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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The free States are the guardians and es

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . There is some excuse

for communities, when, under a generous impulse,

they esponse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, in PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEEVED FROM THE

MOHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and.
Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending - WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

death, and an agreement with hell.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1857.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1376.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Richmond Enquirer

SLAVERY-ITS DESTINY. American politics having become to be considered and point of interest and importance in the admination of internal affairs of our country, it may of he inopportune to inquire why it is so. Acerling to the original agreement between the memwe the protection of each State in its sovereign and a common benefit arising from a conat delegation of authorities sufficient to advance introsts accruing from the reciprocal relations

of one to the other.

Tag institution of slavery was then recognized as adjunctic matter, belonging exclusively to the con-ral of those States in which it existed; and regardof as affecting their interests only. But in more under days it is attempted by the non-slaveholdog States to obtain such pre-eminence in the counes of the country, as will enable them, by one poess or another, to abolish slavery in the United sats altogether. That they have not the right, if the had the power, is admitted by all reasonable see. And why it is that they are desperately but upon so gross a violation of justice and law, is asswered neither by morbid philanthropy nor a the with States, cursed, as they affect to believe,

with negro slavery.

That no humane motive actuates them is evideed by innumerable instances of flagrant outrigs upon every elevating institute in the inquities among themselves, unparalleled in the mails of moral enermity. That they are inimical to our institutions because they conceive that their preparity is impeded by them, is contradictory to the astus ness of Yankee character, as well as to the laws of industrial economy; for they have the sense discover, and the cupidity to consider, that if the Suth is retarded, clogged and oppressed by slavery, a is all the better for them to be in competition with such a people than if the incubus was removed, and additional advantages enjoyed by them.

The anti-slavery mania is the result of envy and ambition. The masses of the North are imposed anotion. The masses of the North are imposed on by the abolition leaders, who use them as supping-stones to political place and power; who appal to their sympathies by holding up hand-cuffs and dilating upon the inhuman tyranny of the System master towards his slave, harrowing their seals with tales of cruety that were never told before and representing our institutions as curses heare, and representing our institutions as curses to us, to God and to all mankind. Summer, and Sward, and Greeley, and all that standing staff of the abolition leader, whoever he may be, have as little sympathy with the Southern slave as an alli-

gater has with a grizzly bear. The proportion of vindicators of the Constitution and defenders of Southern rights is so small in the North, that the abolitionists in all the States, with North, that the abolitionists in an the states, are two or three exceptions, are the only party. And coasequently in their avidity for office, they are consulty coming into collision with each other. This state of things, it may be hoped, will ultimately

lead to the adoption of some other issue, by a portion of that party, as a more expeditious means of advancenant in political life. As yet, they are united shock of 1860, the masses of the North may begin to be undecrived, and the ambitious party leaders may perceive that the hobby they are now riding is iscapable of carrying them all into office. Unless there is some such revulsion in the Northern mind, some such division of Northern strength, a dissolu-tion of the Union will be witnessed within the next

But is the fate of the institution of slavery de pendent on that of the Union? As long as gits are regarded, there is no danger of a secession the South. And when the powers of the Federa Bocernment are so abused as to trample upon the compact between the States, and to turn our own wapons against us, there will be a Southern republic and a Northern nation. So, whether the Union enment of its own destiny. Less than forty years ago, public sentiment in the slaveholding States them sives would have justified the prophecy of its ultimate extinction. Its perpetuity may now be pre-dicted, and upon data, gathered from political phil sophy, considerations of interest and reflections philanthropy. Dialecticians, sages and statesmen have convinced themselves, and are convincing the world, that universal liberty, in its latitudinou sass, is a chimera, flore dangerous, if attempted, than despotism; as it would destroy society and ring back barbarism, with all the evils and none of the virtues of civilization. Political freedom withand anarchy is succeeded by the sovereignty of the sword. If this be not true, then there should be no awardstive to the exercise of the elective franchise in such restraining influences as qualification for on constitutional provisions telling the people and the representatives of the people what they shall

and what they shall not do. The institution of slavery is as essential to the existence of a legitimate republic, as are the laws of gravitation to the control of the elements of the mate-

It is, therefore, inseparable from our system of the special self-government. If white men are to enjoy their natural rights, negroes must be slaves. As our country extends its territory and the popular power is increased, so is it still more necessary that slavery should be expanded, as a conservative counterpoise to the dangerous tendencies of an improper exercise of

the elective franchise.

This view of the subject is obtaining more and more as there is a disposition to discard all artificial acqualities among men of the same race, and allow power of the people of America full scope

the control of the country.

If slave labor is more profitable in Louisiana than in Maryland, it is, of course, much more likely to be perpetuated in the one than in the other. pecuniarily more desirable or not, the day is not far distant, we trust, when it will be considered an ispensable element in our government, and insep-ble from Southern soil. The North is already arable from Southern soil.

threatened with the evils of Red Republicanism.

Let slavery be extinguished in the South, and the tes would fly from their orbit, amid the thous and jeers of the enemies of liberty throughout the world. The very fact that the slave population of Virginia is being absorbed by the more Southern States is an evidence of the durability of the institation. While negroes are high here, they are still aigher there. And though from this constant abstraction they may not multiply with sufficient rapidity to convince the abolitionists that slavery is not on the wane with us, as an institution of right and principle, it is more firmly fixed now than it has ever ginia. It is as idle to expect to extern very in the Southern States, as to attempt to turn es with human hands, or arrest the ocean in its course. Its destiny is to exist as long as civili-ration and self-government lasts.

PROFESSOR TOTTEN THREATENED BY THE FIRE-EATERS.

The Richmond South of the 28th ult, concludes a long article on the new project of Virginia colo-nization with the following pleasing remarks on the learned Professor in William and Mary College, whose letter has been recently published :-

The folly of inviting an emigration of Yankee adventurers into Virginia, especially when they en-tertain the views avowed by Thayer's colony, is so obvious and flagrant, that one is at a loss to understand how any individual, who really regards the interest of the State, can for a moment approve so insane a measure. Yet, Professor Silas Totten, of William and Mary College, whose position implies that he is a person of at least ordinary intelligence and sagacity, employs this language in a letter which is inserted in the New York Evening Post:

Wendell Phillips Des Theses W. History Of New York, ruesday morning May 12. Some two thousand people were present—carnest looking men and women.

On the platform were William Lloyd Garrison Wendell Phillips Des Theses W. History Of New York Post 200 (1997).

. .. I have no sympathy with the article quoted from the Richmond paper by the Evening Post. It does not speak the sentiment of the sober, thinking part of our people. They do not fear the effect of Northern emigration. It is a great pity that the people of the two sections of the country should be cited against each other by such misrepresentations." Are not Eli and Silas of the same section?

Perhaps the inquiry does great injustice to the Reverend Professor; but his name certainly has an anti-slavery sound. Will some good friend in Williamsburg inform us touching the nativity of Professor Silas Totten? Not for the world would Totten; but, somehow, we cannot resist the conclu-ning to present the following resolutions:ion that Professor Silas Totten is a born Yankee No other hypothesis will explain his Northern cor respondence, and his obvious approval of Eli's en-terprise. On no other proposition can we account tations" of the Richmond paper, [which paper?] and his high appreciation of the virtues of "North-

"our people."

'We will venture the still more dangerous conjecture that he is a Yankee by blood and birth a Yankee, too, of that very class from whose presence the South has more to apprehend—a Yankee who conceals an inveterate hatred of our institutions under the cloak of hypocritical moderationa Yankee after Eli Thayer's own heart. No won-der that an individual of this sort should presume to rebuke the "misrepresentations of the Richmond press '—since there is no height of impudence to which such a Yankee is incapable of attaining. No wonder that an individual of this sort should volor abolished, and he is to stand crowned with glary wonder that an individual of this sort should vol-unteer an assurance of sympathy and support to Thayer's anti-slavery colony. But it is not possi-ble that any nasive-born Virginian, or any loyal citizen even of Nortnern birth, could involve him-self in so disreputable correspondence. Why, the Reverend Professor Silas Totten even ventured this significant invitation to the patriotic Eli Thayer:

at good wages, and we only wish that we had more of it, and of a better quality," guishing condition for many years. Its fate is neither unjust nor inexplicable. An institution which takes to its bosom such individuals as the

and cannot expect the support of Southern men.' WESTERN NEW YORK.

Reverend Professor Silas Totten does not deserve

The Genesee Evangelist, having recently avowed its carnest anti-slavery sentiments, discourses as follows upon the late exhibitions in the Independent :

No discreet and Christian man can read the un charitable epit ets and incoherent ravings of Dr. Cheever, in the Independent, as applied to the Suoreme Court of the United States, without feeling n irresistible conviction that a good cause suffers Chief Justice with moral insanity, and

as if the Judge who uttered it had been a maniae. The decision of the Supreme Court may be invalid -indeed, we believe it to be erroneous and unjust in its application-but if it is ever to be made to appear d its practical force destroyed in the popu mind, it must be done by argument and reaso and truthful showings, and not by vituperation and abuse, and a frenzied appeal to partizan and sectional prejudices. Conscious weakness or inherent folly, alone, will resort to such allies or apply such instrumentalities; a good cause needs them not, and a bad

cause is made none the better by them.

The Observer intimates that it is whispered in private circles that Dr. Cheever has the fearful malady he charges upon the Chief Justice, and one who has had patience to read his ravings, in the last Independent, would be inclined to this charitable construction of the case.

We believe there is real moral turpitude in such gross violations of Christian charity and minpropriety. The mind may have become its prejudices and unbalanced by the moral absurdity.

ripture as a safe warrant to submit to legal auhority, though it be unjust; 'For it was written, thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people. We commend this practical exemplification of this subject to the careful consideration of Dr. C. as orthy of imitation.

Gerrit Smith proclaims that the Judges ought to hung, while Dr. Cheever affirms that they are insane. Now, these moral doctors, judging from the diversity of their prescriptions, agreeing only in their extravagance, must, at least one of them, be mistaken in the true nature of the case. For an extravagance in the true nature of the case. For an extravagance in the true nature of the case. bring odium upon a good cause, neutralize and de

out experiencing a paintul disgues. The baser passions and tendency of such appeals to the baser passions and prejudices of the soul, even when they are not positively repulsive, are by no means conducive to an elevated tone of spirituality. We exceedingly pity the moral taste of those minds that relish such food, and depreciate the influence of such teachings, false ly called religious, which are calculated to engender bitterness, and bring forth nothing but uncharitative first was the immunity, for twenty years, of purticular to the perpetuity of their dominion over their alaves:

The Liberator.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT BY WM. H. BURE.

The Twenty-Fourth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society commenced at the Assembly Rooms, in the city of New York, Tuesday morning,

Wendell Phillips, Rev. Thomas W. Higginson, Oliver Johnson, Robert Purvis, C. L. Remond, Parker Pillsbury, Francis Jackson, Rev. Samuel May, Jr., and Thomas Garrett. The latter gentleman is a Quaker doing business at Wilmington, Delaware, from which place he has forwarded, according to his books, 2,059 slaves over the Underground Railroad. Mr. Gannison read a selection from the Scriptures. The Rev. A. D. Maro, of Albany, offered an ap-

propriate prayer. Mr. Garnison said that he had been instructed by we inflict the least injustice upon Professor Silas a preliminary meeting of the Society held last eve-

1. Resolved, That the only Abolitionism we pro mulgate, and call upon the nation to reduce to practice, is embodied in the self-evident truths of the Decfor his energetic protest against the "misrepresen- laration of Independence, and in the Golden Rule of the Gospel-nothing more, nothing less.

2. Resolved, That we have but one object in view ern emigration." At the hazard, then, of being convicted for a libel on Professor Silas Totten, we will assume that he is no son of Virginia, and is of statesmanship—the slave; but one proof of patriot-will assume that he is no son of Virginia, and is without any warrant to speak the "sentiment" of ism-the slave; but one standard of piety-the slave; in other words, we pronounce that statesmanship to be folly which leaves the freedom of the slave out of sight; that patriotism to be hollow which does not break his fetters; and that piety to be spurious which does not hail him as a man and a brother.

3. Resolved, That he who was before all institu tions, and is to survive them all, is greater than them all; hence, that he is never to be sacrificed that they may be preserved; and whenever they come in con-

compact, neither Constitution nor Union; but we ... Free white labor finds immediate employment shall press through them all, or over them all, diverted by no side issue, intimidated by no menace, William and Mary College has been in a lanworld-wide platform of a common humanity. 5. Resolved, That if to make human liberty para-

nount to all other considerations be fanaticism, then we glory in being fanatics; that if to be in deadly antagonism to a pro-slavery religion be infidelity, then we are infidels; and if to declare that a slaveholding Union ought to be dashed in pieces be treason, then we are proud of the title of traitors; for 'the head and front of our offending hath this extent-no more.' 6. Resolved, That all the features of the late decision of Judge Taney, and his four slaveholding associates, of the United States Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, are marked by a brutality of spirit, a daring disregard of all historical verity, a defiant contempt of State sovereignty, a wanton perversion of declares the late decision 'as utterly null and void, the Constitution of the United States in regard to the rights of American citizens, and an audacious denial of all the principles of justice and humanity, that justly call for the sternest condemnation, and its indignant rejection as a decision binding upon the conscience or conduct of any man, or any part of the

7. Resolved, That while the armed invasion and loody conquest of Kansas, by Southern Border Ruffians,' and the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in regard to the citizenship of the colored population of the country, are atrocities of the most fiendish character; and while no language of indignation and horror is too strong to be uttered in view of their perpetration, still these are not excesses of the slave system, but its very nature and bent-We are not willing, however, to allow the force of the same cause—fruits of the same poison this modern and fushionable plea, which has been attempted, of late, to be made to cover a multitude of and to leave the source of them untouched—nay, to keep it in full operation by constitutional protectionis not only a lamentable waste of time, but a gross

undue preponderance of a single idea, still such a condition of mind is not beyond the voluntary and responsible control of the individual.

Paul rebuked the judge for commanding him to be smitten contrary to law, but as soon as he was safeguards, in order to give security to her slave system; that she could do no less, and will be continualtem; that she could do no less, and will be continualeminded of the contumacy, he retracted, and plead tem; that she could do no less, and will be continual-guorance as his apology, and fell back upon the ly constrained to do more and more in the same direction-trampling upon all agreements, guarantees and compacts, and making fresh aggressions upon the rights and liberties of the people of the North, until the very forms of republican government are overthrown, and a military dictatorship established over

mistaken in the true mature of the case. For an irresponsible madman ought not to be hung, and if the judge's decision entitles him to be hung for treason, it is not to be set aside as null and void on account of his mental incompetence. Such is the anarchy of extravagance, the legitimate fruits of such unrestrained license. Such teachers inevitably mate, of latitude and longitude, or of bargain and compromise; that if it be compatible with Christianice of good and prudent men, and ty and Republicanism to hold four millions of alaves troy the influence of good and prugent men, and hinder and pervert the progress of true reform.

We opine that no healthy Christian mind can read those constant tirades in the Independent without experiencing a painful disgust. Indeed, the out experiencing a painful disgust. Indeed, the other issue with slavery in this country, except that of tendency of such appeals to the baser passions and tendency of the ba

stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engage-ment positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons—thus constituting a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known, and making the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the National Government'; and,

Whereas, this view of the design and character of in regard to its formation, by its uniform interpretation by all the Courts and all the Legislatures of all the States, and by the spirit and action of the American people under it from 1789 to the present time, thus placing it beyond all reasonable doubt or denial; ful indeed, but not frightful. They think it is a de-

Whereas, a Constitution so formed and administered is nothing better than a 'covenant with death and an of three thousand Yankee clergymen, and the fasting agreement with hell,' to uphold which is morally wrong and politically vicious-making responsible, as it does, the whole country for the safety and perpe-

tuity of the slave system, therefore, Resolved. That it becomes a high moral duty to dissolve the present National Compact; to raise the banner of secession; to join in the cry of ' No Union with Slaveholders'; to separate the North from the South; that the awful responsibilities growing out of has controlled this nation since its formation, that has the existence of slavery may be placed upon the heads for half a century elected every President, dictated of those who proclaim their determination to perpetu- every Cabinet, controlled every Congress, the power ate their nefarious 'institution'-the resources of the Slave Power, whereby it is enabled to extend and strengthen itself, cut off-the slaves permitted to stand erect, and look their lordly masters in the face, and settle the question of their liberty, without any extraseous influence-the slaveholders deprived of all auxiliary aid, and put in a situation in which it will be a its clutches, and upon the firmest financial basis in physical and geographical impossibility for them to the world-so George Peabody says-of cotton beretain a single victim in bondage.

