, the same urging forward to the per of farmers and mechanics, and a portion of the deer. You find at every point analogies between the sil ut the new; and that is enough to show you, if you have not thought of it before, what a crisis is impening And then, when you look deeper, and compare there. ciples of the old and the new, you see that therein two nations in Europe whose antagenism of prisciple is at all comparable to the conflict of principles ging a in this country, which makes revolution. Revolution begins in antagonism. Here is a principle and fiera a principle, and they meet, and have got to meet, al that makes revolution. There is no such colidal principles in all Europe as in this country. There an such antagonism between England and Rusia ale tween Massachusetts and South Carolina. Therean such spirit of freedom on one side as reigns athlish. form ; there is no such spirit of slavery on the them reigns among the constituents of Mr. Brooks. Deni no such contending conflict as ours, becase then is no such principles to contend. We have get a spirit slavery such as the world has never seen, and wast take the consequences of that; a spirit of freedon, is, such as the world has never seen, and we have get take the convenuences of that. You all knew white his care came down to Boston to see the man who start him. The man said to him- How is my hors? It was doing very badly before I sent him to you, still feared he had a lingering disorder.' 'Ye,' sidis Vermonter ; ' the fact is he has been lingering entire fast lately.' That is our condition ; freedom is 'fisgering amozing fast.' It is getting amazingly in the back-ground, even now, when we thought that it lid gone so far back that it could go no further, carp's sink into the earth and die. Deeper yet we have pi's have this terrible warning of God plaughed into us, be fore we feel it, calloused as we are by our politio ad our commerce. We have got to learn, by the braid hand at Washington, the lessons which the nere abit and subtle injuries of politicians have not mucht befor. It is amusing to see how men who have goe as it years without discovering that slavery was harbarien their midst, have wakened suddenly to the fact with the assault on Mr Sumner. Was that any thing per, of what they never could have anticipated! I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet; but I remember st. ing some time ago, that we were rapidly lapsing in that condition of barbarism, when each man said have to rely on his own right hand for defence. Its not the event proved the correctness of the prophet! I acknowledge that the Slave Power is a little nort set than we are even in this, and contrives to attack a vis our right hands are confined behind a desk, and cans serve us. That assault on Mr. Sumper, hearer, in together to divide this Union, and for this reasn; so more easily than a wrong done to their pride. I shall not enter upon any detailed remarks on that asset; but one thing I must say, in regard to a matter sich grew out of that assault. Mr. Burlingame stands ut differently now from what he did a few weeks aga all believe now that his character as a man of compl is vindicated. There is something, bowerer, for rich It is not merely his readiness to fight a duel, west papers and speakers enough have spoken of that, -8 \$ something else. I saw in a newspaper, only mais, that Mr. Burlingame had conferred this final good spit the world-he had settled, in the eyes of all men in ever, that Brooks was a coward. What I complain a Mr. Burlingame for is, that he injured Massachusel he injured freedom, he injured henor, by admitting is a single instant, that that was a thing yet left ope b be proved, after the assault upon Mr. Sumner. Ichris it upon Mr. Burlingame that he has departed from the rules of the very harbarous code he claims to receptate in for a moment entertaining the thought of sering euch a man as Brooks on equal terms. There are will cling forever to the name of MARGARET GARNER was a time in history, however barbarous, there per and will not forget the name of her who stood in that was a code, calling itself a code of bonur, that receptate the claim of a man who had done what Brooks has he meet men of honor on equal terms again-serer! h the lowest days of chivalry, there was never a knight a brutal and blood-thirsty that he would have not a not like Brooks in equal conflict on the field. A different doom was reserved for men of his stamp. No astir what the man might have been; if he had been initial ed by Bayard himself, if he had won his spurs on the cloth of gold, if he was found guilty of such an sol, is golden spurs would have been hewn from his beek if the common hangman, and he would have been cated from the society of honorable men. I tell 162, 26 were so cast out; but in these times, even our Baris

ye. Borlingame said he saw some sparks of gallantry in ye, porting.

Je say it is a foul slander on chivalry to say that hiralrons age would have tolerated such a man as holes. Therefore I complain of Mr. Burlingame, that be done for Brooks what Johnson said was done for he files in his time. There was a man in London Foote-a blackguard fellow; - I suppose his finels any some saparks of gallantry in him. One day freeds an Foote; he was publicly kicked. Dr. Johnson the utmost astonishment. Said he, 'the man prising in his position. A week ago, there was not a no who would have stooped to kick him.' (Laugh-Mr. Burlingame recognizing Brooks as a man o hour shows me into what a state of barbarism slavery has brought us, and how far men have lost the old sim

ple sense of liberty and honor. fiere is another side to this picture, however, Mr Chirman. Side by side with this dark degradation gist on for years, there has been a high and glorious practice erecting itself;—a principle as unexampled or wile as the haseness of slavery is upon the other. It given as the nothing in the bistory of the world so her as our slavery, point me, sir, to any thing in the serid as noble, with all its faults, as the anti-slavery movement, of which we count it an honor if we may ent le the humblest part. Show me, among those santes revolutions which the patriotism of mankind het schiered for itself, one where a race has toiled hough a revolution like that which is going on here, he another race of mankind, - a race deemed inferior. stead, oppressed, demanding disinterestedness and adderotion, not of its own, but of the more favored ad privileged race, which finds it at last its highest eightere to aid the weakest, the most ignorant! I por of nothing like it. We have seen abundant in guers of men laying down all that men held dear for wir ent ultimate good - for the good of their own famles, their own nation, their own race. Show me an infence where an individual or a race has done what part here have done from the beginning, laying down ers, prosperity, popularity, power, all that most men all their lives for, not for the freedom of their own no, but for that of another. Take even this war in Kussa. The standard of freedom in Kansas is not shif we would have it; but take it as it is, and show mea parallel to it in the history of the world ! Compireit to the American Revolution. It was a tax on a that drove our fathers to revolution, - nothing more has that, perhaps ; but, mark you ! that tax upon tea was imposed uponthemselves; they were to pay it. What nthis ever been imposed upon the people of Kansas? That have they been called upon to do that they did per sant to do, except this one solitary thing? They por called upon to do the very thing our fathers were Ting to do, - the thing that your John Mitchels, fresh from the struggle of European freedom, long to do,mold slaves; and they would not consent to do it. his new thing in history ; a revolution, not to escape fen being slaves, but to escape from holding slaves. That is it -nothing else. The only foundation for this resolution in Karisas is, that these men were unwilling n bold another race in chains.

Kedo not recognize those things, because we do not seches gradually the human race creeps on. We all sel, in our secret souls, the failure of this attempt on the part of our Republican friends. Even Mr. Sumner beames weak when he attempts to show that all we vint is to make a step backwards, and once again shot the maxims of our earlier Presidents. It is not s, my friends. By as much as our later Presidents hoe fallen below the standard of those earlier ones, ly just so much have the men of these days, who are at Presidents of the United States, but only ought to is,-yes knew who I mean,-risen above it. The guidard of liberty on this platform -do you suppose Vehington, Jefferson and Adams would have endorsed

hat! Do you suppose Washington, if he had been former of Massachusetts, would have signed the lessnal Liberty Bill?- Washington, who, in the midst dall his noble self-devotion, was still so benighted as wed to Portsmouth for his fugitive slave-though so happy to say he did not get her; the ' Father of his Centry,' even, could not do that. Do you suppose Jefless, or even our own Puritan John Adams, was an Delicaist, as we try to be Abolitionists? If you read is bury, you will see that in '76, he made a speech Cogress, in which he took the ground that it made widerace to the wealth and prosperity of a State where one half of its population consisted of slaves, whey were all freemen. He said, in express terms, that frebuilted freemen contributed no more to the mateof a State than five hundred slaves. her, that in 1776, he talked with a certain Maj. Sanben, of Virginia, when the Major asked him for a remet make Virginia into Massachusetts-a thing needelther almost as much as now. Mr. Adams gave him the four ingredients-common schools-town meetins-training days-and ministers. He gave him ther four points, and he made no allusion to slave-He could not have forgotten it, because he had ben talking to that very man on the subject a few any before. He mentions all these, and seems to perhok that which renders free schools impossible,that gags ministers, and then opens their mouths to beir them say things that cause us to wish they had trips stayel_gagged, (laughter) -that turns town-

beitings and training days into greater evils. Yet him Adims stands highest among the first Presidents. When I look at these things, I see that the picture is astentirely dark-that there has been a progress upvani as well as a fall downward; and I see that by tery sep taken in each direction, revolution is made bere certain, dissolution is made more certain. If it was nadness to think to hold together the feeble, suppliciting slavery and the young and undeveloped spirit of liberty of the days of the Revolution, what ten-fold nidness to hope to link together the double-distilled and defaut slavery and the full-grown liberty of this halte-day! It is all idle. You cannot do it. And I you want to reverence those old Presidents, you must is it only on the sure principle on which Henry Ward Beecher proved himself a Calvinist. 'I believe,' said be, with Calvin; or what Culvin would have believel, hal he lived in these days, and believed as I think be englet.' With that provise, I go in for the principles of the earlier Presidents. But all that is idle. Even Beary Ward Beecher cannot make himself out a Caltight, and even Charles Sumner cannot make us out ductions of the earlier Presidents in our efforts for the slaves. If it were so, we have toiled in vain. When bu link together liberty and slavery, the two ideas will for and strengthen, and by and by you will have a such in which these two will meet, and then it will be be which his become the stronger, and whether

Well, this is all disunion, -- all treason. I hope you bretand it. 'If this is treason, make the most of n' itell you, men get educated rapidly. I do not beat of myself; but I see all around me the progress he make. Every full-blooded Yankee naturally clings to the Union and to the law. Nay, Yankees are so far the the Devil-worshippers of the East, who have such Receition, that if you take a man and draw a ring had him on the ground, he stays inside of that lag antil you take him by the hand and draw him He thinks the devils are around him, and is thad to step out unless you have hold of his hand. So be easy inside this ring of Union, and shudder at the thought of even stepping beyond. You, Mr. Chairman, ad others with you, have given us a hand to help us at I thank you for it. It is the best thing that ever total have been done for the American people. Get a has once out of that superstillous reverence, and the hes of nature will take care of the rest. He gets on lany fast after that. In the first place, he is willing. le Mr. Speaker Banks, in a certain contingency, to it the Union slide"; and then he lets the contingency (Langhter and applause.) I remember, a good the 150, before the Free Soil movement of 1848, when to ad stardy Buckingham, -ill to be spared from the ber press, the William Cobbett of that day and he sort, I remember how he, in his growling way,