11. Resolved, That we do not, cannot, dare not, will not recognise as churches of Christ those church- Weakness? Why, slavery is king; king de facto. or which admit slaveholders to their communion and fellowship; that it is blasphemy against God, and Fremont was only known as the explorer of the Rocky dermining the foundations of society, subverting gen-

ducing to the audience THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGG sox, of Worcester, Mass., a tried and true friend of freedom, who needs no eulogy on this occasion.

SPEECH OF REV. T. W. HIGGINSON.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: s an honor to be a patriot; it is an honor even to sideration that I select that word for our great leader. It is not merely because, in the words of the resolutions, that this Society has but one standard of patriotism-the slave. But I have high authority for the epithet which I choose; because it was the leader of he Republican party in this nation, its great manager, its most skilful wire-puller, who, in the best speech he ever made-it is Henry Wilson of whom I am speaking-at THE LIBERATOR festival, six years ago, after coasting of having read THE LIBERATOR for twelve years, and attributing to its teachings the greater part of his own love of freedom, ended by choosing out of Mr. Garrison's virtues to extol, not his truthfulness, not his courage, not his zeal, but the patriotism of the disunionist, Mr. Garrison.' I have, therefore,

high political authority for what I say. I stand here upon this platform with pleasure, for wo reasons. The first is this : We hear it said every day that the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society are stern, narrow, sectarian, illiberal, incolerant of any man or of any opinion which does not found ever from them a sympathy more than my deity against them; but it is refuted by my standing

vain throughout the nation for another place to stand was, is without the opportunities which that gives. I and find men and women who see slavery as it is, and do not care where the loophole is found; there may in its full strength. I have co-operated with politi- be one in the word 'law'; there may be another in cal Abolitionists all my life; I may still co-operate the word 'due.' I do not care how small it is; give with them, if they will be kind enough to pass by my us a Supreme Court that is favorable to liberty, and door. I have co-operated all my life with anti-slave- the Constitution is an anti-slavery document to-morbody of men who understand slavery in its depth, except the Abolitionists of the Anti-Slavery Society. nation can discuss so utterly unimportant for all hu-With all others, it is a superficial thing. Every man man purposes as the question of the meaning of the who has been in Republican meetings knows it, if he it loudly and habitually, in the streets and the caucuses, knows the shallowness of their perception of
this giant evil. A young New Yorker whom I met, this giant evil. A young New Yorker whom I met. ot long since, in a foreign country, told me he was an Abolitionist. 'I am from America; I am from New York; of course I am an Abolitionist,' says he; but then, I am not an ultra Abolitionist, like Seward the existing interpretation of the Constitution is pro-and Greeley. (Laughter.) Well, we have come here alavery. Each of them admits that it will cost a rev-

Seward and Greeley; of quite a different stamp; but Seward and Greeley are ultra Abolitionists in their namer, in their earnestness, in their fidelity; ultra Abolitionists compared with the mass of the Republican party. The mass of the Republican party have only begun to open their eyes to the grasp that slavery has taken upon the nation. The great number of Republican speakers see slavery, after all, as a trivial evil compared with its reality. Of course they see, for he must be blind who does not see, that it is the first political question before the nation, because there is no other political question before the nation It needs no insight to see that slavery is more importthe Constitution is sustained by all the historical facts ant than the bank or the tariff, because the tariff is settled, and so is the bank. They are no questions at all. They paint slavery, therefore, as the first question before the nation; they paint the Slave Power as something strong indeed, but not colossal; powermon, but that it is a kind of demon that goes out, after all, very easily by prayer and fasting,-the prayer from the loaves and fishes of the Republican party for four years more. (Laughter.)

They do not see it, they never have seen it, as it is, This very morning, I read in an able Republican journal the statement that, after all, however it may have seemed in times past, the Slave Power is 'a weak thing,' when you come broadly to look it in the face. 'A weak thing,' Mr. Chairman? If the power that that has demoralized the religion of the nation, and emasculated its literature, the power that outwitted Clay and stultified Webster, the power that has ruled as easily its Northern creditors as its Northern debtors, the power that at this moment stands with all the patronage of the greatest nation in the world in neath its feet-if this power be weak, where in the wide universe will you look for any thing strong? es which sanction slavery; which justify, excuse, or It is as strong now as it was before the hundreds of C. Fremont. It is as strong now as it was when reason to Jesus Christ, to admit that such churches Mountains and the millionaire of California. It is abare His: that, on the other hand, we regard them as solute in its strength before us to-day. It knows the he actual atheists and infidels of this country-un- folly of those that think it weak, and it laughs at

uine Christianity, filling the land with impurity and and there are only two things in the universe that it unrighteousness, and poisoning by their pernicious does fear, and those are the devil and William Lloyd doctrines and example the moral well-springs through- Garrison. Out in Kansas, my brilliant friend, James H. Lane, was making one of his characteristic speech-Mr. Garrison-I have now the pleasure of introposition of the two leaders of Kansas; for Kansas, one for peace. He characterized the position of the Border Ruffians towards Charles Robinson and himself by saying, 'The Missourians hate Jim Lane as they hate the devil; Charles Robinson they hate'-I heard, until within a few moments, that I was to and he paused to think of something that the Missoufollow Mr. Garrison in speaking. It is the next most rians hated worse than the devil, and said- Charles honorable thing to that to follow at his word of com- Robinson they hate as they hate virtue'; and every mand. There is an old Greek proverb which says, It body agreed that it was the best description of the men ever given. The Missourians of Washington. come when a patriot calls. A patriot has called me, the Missourians of the South, have the same twin and I have come. It is not without meaning or con- hostility, and it is equally well deserved. They know whom they have to fear.

Mr. Chairman, I began by saying that I never had accepted the opinion which prevails on this platform of the character of the Constitution. A few words only upon that. I never have held, and I hope I never shall hold, that the Constitution or any thing else is to be interpreted in a pro-slavery manner, if you can possibly find any other sense in it. I never have held, and I trust I never shall hold, that it is to be interpreted by what its framers meant to put in it, but only, like all other legal instruments, by what they succeeded in getting into it. Some regard it as strongly proslavery, and others as strongly anti-slavery, and others as Talleyrand regarded the French Constitution, when he said it meant nothing, and never would mean anything, because he made it himself on purpose. (Laughter.) I think that hits the nail upon the head. There is one rule in the interpretation of documents where liberty is concerned, and that is, to put in liberty wherever there is a loophole to cram it in by. The authority best adapted to our purpose, so far as I fully coincide with them or theirs. I stand here a know, is the very memorable decision rendered in the living witness of the falsehood of the charge. Frem case where Shylock was the plaintiff, Portia the the moment when first, in an obscure country parish judge, and William Shakspeare the reporter of the of New England, I ventured to peep and mutter upon court. If there be in that Constitution any space left, the subject of American slavery, the support, the un- if there be an ounce of flesh or a drop of blood, if there failing friendship of the Abolitionista around me be the drachm of a scruple or a scruple itself, where has been mine. Never agreeing with them whol- you can force an anti-slavery meaning into it, you ly, never asked to agree with them wholly, nev- have a right to put that meaning in, and every honr accepting that special dogma of the interpreta- est man will justify you in the effort. The mightiest tion of the Constitution, which is supposed to be the intellect and the profoundest moral sense, for such a narrow standard by which they try all virtues, I have purpose as that, may harrow itself down to microscopic investigation. It may pass through as delicate serts, a friendliness which I never earned. I could a fissure as that which held Ariel in the cloven pine, not in words, perhaps, refute the charge of illiberal- if by so doing it can transform one slave into a free-

It is only a question of will, whether it shall be done I have another reason for standing here. I look in or not. No instrument, framed as the Constitution ry clergymen also. But I have looked in vain for a row. (Applause.) It is not a question of the meaning of words as yet. I do not know of any question that this Constitution of the United States. It is a dead letknows slavery as it is. Every man who has been in ter. It is a piece of parchment riddled through and the habit of talking anti-slavery with those who talk through. Where is the man that obeys it? Where is obey it. I see no difference of practical im between Wendell Phillips and Gerrit Smith. thinks the Constitution is pro-slavery; the other thinks

suing the African slave trade; the second was the among a class of men also not ultra Abolitionists, like | olution to get either the Constitution or its interpretation set aside. Both of them believe in carrying that revolution to the point of the bayonet, if necessary. Where is the difference as a question of fact? Nothing. All the intellect, all the genius, all the learning ever expended upon the point of Constitutional interpretation are not worth, in the practical solution of the slavery question, a millionth part so much as the poorest shot that ever a fugitive slave fired at his master—not worth the thrust of the dagger that made Margaret Garner's child a free being in heaven, instead of a slave upon earth. The one is a word; the other is a fact. The one is a theory; the other is one of those stern realities that revolutionize nations, and upon which Constitutions only wait. The question of slavery is a stern and practical one.

Give us the power, and we can make a new Constitution, or we can re-interpret the old one. How is that power to be obtained? By politics? Never. By revolution, and that alone. There is the issue, Mr. Chairman. That is what makes men Disunionists, Constitution or no Constitution. It is a question of fact. I cannot bear to waste time in debating the Constitution, because I see that while the Constitution is being talked about, there is a crack in the nation, that is growing wider, and wider, and wider apart. When I look at this fact, I do not care for the theory. We talk about a Constitution and a nation; we are not a nation; we are two nations, whom this frail paper bond has vainly tried to weld together into one. We are diverging more and more every day. Every thing separates us. Birth, tradition, laws, education, social habits, institutions-every thing separates us, nothing brings us nearer together. The reason why Free State men and Slave State men hate each other in Kansas is because all the institutions of their respective nations have been for years training them to hate each other. When they come face to face, it is only the old hostility breaking out again. It is not only the difference in birth, although still the Puritan stock remains upon the one side, and the Cavalier stock still npon the other. It is not that in Kansas you see on the one side the traces of the Puritan, only softened and improved, and upon the other the traces of the Cavaliers, only degraded and deteriorated; it is not that even now in Kansas, as during apologize for slaveholding under any circumstances, thousands of freemen rallied to the support of John the English civil wars, you may know one side from the other because the one side wears long hair and the other does not; because when you meet a party there with long hair you may know they are Missourians, and when you meet a party with short hair you may know that they are Round-heads, Puritans, Yankees; it is not that alone, strange though that coincidence is after the lapse of centuries; but it is because something stronger than parties is separating

> Slaveholders and Freemen are always two nations There is no power or force that can unite them. There are no two nations in Europe so absolutely antagonistic as the Free State and the Slave State men of this Union. All that any town in Massachusetts or New York asserts by its institutions, every settlement in South Carolina, every plantation in Virginia denies. How are you to unite these two antagonisms? By a Union and a Constitution? Read Olmstead's admirable book on Texas, and you will find that the young New Yorker, travelling among the American settlements of Texas, felt himself a stranger, with native citizens about him; but, coming into a German settlement, he felt himself among kindred and friends. Germany, far off, dreamy, visionary, poetical Germany, was nearer in national sympathy to the young New Yorker, than the Texans and the Mississippians who called themselves his brothers. I knew a young man born in South Carolina and educated in Massa. chusetts. He travelled abroad and visited half the nations of Europe. When he came back, he entered, for the first time in eight years, his own birth-place, Charleston, S. C.; and he told me that he had not at Vienna, or Rome, or Paris, the sense of strangeness that he had there. He was a foreigner in his birth-place, because his birth-place was South Carolina, and Massachusetts trained him. Tell me, if you can, in the history of the world, of a nation with such antagonisms as that within its bosom, which has per-

manently held together. It is not a question of this or that measure. It is a uestion of permanent, absolute, irreconcilable dis inctions, growing with the growth of the people, howing themselves more and more every year, and every year slavery is more truly slavery, and freedom more truly freedom. I ask nothing more than the vidence I see with my own eyes of that antagonism to show me that politicians dream in vain of permanently keeping the Union together. But why should the Union be kept together? What are the objects, the arguments, the advantages? I see the weakness of this Union the moment any man undertakes to defend it, because I see the poverty of the arguments he ses. He asks how you are going to dissolve the Union, not seeing that it dissolves itself. Every time a blow is struck in Kansas or in Washington, it splits further apart.

They ask whether you are not deserting the slave by dissolving the Union. The best anti-slavery lecturer I know of upon that point is one Thomas H Senton, of St. Louis, Mo. If he does not satisfy the people of the Northern States that it is best for them to dissolve the Union, I do not know who will. He came to Worcester the week after we had the Disunion Convention there. A great many people had shaken their heads at that Convention. The argument had been potent with some uninstructed and hasty persons, that if the Union were dissolved, it would be the desertion of the slave, and a baseness inworthy of us. Sir, Mr. Benton settled all that in about five minutes, before one of the largest audiences ever collected in Worcester; and he settled it by the very argument by which he undertook to produce a different result. He stood before the people of that city, and tried to startle them by the consequence that would flow from a separation between the Said he, (his eyes opening wide, and his face growing longer and longer), 'If you dissolve this Union, friends and fellow-citizens, twenty slaves will run away where an through the audience. Thinking himself mi derstood, and wishing to deepen the impressionald, 'If you dissolve the Union, you will bring ade practically down to the line of Maryland and Virginia'; and the house shook with applause, when he looked for sorrow and mourning.

'She went to the undertaker's to buy him a coffin, And when she got back, the poor dog was laughing.

Every body agreed that if we had driven the nail of Disunion, he had clinched it. How idle is it for us, standing here at the North-and I use now the argu ment familiar to the religious press-to suppose that we can be better acquainted with the subject of slavery than Thomas H. Benton.

All the arguments have the same weakness. The real opposition to disunion is a vague, an indeterminate opposition. People shrink from dissolving the Union, because they do not know what the result will be. They see the danger now; they shrink from incurring that which they do not understand. They are about on a level with the old stage coach driver in England, who had his private opinion of the superior ity of stages to rail-cars, 'There are as many accidents, people being upset, in proportion to the travel, upon the stages as upon the railroads, it was said to him, 'Yes,' said old Weller, 'but that is not the thing ; don't you see the difference; if you are upset in a stage coach, and find yourself flying over a hedge somewhere, there you are; but if the train runs of the track, and smashes to atoms, where are you's That is about as much idea as most persons have of the effect of dissolving the Union. It is a vague impression, a dim apprehension, and we would rather suffer the actual dangers we have, than 'fly to others that we know not of.

Others, sheltering themselves behind the same un certainty, and the same laissez faire doctrine, suppose that as the Union has stood a great while, it will stand a great while longer. No notice has been given, no trumpet sounded; and the Union which has stood great many shocks will stand a great many more. These men do not know that a revolution is always half finished before the majority of the community have found out that it is begun. They do not know that it is not the conscious action of the people, but their unconscious action, that determines the course of events. It was after the battle of Bunker Hill that Congress met and deliberately voted that they had not taken up arms with the vain and impious purpose of separating themselves from the mother country and then they went on and separated. That is the way we are doing. We pledge ourselves against Disunion, and still, after all, every earnest anti-slavery man, calling himself Republican, Union-saver, o what you please, keeps in the corner of his heart a little willingness, like Mr. Banks down in Maine, in certain contingency, to 'let the Union slide.' No matter whether he is even willing to 'let the Union slide ' or not, he keeps in one corner of his heart a place for a disunion argument, just as our friends of The Tribune are willing that 'J. S. P.,' of Washington, should have his little column to preach a little of the leaven of disunion, although the editors have not got to it yet. In our more earnest moments, when a fugitive slave case is before us, or when Charles Sumner is struck down, or when a new tragedy takes place in Kansas, we are all disunionists. When sober reflection comes, many a man who thinks himself so, finds that he is not quite ready for that yet. He finds that, after all, the danger is not so imminent as he supposed, and he says- Go along with your old ark; I guess it won't be much of a shower after all.' (Laughter.) It is like the good ferryman ou West, of whom I heard the other day. He had taken a great many across in his old canoe, and he wanted mightily to cross once more when he had a profitable job to do. 'You had better not go,' said they. 'Yes,' said he, 'I am going.' 'You had better not go; you will be drowned.' 'Never was drowned in my life,' said the man, as he went into the boat; and he lost the chance to say that again. It is so with every revolution in the world. Just as some leader of the people has the words upon his lips, 'There is to be no revolution,' he turns round and finds himself in the

We are in the midst of a revolution. The antislavery movement is not a reform; it is a revolution It is a revolution when Garrison defies the United States Government in Boston, outside the Constitution; or when Gerrit Smith, in New York defies it in his way. So long as the Jerrys are rescued, it is of no consequence whether they are rescued with law or wi hout law; it is equally revolution.

'Treason ne'er prospers; what's the reason?

Let the radical anti-slavery men come to the epoch of success, and the Henry Wilsons will again cease to talk about hanging Disunionists, and will come back to their old opinion of the patriotism of the Garrisons

In the meantime, there are two things especially to be done by Abolitionists in the States where they live. It often happens, in the progress of institutions Mr. Chairman, that the very thing which at one peri od is a bulwark for freedom, becomes, at a later period and upon further experience, a check and a hindrance to it. There are two institutions in our free States now, founded with the noblest of purposes, sustained with the bravest energies, but both of them grow an tagonistic to freedom, by the progress of things, both destined, I trust, to be abolished.

The first of these institutions, once noble, now out grown and objectionable, is the Underground Railroad to Canada. God grant that we may see an end to that pretty soon! The Underground Railroad, as have believed for years, I believe more and more every day, is demoralizing the conscience of our people accustoming them to think that all their duty to free dom consists, not in making their own soil free, bu in pointing the way to some other soil that is free. I want, and you want, if there is any manhood o womanhood in you, to live upon free earth; but the soil which we tread is not free, if, when a man come to your door and asks for your protection in the dusk of the evening, all you can do for him is to say, There is dollar, and that railroad leads to Canada. That is no freedom. It is not freedom, so long as there is any difference between Canada and Broadway to a single human being who has a right to tread God's earth a freeman. (Applause.) To establish freedom anywhere begin by establishing it where you stand. If you can not make free the soil upon which your own feet tread, it may be a necessary evil to recognize some freer soil anywhere else; but it is a disgrace to you s long as the fact remains. It is ignoble; it is dishon orable; it is worse than that, because it is demoralizing. The Underground Railroad makes cowards of us all. It makes us think and hesitate and look ove our shoulders, and listen, and wonder, and not dare t tell the truth to the man who stands by our side. I may be a necessary evil, but an evil it is. I do not know how it is elsewhere, but I can say that in the city where I live, there has been from year to year a deep ening conviction that it is degrading to let any man go out of the city because he came into it upon the Southern track. It is degrading, dishonorable, de moralizing.

There came there some time ago, a black man herculean proportions, who had earned his right to freedom by brave labors. That man had gone from city to city in the free States, seeking for rest and find ing none; because, though he was willing to stay and run the risk himself, the best advice he could get at any of these places was, to push a little further along. He came to Worcester at last. We looked at the man and took the measure of him. Such sinews I never saw. That man could take a barrel of flour in hi arms, lift it easily, and hold it out at arm's length. We looked at those arms, and we said to him, 'Those arms are better arguments for staying than your leg are for going, (laughter and applause,) so stay where you are. He stayed. In order that there might be no uncertainty as to the fact that he was there, som of us took pains to allude to it in the Boston paper for the benefit of any United States official who might feel disposed to come there and make a call upon him ;

prejudicial to the health of that class of officers, and away, as have many others like them in former ages. none-of them ever came. I thank God that many and thus leave a more open entrance for the com have done the same thing since. He was not the first, the Kingdom of Peace and Purity, of Love and Libnor is the latest one, I trust, the last. I hope that the time will come in Massachusetts, if nowhere else, when we can call every fugitive slave within her borders to one was introducing to his friends a stranger, and he meet in Convention under his own proper name, and held deliberation in the light of day; yes, to advertise said, always had the misfortune, when he spoke, o the Convention in the pro-slavery issues of the widest circulation, in the New York papers, in its well-named Journal of Commerce, and the ill-named Journal of Civilization, to advertise in them all; and, Mr. Chairman, in the name of the citizens of Worcester, I demand that that Convention shall be held in our City that in nearly every one of them there was some loss

Hall. (Applause.)

So far, so good. There is something else to be abolished besides the Underground Railroad, and that is Personal Liberty Bills, as we pass them now. I do not know a Personal Liberty Bill in any State in this Union, that is not, as it stands, a refuge for cowards; because they all progide, every one of them, that if the slave slips through the defences they offer him, he is a slave, and must be sent southward as such. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to see the fugitive slaves that come into Massachusetts protected only at the cost of perjury on the jury trial. I do not want to see any jury trial for fugitive slaves. Slavery and juries are two things irreconcilable. They have nothing in common. If a man is to be sent back as a slave, I would rather have only one man's conscience darkened by the guilt of it, though it be dark as Loring's, than have twelve men in the community put into the dilemma either of perjuring themselves upon their oath to try the case according to the law and the evidence, or o sending the man back into slavery. I do not want to see Personal Liberty Bills based upon any narrower ground than the absolute right of every man to freedom, law or no law, slavery or no slavery, Constitution or no Constitution. (Applause.) There is waking up, I rejoice to say, in Massachusetts, in New York, in Wisconsin, a protest against these laws. The only true law is the law which makes the difference betwee the criminal and the slave, not in favor of the criminal, but in favor of the slave. What we want to se is a law which makes escape from slavery not the proo of crime, but the crowning fact of virtue. I want a law in the spirit of the old Quaker who was sheltering a colored man under the Fugitive Slave Law, but not knowing that he was a fugitive slave. His neighbors were frightened at last, and came and remonstrated with him, 'Why,' said they, 'that man has broken the law.' 'O,' said the Quaker, 'I think not; he seem a good man.' 'But,' said they, 'if you did but know it, he is actually a thief.' 'O, no,' said the Quaker, I cannot believe that, he seems such a good man. Why, yes he is,' said they, 'he is a fugitive slave; he has stolen himself from his master.' 'Well,' said the Quaker, 'it seems that he is a better man than I thought he was.' I want such a law as that. The key-note is struck, I rejoice to say, in the State in which we stand now. I must go back, Mr. Phillips must go back, and tell Massachusetts to look to her laurels. We have not even had proposed in the Massachusetts Legislature any point so high and so honorable as the resolution proposed, but not passed yet,* in New York :-

Resolved, That this State will not allow slavery within her borders, in any form, under any pretent for any time, however short.' (Great applause.)

There is a Personal Liberty Bill, indeed! Give man such a State as that to live in, and the soil he treads upon, though part of a Republic, is as free as if it were ruled by a Queen. It is as free as Canada itself. God speed the time when the Littlejohns of New York shall be the great men of the State .-Speaker Littlejohn, like his namesake in old English times, may be an outlaw temporarily. No matter his arrow has cleft the wound, and he has Gerrit Smith for his Robin Hood, and-shall I say it-Henry Ward Beecher for his Friar Tuck. (Laughter and

Mr. GARRISON-Our friend Mr. Higginson has simply done justice to the American Anti-Slavery Society in regard to the freedom and catholicity of its platform and its action. I wish simply to say that, in reference to the Constitution, he has made a verba mistake which might seem to require correction or the spot. He refers to our interpretation of the Constitution. Not our interpretation, for that would make it very limited, would make it simply the interpretation of the American A. S. Society, as an organiza tion; but the interpretation of the nation ever since the adoption of the Constitution, in regard to slaveholding clauses about which people have never disputed, and in regard to which they have shown the most entire unanimity of feeling; the interpretation of Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Marshall, and Franklin, and Jay, and Hamilton, and Ames, and all those who grew up with the Constitution, and so not the interpretation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but the interpretation of the nation itself. If any man chooses singly to outface the nation, and say it does not know what the Constitution is, we leave it for that man to settle it with the nation, and the nation to settle it with him; and if it be like the parchment drawn up by Talleyrand, and means nothing, it shows good reason why we should have a parchment which mean something, declaring that every man is created by God for freedom, and not slavery.

Mr. Higginson-I beg leave to state that the rea son why I spoke of that opinion as the opinion of Mr Garrison and Mr. Phillips, and not as the opinion of the American people and of the Supreme Court, was simply because I wished to present that opinion in a respectable point of view (laughter); I wished to give the very highest authority I knew for it. It is a fact of no great importance, in my estimation, what the opinion of the Supreme Court is, but when I find that Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips entertain that opinion, I think it is a fact of some importance. (Laughter.)

Mr. GARRISON-I think the nation knows what it says, and understands what it says.

Mr. Higginson-You don't think it understan any thing else, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GARRISON then introduced PARKER PILLSBURY after reading, at the request of Mr. Pillsbury, the last resolution of the series.

SPEECH OF MR. PILLSBURY.

I shall not consume much of the time of the audi ence, and probably cannot do the Anti-Slavery cause any better service than to append to the resolution which has just been read, two or three resolutions which I have drawn up, to elaborate somewhat the sentiment of that resolution. They may be considered as part of my remarks, or they may be regarded as additional to the series of resolutions before the Society, into the support of James Buchanan by the cry of just as the meeting thinks proper.

12. Resolved, That in the American Board of Cor missioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible and Tract Societies, the Methodist General Conferenif they can. ces, Baptist Unions and Presbyterian General Assem blies, we have full and fair exponents and representatives of the religion of the country.

13. Resolved, That as all these bodies are con-

of denominations claiming the prerogative of making terms of communion and church fellowship, and as not one of them has ever included non-slave among those conditions, even while, in some instar expelling members for differences upon modes of bar tism, it becomes necessary, in fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause, to declare that no person who intelligently supports any of these organizations, or the churches composing them, either by countenance or contribution, is scortly to be regarded as a Christian or an Abolitionist.

14. Resolved, That we shall hall the day with hope and joy, when all these associations, so long the shield

but there is something in the air of Worcester a little of the tyrant and the scourge of the slave, shall pass erty, in this as well as in other lands.

I was once in the presence of some gentlemen, introduced him, calling him by name, as one who, h being understood. It strikes me that the grand difficulty in our time is, that though we have much excellent speaking, very little of it is understood. I admirvery much the resolutions read by the President, but when they were read one after another, I felt afraid hole out of which almost the entire community wo be creeping. We have the American Board of Cor missioners, we have the American Bible Society, w have the Methodist General Conferences, and I do not know how many other associations, and by some means the great mass of the people supporting those organizations in the Northern States fancy themselves and those organizations anti-slavery. And if I am not mistaken, the fault is partly our own-ours, mean, who profess to be the exponents of the Anti-Slavery Gospel to this nation. I wish that I might deserve the appellation and description given by my friend to whom I referred, and that I may always have the same misfortune of being understood whenever and wherever I speak. What the country needs at this time is speech as well as action, but it should be speech understood, as well as action understood, and action in the right direction.

The great religious bodies to which I refer, all of them profess to be anti-slavery; so do the political parties of our country. The religious bodies have their apostles or representative men, exponents of their doctrine and position; the political parties have theirs. The Democratic party claims to be, here in the North, the friend, in some sense, of the slave, because it professes to believe in the doctrine of universal liberty, and it has, or used to have, a great horror and dread of the more conservative party-the Whig r Federal party, as it used to be denominated. But the Democratic party, as every one now believes who understands its true position, especially after the revelations and demonstrations that have been made of i for the last quarter of a century, is to be regarded as one of the bulwarks of the slave system; and if I do not misapprehend its position, if I take its leading men as exponents of it, it rather exceeds in atrocity and in willingness to subserve the interests of slavery even the Supreme Court of the United States itself. Judge Taney's decision was fully interpreted by nearly all the editors of the Democratic presses of the country running in advance of the doctrines as declared by that decision. Perhaps the decision itself, as intendeby the Supreme Court, will cover the whole ground, but the editors are certainly in advance of the decision itself in proclaiming their readiness to abide by when it shall cover all the ground which it profess to cover, viz, that of not only dehumanizing as well as denationalizing and beastializing the entire African race, but turning them into slaves, and every Northern State into slave territory. Up in New Hampshire where I have the calamity to reside, (laughter,) a nea neighbor to Gen. Pierce, (renewed laughter,) ou Democratic editors have already cast up in figures and published to the world how much they are going to make by the rise of real estate in consequence of New Hampshire having become a slave State; and they calculate that our White Mountain valleys are to echo with the slave-driver's lash, and that the banks of our beautiful lakes are to be the scenes where slavery i to work out all its terrible realities; and that out all this, New Hampshire Democracy is to coin dollars and cents as never before. And what is true in New Hampshire is equally true in Boston. The Democrat ic party, speaking through its journals, outruns the Supreme Court in its devotion to slavery, and I believe the Calvinistic ministers in New England are beginning to prove the doctrine of total depravity now b the position of the Democratic party (laughter); certainly, if they cannot prove it by that, I know no what argument will be sufficient. (Renewed laughter.)

And when we come to the next political party, the Republican-for I believe there is no longer any or ganized Whig, or even Know-Nothing or American party-the same may be said of it as of the Democratic party. Its leaders have misled the people in precratic party have misled them in the late Presidential campaign. Not long ago, John P. Hale, in his place in the Senate of the United States, assured the Slave Power that they had made a mistake in the election of James Buchanan. He said, 'The Democratic party who have elected him will sell you out when it omes to be for their interest to do so: but if you had elected John C. Fremont, the candidate and champion of the Free Soil party and of the party of State Rights your peculiar institution would have been secure Now, I have travelled somewhat extensively in New England and in the West, and I have found that in nine cases out of ten, the supporters of John C. Fre mont and of the Republican cause at the last Presi dential election professed to believe that the view of their candidate and of their party in regard to the Constitution of the United States was precisely like that laid down just now by our friend from Massachusetts, Mr. Higginson, and the same as that maintained by Gerrit Smith. And I believe it is not too much to say, that the Democrats of the North were inveigled into the support of James Buchanan by the cry of Ruchanan and free Kansas.' I am sure I was in Philadelphia on the day of the State election last autumn, and that was the cry there then, and I know it was the cry wherever I went in the West among the Democracy; and in that way, undoubtedly, the vote of Pennsylvania was secured to Buchanan, as well as the vote of every other Northern State that gave him its support. But while the leaders of the Democrac were raising this cry of 'Buchanan and free Kansas, what were the leaders of the Republican party cry ing? I stand here and affirm that they were all de ceivers together, and that one was as much a deceiver as the other, and those who deceived in the name of Anti-Slavery were the most dangerous deceivers of the two. All over this country, the great mass of the Republican party, so-called, actually believed that the position of that party was precisely that of Gerrit Smith and of the 'Radical Abolitionists,' as they term themselves, in the central portion of the State of New York. Now, one of two things is true. Either those men have misunderstood designedly, or they have misunderstood unwittingly, and therefore it is that I hope to belong to a different description of men a class which shall have the misfortune when they speak of being understood. The Democrats were led Buchanan and free Kansas,' the Republicans wer led into the support of John C. Fremont by a cry equally deceptive. Let the Republican party deny i