Eavery or liberty is to die.

old man did not enter into much discussion about it. that he is opposed to slavery in the abstract, and al-He said in type the next day—' Mr. Hillard (perhaps ways was. it was) says the South will dissolve the Union. Suppose they do ! ' That was all. Once get a man to say Suppose they do,' and he has pretty nearly experienced religion. (Laughter and cheers.) Once get a man to calculate the value of the Union, and I tell you, the laws of arithmetic will take care of the rest. Now, calculating it thus. I tell you there is many a man who would shrink from the sound of the words, if he uttered them, I know a Boston merchant, who would shrink from being called an extreme man, who I know to have said that he would give half his fortune to see a dissolution of the Union-and he is a man who never gave a promise to pay, without following it up. People see this growing emotion, and, not seeing far enough, say it is going to save the Union. I am not sure of this Union. I am not sure, even, that this part of the Union is to be saved. I think LIBERTY is going to be saved. I have no anxiety about the laws of God; they will I have no anxiety about the laws of God, the take care of themselves. Whether they can confine men permanently in 'the body of this death,' with all the new spirit of liberty we have been bragging about, I was spirit of liberty we have been bragging about was spirit of liberty we have been bragging about was spirit of liberty we have been bragging about which was spirit of liberty we have been bragging about was spirit of liberty was spirit of liber I can almost say, I do not care. I trust God. We have great deal of influence. We need none us of care much Mr. Fremont was President, I do not believe he would failed. I see that every such failure has helped the have an United States office. I will starve out the sys Look at the history of the early ages of England. See years to work it in, and I will fifty per cent, abolish successive races one by one trodden down by despotic slavery. What say the Republican leaders to-day years longer, the Normans would have gone out of anti-slavery President who is to know no distinction be Let us remember the moral of that brave answer to the down no such principle. old despot, who said to the poet Anacreon, 'I had less Now, as I said, I value politics, not for the men i difficulty in overcoming this nation than you will have elects, but for the discussion it permits. The canvass nation has in it two such men.' (Loud cheers.)

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. I am glad, Mr. President, as other speakers have xpressed themselves, to hear from so many parts of

the country to-day, -from so many different States. I am glad, sir, to hear the testimony of these different representatives of the anti-slavery sentiment. It is well known that on our platform, we accept the serviform he chooses to manifest his opposition. I was glad will not go out of our gathering without carrying many remembrances of our interest in Kentucky with bim. I do not know very particularly about his antislavery sentiments and method, but I have a very good test ;-he has beaten down eight pro-slavery presses, and has been mobbed until they got tired of nobbing him. That is good anti-slavery! (Cheers.) friend Bailey referred. I had asked him how public sentiment in Kentucky was, and he said- 'We get on finely; we are wide awake.' I asked him to describe how, and the description is one which shows you what a large empire of mind this anti-slavery movement like, as simple, as if one should attempt to describe this ginson and Conway.' 'Why,' said Clay, 'at the Dripcept it; it was on his own level. It was a proof that

been something said of Mr. Burlingame to-day. I do ish my pilgrimage on the soil of that young and galnot like duelling. I think that the North does rightly lant State that has earned the first and greenest laure when it frowns on duelling. I think that one of the in the anti-slavery struggle between State sovereignty great efforts of the anti-slavery press and speakers and the Union. (Cheers.) should be to show that the South is barbarous. Our That is what we want. It seems to me, that in turnlabor for the next twelvementh is to convict the slave ing its face to the territories, and taking up Mr. Freterritory as harbarous. We are to take this attack on mont, the anti-slavery party is letting slide, not the Mr. Sumner, with its endorsement by the South, and Convict fifteen States of barbarism. There is a great process of the convict fifteen States of barbarism. There is a great process of the convict fifteen States of barbarism. deal in words. I will call the House of Representa-tives a 'Chamber of Assassins,' while Preston S. olina minister who had been turned out of his parish, Brooks sits in it, and the Senate likewise. I want to because he had refused to take part in a Brooks' meet. stamp fifteen States not only as slaveholding, but as ing. I would rather have him for President than John barbarous. It is the fourteenth century. It is burning C. Fremont, and I will tell you why. When you want a man for opinions. It is the fire and stake which the to find obstacles, how do you go to work to find them Jesuits said was the only light by which truth could If this stream around us was like Niagara, pouring be elicited. It is worse than the Inquisition and its tor- down with resistless torrent, and you wanted to find tures, which the Jesuit teacher alone, of all the other rock, where would you go? Would you go to a spot punishments, suffered his pupil to behold four centuries ago. It is the barbarism of a corrupt faith, and a you would go to some spot where the waters rose up in reckless and coward nobility. When Mr. Burlingame leaps and boiled in a maelstrom. I take the whole life consented to accept a challenge, he borrowed an element of Fremont, from boyhood to manhood, from South from the barbarism of fifteen barbarons States. It was Carolina to the peak of the Rocky Mountains, from a great blunder. It sullied the position of Massachu- California back to Washington,-it is one unbroken, setts, which stood untarnished in the hands of Sumner unopposed success; a summery, halcyon scene.

also. I have all along been willing to say to men who when has he battled as the unflinching advocate of an votes and who go into Congress-'I cannot vote-I unpopularidea? When? Where is his life tossed into should think it immoral; I cannot accept office-it angry turmoil by the opposition of minds that he has would be a violation of right. But if there is any man roused against him? Never, but when he stole his that can vote, let him; if there is any man that can wife! For once, he opposed a MAN. I think he did accept office, conscientiously, let him.' When Mr. well (applause); but if every man who has got a good Summer entered the Senate, I said, 'In our view, he is wife is to claim a place by the Presidential chair, Mas perjured ; but if he does not think so, in God's name sachusetts will have a fine chair trade. (Laughter and let him enter and do his best !' So I say, Burlin- cheers.) No; the opponent of granite, of snow, of game, when he stood in Washington, stood crowded and want,-the pioneer, I acknowledge him; but not the trampled in the dast. In God's name, if he could pioneer in morals. Why, there is a head at Washingfight any where, let him fight! (Great applause.) On ton, silvered over with the battles of twenty years,his own conscience be the responsibility of fighting, ac- that of Giddings, (cheers,)—that has stood through cording to what he thinks right. I have no criticism, fifty anti-slavery fights. Fremont has yet to see his therefore, to make on the individual act. When he en- first. Take him up, and tell us that you selected the tered the House of Representatives, in my view, he did best man! O, no; you may have selected the most as foul, as immoral, as barbarous an act as when he available! To me, it seems very like the story of the accepted a challenge. I made a distinction in his favor man in one of our Western States, who, insulted in the when he went there, hoping that in the present state of public streets, stood quite still and received another the cause, he might-the dead somewhat burying the blow, when a bystander said, 'Why don't you fight dead-do better than his fellows. So I say of his duel him?' 'I don't want to do that,' said he, ' but I wil

As to the Republican party, of whom our friend Conway speaks, I want also to say a word. Virginian the great questions of Cuba, the slave trade, slavery i though he was, he did not care to defend Mr. Jefferson, but he said, with admirable satire, that he was opposed and it is all put back-to what? The Fugitive Slave

had been venturing upon something that, of course, of-fended some of his good friends in Boston,—and it would not have been good if they had not been offend—was a progressive man. How far has he progressed? ed,-and they said to him, on paper, 'If we pursue Why, just thus far ; just so far as the tomb of Thomas this course, the South will dissolve the Union.' The Jefferson! For in Fremont's letter, the best line is,

Mr. Conwar-' And on principle.' Mr. PHILLIPS-Yes, and on principle. But, at the same time, in that letter, very short as it is, he add that he stands by the Constitution, which protects the slavery of the separate States, and is inflexibly oppos ed to any interference with it there. And his coadju tor, Mr. Dayton, undertakes to say, 'I stand where have always stood. I have not changed.' Now, where who sees it with his eyes, and feels it in his heart. did he stand? When Gov. Chase, of Ohio, moved, it the House of Representatives, to amend the Fugitive Slave Bill by making it inoperative in the territories among the nays on that question is the name of Mr Dayton. And on several other of the issues presented by the Free Soilers of that day against the Fugitive Slave Bill, stands recorded the name of Mr. Daytor among the seven, nine, the seventy or the hundred and twenty that successively beat down the Free Soil propositions. He stands where he did stand !

I value politics, Mr. President, not for the men whom not know; and, with the sweeping firmament above me, note for his friend Mr. Burlingame—if he did write it It was a great triumph, his election ; I acknowledge it none of us got to stay a great while here on this earth.

As Governor Robinson said, in that brave letter of his, South. It showed us the crack. It was a great gain. I apprehend, that the other side of the grave, Atchi- But the man that went up-nothing. He has not don on, and Stringfellow, and the border ruffians have not a any thing; he has not been able to do any thing. I about them.' For ourselves, if we do not love our be able to do any thing more. I will tell you why. I country, what do we live for? Have we not pledged asked Cassius Clay what he intended to do when he curselves, by coming here, that we love our country elected an anti-slavery President. This is what I underabove all things but right ? But we love right best ; stand to-day was the reply of Mr. Clay : "I intend to and if we believe in God, we believe in that. I see that lay it down as a principle, that no slaveholder, that no nation after nation has struggled for the right, and friend of slavery, in any quarter of the country, shall world ou, -not so much as a success, but still nobly. tem. And, said he, give me that principle, and four oppression - Cambrians, Britons, Saxons. See them The New York Teibune, when Fremont was charged pass one by one, each trusting in God that it would be with being a slaveholder, replied, 'What if he is? We saved, each crushed at last-for what? To bring out a have voted for slaveholders before, and we shall vote nobler liberty in the end. Let us trust in the same way. for slaveholders again.' Nobody pretends that if Fre-Let us do what we can first. Way, there was one man, mont is elected, he will prohibit the employment of the last of the Saxon leaders in England, of whom it slaveholders in the various functions of the national was said when he died, that if that man had lived ten government. This is not to be. What is the use of an England, and if there had been six such men, the tween the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder? If this Normans would never have come in. Let us each government is worth fighting for, it is for the reason emember what magnetic power rests in each individual, who will trust himself and his great impulses. against the enemy. But the Republican party lays

in writing the story of it. I had so little, that I won- is worth a hundred fold more than the election. My der how liberty can exist where there is one brave and friend Mr. Conway, in his pulpit at Washington,resolute man in a nation.' 'And I,' said Anacreon, true man in a true place, -strikes a better anti-slavery in answer, 'I wonder that tyranny can exist when a blow than the best Free Soiler in the House of Repre sentatives, because he is founded on the granite of an unmistakable position, and there is nothing between him and the Higher Law but God's own inspiration. (Loud cheers.) When a man enters the House of Representatives, when he enters the political canvass, the first thing he does is to say-'I go for the Union. am no Garrisonian. I am no Disunionist.' 'Do'nt suspect me,' says a New York Republican journal, 'don't suspect me of being a Black Republican-I am ces of any man who hates slavery, no matter in what only a White one. What I criticise in the Republican movement is this. I want a platform, no matter who to see here, sir, glad to talk with, the devoted editor of you take for your candidates, that shall drag the whole the only anti-slavery paper in a slave State. I hope he anti-slavery cause, moral as well as political, right into the centre of the cauldron of political discussion. Our friend from Wisconsin said, when he went home from New York, in 1848, he made political speeches in which he analyzed the whole moral aspect of the anti-slavery question, and that Wisconsin, when she joined the Burnburners of New York, joined them on a principle. You see the result. When the Barnburners traded themselves off, when John Van Buren fell in love with The man who can draw so nice a distinction as to say, themselves off, when John Van Buren fell in love with that often as he has been beaten, he never was whipped, a Southern plantation, and denied every speech he had has a very excellent notion of logic. (Renewed cheer- made, the moral anti-slavery of Wisconsin was found ing.) I say, I accept all methods of anti-slavery. I at Racine, with its hundred men-ninety muskets, ten well remember the description which Cassius Clay gave blacksmiths-formed on the wharf at Milwaukie, making no speeches, asking no aid from Milwankie citize but in silence, like a hundred ghosts, marching straight from the landing-place to the jail; and the first sound that was heard from that hundred Abolitionists was the sound of their hammers on the fetters of the United States. It was the noblest mob that history knows, for covers. The description was as unconscious, as childwhen Solomon built his Temple, every stone of the fameeting, and say, 'We had thousands, and heard Higproportion at a distance from Jerusalem, that the sound pring Springs, we had a great meeting. I should of no hammer should be heard in the holy place. So think, said he, there were a hundred bowie knives it was when the bright, consummate flower of radical and seventy pistols.' (Laughter and cheers.) That and yet so indignant, that, like the lightning-bolt of heaven, its fifst noise was the noise of success. It the men who went there were in earnest, according to States, and proclaimed Wisconsin in fact a sovereign. broke down the judiciary and army of the United independent, and free State. (Applause.) O! if I This leads me to another point just here. There has could ever move from the dust of Boston, I would fin-

know he has battled with nature; with the frost and So much I say; but, on the other side, I say this the snow, with starvation, with want, -all of that; but make faces at his sister.' (Laughter.) Here is the anti-slavery cause, with four millions of clients, with

the District, free speech, the abolition of slavery itself.

Bill-where? The Constitution of the United States- world, and says, ' I am here to do the most unpleasant 1857, Kansas may be a settled question, beyond the Yet this Col. Sumner, whom the Kansas Legislatur reach even of John C. Fremont ? O, no; this Republi- rewarded with three cheers, was the same boy, grown did, in the time of Texas. It has gone back there; and men that it is in sentiments, in hearts, in ideas, tha I really believe, Mr. President, that the political excite- the etrength of all opinions, of all causes, resides ments of the last ten years have used up, yes, used up, That they should have hissed Mr. Sumner from Law Northern party, because perhaps it may give us free-dom in the pulpit, Possibly, when these Northern (Enthusiastic applause.)

States declare that slavery is a fit subject for the basis of a party, Northern clergymen may be willing in the extreme, he was just, eloquent, sublime, where to preach upon the subject. If they do, we may begin he told us that the best duel Mr. Burlingame could plause.)

to prevent him from doing worse mischief. 'If we don't find any room below them for 'The Constitution of Gardner ! (Renewed cheering.) We will take any instead. body, we will take nobody, we will pilot the ship without a Governor, but do not give us him. You may take the humblest man you can find, who never spoke, what the Free Soilers here are saying to each other, in I will not say an anti-slavery word, but a true word. and he is better than Gardner. Three times to be elect- don't mean any thing. It does not matter much what ed Governor! Why, one would almost forswear his the caucus says; we mean opposition to the Fugitive race. At the time I was commencing my speech against Slave Law; see mean an Anti-Slavery Constitution Judge Loring, Mr. Dana said to me, 'I cannot trust we, the masses, are Abolitionists; this is only a pasteyour doctrine that the people, the popular sentiment, board band we put out.' I know it. I know that in the popular conscience, may invade the judicial bench.' the ranks of the Republican movement there are I said to him, 'We can trust the people.' 'Nonsense,' Abolitionists who mean all this. But I know also, said he ; 'you know it's humbug. You can't trust the that during this Presidential canvass, all their friends people.' I believe, if Massachusetts elects Gardner want them to keep silent. They want them out of the three times over, I shall be half converted to Richard way. They do not want that sort of sentiment avow-Dann's opinion. Why, we have tried him twice. He ed. But in that sentiment is the only element of pro has insulted us, he has cheated us. The chair of State, gress. How long are we going to wait for the abolilike the boy's plummet, has touched bottom ; for God's tion of slavery? How many Fremonts must we elecsake, let it begin to second ! (Applause.) Where is his President, before you consent to be educated to a higher merit? What public good has he done that he deserves level of anti-slavery? It is a very costly experiment, the nomination? A gaseonading letter to the Governor this education of yours. You get on very slowly. of Alabama, published without any use for it, on the very eve of an election ! If there is a man here who has a word to say for him, let him say it, in God's name, elect a man for Governor who will march the Massaand then let Barnum take him and exhibit him round the Union as a man who still has faith in Gardner! (Cheers.) But they have nominated him. A small and nominated him, and the Republican papers generally are dumb.

he is a decent man ! Mr. Foss says he will cry sometimes, and if he sees a suffering man, and nobody is by to hinder him, will give him something. He has got a heart, when Jefferson Davis or Caleb Cushing is not by to hold it down. But this Col. Sumner, he acknowledges, in the face of the universe, that Mr. Secretary-of-War has scooped out his brain, and sent him there to Kansas like a broomstick, with his message written upon it. I say that Franklin Pierce, who creeps into a corner and shows he has a heart, is decent to the man who stands upon the platform of constitutional liberty for the

what? All vanished! The only issue presented to the work in the world '-and does it! You all laugh at public, the one, solitary issue is—Kansas; and who does not know, that long before the 4th of March, tied to the post. 'Who tied you?' 'L' (Laughter.) can discussion stands just where the Whig discussion a little older. (Cheers.) When, when are we to teach all the moral anti-elavery that existed in the communi- rence back to Washington, until the whole continent ty; and the function of the Abolitionist is, to go back rang with one loud cry of contempt for the bound who to the slave himself, to the moral aspect of the question, had sacrificed the honor of a name, -which, after to the religious duty of the country. I rejoice in a CHARLES SUMNER bore it, he ought to have feared to