But I do not propose to speak on the political as pects of the cause. I only wished to illustrate my idea, that there is much false speaking that is not ap prehended on the part of the people, and there prob ably is great obtuseness of conscience or blindness of perception on the part of the great multitude of the erican people. I do not doubt, I never did doubt the honesty and the purity of purpose on the part of a large majority of the members and supporters of the Republican party. I do not doubt, I never have doubted, the purity and the piety, in the best se the word, of large numbers of the members of the American Church. And yet I stand here to affirm that the position of those parties and this Church, as held and defended by the leaders and exponents of hose organizations, is an entirely false and wicked This is a mistake. The resolution was adopted by pro-slavery position, and in the name of Anti-Slavery and in the name of religion, they make themselve

the head and the bulwark of the slave system in this what the value of the slave, and many a planter's I propose to glance for a moment at the position of

the American Church. In the Presidential campaign we have almost, of necessity, lost sight of the Church, and in our real in behalf of Kansas, we have lost sight of the four millions of slaves; and I have often thought what cold comfort it must be to the four mil- and Dr. Cheever, and some others whose course ions of slaves to see our zeal in behalf of free Kansas,' while we turn a deaf ear entirely to their claims their ecclesiastical brothren; and the Northern minis and to their cries. And when the great majority of ters have been a great deal exercised in regard to the the churches of the Northern States profess and call same. Now, I do not myself think much of Mr. themselves anti-slavery, they have deceived the peohalf of the Northern churches. There is but one re- a little more than he should. Nevertheless, his position ally anti-elavery denomination in this land, and that is is so distinct from the great body of the Northern cler so inconsiderable that it is scarcely known. I refer to gy, that his clerical brethren are a great deal disturbe the little band known as the Old School Scotch Cov- about him. The piety and sanctiry of the New York enanters. (Applause.) I do not forget the action of Observer are greatly shocked at the aberrations of the Methodist General Conference, but I stand here Henry Ward Beecher. Dr. Cheever preached to affirm, that if there is one denomination more than few discourses last autumn, in connection with th another in this land whose course and whose charac- Presidential canvas, against the extension of slavery ter are to be deprecated above all others, it is the and some of the people thought they might be wort Methodist denomination. (A hiss.) That denomi- reading, and so solicited their publication. I believe nation stands before the country in the North profes- he went through the city of New York, among all the over the West, where I have travelled, I have been matter by whom made. They have not separated tamination in its guilt. Last year, the General Conference of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church was held in Indianapolis. They began their sessions on the first day of May, and they rose from their deliberations on the first day of June. A good deal of their time was spent on the subject of slavery. Propositions were introduced for discussion, and were discussed. Men suppose that it was really an attempt at anti-slavery, but it was no such thing; it was an attempt to silence agitation, an attempt to preserve the position, not to increase the purity, of the Church. But what I was going to say was this: in one month from the time when that session had closed in Indian apolis, it was proclaimed in New Hampshire, in certain towns where I went, that there was a final triumph at the General Conference, and slavery had now no longer an existence in the Methodist Church North. little potato starch. (Laughter.) I was talking with And not three months ago, in your own State of New him about Henry Ward Beecher, and he drew him-York, not a hundred miles from where we now are, self up, elongated his face, and said, 'Yes, but we are that General Conference, at which he was a delegate, I, Who are we?' 'O, we ministers,' said he; 'we Baltimore Conference. Now, I stand here to affirm that do not suppose Mr. Beecher will ever feel materially intelligent audience, is either an insane man, and there- yet I think it is a very significant fact. These two fore a fit subject for the asylum of lunatics, or else he has fairly outrun the great father of falsehood, and should think would drive him to despair by outdoing him. (Laughter.) Only one slaveholder in the and that the sect is likely to suffer by their aberra whole Baltimore Conference! And yet, since that slavery up for discussion, and they have passed these

Resolved, by the Baltimore Conference, in Conference assembled. That we highly deprecate the agitation of the slavery question, which has already resulted to the detriment of the political and religious

sulted to the detriment of the political and religious interests of this country.

Resolved, That, as heretofore, we will oppose with zeal any aggressions schich shall be attempted by the abolition agitation of the country.

And how do you suppose these resolutions passed Do you think there was a tie, and that they were only passed by the casting vote of the President, and he that one slaveholder to whom reference was made? Those resolutions were passed by yeas and nays,-220 and how many slaves there were and what was their in the affirmative, and only 14 in the negative. And now we are called upon to regard the Northern Gen- out all after the word 'inquire,' and insert, 'how eral Conference as an anti-slavery association, an anti-slavery body, with facts like that before our eyes!

And at the last General Conference, one year ago, in Indianapolis, the Bishops issued their address in form, and in that address they declare that they have byterians get rich by the manufacture of slave-whipe among their congregations, in slaveholding territory, more than 150,000 colored people, and more than 8000 order that you may understand the character of the of those colored people members of their churches. They do not say what proportion of the 8000 are of those, I think, who have the misfortune, when they slaves, but they do say that a portion of them are

slaves. And yet, with facts like these before us, we are continually told that the Methodist General Conference recently written a book, in which he first beseeches one North is an anti-slavery body. Why, at that same divinity and then the other, until, I believe, both sides General Conference, a proposition was introduced, by some one more anti-slavery than the rest, that they the South as pro-slavery. I think his book, with a very should change the Discipline in the answer that is made to the question, 'What shall be done for the American meridian. (Laughter.) Dr. Ross has writextirpation of the evil of slavery?' so as to make it ten Mr. Barnes some letters in regard to this book, in read, 'We believe that all men, by nature, have an which the Dr. declares, that in the discussions in the equal right to freedom, and that no man has a moral General Assembly, though the weight of the arguright to hold a fellow-being as property; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to membership hereafter, where emancipation can be effected without injury to the slave.' Now, that is not very extreme antislavery; it is not anti-slavery at all; it provides for tions, and then goes on to state several propositions slaveholding to any extent whatever; and yet the vote one or two of which I will read was a large one against so amending the Book of Discipline. That body is not ready to adopt that sentinent; it is not ready to adopt the sentiment contained in the Declaration of Independence; and the Methodist Conference to-day is behind, in that matter, the framers of that memorable instrument, in their not adopting into their Constitution the language of a slaveholder. Thomas Jefferson, that all men have an

equal right to be free. Now, I say it is time that these pretensions and pro essions be unmasked. I find, in looking at the last edition of the Methodist Book of Discipline, that there are five Conferences, nearly the whole of whose territory is in slaveholding States. The Bishops have told us that they have 3000 colored church members, a portion of whom are slaves. Now, I believe there are multitudes of the members of the Methodist Church who would be anti-slavery both by principle and practice, as well as by profession. Why are they not? Because they have these deceivers at their head, who blind their eyes as to the real facts of the case, and lead them blindfold into the support of an institution which, from the deeps of their souls, they hate. How do you suppose it comes to pass that it is so? I think we ourselves have not told the truth, we have not unmasked this hypocrisy, as we should have done; we have not unmasked it in the political parties as we should have done; we have not unmasked it in the Church as we should have done.

But I will not dwell any longer on the Methodist Church. I had piled this table pretty full of its own cuments, its own reports, its own resolutions, and its own declarations on the subject, so that, if any statement of mine were called in question, the evidence should be ready, as furnished by the authority of the slavery denominations of the North have been expres body itself.

I think the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, New School, is another whose members are more deceived than almost any other. And there is one remarkable fact which I have considered a great deal of late, and that is, that among the revivals religion which have taken place in that body, and its kindred organization, the Congregational Church, during the past winter-for it is a little remarkable that these showers of grace only descend during the winter. (laughter,)-among the many revivals which they ast, and converts which they number, I have neve heard from the South one single groan or one single ahriek of alarm or apprehension that their institution was being endangered by the up-building of the Churches of the North! I did not expect to hear that there would be any emancipation of slaves by these revivals, because I have too many times heard that slaveholders are fond of revivals among their slaves, inasmuch as 'religion' always increases

property has been greatly enhanced in its market val-ue, if not in its moral character, by these revivals of American religion. (Laughter and applause.) But the fact to which I was going to refer is this: that we hear in the South continual apprehensions about the orthodoxy of such ministers as Henry Ward Beecher regard to slavery has been unlike that of most of I mean, of course, those who have spoken in be- enough, but I think he hates genuine anti-slavery sing to be anti-slavery. All over New England, all publishers, to find a man who dared to append his name to those sermons as publisher. Dr. Cheever told that they have separated from the South, and sep- had made himself quite conspicuous by the delivery arated on account of slavery. Neither of these po- of those three or four discourses. He did publish sitions is true; both those declarations are false, no them; he had to go to some obscure or less popular office, and assume the publication of them him from the South-they are not free from actual con-Well, the ministers all around, as well as the New York Observer, and New York book-publishers, are a great deal disturbed at Mr. Beecher and Dr. Cheever. I believe they have thought seriously of sending Dr. Cheever to the madhouse, and I don't know but they may have to send Mr. Beechor there to take care of him. (Laughter.) But what I was going to say is this: their orthodoxy is called in question, their

A little while ago, I went into a town in New Hampshire, where there was an orthodox minister. I don't think he is very widely known, so I will not name him here. I rather thought from his appearance that the pedantry and pomposity with which he seemed to abound constituted the greater part of his piety, unless, it may be, perhaps, the addition of a a Methodist minister declared that it was shown in losing our confidence in Henry Ward Beecher.' Said that there was but one single slaveholder in the whole think he is getting entirely over the track.' Well, a man who will make a declaration like that before an the loss of that man's confidence. (Laughter.) But men have made themselves conspicuous, and the he has schooled himself in the science of lying until Church, the ministry, the New York Observer, and even the New York Evangelist, think they are a little wide of the mark, that they are a little latitudinarian tions. But here is a fact which has not yet at al time, that same Conference has had the subject of attracted the notice of the N. Y. Observer or Congre gational ministry, or any of the great conservative of the ecclesiastical faith : on the other side of the question of slavery, men take pretty broad ground and yet not by any means alarm their brethren in the clerical profession, or in the editorial chairs of th religious press.

fidelity to the denomination is called in question, their

loyalty to the sect is called in question.

I have here one of the letters of the Rev. Dr. Ros of Tennessee, well known as a prominent member of the New School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the same who, when that body met year before last in Buffalo, and somebody got a resolutio before the Assembly proposing to inquire how man slaveholders there were, in the Presbyterian Church condition, moved an amendment proposing to strike many Northern Abolitionists have wives who attend Woman's Rights Conventions, and wear Bloomer dres ses, how many wives of Presbyterians of the North have henpecked husbands (laughter), how many Presfor the use of the Simon Legrees.' I mention this i gentleman I am going to introduce to you. He is one

speak, to be understood. The Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, another member of the New School Presbyterian Church, ha claim him : the North claim him as anti-slavery, and little alteration, will answer, like almanaes, for any ments and most of the feeling may have been on the side of the North, the power and practice of the General Assembly are entirely on the side of slavery. In one of these letters, he asks Mr. Barnes several ques-

· God has thus given to the Southern planter an ab solute monopoly—a monopoly so great that he, the Southern planter, sits now upon his throne of cotton, solute monopoly—a monopoly so great that he, the Southern planter, sits now upon his throne of cotton, and wields the commercial sceptre of the world. Yes, it is the Southern planter who says, to-day, to haughty England, Go to war, if you dare! Yes, he who sits on the throne of the cotton-bag has triumphed at last over him who sits on the throne of the wool-sack. ngland is prostrate at his feet, as well as the Aboli-

! ngland is prostrate at his feet, as well as the Abolitionists.

'God has permitted the anti-slavery men of the North, in England, in France, and everywhere, so to blind themselves in hypocrisy as to give to the Southern slaveholder his last perfect triumph over them. For God tells the planter to say to the North, to England, to France, to all who buy cotton: "Yo men of Boston, New York, London, Paris—ye hypocrites—ye brand me as a pirate, a kidnapper, a murderer, a demon, fit only for hell—and yet, ye buy my bloodstained cotton. O! ye hypocrites. Ye Boston hypocrites—why don't you throw the cotton into the sea, as your fathers did the tea? Ye Boston hypocrites—ye say if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the slave trade! Ye hypocrites—ye New England hypocrites—ye Old England hypocrites—ye French hypocrites—ye Uncle Tom's Cabin hypocrites—ye Beecher hypocrites—ye Rhode Island Consociation hypocrites. O! your holy twaddle stinks in the nostrils of God, and he commands me to lash you with hypocray and Hills storm and he was head as a state of the starter and hypocrites. Beecher hypocrites—ye kinous Island Consectation hypocrites. O! your holy twaddle stinks in the nostrils of God, and he commands me to lash you with my scorn, and His scorn, so long as ye gabble about the sin of slavery, and then bow down to me, and buy, and spin cotton—and thus work for me as truly as my slaves. O! ye fools and blind—fill ye up the measure of your folly, and blindness, and shame.' (Laughter and spulause.) ter and applause.)

Now, the piety of the New York Observer has been shocked at the aberrations of Mr. Beecher and Dr. Cheever, but have any cold chills gone over its iron frame at reading such language as that? Have you ever thought of it, that while all these so-called antising their strongest disapproval of the language of their most violent anti-slavery men, not one of them has borne any testimony against such outrageous lan-guage as that? Now, I judge men not by one phrase or resolution, or one series of resolutions, but by a long course of action, and I find this fact standing out in bold relief, that, with all the anti-slavery preter and profession of these religious bodies, it is the Beech ers and the Cheevers that cause the alarm, and not th Dr. Rosses, who come up from the South. (Applause.) Dr. McLane, of Mississippi, another prominent member of the New School General Assembly, at Buffalo, year before last, said, 'If you ask me how many members of my church hold slaves, I answer as many of them as are able to hold slaves. If you ask me how many slaves they hold. I answer, as man as they find convenient or profitable.' Now, that do not cause any appreher Northern members of or alarm on the part of th

Northern members of the body, nor has it led to any threats of sending such men to the insane asylum.

It is from such facts as these that I elicit my een. clusions that the mass of the people at the North who profess to be anti-slavery are deceived, at least in their profess to be anti-sun and that the men who represent them, either in the Republican party or in these great denominain the Republican party deceivers, liars, hypoxiles, tions, are, either knowingly deceivers, liars, hypoxiles, or else they are themselves deceived; and the rease why we have such indifference, such apathy and sed obtuseness, is owing to the fact that there are so fee men who, when they speak, have the misfortune to h understood.

I did not propose to occupy much of the time: cannot occupy much in a room so large as this; but] am very glad of an opportunity now again, after seen am very gine of me the city of New York, of once more making my voice heard within it. The last time I was in your city was at an anniversary in 1850, when we were honored with a mob, headed by the illustrion we were nonotes, backed up by the consent, at least, of Captain Lynners, one can be some change has come over the spirit of your dream in this city since then (applause), and that although Isaiah Rynders is now a Marshal of the United States, and announces himself ready to catch runaway slaves, he would much rather catch an American slaver who may be making her way out of the harbor of New York. (Applace,) I tell you, friends, that God himself authorize us to I tell you, irrelate, believe that publicans and harlots are nearer the king. dom of heaven than many of the professed freed and ministers of religion (applause), and I think there is more to hope from such men as Rynders, than from the editors of the New York Observer, and men of kindred sentiment. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF ROBERT PURVIS

MR. CHAIRMAN: In allowing my name to be pub. lished as one of the speakers for this morning, which I have consented to do, at the earnest request of the Committee, it is due to myself to say that I have not ed with great reductance. Not that I am not deply interested in this cause, nor that I have not clear convictions and strong feelings on the subject. On the contrary, my interest is too intense for expression, and my convictions and feelings are so vivid and overpow. ering that I cannot trust myself in attempting to give them utterance. Sir, I cavy those who, with coaler blood or more mental self-command, can rise before an audience like this, and deliberately choose their words and speak their thoughts in calm, messand phrase. This is a task, sir, to which I am not alequate. I must either say too much or too little. If I let my heart play freely, and speak out what I think and feel, I am extravagant, as people call it. If I'ut a curb on my feelings, and try to imitate the cool and unimpassioned manner of others, I cannot speak at al', Sir, how can any man with blood in his veins, and a heart pulsating in his bosom, and especially how can any colored man, think of the oppression of this coustry and the wrongs of his race, and then express him. self with calmness and without passion? (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, look at the facts-here, in a country with a sublimity of impudence that knows no parallel, setting itself up before the world as a free country, a land of liberty! . the land of the free, and the home of the brave, the 'freest country in all the world'! Gracious God! and here are millions of men and women groaning under a bondage the like of which the world has never seen-bought and sold, whipped, manacled, killed all the day long. Yet this is a free country! The people have the assurance to talk of their free institutions. How can I speak of such a country and use language of moderation? How can I, who, every day, feel the grinding hoof of this despotism, and who am myself identified with its victims? Sir, let others, who can, speak coolly on this subject; I cannot, and I will not. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, that I may make sure of expressing the precise sentiment which I wish to present to thi meeting, I will offer a resolution. It is one which I had the honor of presenting at a meeting lately held in the city of Philadelphia, but to which I did not speak as I could have desired, for the reasons already stated. The resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That to attempt, as some do, to protect that there is no support given to slavery in the Contution and essential structure of the American Goternment, is to argue against reason and common sers, to ignore history, and shut our eyes against palphle facts; and while it may suit white men, who do so feel the iron heel, to please themselves with such the ories, it ill becomes the man of color, whose daily perience refutes the absurdity, to indulge in any side idle fantasics."