a moral education. My friend Mr. Higginson said this have fought was to say to Col. Brooks, when his mes morning that slavery gagged the pulpit. I wish to God sage was presented, 'I fight with gentlemen; therefore, it did, for then we should not have such sermons as we I have no answer for you.' (Cheers.) He might have hear. (Cheers.) If it would only gag these thirty stamped him with the contempt of Massachusetts, as thousand preachers, and keep them silent, it would be beneath the code of gentlemanly satisfaction. It would 'a consummation devoutly to be wished.' (Laughter have been better than killing him at Clifton House. and applause.) Silence-blank paper-instead of the don't care if, according to my friend Conway, he had New York Observer-what a blessing ! (Renewed ap- fought the whole South Carolina delegation afterwards, We cannot afford to spare Brooks. We want him t That brings me to another question. Our friend from keep our contempt healthy and alive. (Loud cheers.) Wisconsin said they had no respect for office at the We cannot afford to have a decent man like Burlingame West. He supposed it was different here, on account of even blunder into acknowledging him gallant and chiv the great men that fill office. Why, he never heard of alrous. No Massachusetts man must ever name him Gardner. (Laughter.) He never heard of what a Gov- without rinsing his mouth immediately afterwards ernor we have got ; prepare to thank Heaven for him ! (Applause.) When he raised Brooks into decency, Mr. If we could have three such Governors, there would Burlingame inflicted a foul insult on Massachusetts not be a boy born within a hundred years from now, So it is with regard to what has taken place in Kansas that could ever respect the Governor's chair. If we -with regard to those Federal officers who undertool could continue to have Judge Loring on the bench and to be the tools of Franklin Pierce and Caleb Cushing Gov. Gardner in the chair, we should arrive at the We must go back to the high honor of the olden times excellent state of Wisconsin and Illinois, where they Do you not recollect, when one of the Spanish grander respect a man for what he is, not for the office he fills. was ordered by the King to receive the Constable o You know Prentiss, of Louisville, says you can see Bourbon, a traitor to his King, into his own castle, h books in the running Brooks,' and you can find a sent back a message, that the castle was open to him blessing in Governor Gardner. That's ingenious! that when the Bourbon entered it, the Spaniard would Withdraw Col. Fremont, and put me up for President! go out, and when the Bourbon left it, he would burn it You call him the 'pathfinder,' the 'discoverer,' and to the ground, for no honest man's house should ever want to make him President. He is nothing to me, for cover a traitor? That is what I call chivalry! [Loud I have discovered a reason for thanking God that Gard- cheers.] We need to educate the heart of the Northner was made Governor of Massachusetts! But I ern people. It is too much eaten out by gain, by mon should almost begin to lose my faith in human nature ey, by material prosperity. My friend Mr. Strong wa if he could be elected three times. Is this the hour for making a very acute criticism in conversation this morn Massachusetts to put Henry J. Gardner into that Gov- ing, in regard to this matter-the difference in respecernor's chair, when every man who deserves the right to character between the men of the Revolution and the to vote, who is intelligent enough to vote, knows that men of our day, outside the anti-slavery struggle, in he is a consummate hypocrite?. Could you have seen brave, earnest sincerity of principle, even on the mis him, as we saw him, in Fancuil Hall, when four thou- taken basis of the settlement of that day. They knew sand people came together to express their sympathy what they wanted ; they were men-sincerely earnest with CHARLES SUMMER, you would understand him. gallant men; men that did not measure their words The Governor rose and commenced his speech, begin- men that hewed to the line; men who, when they had ning a covert, hidden, insidious attack on Mr. Sum- planted their feet, never took them up again; men tha ner. A growl went up from the three thousand men look forward to the stake, to martyrdom, rather than before him, that warned him off those premises, and he take back a word. The men of our generation are paddled his light cance into other waters. (Cheers.) hucksters; they speak to-day, and take it back to-mor-For a little while he went on, then he tried a second row; whisper at home what they would be afraid to time, with another commencing criticism on Mr. Sum- have heard at Washington, and say at Washington ner's conduct in the last canvass,-upon-the language what they would be afraid to have heard at home, and of his speech, upon the temper and sincerity of his po- are politically dead when the two places meet and com litical conduct. Again came the growl of the crouch- pare notes. [Cheers.] We are a huckstering, halfing lion, and the Governor made back tracks again. hearted, paltering, small-patterned, half-in-carness Awhile he talked, as all of us on platforms are apt to race; none of the broad, intelligent, earnest, practical do, saying nothing, and then veered round in the same devoted, in one sense, reckless, enthusiasm of the revo rection. Again came the growl of the audience, and lutionary day, except in those whom the anti-slavery the Governor 'caved in,' turned round a short corner, struggle has stirred into life. Now, we are bound to and elaborated a compliment for the man he had been keep that spirit alive ; to let no political emergency, no prevented from stabbing under the fifth rib. And now compromise, swallow it up. Mr. Seward says the day a want to make him Governor! We are going of compromises has passed. I want a party on that through critical times, the ship of state is in peril, and basis. If Jessie is an Abolitionist, put her up for Pres you are for putting a man into the pilot house whom ident [cheers]; but do not put her husband up, while you cannot trust even so far off as you can see him ; he allows himself bound by a Constitution, that makes man who, if he did not have some dozen distinct and slavery in the Carolinas safe from the interference different reasons for telling the truth, would naturally the United States government. I have got beyond tell a lie! O, if there is any thing the anti-slavery Constitutions and Unions. I want no man for Presisentiment of Massachusetts is pledged to do, it is to ut- dent of these States, I will acknowledge no man as an ter its protest unmistakably in this hour, when anti- anti-slavery candidate for any office, who has not got slavery needs every thing, against putting such a man his hand half clenched, and means to close it on the as that again in nomination. It must not be ! If there jugular vein of the slave system the moment he reaches is any anti-slavery in the Free Soil party of Massachu- it, and has a double-edged dagger in the other hand. setts, it will make itself felt. I know the arguments in case there is any missing in the strangulation against it. I know the soothing talk of the wire-pul- [Loud cheers.] I want a politics that inscribes on its lers, who say it is the best place to hide Gardner in, banner ' Freedom-Justice !' and then, if they can keep him in,' they say, ' he will try to get Sumner out. United States,' put it in ; but Freedom first, Justice We don't know as we can elect any body beside him.' first. I hope Wisconsin will never join the Union again Then elect nobody. The vacant chair will be clean, until we abolish slavery. I hope she will exhaust the (Loud cheers.) My mission to-day is to say to any whole catalogue of Smiths, and make them successive Free Soiler who hears me, Save me from Governor by Chief Justices, before she takes Chief Justice Taney

Massachusetts has got beyond its slavery to politics The people are beyond the platform. I can tell you answer to my remarks. They say- O, that platform If the anti-slavery spirit exists, let it speak out in Massachusetts, as it has done in Wisconsin. Go and chusetts militia down to Boston before another fugitive slave shall be taken out of the city. [Cheers.] Go and

section of what was once his party have got together somebody that shall declare the Fugitive Slave Law elect a man who shall replace Chief Justice Shaw with unconstitutional. You have nominated Mr. Gardner. Suppose he is elected this fall. Chief Justice Shaw Why, Mr. President, this fear has eaten out the wants to resign; he has said to Gardner that he will heart of Kansas. Have you watched the Kansas Le- resign whenever he finds any body to take his place. gislature? Have you watched the course of Col. Sum- Two gentlemen of the bar have been applied to, and ner? Nature took all the brain designed for the name, have declined; a third is named—the Professor of Law and gave it to Charles, and left the others nothing at Harvard College; the man who, within six months, but limbs. (Laughter and cheers.) Did you mark the read to his pupils an elaborate argument to prove the debate, when the United States troops marched to break Fugitive Slave Law constitutional! Suppose Gov. up the Legislature? One of the speakers said, 'We Gardner re-elected; suppose Chief Justice Shaw, weawill resist the Missouri ruffians, but we don't draw ried with years and sickness, resigns, and Prof. Joel trigger against one of the Federal officers.' Why? 'It Parker is made Chief Justice. The office is for life. will embarrass our friends at Washington. They will You have got another incubus on the State. It is a nominate Mr. Fremont; we must not embarrass them. most critical period. Our Supreme Bench is to be filled They are endeavoring to get the State admitted into within a year or two. Massachusetts has not elective the Union ; we must not embarrass them.' As if strik- judges ; she has judges for life. Henry J. Gardner ing a good blow ever embarrassed any body! As if may die, and be forgotten; (thank God for the blessing letting the daylight through a scoundrel's body ever of death !)-but he may leave behind him a Chief Jus embarrassed a good cause ! (Cheers.) And then, when tice that may last for forty years, and plague our chil the deed is done, to show you how Chesterfieldian they dren in years to come. Watch this central power of can be, they give three cheers for Col. Summer! Did the government, that lies behind the Judiciary. We Hampden, Vane and Pym, did any of the leading men shall never redeem Massachusetts until we conquer the of the Long Parliament, when Cromwell turned them Bench. We want a Governor, we want a succession of out of doors, go into the streets of London, and give Governors, that shall fill up that Bench with John A. three cheers for Oliver Cromwell? Is this my friend Andrew, of Hingham, [cheers,] with John W. Browne, Higginson's gallantry of Kansas?—the etiquette of the of Boston, [renewed cheers,] and men of that stamp drawing-room ! [A voice- Cheers for Pierce.] Pierce ! lawyers, who have not yet parted with their hearts men, who recognize Coke and Blackstone, but who als recognize the Higher Law above. Give us such Bench as that, and, for one, I do not care what you do in Congress, for I will make this little State so hot that no slaveholder shall ever set foot upon it, and no fugilive slave in the country, even if he comes from the extreme point of Florida, shall ever find the climate to

cold. [Loud cheers.] The Judiciary, Mr. President, is the key to the Gov ernment. When the Stuarts wanted to subdue England they began with the Bench. The Slave Power of this

country long ago subjugated the Bench. The first effort of Massachusetts toward freedom will be to secure the anti-slavery independence of the Bench. Why did not Caleb Cushing and Franklin Pierce send a file of United States troops to take Mr. Booth, who edits a paper in Milwaukie? Why did not the District Judge ssue his warrant, and sodder up that broken prison of his? Why does not the Cabinet at Washington endeavor to subdue the State of Wisconsin? I will tell you why. Because Chief Justice Smith, the Mansfield of America, stands on the threshold of the State, and beneath a judge who knows what State sovereignty means, the United States authority drops powerless. We want such a judge, and in order to that, we want a Governor.

Perhaps I have spoken as long as I ought, ['No. no ; ' 'go on, go on ; '] but I entreat you, do not think us tedious. You do not live in Boston, all of you. You have not the daily nauseous sight of a Legislature and Governor all winter. You do not know what it is, when a fugitive slave stands chained in a Boston courthouse, to have the solemn, disheartening conviction that there is not an Executive officer in the State who will do a Massachusetts act. If we could only have taken that court-house, and carried it round the Commonwealth of Massachusetts-if we could only have taken that Governor, as he stood on the platform at Fancuil Hall, and wanted to strike but dared not, and daguerrectype him in every town in the Commonwealth-you would not inflict him upon us again.

Mr. President, Incknowledge the value of politics,moral, exclusively moral as would always be the method, individually, I should use. Yet still, that moral influence, that intellectual conviction, must flow out of the political methods of the State; and you Free Soilers, whom we are to meet for the next twelve months at our meetings, and who are going to complain, week after week, that Mr. Pilisbury, or myself, or Mr. Foss, or Stephen Foster, tears asunder your professions as an anti-slavery party, mark me ! if you elect Henry J. Gardner, do not dare to show your faces within the girdle of an anti-slavery meeting, for we will make it oo hot for you if you do. [Cheers.] In the name of him who has stood in the van of your political fight, and borne its brunt most fearfully, do not put behind him, at the head of the Massachusetts that he honors by representing, a convicted falsifier, a political hypocrite, an insidious assassin of your Senator, a man who cannot point to one good act with which to redeem the disgust of a public life! Forget him! Send him home! Allow him to vanish! that, if Massachusetts can ever be blessed with forgetting, she may once more be called a decent State ! [Loud applause.]

ANTI-SLAVERY PAIR IN ABINGTON.

The undersigned, in behalf of the Anti-Slavery friends in Abington, desire to call the attention of the friends of freedom in this and neighboring towns, to a FAIR, which they propose to hold the second week in September, in the Manamooskeagin Hall, at East Abington, in aid of the Massachusetts A. S. Society.

We therefore earnestly entreat all who have a heart to pulsate in sympathy for the wronged and outraged of our brothers and sisters, to aid us in the prosecution of this work by your counsel and such material assistance as your hearts may prompt, and your means allow you to bestow.

All donations of money, useful or fancy articles, children's clothing,-in short, anything saleable, will be gratefully received and most conscientiously appropriated to the promotion of the cause.

All communications should be addressed to Mrs. E. M. RANDALL, North Abington, Mass.

Donations for the above object may be forwarded to either of the undersigned, as shall best suit the convenience of the donors.

EMELINE M. RANDALL, BETSY SHAW. ANNA D. FORD. BETSY LOUD, SARAH FORD. SALLY H. POOL, HARRIET L. RANDALL, ELLEN POOL, AUGUSTA M. DYER. AMANDA G. LOWELL. ABIGAIL N. ARNOLD, HANNAH SHAW, HARRIET LINCOLN. LUCY J. WHITING.

Notice. On account of the expected absence of the indersigned, in Pennsylvania, &c., for a number of weeks to come, all letters relating to meetings and lectures of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society may be addressed to Joseph A. Howland, Worcester, Mass.; to whom also Agents are referred, for information wanted. On other business of the Society, address R. F. WALLCUT, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., General Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

ONE HUNDRED ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS. The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have projected, and with the aid of Auxiliary 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 :

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—T. WENTWORTH HIGGIN-son, of Worcester, will be present and address the Anti-Slavery meeting in Providence, on Sunday, 17th

HAVERHILL. Mass .- PARKER PILLSBURY and ANDREW T. Foss. Agents of the American and Massa-chusetts A. S. Societies, will attend an Anti-Slavery meeting for Haverhill and vicinity, to convene at the Town Hall on Saturday evening, Aug. 16th, at half-past 7 o'clock, and to continue on Sunday the 17th, A. M. and P. M., at the Unitarian meeting-house, (Rev. R. Hassall, pastor,) and again in the evening at the Hall

THE BALM OF THOUSAND FLOWERS. For beautifying the complexion, cleansing the teeth, bathing, shaving, and all toilet purposes, this cosmetic is unrivalled. Lewis Gaylord Clark, of the Knickerbocker Magazine, says We can say, from ocular proof, that the Balm of Thousand Flowers, a preparation for removing tan, pimples, and freckles from the face, shaving, cleansing the teeth, perfuming the breath, &c., Fetridge & Co., proprietors, is the best article of its kind we have ever enceuntered.' Price, 50 cents a bottle. A. Williams & Co. General Agents, 100 Washington Street, Boston. eop6m

SOUTH CAROLINA RUFFIANISM. Preston S. Brooks received seven thousand nine hundred votes upon his re-election to Congress, and \$600 were contributed towards the fine imposed on him by Judge Crawford.— The Governor of South Carolina sent certificates of election to Washington in advance! The vote for Mr. Keitt was also large. A letter from South Carolina to the Journal of Commerce says, Brooks and Keitt had no opponents, 'as it would have been considere no opponents, 'as it would have been considered dis-honorable for any gentleman (!) to oppose them; and even, perhaps, dangerous.' We to the unfortunate in-dividual who presumes to vote contrary to the will of the wealthy planters! Bowie knives, pistols and gutta

VALUABLE PAMPHLET.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA YEAR-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. CONTENTS.

Minutes of the Meeting.

Exposition of Sentiments.

Testima ies of the Society: Amusements—Slavery—
Woman's Rights—Tobacco—Temperance—Treatmen Woman's Rights-Tobacco-Temperance-Treatm of Criminals-First-day Meetings.

of Criminate—First-day Ateetings.

Sermon by Samuel J. May.

Carrespondence—Embracing Letters from L. Maria
Child, Charles K. Whipple, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, O.
B. Frothingham, Samuel Longfellow, Gerrit Smith,
Moncure D. Conway, Robert Hassall, and others.

Price 15 cents single; eight copies \$1; 18 copies \$2.

From the New York Tribune. THE CALL OF KANSAS. BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

Sons of the men, who, long ago, Planted their feet on Plymouth Rock, There stood and faced a savage foe, There braved and bore the battle shock. Hear ye the cry from Kansas' plains? Does your blood boil not in your veins?

That cry ! does it not make you start ? The murderous shot came from the South ! The ball has struck your brother's heart! His life-blood gushes from his mouth? No more that brother shall ye see ; He spoke, he dies for Liberty !

Whoe'er of Freedom dares to blab. Where Kansas for free labor calls, Feels the Missourian's ruffian stab. And, dead, on his own threshold falls ! The freeman, there, must bate his breath ; To speak of Freedom there, is death !

SLAVERY demands the sacrifice ! Her bullies deal the blow; and while The murdered freeman gasps and dies, Her perjured panders sit and smile, On her high places, where they swore That she should agitate no more. Grasping and bloody is the hand

That Slavery stretches forth, to clutch A region that she vowed should stand Unscorched forever by her touch ! Look at the Fury's faith-her outh ! Her bloody hand has torn them both ! The bond, that bore her hated name,

That Freedom gave an empire for, She 's snatched to light with it a flame-The baleful flame of civil war ! Her troops, e'en now, are in the lists, And 'war exists!' ay, 'war exists!' Yes, it is wan-the war of Cain,

Where Right is stricken down by Wrong. Religion at her altar slain. And the weak dies beneath the strong. Let HIM, then, bear Cain's forehead brand, Who sees the blow, nor lifts his hand !

Who, sitting in the highest seat, And wielding a whole nation's might, Sees Freedom bleeding at his feet. And Wrong triumphing over Right, And throws-his sword into the scale, To make red-handed Wrong prevail !

'Tis war ! Then be it so ! For aye Has there been peace-or can there be-'Twixt God and Satan ?- Night and Day ? 'Twixt black and white ?- the bond and free ?-Belial with Christ in concord dwell? Freedom with Slavery ?- Heaven with Hell ?

Ay ! let WAR come, for come it must, Or Slavery must her steps retrace ; Let hostile hosts the scales adjust, Looking each other in the face ! In battle let the feebler fall. And let the stronger have it all.

For, Kansas' plains, to Freedom vowed. To Freedom shall belong-unless, When the wind drives the battle cloud Away, they 're left a wilderness. Far better make those plains our graves, Than leave them to be tilled by slaves !

Far better fall, in such a strife, Than still to Slavery's claims concede : Than crouch beneath her frown, for life, Far better on the field to bleed, To live thus is a life-long shame ! To die thus, victory and fame !

> THE RUFFIAN RALLY. BY REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

Brother ruffians ! ye who dwell In your shantles built of logs, All along the brink of hell. Chain your 'boys!' unleash your dogs! Don't remain at home for trifles !

All the winds from Kansas bring Sounds that fill our souls with dread Woodmen's axes-hear 'em ring-Labor earning its own bread. That 's a church bell clanging yonder-We must stop it-blood and thunder !

Children, at their a, b, abs, Hear 'em in the wilderness-That's a steam-mill sawing slabs-That's a Free-Soil printing press : They'll destroy our Institution; They 're our Union's dissolution !

Up and at 'em for your lives ! Kill their cattle-burn their sheds ! Stab 'em with your bowie-knives ! With your bludgeons break their heads ! If we let 'em grow much bigger, They will leave us not a nigger.

Free State heroes at the East Pass their resolutions strong : Lawyer, politician, priest, And professor swell the song. They are mighty brave resolvers ! We have faith in Colt's revolvers.

Puritanie Vankee fools-A psalm-singing, canting squad-Meeting-houses build, and schools, Trust in Christ, and pray to God. Let 'em see, while at their altars, Ruffian rifles - hangmen's halters !

String up on the nearest tree The damned Abolitionist. Prating here of liberty! Give his cursed neck a twist ! Never fear ; they dare n't attack us ; We have Uncle Sam to back us!

At elections we will crowd, With our pistols, round the polls, And not let 'em think aloud At the peril of their souls ; And with our own votes and proxies Stuff or smash their ballot-boxes.

Trust they in their laws or God's? What care we for them or Him? Our faith is in hickory rode, Hemp well twisted, and a limb Stout enough to hang a man on ; We believe in Pierce and Shannon !

While we plant, at every bend Of Missouri's rushing flood, Guns, whose every shot shall send Down the stream their brains and blood, Think ye that the lily-livers Will get up our king of rivers?

Alabama ! Carolina ! Our dear sister Arkansas ! Send your ruffians; help us twine a Rope to throttle Freedom's jaw ! For, if we don't stop her clamor, She'll dissolve the Union, damn her !

Thus, on Kansas' cotton plains, Shall triumphant Staveny stand : Crack her whips and clank her chains ; Lording it o'er all the land-And, along her smoking border, Shout, 'Hurra for Law and Order !'

THE LIBERATOR

A DISCOURSE. Preached at Lunenburg Parish by its late Pastor.

W. G. BABCOCK. "We to him that establisheth a city by iniquity."

mercy, he has provided pain and distress to apprise of our being out of the path of obedience and enjoy- iniquities of slavery among other things, -deserve the ment. The object of Divine punishment is the benevoeasier we can reform. Prevention is better than cure. years, and to secure the right of slavheolders to repre-The Savior came to prevent evil as well as to cure it. the least shame at all. Some cannot see the iniquity one. If we would escape its doom, we must repent, of doing wrong on a large and respectable scale, and aim at the immediate dissolution of our partnership cating liquor, who has no conscientious objections to who continue in sin. the wholesale traffic. Many can see the wrongfulness of kidnapping one of their own children, who cannot see the wickedness of the African slave trade, or of the Fugitive Slave Act. Many can see the meanness of defrauding a washerwoman of her earnings, who DEAR FRIEND: can see no criminality in failing to pay thousands and priety of preaching the gospel of uncompromising manity, laboring to bring about that regeneration of not see the propriety of condemning the iniquity of a class of men, a party in politics, or a whole general

government. Let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind. Let every one take heed to speak that which the Lord principles. Let those who think the gospel means hav- were prepared to prosecute this enterprise in a noble ing the spirit of prayer and praise toward God, and has nothing to do with proclaiming man's duty to man or to the general government, attend undividedly to in- admit of a doubt. Progress, as you justly observe once losing his temper or his manhood.

or at another time. Those who are so constituted, or look through the ranks of our Women's Rights women edge the propriety of modern ministers, of young men, by the development of the race? totally unacquainted with great state subjects, imitating Christ in their preaching. Again it may be said, let every one follow his own light. I most cheerfully bid God-speed to every honest man, and ask the same

clause, only makes the Constitution more like a whited almost every possible light, and because it does not masepulchre, which indeed appears beautiful outward, but terially alter my statements.

were not stained ! " tribes of insects and birds and other lower animals, says, 'If you have made a happy slave, you have made a degraded man.' Slaves are not treated as men. Slaves are instructed by the lash to know no difference will but their master's-to call no man master, not even God himself, except their human master-to feel no liberty to hold property, to contract marriage, to settle by the changeless laws of God,-a past which was ne-

rob men, divorce husbands and wives, kidnap children, mmit adultery and murder, if you are a slaveholder and still call it no sin. You may withhold all the advantages of education and domestic and civil enjoymen from slaves, and call it no sin. Slavery is the sum all iniquities; it is murder and adultery, stealing and felony, impiety and self-indulgence, injustice, lying and malice, impurity, impatience and hypocrisy, because it He is our best friend who apprises us of our danger, allows and fosters all these iniquities. They who up and helps us to escape. God is such a friend. In his hold the Union which was formed with slaveholders to carry on their interests, the interests of slavery, -the woes and condemnations of those who establish a city lent one of leading the disobedient to change for the by iniquity. If any one can deny that the Union was better. The sooner we are aware of our iniquities, the established by promises to carry on slavery for twenty sent three-fifths of their slaves, and to deliver into sla-The longer we become habituated to any evil course, very those who were manly enough to flee from it, then the less evil it seems to us. Some persons can tell our conclusion is unjust. Otherwise, the sentence of falsehood after falsehood, without betraying or feeling Almighty God against this slaveholding Union is a just Many a person is indignant at one who retails intoxi- with slaveholders. There is no hope nor peace for those

> LETTER TO JEANNE DEROIN. EDITOR OF ' WOMEN'S ALMANAC,' PUBLISHED IN LONDO

EAGLESWOOD SCHOOL, May 21, 1856.