Mr. Chairman, this resolution expr think and feel about this new-fangled doctrine of the anti-slavery character of the American Constitutes Sir, with all due respect to the Hon. Gerrit Smith, who is a noble and a good man, and one w'.om, from my scul, I honor with all due respect-I say to the roble minded, large-hearted Gerrit Smith, I must say, that the doctrine of the anti-slavery character of the Amer ican Constitution seems to me one of the most alsord and preposterous that ever was broached. It is so con trary to history and common sense, so opposite to what we and every man, and especially every colored man, feel and know to be the fact, that I have not patience to argue about it. I know it is said that the word · slave' or ' slavery' is not to be found in the document Neither are these words to be found in the Pagitive Slave Law. But will any man pretend, on this at count, that that infamous statute is an anti-slaver statute, or that it is not one of the most atrocious a damnable laws that ever disgraced the annals of depotism? (Applause.) I know, sir, there are some first phrases in the Preamble about 'establishing justice,' and securing to us and our posterity the blessing d liberty.' But what does that prove? Does it prove that the Constitution of the United States is an amislavery document? Then Mr. Buchanan's late metsage was an anti-slavery document, and Mr. Buchaan himself in a great abolitionist. Then were all the messages of your contemptible President Pierce antislavery documents, and your contemptible President Pierce was not contemptible, but a much misuadet atood and misrepresented abolitionist. If these fint phrases make the Constitution, anti-slavery, then all the Fourth of July Orations, delivered by pro-slaver doughfaces at the North, and Democratic slave-bree ers at the South, all these are anti-slavery documents. Sir, this talk about the Constitution being anti-slave ry scems to me so utterly at variance with common sense and what we know to be facts, that, as I have already intimated, I have no patience with it. I have no particular objection, Mr. Chairman, to white men who have little to feel on this subject, to anuse the selves with such theories; but I must say, that she I see them imitated by colored men, I am disgueed Sir, have we no self-respect? Are we to clank the chains which have been made for us, and praise the men who did the deed? Are we to be kicked and scouted, trampled upon, and judicially declared a have no rights which white men are bound to repel, and then turn round and glorify and magnify the last under which all this is done? Are we such last, soulless, spiritless sycophants as all this? Sir, let the ers do as they may, I will never stultify or disgrate myself by culogising a government which trample me, and all that are dear to me, in the dust (Applause.)

Sir, I treat as an absurdity, an idle fantasy, the idea of the Constitution of this American Union being anti-slavery; on the contrary, I assert that the Constitution is fitting and befitting those who made itslaveholders and their abettors—and I am free to declare, without any fears of successful contradiction that the Government of the United States, in its fer-mation and essential structure as well as in its pastice, is one of the basest, meanest, most strocious despotisms that ever saw the face of the sun. (Applane) And I rejoice, sir, that there is a prospect of the atrocious government being overthrown, and a better one built up in its place. I rejoice in the revolution which is now going on. I honor, from the bottom, my soul, I honor this glorious Society for the part, is

jeding part, it has taken in this noble work. My heart overflows with gratitude to the self-sacrificheart overside the sear-sacrifices in this cause-men and women who, from beginning till this time, in storm and whatever of on they have had, through evil report and good port, have stood by the side of the slave and unfalrintly maintained the rights of free men of color St. I cannot sufficiently express, the English language is not words strong enough to express, my admiraor of the Abolitionists of this country, and my gratmile to them for what they have done for the conselly oppressed colored people in it. And in saying i, I believe I utter the sentiments of all the true dered men in the country. I know, sir, there are elered men, some of them occupying prominent plam before the public, who lose no opportunity of traas before the public, while rose no opportunity of trathe Garrisonian Abolitionists; but, sir, these are of the United Maria Principle, men who are actuated by the pest selfishness, and in whose hearts there is not a ark of genuine love for the cause of freedom. They muse anti-slavery not for what it is in itself, or for that it is doing for the slave, but for what it does or to do for themselves personally. Sir, I should be plamed and mortified to believe that these men repsented truly the views and feelings of the people of ler in this country. They do not.

But, Mr. Chairman, I am getting away from the of the resolution; and, as I have occupied see time than I intended, I will bring my remarks s close at once, making way for one who, cough following after, is greatly preferred before us one upon whom no higher praise can be pronounced can the simple enunciation of his name-Wendell Phillips. (Applause.)

at the conclusion of Mr. Purvis's speech, the Paus any amounced that a collection would be taken up a defray the expenses of the meeting. It was the secretane of the Anti-Slavery Society, having no large halls or meeting-houses proffered to them, to be empelled to hire a hall so large and magnificent as is, stvery great cost, so that the whole expense of biding this anniversary would be, say about \$500. a committee had been appointed, at a preliminary perting last evening, who would go around and slicit contributions, and in the meantime Mrs. Lucy STINE would make a few remarks.

SPEECH OF LUCY STONE.

If any honest effort to serve the Anti-Slavery caus our deserved an apology, I certainly ought to make me for speaking here to-day. I came up to this necting simply to bless my own soul with the earnest words that I knew would be heard here, and no one bre expected less, perhaps, to be heard, than I when came in. But there is one thought that occurred me, sitting here, which it seems to me needs to be sid, and it is this: All the speeches that have preceled me have been like the resolutions to which our freed Pillsbury referred; they seem to have a little bothole out of which all the women in the audience vil be likely to slip through, and fail to feel what zeds, on their part, to be done.

One of the speakers talks of the Methodist Church nd its General Conference, the Presbyterian Geneni Assembly, and the political parties; and the women listen and say, 'The General Conference are all nm; the General Assembly of the Presbyterian (hurch are men ; the political parties are men; what here we to do with their action? The Constitution if the United States was made by men, and, unfortestely, the Constitution does not allow us to express our action politically.' And so, as the women at and listen to all this talk, they are too apt to think that, although it is all very necessary to be said,

t is not directed to them. I know what it is, as a woman sitting in the audi mes to listen. I know that, from the general customs of society, the field in which women act is not the feld in which men act. There are few men who ome to the platform to speak; fewer still of women; ad from the various modes of popular action, approtrated by common consent and custom to men, womare mostly excluded. Still, women have a place mis position through which they may exert even a better and more powerful influence in their way than am. The influences that act upon men do not act mon us. We are not made timid in our action through fer that our commercial interests or our business ree out of the influence of the motives which too then control men's action. Now, I want to say to the women, that we are really in the midst of a revolution, and, though the women are not in the onen feld where the bullets are flying, yet, after all, there is a power behind which is just as necessary in the reat moral battle. We are like the main-spring of the watch, which, though concealed from view, moves the whole machinery. Do not understand me as saying we ought to be concealed, but that the motive power is in the hands of those who are the especial guardians of the race at that early period when the characters of men are moulded. It is not possible for the child that comes tottling to your side, that sits listening upon your knee and hears your words of instruction, not to be influenced in its future action by your teaching. Now, when there is a Personal Liberty Bill before the country, tell it in your house held, and explain to your little child the reason of it; and forget not, at the same time, to tell them that, to the shame of the community, woman can have nothing to do with making that Personal Liberty Bill, but is utterly shut out from all political action by the theory of the government. And when the Dred Scott ecision springs upon us, and half the nation stands that, tell your household what will be the result, and the smallest child can comprehend you. And when men are shot down in Kansas, tell your chilten why it is, and what is the cause lying beneath the surface that makes it so, and, from the smallest to the largest in your household, the influence of your words will be felt. Why is it that children will sactile their candy and devote their pennies to the rading of tracts to heathen children five thousand ale away? It is because their mothers take them too their knee, and tell them, in a way that only dothers can tell, of the needs of the little children in bathen lands. Just as those mothers make the mismary treasury to grow fuller, just so can we make the treasury to grow fuller for the worse than heathen at home. Remember, that while your foot is on the craile, it is on a source of power stronger than ha who casts the ballot; and, standing in that place st responsibility, let no hour pass without deepening is the minds of your little ones the impression of hatrd of a system out of which come such scenes as those in Kansas; out of which comes the prostration of the honored head of Charles Sumner, out of which tome the Fugitive Slave Law and the Dred Scott -a system which makes politicians of every school toadies, and the descendants of the fathers of 16 unworthy of the manhood that ought to belong to hem in the midst of the revolution that is now upon

The President then introduced WENDELL PHILLIPS. SPEECH OF MR. PHILLIPS.

B. (Applause.)

[We greatly regret the necessity which our limited Pace lays on us of abridging in the least Mr. Phil-

I will not detain the audience by any extended reark. Indeed, after all that has been said, I am try glad to feel that there is no necessity to do so. ugh my friend, Mr. Higginson, thought that and and fully and entirely represent the essential character of this Society, I am willing, for one, to eare at least nine-tenths of the principles which underis his feet as representative of our movement. I do bet care, as he did not, what any man before me Baintains as to the character of the American Connitution; it has long ceased to be a question of the

slightest moment. Governments are not made; they Garner, driven to bay before twenty millions of Chris grow-grow like the oak from the seed and the soil, tians, and having no shelter for her cradle but by givfrom the dew and the sunshine. Our government ing back to God the child He had lent her-I asked has grown up out of the character of the people; him why he was not in Cincinnati at such an hour what that character is is evinced in the practice of He said, 'I told the sheriff, who had her under charge, our government, unbroken, unchangeable, not hete"Shut the door of that jail; lock it and bolt it double; rogeneous, but all of one color and character from be-ginning to end—a government which Gov. Boutwell, United States writ—never (applause); I will summo of Massechusetts, a Democrat, never suspected of the whole militia of Ohio, I will surround that being a sentimentalist, nor of being deluded by any with every man in the State that can bear arms, ove fondness for liberty, within a month described to fore it shall be opened at the bidding of the United me as, in his opinion, a conspiracy against justice; States." (Loud applause.) O, if he had known, if and, said he, I don't use the term as poetical, as picturesque, as an exaggerated statement; I use it in lit- made him, at such a moment to write his name higheral, sober truth. At Washington, the Federal Gov- er than any American ever wrote it-if he could have ernment is a conspiracy—and a conspiracy against been the instrument of precipitating the Buckeye justice. Against that conspiracy, he went on to say, State in an avalanche of thunderbolts against this the object of every honest man must be to marshal conspiracy at Washington! But he forgot. He the public opinion of the North. Within twenty went up to Columbus, and the hour came—he was years, it will be settled on which side the victory not there! That is the hour I want to have come; tism, or whether liberty rules in these thirty-one your hearts, every one of you. States.' Now, if that is the conclusion to which a Democrat, high in office, never suspected of anti-sla- nothing, except as we can make them garrisons for very leanings, comes-if that is the character which the anti-slavery idea against the Federal Government he gives the government-it certainly will surprise no That is the Saxon method of fighting-not with bulone that an Abolitionist, with his eye constantly fixed lets. The French race has bowed to the sword, and upon the essential tendency of the government, shall the Italian; and so of every race in Europe; we never be willing to ignore a parchiment, and judge only by have. The Dred Scott decision is more dreadful to the fruits. I judge both Church and State by the me than all the Sharp's rifles that can be made. I ruits.

In the brief moment that is left me, let me use this

propose the Disunion question, it is usually to advance to the level of being glad of being called traitors. the hour when Plymouth Rock cropped out a second left. when the perfect man does without laws. I believe that if the dissolution of the Union were the dissolution of the Government, it would not be frightful. Why? Because the blood and bones of the genuine Yankee are constitutionally orderly, and he does not need a government. (Laughter.) Put a Yankee baby of six months old on his feet, and he will begin to say 'Mr. Chairman,' and call the next cradle to order. (Great applause.) It is in the blood. A genuine Yankee on the prairies carries a school-house, meeting-house, a town-house and a ballot-box all in him, and they crop out the moment they are needed.

governments,-six thousand of them in the sixteen States, -with selectmen, constables, &c. Over them you have got County governments, Probate Courts, Common Pleas Courts, shieves caught, dead men's estates settled, marriages solemnized and dissolved. Over that you have State governments, with the ines-Union, in the recognition of the fact that in these the release of the bondman from his chains. No, indeed. She plays her game more adroitly; she to abide by it. hides herself behind judicial ermine; she attacks the

hands tied by her love of law, the South free by her sire to perpetuate it? It had robbed three million disregard of all courts. How is such a battle to be of men of their rights; it had reduced millions battle (applause); it is in the purpose with which press. There was a higher law than the Constitution men fight. The South has her catalogue of institu- of the United States; but a man who had sworn to tions; it begins with slavery; the second item is sla- support that instrument could recognize no higher very, and the third is slavery; turn over the leaf, and law, and with him there was but this alternative, ei it is slavery all through. As the Latin proverb says, ther to obey the Constitution and disregard his con will. The North does not know what she wants. stitution. Slavery held dominion over the whole do North and the South for sixty years.

do not care if he is insane enough to believe in the feet were entangled in the net of the Constitutio what will. If he will make up his mind to that, and regard to slavery in the Church, the commands the hand, and raise him into freedom; I do not know taker of her uncleanness! He would not bring fort, but if it does, let it '-- if he will say that, it is all tion of the world was committed to them, and he I ask of him. Goethe says, if you plant an oak in a would admit that in the church were many great and

I asked Gov. Chase once, relative to that most ish Church when they persecuted and crucified th touching of all scenes, that most romantic of all hours, Savior, and the Romish Church when it for that most heroic of all moments, that most Christian Christianity. They would fall-and God would no of all acts the heroic love of that mother, Margaret care.

I want to exorcise that timidity.

ests-whether the government passes into a despo- that is the public opinion that I want to prepare is

Your State Governments, they are worth little or must raise you to the level of disobeying what the country says is law. I must make you willing to go idea, namely, that we are not obliged to fall back on behind a parchment and say what is justice. I must unorganized ideas for something better. When men raise New York, Massachusetts, Ohio and Wisconsin

t simply as an individual protest against the colossal I know how ejoquent Dr. Cheever is. There is only Federal Government. We are not driven to that one word that he has not spoken; there is only one, issue; we have the sovereignty of the States in which and that anti-slavery Americans dare not speak; milwe may take refuge. Do not suppose that when the lions of them know it, but dare not utter it. It is Federal Government is gone, we are left in anarchy. like that magnificent fable of Vathek, where the Do not suppose that when the government at Wash- spirits were seen in the giant Hall of Eblis, and every ington has vanished like a monster dream, we are left man held his hand on the spot in his own heart, and without government. If we were, I should not de- no man dared to show it to his fellow. So it is with spond. I can face even that problem without fright, the Republican party; every one holds his hand over for I believe in the capacity of the Yankee race to that hidden consciousness that this is a revolution, do without government. It is the proudest moment and yet he dare not speak it to his fellow. (Applause.) in the history of Massachusetts-prouder than Bun- So we must avow it, that it is a revolution; we must ker Hill, prouder than the Med case, prouder than avow it, that there is no constitutional allegiance

time in the birth of our pionee: with the doctrine of The struggle is half begun, and we want to teach Immediate Emancipation (applause)-when, without you, in these two days that we are going to weary a kingly government, without any government, Mas-your patience, the method, the channel into which we sachusetts, for five months, lived orderly and legally think our efforts should be directed. Don't you fear, by the simple vigor of the character of her people. don't you dread that the South will ever go off and She got to that sublime reach of popular education leave you. There is no such good time as that coming. (Laughter.) As Mrs. Lydia Maria Child says, Who ever heard of the town's poor leaving the town? (Laughter.) You will never hear of the South leaving the Union. . . .