For as such, I must hail, with all the warmth of sis millions of dollars to creditors. Many can see the prorighteousness to one single trembling sinner, who canwoman, appropriately styled "God's last, best gift, Your Almanacs for 1853 and '54 have recently fallen into my bands, and I have greatly enjoyed the perusal of them. I fear, like almost all our efforts to sustain a periodical devoted to the elevation of woman, that has hath put in his mouth. There is room in the world for failed to receive the support necessary to maintain it. every style and color of preaching. Let those who One reason doubtless is, that the men hold the pursethink the gospel is aimed at individuals only, and not strings, and rightly so, since by their labor chiefly the at whole kingdoms, labor to convert each man and wo- purses are filled; but principally because of the little man and child, by private conversation, from bad interest felt by women in this great reform. If women generous, self-sacrificing spirit, there would be no difficulty; but that they are not is too sorrowfully true to culcating piety. Let those who believe the gospel has . Progress, which is the principle of life and activity its woes to utter beforehand upon whole communities in the universe-Progress, whose potent march nothing for their good, and for the good of posterity, as well as can arrest, advances painfully through torrents of blood peace to impart to the broken-hearted and penitent, and tears.' It is manifest that our present task is to and love to the most abandoned, seek to divide rightly arouse our own sex to a sense of their debased condithe word of truth, giving no intentional offence to any tion, to a willingness to shake off the chains of sloth one, and contending earnestly for the right, without and self-indulgence, to wake to their fearful responsibilities, and offer themselves a willing sacrifice on the The topics presented from the pulpit differ with the altar of Human Rights. Alas! we is me, for the peculiarities of preachers and of the times. What daughters of my people worship the goddess of fashcomes natural and fresh from one person and at one ion, and burn incense to the queen of their idolatry, time might be forced and artificial from another person the Parisian milliner and mantua-maker. In vain you have been so educated as not to see any connection be- to find in their dress a response to the principles they tween the gospel and politics, between morality and advocate. With few exceptions, they are the followers, law, between religion and the state, between Christian- if not the devotees of fashion, and expend as much in ity and the right of every body to enjoy life, liberty the adornment of their persons as women ordinarily do and property, between Christ and human elevation and in the middle ranks of life-and from this class we happiness, think it a perversion of the pulpit to pro- almost all emanate. The great question, then, isnounce its anathema upon gross immoralities and ini- How can we help women? How turn them from the quities of a party or a government. They honestly and frivolities which enlist their affections and occupy their warmly protest against any such use of the pulpit. time-how touch the chord that will vibrate in the cen-They cannot see that prophets in Hebrew times pronounced wors upon Israel and Judah, and that Jesus of what woman ought to be, what she ought to aspire pronounced fearful condemnations upon Jerusalem and after, what she is destined to be-that grand ideal of Pharisees—or, if they admit that, they cannot acknowl- humanity, whose glorious outlines can only be filled up

Hitherto, weman has seemed to expect, that the repeal of onerous and disgraceful laws will instantly, as by magic, prepare her to enter on new fields of usefulness and duty. So thinking, she doth greatly err. The repeal of every unrighteous statute cannot do for In reviewing my own ministry, and the Christian her the inner work which must be done, ere she can ministry in general, my chief sorrow is, that more move the lever which will elevate humanity. I do not thunder and lightning against the wickedness of this mean that she is not to labor for the revocation of parcountry have not been employed. If we had had a tial and unjust laws; but while intent on this object, purer and a more enlightened, a braver and wiser let her see to it that she is preparing herself to aid in pulpit, for the last thirty years, our land would not be the enactment of such as will be a blessing to the whole in her present distracted and deplorable condition world. Let her patiently and wisely study the past, 'Therefore, thus saith the Lord, Ye have not hearkened she will see that she has no cause of complaint against unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his broth-her brethren; that she as well as they, have worked er, and every man to his neighbor. Behold, I proclaim out the problem of life according to the development of a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the each ; that men have done for us in by-gone ages what and claimed a re-election on the express ground pestilence, and to the famine.' They that plow iniqui- seemed best and wisest for the general welfare. The ty and sow wickedness reap the same. They who es- lower elements of our nature being more largely detablish a government by iniquity, and continue to up- veloped in men, they were greatly our superiors in hold it, must expect woes, tribulations and punish physical strength; and as every thing finds its level, Wo to him, says our text, that establisheth a we naturally fell into that subordinate station which city or a government by iniquity. It does not require best suited our capabilities of action. This epochan education at the Law School, or experience in State was the reign of animal power, but the exercise of this Diplomacy, to decide upon simple questions of right power unfolded the intellect, because the various means and wrong. We have no evidence that our Savior was necessary to compass certain ends, improved and a Solon or a Hamilton, and yet he sat in judgment strengthened the thinking faculty, called forth ingenuupon the chief rulers of his day. It requires no great ity, set in motion, more or less, all the powers of the ability to pronounce men-stealing and adultery and ty- mind. Hence we find man in the field of intellect, as ranny, oath-breaking for convenience' sake, compro- in the camp and in the court, the superior of woman, mising with sin for comfort's sake, sins against God the arbiter of her fate, the framer of the laws by which and man, whether carried on by private individuals or, she was governed, and justly so, because in those points by the United States Government. If it can be proved first in the order of human development, man had arto the satisfaction of any unprejudiced mind, that the rived much nearer the fulness of strength than woman, Union in this country was established by iniquity, that who was yet in her infancy, or in the immaturity of it was knowingly formed by allowing the African slave youth. During these stages of human progress, man, trade to be carried on for twenty years, by promising notwithstanding the almost excrescent growth of his anthat all fugitive slaves should be delivered up to their imal propensities, exercised a kindly care, a fraternal masters, to be carried back into bondage, and that solicitude, to spare woman from those hardships, both slaveholders should sit in full communion with free- physical and mental, which he had to endure. Woholders in Congress, and receive more power by the fact man has been in all ages the recipient, man the giver. of their holding slaves, then the wo of our text is He has been the guardian, she the guarded. Even strictly applicable to this Union, and to all who uphold among savage tribes, this is, to some extent, true. I it. The fact that the words slave and slavery do not am aware that there is another side to the picture ; at occur in the Constitution of the Union, while every another time it shall be exhibited, and dwelt upon as body knows that slaves and slavery are meant by the its importance merits; but the limits of this letter do words 'three-fifths of other persons' besides free per- not permit me to descant upon it, and I pass it over the sons, and by the fugitive clause and the importation more willingly, because it has been held up to view in

within is full of dead men's bones and of all unclean- Another phase of humanity is now before us. Woness. Said John Randolph, when the remark was man, who has been hidden from the public eye, is now made that the Constitution was not stained with the summoned to the theatre of action. Let her go forth word 'slavery,' 'Would to God that our consciences and stand upon the mount before the Lord. She will see the meaning of what the prophet saw-' A great Our Union with slaveholders to carry forward their and strong wind passed by, and brake the mountain, interests, as slaveholders, is as much worse than a and rent the rock in pieces, but the Lord was not in the Union with murderers and thieves and incendiaries, to wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord carry on murders and thefis and house-burning, as was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a slavery is worse than murder and theft and house- fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the burning. I happen to be one who believes that real fire, a still small voice.' Man has exhibited on the slavery, as it is defined by American laws, is the sum arena of life the wind, the earthquake and the fire. of all iniquities. It is not merely taking charge of un- He has let loose his stormy passions, he has trampled fortunate people, for their good, clothing and feeding in the dust and ground to powder with the hoofs of his and educating them as we do little children, and ex- battle-horse the rights of his fellow-man, he has caused acting merely such services as are equivalent to what the mightiest kingdoms to quail before the breath of his we do in their behalf,-that is not slavery, though nostrils, to quiver like a reed shaken by the wind; he some slaveholders, I doubt not, do have just such re- has swallowed up in his love of supremacy the sacred spect and love and fatherly feelings towards their distinction between matter and mind, and whelmed all slaves. The objection to slavery is not, that no one in one common ruin, to render mankind subservient to can be a slaveholder, even in name, without being a Nero his will. Has man, then, tyrannized over woman more in cruelty, for many slaveholders are as kind and as ca- than he has tyrannized over man? Let the army o ressing to their slaves as we are to our pet animals. martyrs answer. Let the thunders of a Luther's voice, The objection to slavery is not that slaves do not enjoy the dying agonies of Jerome of Prague and John Huss themselves; for perhaps there is no class, except the and million others, who testified against the usurpation of tyrants, answer the query. The response will come that enjoy themselves at times as freely as the slaves ; like deep answering to deep, reverberating from age to and this is the objection to slavery. As Edmund Burke age, proclaiming that man has oppressed man with as much, pay, more severity, than he has oppressed weman. And here let me ask if woman has not been but too faithful a copyist of man, and exercised, in her narbetween themselves and beasts of burden-to know no row aphere, an authority as arbitrary and imperious as

Let us, then, not blame the past,-a past ordaine estead, or to vote as citizens of a Re- cessary to the glorious future, as all the previous stapublic. Slavery thus strips a man of all his human ges of the infant and the struggle for birth are neces feelings and rights, reduces him to the condition of the sary to the production of a perfect child. Let us rath animal and vegetable kingdoms. You may steal men, er look at the radiant advent before us, the advent, not

of one Messiah, but the advent of the day foreshadowed two Senators and the other five members of the by Christ, when the feminine spirit, the spirit of love.