Here closed the proceedings of the morning session and the meeting adjourned till 74 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The meeting again assembled at 74 o'clock, P. M. The room was more crowded than during the morning ession. Mr. GARRISON took the chair and called the seembly to order. He then introduced Rev. J. R. W. SLOANE, Pastor of the Third Reformed Presbyte-But you are not left to that alternative. Dissolve rian [Covenanter] Church of the city of New York. he Federal Government, and you have got the town Mr. Sloane said he gladly accepted the invitation to

speak, which he felt had not been tendered so much is a compliment to himself as a compliment to the religious denomination to which he was attached which had ever opposed the foul sin of slavery, and the Constitution under which it existed. Other religious denominations had uttered their protests against timable blessings of taxation. (Laughter.) All this slavery, yet he believed that the old Covenanters alone remains to you after the Federal Government is stood forth as refusing to accept into Christian fellowgone. All the wheels of society are perfect; there ship slaveholders, and refusing to vote or hold office is no anarchy; there is no loosening of the bands of under a Constitution which tolerates slavery. The the social system. There is no fear on that side, old Scotch Covenanters had ever held to that doctherefore. On the other side, in the dissolution of the trine, believing that in it was the only hope for State and town organizations rests the real power of refused to accept the Constitution of the United the Anti-Slavery idea, you have this historical idea: States, not because they were opposed to government The Saxon blood does not decide questions by the for they believed that Government was a divine ordibullet; Sharpe's rifles are not a Saxon tool. Thank nance; not because they were not Republicans, be-God, the blood we boast never yet bowed to the cause they were Republicans to a man; but because sword. We have been ruled, ever since we emerged they could not swear to support a Constitution which from the German forests, by thought—thought in the permitted millions of their fellow-men to be robbed form of law. There is more terror in the writ of a of their just and inalienable rights. The progress of constable to the State of Massachusetts, than there is their ideas was extremely slow, but they were cheere in the whole State of South Carolina, with a Sharpe's by the fact that now many accepted the principle and rifle in every hand. I would thank God from the 1st stood on the platform which, but a few years since day of January to the 31st day of December, if He few dared avow. The Anti-Slavery Society had flung would allow the Slave Power to be so forgetful as to their banner to the breeze, on which was inscribed unprovoke New England to the sword and musket. compromising hostility to slavery, and untiring efforts (Applause.) When Lexington and Bunker Hill speak to extinguish that foul blot from American soil. 'No a second time, they will be heard. (Applause.) But, Union with Slaveholders' was their motto. Their bless you, Mr. President, the South never plays her forefathers had asserted the principle when they plant cards so clumsily as that. Do you suppose, with the ed their feet on this soil-No union with tyrants, po whole pack in her right hand, she means to be such a litically or ecclesiastically. That principle he had fool as to put any thing like that chance in our way? learned in his youth, and living or dying, he hoped

He would not stop to prove that slavery was a sir Saxon blood through the bench and through the It was felt to be so by the universal moral sense of law-abiding elements; she says- Have I not got a the world, and by the whole voice of the Church, ex Constitution? Is not this the opinion of the Supreme cept in the interpretations of pro-slavery churches and Court? Is not this law? Bow!' And the North, pro-slavery divines. As for attempting to prove sla that has learned from Daniel Webster, and from all very a sin, he would not insult the sense of his au the other leaders, that the Supreme Court is the final ditors, he would not insult the sense of the nation, b interpreter of the Constitution, bows her head, and doing so. Argument was wasted in the attempt. All says 'Amen!' When the Supreme Court speaks to that was to be done with it was to cast it, with a mill-South Carolina, she replies, 'I am no slave to the Su- stone about its neck, into the sea. Their object wa preme Bench; you are no final interpreter to me; if I to uproot this slavery. Our forefathers sowed the like your decision, well; if I do not like it, I shan't dragons' teeth, and we were reaping the armed men They sowed the wind, and we were reaping the whirl-Now, you see the deficiency; the North with her wind. What was there in slavery that we should de fought? The first element of victory is not in cannon, men to a condition little better than the slaves; it had nor muskets; it is in the hearts of the men that go to corrupted the Christian Church and had suborned the She knows what she wants, and she wants it with a science, or obey his conscience and forsake the Con-Her catalogue is tariff, bank, internal improvements, main of this country-ruled the North as well as and God bless you, air, let me make money '(laugh- the South. To talk of staying the encroachments of ter); and the consequence is that, like two neighbors slavery was worse than madness. While politicians uarrelling, one knows a secret which the other would had been talking, tyrants had been working. The ot have told for the world, and that one is master of whole North had been turned into a hunting-groun the other, for in every stringent point of time, he has and Southern bloodhounds had been baying on ou but to hold up his finger and say, 'I'll tell,' and the soil, and this iniquity had culminated in the late inother quails. That is exactly the position of the famous decision of the Supreme Court. Nothing was forth and the South for sixty years.

Now, I do not care what idea a man forms of the of the enemy's camp, to the throne of the grim, Constitution; I do not care what his hopes are of ghastly tyrant. But let there be no trust in politi Kansas; I do not care what his ideas are of Cuba; I cians. There was nothing to hope from them. Their manhood of James Buchanan (laughter); I do not The best of them might confront the monster, bu care what his creed is, if I can only fill his mind with none dared strike him on the face. There was as little the purpose that, over all these obstacles or through hope in the Church, for the devil in the State was not them, he will aid me in abolishing slavery, come likely to be an angel of light in the Church. With avow it, the battle is half fought. If the Republican of God was written in letters of light on the brow of will say, 'My object is to take that Carolina slave by the firmament: 'Come out of her, and be not a par whether the Constitution will go to pieces in the efflower-pot, one of two things must happen: either good men, of whom he could only regret that they did the oak will die, or the flower-pot will break. Now, not see that no half ground was to be taken in the I go for the oak. There is a set of men who are ex- matter of slavery. It would be asked, if Christian ceedingly tender of the flower-pot-the Constitution; separated from the churches, what would become them? They would follow in the track of the Jer

And what, they were often asked, would become of would break up a school at Washington, the object of the Government? Why, it would fall as an old decayed tree, when its props were taken away, and we should afterwards, under any circumstances, have a better Government, for a worse we could not have. America was regarded by Americans, and by multi-tudes in the old countries, as the hope of the world. Hope of the world, indeed! It was cruel irony. He had heard that morning, namely, that a gentleman in Pennsylvania, who pays the second highest tax in his did not believe that there was any true Republican in the whole world who turned his eyes towards this country with the idea that there was anything to hope from it. The Constitution, and all the political parties that flourished under it, were rotten at heart. They but he called it ruinous, and such men victims of had been weighed in the scales of Justice and found wanting. The dissolution of the Union was a matter that was becoming familiar to the Northern mind. The fact was, if we did not dissolve the Union, it would dissolve itself. It was a mixture of iron and miry clay. The handwriting was on the wall, and only those were the saviors of the nations who preached deliverance to the captive, and let the oppressed go

In that, and that alone, could the Union be preserved. It was proclaimed to them, as its safety, as with the voice of the eternal God, from a thousand cities that were once powerful and prosperous, but which had been trodden into dust by the footsteps of an avenging Deity. As a minister of Christ, he would say to our ecclesiastical organizations, in the words of the Most High: 'If ye will not hearken unto me, I will make your sanctuary a desolation—curse ye, Meroz,—curse ye the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of God-to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' Let our churches beware of the doom of the Church of Laodicea, which was neither hot nor cold; and because she was neither hot nor cold, I will,' said the Savior, 'spue thee out of my mouth.' As Christians, as those who hold in abhorrence every theory of men's origin or destiny, that is not in accordance with the word of God, let us use those weapons that are forged in his armory, and are of heavenly mould, and we shall yet see the day when Slavery shall fall, and ' Liberty be proclaimed throughout this glorious land, to all the inhabitants thereof." The reverend gentleman resumed his seat amidst

loud applause. Mr. GARRISON then introduced Rev. Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, of Philadelphia.

Dr. YURNESS began by saying that he used to think me of the simplest things in the world was the golden rule-the simple dictate of justice. But even the parable of the good Samaritan is yet a mystery to this nation, for its people are yet in ignorance of its meaning. And this is the ignorance not of the ignorant, but of the wise. Some of the best of men, and some of the strongest champions of freedom (in the extent to which they went) have betrayed an ignorance of the true philosophy of the Anti-Slavery movement, when an occasion came to apply it, impartiaally. We had heard much of Father Mathew and Kossuth as the advocates of human freedom abroad but when they came upon our soil, we found that they ignored the question entirely. Kossuth was willing to do anything for Hungary, but not even to raise his voice for humanity; and when that question was resented to them, both suffered a moral collapse, like balloon rent asunder by the lightnings of God How few there are who are willing to take up

with nothing less than the whole truth! But they

whose eyes are opened, and who see and serve the

truth, find it precious to them evermore.

We can never (said he) put the truth under obligation to us. We cannot do a thousandth part as much for truth as truth does for us. Even if we should shed our blood for its sake, it would be found that to die for it is gain. He said that he uttered these things from only a humble and limited experience of the truth. He had only touched the hem of its garment, yet he had felt the thrill of the touch on his very soul. He knew that the men around him on the platform were not engaged in any political or selfish movement, but only in the cause of humanity, striving for the freedom of a race enthralled. He referred briefly to the decline of the plan of gradual emancipation, which had been a stumbling-block in the way of abolition. As to doing away with slavery by gradual emancipation, he thought a suggestion to a thief to stop stealing gradually would be quite analogous He also spoke of what he called the prevailing pharisecism of the present day on the subject of slavery. The reverence existing in our day for the Constitution and the Union is like that of the ancient Jews for the Temple. The Pharisees watched Jesus to see whether he would do a work of mercy on the Sabbath day. In forty thousand churches of this land it is thought sacrilege to whisper on the Sabbath day a word against the system of American bondage. How does our modern Pharisecism compare with the ancient? There are four millions of men held in oppression, and the abolitionists are crying out, 'Let the oppressed go ited by it from the secular and religious press. free! But the Church and the State are both crying out, 'He shall not go free!' It is in vain to say that the slaves, if they were set free, would abuse their freedom. How are we using our liberty, he asked that we should dare to sit in authority over other men, and say that they are abusing theirs? How are we abusing the sacred gift of freedom, when we say that one man has no rights which another is bound to respect! Abolitionists do not rely upon political power. We want, said he, every slave to be free by the voluntary act of the slaveholder himself, and to this end all that we ask is a fair field for the utterance

of the truth, and the whole truth. CHARLES LENOX REMOND was the next speaker. the 'Spy' a card of Mr. Molineaux, our excellen He spoke in terms of severe reprobation of the recent gymnastic 'Professor,' hinting at some disparity ex The Chief Justice, he said, had announced that the black man had no rights which the white man is I wish to say that tenements are often difficult to find bound to respect. He (the speaker) stood there as a for white families, in the central situation which he colored man to say that between himself and Judge desired, and that some tenements, less conveniently Taney, with his whole train of sympathizers and sup- located, were offered to him on favorable terms. There porters, there is 'no love lost.' (Laughter.) It is a existed also some prejudice against him (not wholl) novel idea that a man, be he judge or juryman, in the just,) as not being punctual in paying rent. Thes United States, in this nineteenth century, within a few miles of Bunker Hill, and Concord, and Lexing- in making his complaint. ton, can make a declaration that a man, simply on the ground of complexion, has no rights which other servatives in this city, who hold real estate and would men are bound to respect! Such a man is not to be debar men of color from its use. And there are mer ompared with a barbarian of the Barbary States, or professedly anti-slavery of whom this is true. But I with the most ignorant African in the jungles of Afri-ca. He declared further, in the language of a white ness, is dying out every day, and more rapidly in man, that 'living or dying, sinking or swimming, Worcester than in most places. surviving or perishing,' he trampled the decision and the declaration of Judge Taney under his feet. (Applause.) He did not do this in view of his birth and education in New England. He did not do it in the to 69, adopted the Address to the Governor as it pass name of the orthodoxy of the United States. He ed the Senate, asking for the removal of Edward did not do it in the name of the Constitution, for he Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate spurned it-nor in the name of the American Union, for the County of Suffolk. The Yeas and Nays wer for he hated it-nor in the name of the American Government, because it is spurious; but he did it in the name of a common humanity, and of a common manhood, which allowed to him every right which it allows to Judge Taney himself. (Applause.) He could not discuss the question in the light of a denial to him of his right by such a man; nor would he appeal merely to the sympathies of the audience for his vindication; he would demand for himself his tion; he would demand for himself his every right as a man and a citizen. The speaker regretted that his grandfather, a col

ored man, had fought at Lexington and Concord when, eighty years after, the descendants of white patriots of the Revolution ignored the rights of small minority of the people of this country. But the meanness of the white people is only exceeded by their cowardice. In Washington, a colored man is not alsmall minority of the people of this country. But the meanness of the white people is only exceeded by their cowardice. In Washington, a colored man is not allowed to touch the reins that guide the horses that carry the mails, but he had lately learned that Newfoundland dogs are being trained there to assist in conveying the mails! So that the American Government gives to a dog a privilege which it denies to a man! And while it would educate these dogs, it

which was to educate colored children. (Applause.)

WENDELL PRILLIPS was then introduced by the town, cannot receive from it the benefit of the edu cation of his children,

He spoke of the superstitious regard which som

men have for the Union. They called it beneficial, protects only the majority.

Mr. Phillips's speech was an hour long, and was marked, says the N. Y. Times, with all the humor, pathos and fire characteristic of the man. He concluded with an appeal for the dissolution of the Union, on the ground that it is an irreligious compact, holding men in bondage, and sat down amid vociferous ap-

[We shall publish a report of the second day's pro edings (Wednesday) in our next.]

The Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, MAY 22, 1857.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CON-VENTION. The Annual New England Anti-Slavery Con-VENTION will be held in Boston on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 27 and 28, at the MELODEON, com-

encing on Wednesday, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

In a time like the present-with all the safeguards of liberty overthrown, and the rule of a slaveholding oligarchy absolute over the country-with the highest notives and the strongest inducements for persons self-sacrifice and individual action—the true friends of freedom can need no importunity to secure, on their part, a thronged attendance at this anniversary, which has uniformly been distinguished for the interest and spirit of its proceedings, and which, in view of the startling events that have transpired since its last cele-

bration, cannot fail to be marked by an increasing

earnestness and devotion. Among the speakers at this Convention may be expected WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PRILLIPS, THEODORE PARKER, (should his health be sufficiently restored.) EDMUND QUINCY, PARKER PILLSBURY, T. W. HIGGINSON, CHARLES L. REMOND, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ARBY KELLEY FOS-TER, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, ANDREW T. FOSS, AARON M. Powell, and many others.

In behalf of the Board of Managers of the Masachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,
FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec.

PARTICULAR NOTICE.

Much time has heretofore been lost at the Anti-Slavery meetings annually assembling in Boston by the tardiness of many of the most thorough friends of the cause, who come to the opening of the meeting so far behind the time appointed, that but little time remains before the dinner hour. At the meeting of the New England Convention (above notified) it is designed to bring forward the important topics claiming our attention, at the opening of the first session, at which it is expected T. W. HIGGINSON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will be the speakers We hope thus to make that session not less absorbing in its interest than any of the following meetings and, if possible, to give an energy and impetus to the discussions which shall attract the first audience to continue through every session of the two days. Let the Melodeon be filled at ten o'clock, and let our friends from out of town arrange to stay until the close of the Convention .- c. K. W.

ANNUAL MEETING IN NEW YORK.

We copy in full the report in the Standard of the opening transactions of the American Anti-Slavery Society. We hoped to have received, in season for insertion in this paper, a full report of more of its pro-ceedings, but have been disappointed. Other speeches will appear hereafter; but even the brief abstract which we now insert (condensed from reports in the New York papers) crowds out many matters of almos equal interest which press upon our attention, includ ing the Annual Meeting of the Tract Society, the Report of the Committee of Investigation into its doings the reception of that Report, and the comments elic

The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slaver Society is described by those who attended it as glorious one. Held in the most spacious and eligible hall in New York, and crowded through all its sessions, the vast audiences received with applause some of the strongest expressions of Anti-Slavery truth, and were prepared, we cannot but think, t look, more intelligently than ever before, at the great combat between the hosts of freedom and slavery.-

JUSTICE TO WORCESTER.

The last number of THE LIBERATOR quotes from on of the Supreme Court of the United States. perienced by him, as a colored man, in finding such tenement as he desires. In justice to our communit considerations he did not sufficiently take into account

Still, there is no question that there are many con-T. W. H.

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING. On Wednesday, at noon, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 210 taken which we are unable to give this week.

Connection. On the 4th page of the Liberat May 8th appeared three letters from our friend Lewis Ford, headed 'Indian Troubles at the West.' The second of those letters, written April 18th, was in the paper erroneously dated 20th, and placed last in the series, disturbing the order of the events narrated.