House had each bludgeoned his man, quite a 'hole'
and of holiness, shall be embodied in the character of
woman, and through her the brotherhood, I would
rather say, the sisterhood of the race by sakenwicked.

Brooks has done more than his share, and deserves rather say, the sisterhood of the race be acknowledged a re-election. and lived. If woman would do her work in the most perfect manner, she must be the still small voice of God. She can gain no moral victory, except she be endowed with 'power from on high.' To prepare her for her mission, what infinite pains has Jehovah taken! He has hid her in the hollow of his hand from the devastating effects of military glory; he has shielded her from the corrupting influence of irresponsible power; he has saved her from the arduous, wearing, health-destroying intellectual efforts which man has been compelled to make in the toilsome and difficult task of the confict of the distinctions of society.' compelled to make in the toilsome and difficult task of elaborating mind. He has been her forerunner-the as he met Sumner. She says :-John Baptist of humanity. She is now reaping material and intellectual fields she did not sow, and enjoying a rich harvest from those labors she did not parti-cipate. Gratefully, most gratefully, do I recognise the cipate. Gratefully, most gratefully, do I recognise the he shall appoint. He shall be scated in an arm ceaseless labors of man. Thankfully do I partake of the fruits he has cultivated. In rendering him honor, I feel that I render it where honor is due.

But man has now arrived at a crisis where his prowess as a warrior is nearly useless, when the attainments of intellect, however grand, the discoveries of science, however important, do not fill up the wants of his being, and he longs unspeakably, irrepressibly, for the development of that higher, holier element of his being, appointed, armed with a new broom handle, which his rational or spiritual nature, which will elevate him I will submit to the inspection of any third person. his rational or spiritual nature, which will elevate aim to the ideal so beautifully described by the Psalmist may ascertain beyond doubt that it is not made to the ideal so beautifully described by the Psalmist—

'Thou madest him a little lower than the angels, Thou crownedst him with glory and honor.' If man has been thus gradually ascending in the scale of being, if the untufored savage has been transformed into the civilized man, if the warrior has sheathed his sword in accordance with the demands of his nobler nature, if the war ship has been changed into the merchant vessel, if all betokens progress, and the watchword of the adpending to the many spring out and act as a tomahawk; and I pledge my word that I will take no advadtage of him by surprise, or in any other way, such privileges being monopolized by the chivalry of the South. I will have no second to guard the avenue to the field of fight, nor any third, with a cudgely and pistol, to guard me from that terrible gold pen, with diamond point. all betokens progress, and the watchword of the ad-all betokens progress, and the watchword of the ad-pen, with diamond point.

Mr. Brooks and his friends cannot object to my man shared in the general improvement? Has she not risen in intelligence and virtue ? Is not her conception of 'woman as she should be' broadened, deepened and elevated? Is there not in her heart a responsive thrill to the voice which is calling the race to Progress, to Liberty, to Equality? Who can doubt it? The same divine hand which so long shrouded her in the secret of Lebovah's ravillent has successful to the voice which is calling the race to Progress, to rangements 'outside the district,' Mr. Brooks will please address 'Elizabeth Mates, Concord, Mass.' The newspapers will keep the matter secret, that no arrests be made by the Marshal. Jehovah's pavilion, has sustained her through every refining process, and although the furnace has ofttimes been heated seven times hotter. God has ever been near to save the pure gold ; and now that He begins to see His own image reflected in the molten metal. He rejoices, and is preparing to take it from the crucible, and coin and stamp and circulate it through the social

The sufferings of woman, her trials, her baptism, are whelmed in the Lethean tide. The world can never know, except through inference, the dangers and the darkness of the path she has trodden, but the discipline has not been lost upon her. It was exactly what she needed to prepare her to usher in the day when Love will reign; when woman, having none but righteous ends to gain, will not stoop to artifice and circumvention, but will accomplish her purpose by philosophy and religion. Let her, then, labor, courageously, incessantly, hopefully, to redeem herself, that she may be worthy to aid in redeeming her brethren. Hitherto, the history of man has been written in blood,

'Spotted o'er with human blood, And big with crime and strife.'

The history of woman has been written in tears. May their future united history be radiant with deeds of benevolence, Love and Unity!

SARAH M: GRIMKE.

From the Boston Telegraph. BROOKS AND KEITT RE-ELECTED. A despatch from Columbus, S. C., dated the

'The elections in Messrs. Keitt and Brooks's districts have resulted in the unanimous re-election of both.

This of course puts an end to the absurd stories of the doughface prints, such as the Boston Cour-ier and the New York Journal of Commerce and Express, that the attempted assassination of Mr. Sumner was not approved at the South. Both of these Palmetto heroes addressed their constituents, that they had done right.

The response of Brooks's constituents known. The act and the actor are both sustained. Not only the bludgeon-bearer himself, the great Brooks, but little Keitt also, whose only share in the transaction consisted in standing by with his cane flourished in the air, to keep off intruders, is also re-elected. There can be no controversy hereafter as to the position of South Corolina in relation to the Somner assault.

Some persons have expressed the opinion that if

Brooks's constituents had been made acquainted with his escapade in the Burlingame affair, they would have hesitated about re-electing him. Such persons exhibit a woful ignorance of the character of the chivalry.' The better part of valor is dis-cretion, says Falstaff; and this wise saying has evidently been received by the South Carolinians in its fullness and completeness. Brooks's idea of his duty is compromised in the following state ment, which we extract from his address;

. When I accepted, fellow-citizens, the commission to represent you, I felt that you had entrusted your hon-or to my care, together with your interests. Upon the instance of my first election, the responsibilities of my new position weighed heavily upon me. I found relief rever, in the reflection that, although a beneficent Creator had vouchsafed great intellectual endowments to comparatively but few of his creatures, yet that he had constituted every man of common sense with power to be just, loyal, and true; and I silently vowed that guard the glories with which better and abler men On the 19th and 20th of May last past, a Senator

from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts falsified her history and defamed her character. I remembered my resolve, and performed my vow." The amount of which is, that if Senator Butler

has not got enough brains to answer Mr. Sumner, Representative Brooks has got a supply of bludgcons which will answer the same purpose more effectually. How, we ask, is Brooks to 'guard the of South Carolina, and perform his ' vow,' unless he takes a proper degree of care of his personal safety? Suppose he had disregarded Edmundson's advice, and had attacked Mr. Sumner before he had reached the Senate chamber? The probability is, as Edmundson suggested to him, that he would have got soundly flogged. In that case the 'glories' of South Carolina would have been unguarded, and the 'vow' unperformed. It would not do for the two chivalrous heroes to leave anything to chance; so the opportunity was taken when Mr. Sumner was at his desk, and wholly incapable of resistance. The facts in this case must have been sufficient evidence to Brooks's constituuents, that in no case would he peril his own pre cious personal safety for the purpose of guarding their glories. The escapade in the Burlingame affair will therefore unquestionably meet with their approbation, as being in perfect keeping with the whole course of their champion. How could Brooks remain a 'sentinel' to guard the 'glories' of his State, if he placed himself within range of Burlingame's rifle! How could he 'perform his yow,' game's rifle? How could be 'perform his vow,' lackson do not very well go together, and that it to avenge Sumner's rhetorical slaughter of his Sentorial relative, and Sumner's awful exposure of the Revolutionary imbecility of South Carolina, if Jacksonian nerve and devotion to the Union, is he ventured into 'the enemy's country,' and withhe ventured into 'the enemy's country,' and within reach of Northern bailiffs and constables!—

These things must be considered. Brooks set out Young South cared anything for consense of that

A FOE WORTHY OF HIS STEEL! If Mr. Brooks is desirous of fighting somehody She offers to meet Brooks on as favorable terms

I will meet Preston S. Brooks in deadly com bat. I understand that by your code of hor chair, and confined by a desk, or any other fix-ture, provided it is strong enough, and placed in front of the chair in such a manner as to make it impossible for him to rise to his feet until he is able to tear up the fixtores while seated with his arms pinioned by the chair. He shall be armed with a good gold pen, and all his friends shall be moved out of sight and hearing.

I will appear on the ground at the place and time

terms, for I have adhered closely to the code of honor by which he is guided in the noble outpourings of his valor and patriotism.'

For time and place of meeting, and other ar-

From the N. Y. Evening Post. THE ARTPUL DODGER. Tune- 'The frog he would a wooing go.'

Bully Brooks he would a-fighting go, Heigh ho! says Bully; I'm full of valor and froth, you know, Just give me a club and an unarmed foe,
With my roly-poly, gammon and dodging,
And I'll show them Brooks the Bully. Bully Brooks crept into the Senator's hall,

Heigh ho! says Bully.

He found a man sitting not far from the wall;

He saw he was armed with nothing at all;

So he pounded his head till he saw him fall, With his roly-poly, gammon and dodging; Brave for Brooks the Bully! Up jumped a man named Burlingame.

Heigh ho! says Bully.

He said such things were a burning shame;

He called the deed by a cowardly name,

As a roly-poly, gammon and dodging;

And he showed up Brooks the Bully. Quoth Brooks, 'I wonder if he will fight ?' Heigh, ho! for Bully.
They say he won't, if I send outright;

At any rate, I'll venture to try't,
With my roly-poly, gammon and dodging;
We will get off Brooks the Bully.' But Burlingame he toed the mark Heigh, ho! for Bully.

We'll be off to Canada straight in the dark,
There's an underground road that's safe as the ark,

No rely-poly, gammon or dedging, But a rifle for Brooks the Bully. Bully Brooks looked round as if he'd been shot, Heigh, ho! says Bully; The way is long, and the weather is hot. There are bulls and bears, and the d-I knows what

Inere are outs and cears, and the d-1 knows will
I never liked rifles, indeed I do not!
If you catch me in Canada, I'll be shot,
Where my roly-poly, gammon and dodging
Won't save poor Brooks the Bully. We talked and published, like flocks of geese,

Heigh, he! says Bully.
Till they bound us over to keep the peace;
And now I am feeling much more at my ease, Will pass in the State of the Bully.

THE PAT-RIOT-ISM OF AN IRISHMAN AT THE SOUTH

From the New-York Tribune.