ERRATA. In the Report of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in last week's paper, for Whittin and West, read Whittier and West. For Edward Thompson, read Edwin Thompson

MRS. CHARLES SPEAR will give an Adbress in East Boston, on Sunday evening next, 24th nst., at the Universalist Church, at half-past 7 o'clk. Subject: Prison Scenes: and kindred Topics.

Mr. CHARLES SPEAR will also address the meeting.

PROVIDENCE, R I.-WM. WELLS BROWN will speak in Providence on Sunday next, May 24, afternoon and evening, on American Slavery, and the Duty and True Policy of the people of the North.

WANTED—In order to complete four sets of the series of Annual Reports of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for permanent preservation in four of the largest and most valuable public libraries in Massachusetts, the following numbers are wanted, for which an appeal is now made to the liberality of individual owners. Any person, having one or more of these numbers to spare, will be using them wisely, and for the benefit of the Anti-Slavery movement in this country, by giving them for the benefit of the above specified object. They may be sent to the care of Samuel May, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston:

First Annual Report, (1833.) Second, (1834.)

Fourth, (1836.) Fifth, (1837.) Sixth, (1838.) Seventh, (1839.) Theelfth, (1844.) and Thirteenth, (1846.)

A graduate from the Boston Normal School, who has had some experience in teaching simply the English branches, would like a situation either as governess in a family, or ass'stant in a school. Apply at 9 Columbia street, or to R. F. Wallcur, Esq., 21 Corn-

WANTED.—The subscriber wishes to employ one agents through the New England and Western States, to sell some new and valuable books, for which a ready sale is found. A capital of from five to ten dollars only will be required, and an agent can make from \$5 to \$15 per day; for some now engaged in the business are making twice that sum. All information can be had concerning the business by addressing B. F. G., of Worcester, Mass., and enclosing a postage stamp. postage stamp.

PLACES FOR COLORED BOYS .- Situation wanted in the country for a promising Boy, where he can learn a trade, or have the opportunity of good amily training.

A colored Boy of character and aptness wanted in

lawyer's office W. C. NELL, Please address

GIVE HIM A CHANCE .-- A colored young man of good family and character desires to learn the art of shoemaking. Any one who can afford such an opportunity will please address WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

NOTICE.—The Office of the Prisoner's Friend may be found at 93 Summer street, the residence of the editor. CHARLES SPEAR.

Representative Women.

JUST PUBLISHED, BY WM. C. NELL, 21 CORNHILLL

This magnificent group includes the portraits of LUCRETIA MOTT. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, LYDIA MARIA CHILD. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. LUCY STONE ANTOINETTE BROWN,

and is executed in that elaborate style and finish which has won so signal a fame for the artist, Leopold Gro-

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Copies will be sent to any part of the United States, y mail, free of postage, and in a safe manner, at the bove price.

above price.

An arrangement has been made with the publisher of the 'Heralds' and 'Champions,' by which a copy of each can accompany the Representative Women at the reduced price of \$3 for one set.

All of the above can be obtained of WM. C. NELL. 21 Cornhill, or of C. H. BRAINERD, 122

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NEW MALVERN

WATER-CURE.

WESTBORO', MASS.

Distant from the Railroad station nearly one and a half miles, is beautifully located on elevated ground, amid the highly cultivated lands of an agricultural district. The house is large and the rooms numerous, and it has an excellent hall for gymnastics and recreation. The water, which, for purity and softness, rarely equalled, is conveyed to the building by wo duits, and thus escapes metalic oxydation

conduits, and thus escapes metalic oxydation. The bath rooms and appurtenances are ample and commodious, and in the regulation of temperature as well, as general arrangements, the establishment offers superior facilities for winner or summer treatment.

Its hygienic and 'out of door' influences are superior. The hard, dry roads, with convenient grades, the 'wild wood' groves, a romantic lake, (Great Chauncy,) upon the Northern shore of which, high perched, are the symmetrical and magnificent buildings of the Reform School; the exquisite landscape seenery from Raymond Hill, with the dry and exhilarating atmosphere, all combine to rouse the exhausted energies of patients suffering from chronic disease. To make the Cure still more inviting, the proprietor, in addition to the 'old clms,' has transplanted into its grounds more than one hundred and fifty forest trees. in addition to the 'old clms,' has transplanted into its grounds more than one hundred and fifty forest trees, some of large growth, &c. It is the desire and intention of those interested, to make this truly a RETREAT interested, to make this truly a RETREAT

tion of those interested, to make this truly a RETREAT FOR INVALUE, where every proper influence shall be made to do its appropriate work of restoration.

Persons desiring additional information, will please address the resident physician, Dr. J. H. HERO, or the consulting physician, DR. GEORGE HOYT, of Boston, 77 Bedford street, who visits the institution semi-weekly, and attends to calls in the city and coun-

April 10.

ELOCUTION

Is rapidly rising in favor, and a competent teacher of this art will supply a long-felt want. Miss H. G. GUNDERSON, 16 Bradford street, offers her services in this department to Colleges, Academies, Schools, professional gentlemen, ladies, and all who wish toacquire a correct style of reading and speaking. Miss G. has permission to refer to the following

G. F. THAYER, Esq., late Principal of the Chaunce Amos Baker, Esq., Principal of Chapman Hall School.

Rev. J. W. OLESTRAD, Editor of the Watchman

nd Reflector.

Rev. C. F. Barnard, Warren St. Chapel.

Prof. H. B. Hackett, Newton Theological Seminary.

Prof. ALVAH HOVEY, " "

Rev. O. S. Stearns, Newton Centre.

Rev. J. Newton Bnown, D. D., Philadelphia.

Rev. I. F. Becuer, D. D., Principal of Saratoga emale Seminary. Boston, May 1, 1857.

ly.

BOARDING-HOUSE.

Boston, May 8.

ROBERT R. CROSBY, formerly of the Gro 6 Alden street, a few doors from Court street, wh he can accommodate a few transient and perman

J. B. YERRINTON & SON,

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To In the Comment of the Comm

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The 1 st 10 on m littee w sy for Semu a.; Pf Albinson, R. J. At the street ohnson on m six sy for the first the firs

It has sion, (I have sion), (I have sion), (I have sion), and the sion, and the sion, and the sion, as finance was the problem as colved on rolly and the sion of the sion of

SUNRISE COMES TO-MORROW. True it is that clouds and mist Blot the clear, blue weather; True that lips that once have kiss'd Come no more together.

True that when we would do good Evil often follows; True that green leaves quit the wood, Summers lose their swallows.

True that we must live alone. Dwell with pale dejections; True that we must often moan Over crush'd affections.

True that man his queen awaits : True that, sad and lonely, Woman through her prison grates Sees her tyrant only.

True, the rich despise the poor, And the poor desire Food still from the rich man's door, Fuel from his fire. True that, in this age of ours,

There are none to guide us: Gone the grand primeval powers! Selfish sims divide us. Drue the plaint, but, if more true,

I would not deplore it: If an Eden fade from view, Time may vet restore it. Evil comes and evil goes, But it moves me never;

For the Good, the Good, it grows, Buds and blossoms ever. Winter still succeeds to Spring, But fresh Springs are coming : Other birds are on the wing.

Other bees are humming. I have loved with right good will, Mourned my hopes departed, Dreamed my golden dream, and still Am not broken-hearted.

Problems are there hard to solve, And the weak may try them, May review them, and revolve, While the strong pass by them.

Sages prove that God is not, But I still adore him, See the shadow in each spot That he casts before him.

What if cherish'd creeds must fade, Faith will never leave us; God preserves what God has made, Nor can Truth deceive us.

Let in light, the holy light! Brothers, fear it never ! Darkness smiles, and wrong grows right: Let in light for ever. Let in light !- when this shall be

Safe and pleasant duty, Men in common things shall see Goodness, truth and beauty; And, as noble Plato sings,-

Hear it, lords and ladies,-We shall love and praise the things That are down in Hades. Glad am I, and glad will be. For my heart rejoices

When sweet looks and lips I see, When I hear sweet voices. I will hope, and work, and love. Singing to the hours, While the stars are bright above,

Apple-blossoms on the trees. Gold-cups in the meadows, Branches waving in the breeze, On the grass their shadows;

And, below, the flowers.

Blackbirds whistling in the wood, Cuckoos shouting o'er us, Clouds, with white or crimson hood,

Who, in such a world as this, Could not heal his sorrow Welcome this sweet sunset bliss; Sunrise comes to-morrow!

SONG OF THE TOBACCO WORM. With ear-locks soapy and long;

With whiskers frizzled and red; A loafer sat with a quid in his mouth A-spitting, and muttering said-Work, work, work, These hands shall never pursue,

While I can obtain a long nine to smoke, Or a plug of tobacco to chew.' And he spits, spits, spits, When morn is breaking bright;

Spits, spits, spits, When sol has climbed his height; Spits, spits, spits, With day's expiring gleam, And, supperless, falling asleep on his bench, Keeps spitting away in his dream. For, in his dream, he dreams

It is by fate decreed, That he's a great tobacco worm, To extirpate the weed-And so he works away, To make his conquest sure! A free and enlightened citizen; A snuffer, a smoker, and chewer At market, church, or mill,

In business, or at prayer-Stage-coaches, cars, or barber shops Bar-rooms, and everywhere-He spits, spits, spits, Evening, noon, and morn, And snuffs, and puffs, and blows his nose As a fisherman blows his horn.

Sweethearts and wives, look here! Is this the man for you? Whose nose is only fit to snuff, His mouth to smoke and chew Spit, spit, spit, O, 'tis a nasty trick, Enough to turn any lady fair,

Unless she be able to stomach a bear, Or a loafer enveloped in whiskers and hair, Abominably sick! Ye dames who mean to wed,

Come, listen to my lay-Your charms, from all tobacco worms, Forever turn away; But if you wear the yoke, With resignation wear it-Nor sulk, nor scold, nor get the blues:

But if he smokes, and snuffs, and chews, Till pig-tail quids are over his shoes, Dear madam, grin and bear it.

Now the bright morning star, day's harbinger, Comes dancing from the east, and leads with her The flowery May, who from her green lap throws The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose Hail, bounteous May, that doth inspire Mirth and youth and warm desire: Woods and groves are of thy blessing. Thus we salute thee with our early son And welcome thee, and wish thee long.-MILTON

ing more duty on artificial flowers than on railroad closely; he saw the bellows part and the keys have income are not educated aright; they income are not educated aright; they are going to bankrupt the country unless there is while it hung suspended at only a few inches from his eyes. The result, in short, of the session, was, stance. We are paying scores of millions annually for ladies' ornaments which are of no use. a change. More is thought of show than substance. We are paying scores of millions annually for ladies' ornaments which are of no use. We cannot afford it—it is worse than sinking the gold into the sea.' Another says: 'Only think of paying three hundred dollars for one flounce it is borrible;' and another: 'The for a dress—it is horrible; and another: 'The ladies think nothing of paying ten, fifteen and twenty dollars for a fan, and from five to ten for a pocket-handkerchief, and about the same for a brethren has invented a system of relief, in the form of a plan for advertising through the papers any article which we may be so fortunate as to purchase; thereby saving the time and money ordinarily ex-pended in the exhibition of such articles—namely, going abroad. A copy of the latter appeared in a number of the Washington Star a few months since. Now, the foregoing are only moderate specimens of the estimates of ladies' expenditures, but to every sensible woman, they present much less than an envi-able picture. Still, we do not deny the charge of extravagance. We will not attempt to say how much the average cost of dressing us is. But we do deny the charge of sole responsibility in the matter.

deny the charge of sole responsibility in the matter.

How, in the name of common sense, says one, 'do you expect to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of the gentlemen? Are we not continually groaning under the system of taxation, and begging for a release from the same?' You are, but your practice counteracts the effect of your preaching. We might refer to examples in self-indulgence, and, reckoning two or three changes of breadcloth yearly, and about the same of silk and linen Summer garments, with hats two or three, boots and shoes from three to six pairs, silk, linen and merino under-garments by the quantity, gloves, hosiery, neck-ties, a ments by the quantity, gloves, hosiery, neck-ties, gold watch and fixtures occasionally, quizzing-glas gold watch and fixtures occasionally, quizzing-giasses, with wines, champagnes, cigars, colognes, carriage-riding, theatre-going, billards, sight-seeing, &c., make out quite a respectable offset to our system of money-dropping. But aside from all this, we think we can find sufficient to justify the charge of equal responsibility.

The excuse usually given by the ladies for their habits of extravagance is, 'The customs of society require it; 'and, indeed, this is the best excuse we know of. But for this fact, comparatively few hadies would subject themselves to the wear and tear of body and mind necessary to keep up the practice, even admitting the requisite funds to be more generally the few of other than our own. But who can erally the fruit of other than our own. But who es

tablished custom? We answer, the gentlemen have had quite as much to do with it as the ladies. The gentlemen claim the honors of manufacturers and importers, and the ladies like to see them wear these honors manfully. The gentlemen, too, most generally, bring new styles into market, and retail them out, and what lady, we ask, would put on the air of satisfaction and admiration that our male merchants do when they wish to display an article of goods to the best advantage? Why, in this particular than the convergion. ular, our female merchants bear no comparison.

Again, the gentlemen are great admirers of costly displays, as may be seen by their selection of goods. For instance, take a company of handsomely-dressed

of them will choose the most expensive material. You who do not believe it, just try the experiment. Again, a father or husband of wealth, wishing to make a present of a handsome cloak or shawl to his household goddess, will be much more likely to select a \$50 or \$100 one than one less. And the successful suitor, anxious to give a striking testimony of his love, will think a fan that costs less than \$10, or a ring less than \$20, is altogether too trifling for the occasion; thus setting the example and encour-aging the desire for a continuance, which by and by almost invariably becomes a burden, and perhaps the total ruin of the highest earthly hopes.

sex any breach of modesty; for we think it a mutual relish, one universally admitted throughout the universal world, and see no cause for greater astonishment in an effort on the part of the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the advantage of us in advances, overtures and sphere of action; consequently, we often accede to terms they would despise. We grant that they sometimes con-descend in their gallantry, but not as often as do the ladies in their acceptance of attentions.

'The winding path to the rose-decked cottage, And the country lass in hempen brown, have lost their charms; for even the country laddie

almost as soon as he emerges from his pinafores, manages to escape to town, and one year's training fills his head with pretensions to the Mayor's daugh-

Gentlemen discourse very sweetly about the charms of intelligence, simplicity in personal appearance, and orderly household arrangements; and yet walk regardlessly by the humble dwelling possessing those attractions, to some imposing structure, and present a ticket for the concert to some minering belle in rouge and jewels; and then, to their own disgrace, in after years sit down in the reading-room of some hotel, and amuse themselves with vulgar jests on the so-called system of Female Vanity and Extravagance, which is draining their pockets and laying their influence in the dust. 'Oh! what a jewel is consistency!' True there are many honorable exceptions to this rule, and to such these reflections are not intended to apply.

Wethink the story of the frugal Mrs. Reed, of Gentlemen discourse very sweetly about the

We think the story of the frugal Mrs. Reed, of Boston, finds its parallel often in all our cities, and the age that will produce a majority like Mr. Reed will be hailed by the ladies as one of great benefit to

MISCELLANY.

FEMALE VANITY AND EXTRAVAGANCE
To the Editor of the New York Tribune—
Six: Permit me, as a representative of my genthe ladies—to present, through the columns of your paper, a few commonplace reflections on the nucley model and the subject, Pemale Vanity and Extravagance; and offer a few facts, by way of consideration whether the ladies alone, or the gentlemen equally with the ladies, are chargeable with these follies. I am aware that a question involving the responsibilities of a class that have been accustomed to regard themselves only as sufferers in this matter, will not be readily admitted, and is liable to meet with ridicule; but, absurd as it may at first sight appear, I think the position we have so long occupied, of unobtrustive listeners to the severe charges made against us, entitles us to a patient hearing on this subject. The representations almost every day given of us are but little better than advertisements of wholessale variety stores, or, to say the least, of enseless walking statues, enveloped in immense folds of silks, satins, velvets, furs, laces, fringes, &c.: rivaling the rainbow in variety of color, and the hot-house in combination of aromaties, besneared with rouge and pomatum, and only kept from falling to pieces and being scattered to the four winds, by huge bands and clasps conterted to the four winds, by huge bands and clasps of gold and hoops of whalebone. And for all this, we are indebted not to verbal criticism alone; most of the newspapers of the day abound with like caricatures. One gives, as the result of careful invastigation, the astounding fact that the annual cost of dressing our fashionable ladies averages from five hundred to two thousand dollars each; and a large merchant and importer says: 'We are paying more duty on artificial flowers than on railroad iron. The women are not educated aright; they is my more duty on artificial flowers than on railroad iron. The women are not educated aright; they is my more duty on artificial flowers than on railroad iron.

performed were not done by the mediums, and that any therory of solution which ascribes them to jugglery is simply ridiculous.