Mr. Joseph Brenan, one of the Irish exiles o 1848, manifests his poetical genius and that love of human liberty for which, as nobody can deny he left his native native land, by a Ballad for the Young South' in the columns of the New Or leans Della, from which we take the following ele gant extract : 'Hark to the howling demagogues-

A fierce and ravenous pack-With nostrils prone, and howl and bay, Which run upon our track!
The waddling bull-pup Hale—the cur
Of Massachusetts breed— The moping mongrel, sparsely crosses With Puritanic seed—

With Puritanic seed—
The Boston bards who join the chase
With genuine beagle chime,
And Sumner, snarling poodle-pet
Of virgins past their prime;
And even the sluts of Woman's Rights—
Tray Blanche, and Sweatheart all— Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart all-Are yelping shrill against us still, And hunger for our fall! We think nobody will dispute that the mose of

this New-Orleans Joseph draws from the love of slave-breeding and the slave-trade, as they are seen in that luxurious city, a most congenial inspira-tion. The Young South, whose great exemple seems to be Mr. Preston S. Brooks, cannot desire a better bard than this martyr of Hibarnian free lom, to whose high-flown imagination his friend John Mitchel's desire for a lot of fat niggers i Alabama was presaic and common-place. But our readers must not do this negro-worshipping poet the injustice to suppose that his talent is confined Here is another stanza of a to blackguardism. fighting character, desperate enough even for the amous and bloody day of Slievegammon itself : . Sons of the brave ! the time is come

To bow the haughty crest, Or stand alone, despite the threats Of North, or East, or West! The hour is come for manly deeds, And not for puling words—
The time is past for platform prate—
It is the time for swords!
And by the fame of John Calhoun, To honest truth be true; And by old Jackson's iron will, Now do what ye can do! By all ye love, and all ye hope, Be resolute and proud, And make your flag a symbol high, Of triumph—or a shroud!

It does not altogether appear from this outburst about it. Probably, too, they are neither of them precisely aware that the names of Calboun and These things must be considered. Brooks set out on his career, as he says, with a distinct purpose, viz: to murder every man who should insult his State. But murder is a work of some danger.—Only one opportunity has yet presented itself to Brooks. Sumner is the only man who has been caught unarmed and imprisoned in his deak. Burlingame is always on his guard, and no doubt as ready for an ambush as for the open field. What could Brooks do? We must not require impossibilities. He has answered the expectations of his State better than any other of her sons. If the

a clear indication, if it be true, that even wish a clear indication, if it be true, that even wind Mr. Millard Fillmore for its orotund advocate and orator, and Mr. Joseph Brenan for its inspiral singer, nullification, with its direful consequence of civil war and the overthrow of the Union, but as little hold on the Southern people as on these of the North.

of the North.

If a general exportation of fools should ever be place from New-Orleans, it is hardly possible doubt that Mr. Joseph Brenan will be included the invoice.

HON. GERRIT SMITH UPON COL. FREMONT, The La. County Clerk and other Buchaniers hereater the Madison Co. (N. Y.) Journal.) having a the Madison Co. (N. Y.) Journal.) having street story that Col. Fremont was a slaveholder, that he had rold one hundred slaves only a year ago, &c., L. B. km. Esq., of Morrisville, addressed a letter to the link. Gerrit Smith, inquiring as to the truth of the churg. The following is Mr. Smith's reply:— The following is Sir. Smith s repty:—

PETERBORO', June 20, 185

L. B. Kenn, Esq.: Dear Sir.—I am permuly a quainted with Col. Fremont and his wife. They is both opposed to starcery. I know from her own lightly she is strongly opposed to it. It may be, but I is at think it possible, that Col. Fremont has been a fam.

she is strong;
think it possible, that Col. Fremon.
holder.

Mrs. Fremont once told me that her mather negather to dislike slavery. She was the visit of Col. Benton, and the sister of Gov. McDosed of Va.
Respectfully, your friend.
GERRIT SMITE.

THE GREAT HEART. Gerrit Smith has jost plotted THE GREAT HEART. Gerrit Smith has me ploted himself to give \$1500 a month, for the sen twite months, to aid in establishing freedom in Kenna Es gave, but a short time since, at the Kansa Es meeting in Albany, \$3000. Prior to tax, is had sent about \$1000 to the Boston Committee. Out of his own funds, he subsequently equipped a Midsa County Company of one hundred picked mer, and put their expenses to the distant territory. At Synena, he made a votive offering upon the altar of Libert of \$10,000. When the generous subscription made in he made a votive offering upon the altar of Lienty \$10,000. When the generous subscription made is terday at Buffalo shall be complete, this 'Campin of Freedom' will have given at least \$40,000 to mide a Republican State out of the slavery-coveted Emission ritory. Great-hearted man! There is no dealed you place in the history of American Republication—L. bany Evening Journal.

AYER'S Are curing the Sick to an extent perer

before known of any Medicine. INVALIDS, READ AND JUDGE FOR TOURSELVES

JULES HAUEL, Esq., the well-known persons, of Costs

JULES HAUEL, Esq., the well-known perfame, of Onton Street. Philadelphia, whose choice product are load it that exity (cilet, says,—
"I are happy to say of your CATEARTE PLIA, the I have lead them a better family medicine for common use that are she within my knowledge. Many of my fireshe have resided anothe benefits from them, and coincide with ne in beineting that they possess extraordinary virtues for driving out desaws at caregine is cite. They are not only effectival, but she all shears to take m—qualities which must make them taked by the public when they are known."

The venerable Chancellor WARDLAW, writes from Rainen,—18th April, 1854,—
"Dr. J. C.Ayre. Sir: I have taken your Pin with put benefit, for the list-lessness, languar, loss of appells, sel Rius, headache, which has of late years oversteen as in the star. A few dones of your Pills cured me. I have ned your Chery Pectoral many years in my family for cought as of only with failling success. You make medicines which cars, and I felt a pleasures to commend you for the god you have see as the doing."

JOHN P. BEATTY, Esq., Sec. of the Penn Railmad On Not.

doing."

JOHN F. BEATTY, Esq., Sec. of the Penn. Railred Co., wn.—

"Ptr. R. R. Office, Philadephia, Der II, 193.

"Sin: I take pleasure in adding my testimory in the face of your medicines, having derived very material leads for in use of both your Pectoral and Cathargic Pile. I am never the out them in my family, nor shall I ever easent to be, who sy means will procure them."

means will procure them."

The widely renowned S. S. STEVENS, M. D., of Waters, N. H., writes,—
"Having used your Caymanne Phus in my practic, leady from experience, that they are an invaluable perguin has of disordered functions of the liver, causing beakes, high tion, costiveness, and the great variety of disease the life, they are a surer remedy than any other. In all ness tensurers are the purgative remedy is required, I confidently recumsed is Pills to the public, as superior to any other I have set but They are sure in their operation, and perfectly sub-quint which make them an invaluable article for public as has for many years known your Cherry Puctors as the bestign medicine in the world, and these Pills are in no vis sidn'ty that admirable preparation for the treatment of lisses."

"Actor, Mc, No. 5, 185. "DE. J. C. ATER. Dear Sir: I have been afflicted for my left
rith sero als in its worst form, and

"DR. J. G. ATER. Dear Sir: I have been affected that system with serof ala in its worst form, and now, after twenty sur its and an untield amount of suffering, have been complete min a few weeks by your Pills. With what feeling of rejeting write, can only be imagined when you realize what livestiles

write, can only be imagined when you realize what lareashe, and how long.

"Never until now have I been free from this betheme four in some shape. At times it attacked my cys, asi asis me most blind, besides the unendurable pain; a tohers! smith the scalp of my head, and destroyed my hair, and he ispt as partly baid all my days; sometimes it came out my hair and kept it for mouths a raw sore.

"About nine weeks ago I commenced taking you taket Pills, and now ame nitrely free from the complant. My own well, my skin is fair, and my hair has contened a lasing growth; all of which makes me feel already a way sex.

"Hoping this statement may be the means of cavrigidle mation that shall do good to others. I am, with every summing of graitinds,

Yours, &c.,

"I have known the above-named Maria Ricker from leftle hood, and her statement is strictly true. ANDREW J. MISSTATE.

hood, and her statement is strictly true.

ANDREW J. HISELTI.

Overseer of the Portsmorth Manchatung (a).

CAPT. JOEL PRART, of the ship Marios, writes feat heas,
20th April, 1884, —

"Your Pills have cured me from a bilious stack which are
from derangement of the Liver, which had become ver soin.

I had failed of any relief by my Physician, and fon soy
remedy I could try; but a few doses of your Pills have compiler
restored me to health. I have given them is my chiles in
worms, with the best effects. They seep prempt cust
recommended them to a friend for contiveness, which had buside
him for months; he told me in a few days they had resid in
You make the best medicine in the world, and I as he is
say 80.7 ag.

him for months; he told me in a ree and and I as he be say so." as

Read this from the distinguished Sciicitor of the Sagens for,
whose brilliant abilities have made him well know, at or
in this but the neighboring States.

"Stat: I have great satisfaction in security on the ingle
and family have been very much benefited by your making
and family have been very much benefited by your making
My wife was cured, two years since, of a severe and same
cough, by your CHERNY PECCOAL, and since then he upon
perfect health. My children have several times tense in
attacks of the Influenza and Croup by it. It is in benish
remedy for these complaints. Your CATRAIN PLAN has been
remedy for these complaints. Your CATRAIN PLAN has been
grown upon me for some years: indeed, this cure is made incise
grown upon me for some years: indeed, this cure is made incise
portant, from the fact that I had failed to get reint one is he
Physicians which this section of the country alleds, all by
Physicians of the muerous remedien I had taken.

"You seem to us, Doctor, like a providental blesiers is
family, and you may well suppose we are not sministing it.

"Yours respectfully,

"Experimental theory is

"Dr. J. C. ATE. Honored Sr: I have most a through set of the Cathaute Priss left me by your agent about of the Cathaute Priss left me by your agent as here in cured by them of the dreatiful Ithenmation while which found me suffering. The first dose relieved me and is feed upon the doses have entirely removed the disease. I fain her health now than for some years before, which I attribute mild to the effects of your Cathaute Priss.

Yours with great respect.

LICIES R. MERLIS.

The above are all from persons who are publicly know rise hey reside, and who would not make these statement what they reside, and who would not make these sustainable thorough conviction that they were true.
Unprincipled dealers may attempt to put you of win she pills, on which they make more profit. He not impost unif any such counsellors.

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