A feat quite as remarkable as any of the above was performed at a house in the suburbs of this city not long ago. A heavy dining-table, with two gentlemen—neither of whom is a thorough-going Spiritualist—standing upon it, was lifted six inches or so from the floor, Mr. Hume being in the room, but not touching the table. A third person, who is a sturdy unbeliever, made sure that the table was really in the air, by thrusting a stick in every directions. really in the air, by thrusting a stick in every direc-tion beneath it. All three, who are gentlemen of the highest position, believe that there was no hocus-pocus about the matter, whatever may be

he secret of the seeming miracle.

The following almost incredible statement is copi ed from a late number of the New England Spirit-ualist. It seems too authentic to be seriously doubt-ed, and at least challenges denial. Wonderful events are coming to pass.

THE LAME MADE TO WALK .- A friend sends the following extract from a letter received by him, from Dr. J. B. Dods, who has been lecturing on Spiritualism, at Provincetown. The case described seems to have been somewhat remarkable; and had the writer lived eighteen hundred years ago, doubtless the religious world would have pronounced hi

'saint':
A lady, the wife of Philip Cook, who had been A hady, the wise of Finite Cook, who had an invalid six years, and doctored by the physicians in Provincetown and Boston, and to no profit, sent for me. I found her confined to her bed, unable to walk, and in so much pain, from neuralgia, as to be compelled to sleep under the influence of morphine, to get any case. She was also subject to nervous spasms. I found that she also spent eight months at Northampton, under the care of the celebrated Dr. Halsted, at his water-cure establishment, where she paid \$13 per week,—in all \$300. She was but little bettered, and could walk about the room a

she paid \$13 per week,—in all \$000. She was little bettered, and could walk about the room a little, and a few times went into her next door neighbor's house, which was not too rods distance from her own. But she, on undertaking to ride out in a carriage, again relapsed, and for thirteen weeks had been confined to her bed, unable to walk. This is the situation in which I found her.

I tried to produce upon her psychological impression, but failed in effecting the slightest result. I could not even close her eyes. I then told her candidly I could do nothing for her. As I left the room of this distressed lady, she burst into tears. This was Saturday night; on Sunday night I had a most brilliant vision of seven immortals,—her father, mother and brother, my father and mother, Joseph Atkins and Charles Parker, both formerly of Provincetown,—constituted the group. They told me incetown,—constituted the group. They told me what to do, and she should be made to walk and be for instance, take a company of handsomely-dressed ladies, and ask as many gentlemen to make their selections of dress from among them, and two thirds of them. The selection of goods. I frankly told her it seemed, in the usual order of things, almost impossible, but as my visions had not believe. healed. On Monday morning, I communicated the dence in the result.

That (Monday) evening I lectured at the Ocean

You who do not believe it, just try the experiment.

Again, a father or husband of wealth, wishing to make a present of a handsome cloak or shawl to his household goddess, will be much more likely to select a \$50 or \$100 one than one less. And the successful suitor, anxious to give a striking testimony of his love, will think a fan that costs less than \$10, or a ring less than \$20, is altogether too trifling for the occasion; thus setting the example and encouraging the desire for a continuance, which by and by almost invariably becomes a burden, and perhaps the total ruin of the highest earthly hopes.

And, lastly, the gentlemen aspire to a show of wealth and distinction in their social relations. Now, we do not think the admission of a relish for the society of the intelligent and refined of the opposite sex any breach of modesty; for we think it a mutual relish, one universally admitted throughout the universal world, and see no cause for greater astonishment in an effort on the part of the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the ladies to meet the case, and through whom they were to heal the ladies to meet the demands of the age in this than in other particulars. The gentlemen, as all know, have quite the her well up in blankets, carried her up stairs, and placed her on the stage and uncovered her. The solemnity and silence of the grave reigned! The circle was formed; I breathed a short prayer, in a solemn voice, proceeded to the ceremony, as directed by my vision, and soon the seven immortals appeared, each one of whom acted upon each one of the circle. Myself and one other person at the other end of the circle laid our hands upon the head of Betsey Cook. When the ceremony was ended, I called upon her to arise and walk; and, to the astonishment of myself and all, she did so,—walked back and forth, several times, the length of the stage; descended the steps of the stage; walked back and forth over the hall; returned to the stage; declared herself free from pain placed her on the stage and uncovered her. The solen turned to the stage; declared herself free from pain and weakness, and took her seat and remained until the lecture closed. She arose, and though it stormed,

We think the story of the frugal Mrs. Reed, of Boston, finds its parallel often in all our cities, and the age that will produce a majority like Mr. Reed will be hailed by the hadies as one of great benefit to our race.

Mrs. RUMINA A. PARKER.

From the New York Evening Post.

HUME, THE SPIRITUALIST.

We understand that Mr. Hume, the celebrated medium, made a fortune in France, and has purchased a valuable farm upon the North rives for some of his relatives. He will himself return in the course of the month to Paris, where he is to have an office about the Emperor's person. The Emperor and Empress are said to be thorough converts to the new doctrine. The experiments at the Tuileries were strictly private, Mr. Hume refusing to proceed on any other condition; though the Empress insisted on having her twenty-five maids of honor in throom, she was obliged to content herself with five, who were pledged to secresy. The newspaper accounts of the doings at the Tuileries Mr. Hume pronounces to be fabrications. As all the above etatements on the series of the mistaken attribution. We only knew they have been no need of this decial—for I think I have seed on having her twenty-five maids of honor in the room, she was obliged to content herself with five, who were pledged to secresy. The newspaper accounts of the doings at the Tuileries Mr. Hume pronounces to be fabrications. As all the above etatements on the series of the mistaken attribution. We only knew they have a very young boy. He is twenty-Boston, April 30, 1857

compations, so long as I can keep my hold on this. So I avoid all opportunities of peeping through the blanket of the dark ' that is hung up between the two, and do not care to hear any thing about experiences of those that try to lift up a corner to to the ray thing about experiences of those that try to lift up a corner to to the ray thing about the revelations, and of the method of conjuration, do not seem to me amusing. I much prefer sitting with a party of good fellows round a table, in a brighe light, with every inducement to talk, with a party of good fellows round a table, in a brighe light, with every inducement to talk, with a party of good fellows round a table, in a brighe light, with every inducement to talk, with a more to the same in total darkness, holding our tongues, with our hands upon it. And this proclivity hath been strengthened by observing the hebetining effect of death on the liveliest and eleverest people, who are deplorably worse company after they are doul than they were while living. I dare say it shows a very low state of mind, but I can't being it. I would be grave. It being high ton in the religious world to cut your dearest friends the moment you that they were while living. I dare say it shows a very low state of mind, but I can't being it. I would a support to a contract the proper to the living of the state of mind, but I can't help it. I very much prefer to have the spirits I take mised with a due proportion of clay, instead of having theme class.

Boides, to whisper a word in your ear, and I begit may go no further, I am draid of phast. I always was. I don't like them. I like them better with their bodies on. I don't think it deen in them to go about naked; and the least they can do is to keep away from people that don't want their society. Charles I am of produced the strong-minded women, out of their appropriate sphere.' Of course, I have no objection to any body courting their society that likes it. It is a free country, and every one may choose his own associates. I onl

hands? They can surely wait, if I can.

I dare say this is not only very low in a spiritual point of view, but very unphilosophical into the bargain. I ought to be willing to investigate the phenomena, and judge whether they are natural or spiritual. But you see I am not a philosopher—at least, not a natural one—and I hate to be bored. I don't think I am called upon to investigate the causes of all the inexplicable things I see, because I have not the qualities of mind which are the ne-I have not the qualities of mind which are the necessary instruments of such inquiries. I could be just as easily cheated as not, and so I keep out of the way. My way of stating the proposition is this: The phenomena, as they are called, are either cheats, or they are not. That, I suppose, you will admit, as Moses in the Vicar of Wakefield had to concede the preliminary proposition of Squire Thornhill—'Whatever is, is.' Now, if they are cheats, of course I don't care to trouble myself about them. If they are really the work of spirits, I desire to give them the widest berth possible for the reasons above given. And if they be a development of some hitherto undiscovered physical laws, I relegate the inquiry to the men of science who have the training and the skill for such investigations, which I have not. And when they tell me all about it, I will believe them, just as I look in the almanac to see when I am to crock the end of my nose with a bit of smoked glass. I don't think it a duty to calculate my own celipses, and they are a good deal stranger things then the saturage of the county instituted an inquiry in the last Assembly into the expediency of action on this sub-desembly into the expediency of action on the last assembly into the expediency of action on this sub-desembly into the expediency of action on

I suppose I might find something to tell you of, I am afraid of interrupting the effect of my spiritual discourse on your mind by the intervention of any mere vulgar facts.

BYLES.

ON KICKING.

And Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked.'-Deut, 32: 15 The Tribune has an 'occasional correspondent, The Tribune has an 'occasional correspondent,' who hails from Boston, and signs himselt 'Byles.' In the morning issue of May 2, there is a letter from 'Byles,' devoted to Spiritualism. 'Byles,' it would seem, has been mistaken for some other odd genius, who addresses mankind from the platform of the letter Q., and has something to do with the 'Spiritualist Question,' with which he by no means wishes to be mixed up, and so naturally desires to allay public excitement upon that point. He evidently objects to shouldering all the ultraisms and dently objects to shouldering all the ultraisms and funaticisms extant, and this 'last gallinipper' of

Spiritualism makes him restive.

Now, if (as we more than suspect) 'Byles' and Edmund Quincy do interchangeably wear the same coat, and invariably sleep in the same led, then are there respectable folk not a few, indeed, all the pious and right-minded conservators of things as they are, who do most religiously hold that 'Byles,' the and right-minded conservators of things as they are, who do most religiously hold that 'Byles,' the aforesaid, is so thoroughly tainted with isms as to be wholly beyond the power of salt. Under these circumstances, it is naturally soothing to the feelings to be able to join the chorus of protestation which now swells the throat of the conservative public against modern Spiritualism. It is a good thing to be able to say to some Rev. Dr. Southside, 'You see, Doctor, while I am unhappily compelled to disagree with you in respect to some carnal matters, I can kick this new spiritual absurdity as heartily as yourself.' In fact, human nature will have its kick at something. The moment it waxes fat, like Jeshurun, it begins to kick. The most thoroughly snubbed Sambo in all the South does doubtless find a nigger under him, in his own imagination, at least, upon whom be can safely gratily his share of the common propensity, and is thus kindly supplied by nature with the needed solace. In fact, if there be one right of man more inalicanble than another, it is beyond question the right to kick.

Yest The Most at the selection of protestation with the needed solace. In fact, if there be one right of man more inalicanble than another, it is beyond question the right to kick.

Yest The Most at the selection of protestation of non-resistance Denounced. A correspondent in Ohio writes that a Wesleyan preacher there lately came out vehemently against non-voters and non-resistants, declaring that in his opinion the doctrine of non-resistante, declaring that in his opinion the doctrine of non-resistante, declaring that in his opinion the doctrine of non-resistante, declaring that in his opinion the doctrine of non-resistante, declaring that in his opinion the doctrine of non-resistance had done more harm than Achiman of non-resistance had done more harm than Achiman of spiritual absurdits where, when, how? This brother knows not what are the first principles of primitive Christianity. It is a great Christian duty to tote, is it, e

bout it, and however fine a world they have told every body it was. Let them be equally considerate toward us.

For I wish you to understand distinctly, that I desire the arrangement to be perfectly fair and equal on both sides. The only request I make is the simple and rational one of our Southern brethren as to their domestic institutions,—to be let alone. If the spirits will only keep-away from me, I will pledge my sacred honor that I will keep away from them just as long as I possibly can. For this end, I habitually take the very best care of a naturally good constitution, so that it shall not be my fault if my part of the bargain should fall through. To be sure, I can imagine and excuse an impatience on their part to enjoy my society. There are a good many yet in the flesh who profess to like it. But let them consider how short a time it will be, even at the longest, before I shall be made free of their guild, and how very long we shall be together when that does take place. Now, excellent as my natural constitution is, and great as is the care I take of it, and though I come of very long-lived families on both sides, I can hardly expect to live much more than fifty or sixty years longer. And what is fifty or sixty years to fellows that have all eternity on their hands? They can surely wait, if I can.

I dare say this is not only very low in a spiritual point of view, but very unphilosophical into the labeliance of Capital Punishment, that is a few properties of the selection of Capital Punishment, that is a few properties of the solution of Capital Punishment, that is of the safety of the solution of Capital Punishment, that is of the constitution of Capital Punishment,

The abolition of Capital Punishment-that is, of the penalty of Death by the civil law-shares the fate of all other Humanity Reforms in being no longer pressed with earnestness, or regarded with popular favor in this State. It may not, however, be amiss to watch carefully the effect of the aboli-tion of Capital Punishment in those States which have tried the experiment.

inquiry to the men of science who have the training and the skill for such investigations, which I have not. And when they tell me all about it, I will believe them, just as I look in the almanac to see when I am to crock the end of my nose with a bit of smoked glass. I don't think it a duty to calculate my own eclipses, and they are a good deal stranger things than the waltzing of a table round the room with an invisible partner.

You will be pleased to treat these expressions of opinion as strictly confidential. As it is said that the spiritualists are now counted by millions, they may organize into a political party, and elect Mr. Andrew Jackson Davis President of the United States; in which case, of course, I should wish to be uncommitted, as it would be a pity to injure my prospects of usefulness for any mere speculations. With this caution I will take my leave; for although I suppose I might find something to tell you of, I am attail of intermediate in the same training the tending the enange, with an average poundation of at least 400,000, there were but atemty-three convictions for murder, whereas, had the ratio been equal to that under the Hanging regime, there would have been thirty-scren. Mr. McKinney has no doubt that capital crimes have been rendered more rare in Michigan by the abolition of the gallows; and he closes his letter with this strong assertion: 'I do not think it possible now to assemble a body of men in our Legislature who would be willing to assume the responsibility of restoring the enange, with an average poundation of at least 400,000, there were but attenty-three convictions for murder, whereas, had the ratio been equal to that under the Hanging regime, there would have been thirty-scren. Mr. McKinney has no doubt that capital crimes have been rendered more rare in Michigan by the abolition of the gallows; and he closes his letter with this strong assertion: 'I do not think it possible now to assemble a body of men in our Legislature of the Body of men in our Legislature of the St

death penalty, as no one has been ordered to execu-tion during the twenty years that this law has stood on the statute-book. Seven persons are now in the State Prison under sentence of death; while two or three others, under like sentence, have either died or been sent to the Insane Asylum. Mr. Moore does not think the change from hanging to this system

John R. Bartlett, Secretary of State of Rhod John R. Bartlett, Secretary of State of Knode Island, reports that the Death Penalty was abolished by the State in January, 1852—five years ago. Only two persons have since been convicted of murder there; yet Mr. Bartlett (who is in favor of hanging) writes that 'the crine of murder has increased in that State since the death penalty was abolished at least three-fold, but I will not say as a consequence of that change.' Mr. Bartlett thinks there is a growing sentiment in favor of hanging in there is a growing sentiment in favor of hanging it Rhode Island, and writes that the Legislature was then about to take action on the subject. That ac-tion has since been had, but the effort to restore the death penalty did not prevail. Such are the facts elicited by Mr. George's considerate and judicious movement. The time may come wherein they may be made the basis of action in New York.

EXPOSED AT LAST.

The New York Tribune itself has been for years the common kicking target of the whole Orthodox world. In fact, that institution has been kicked until it has become a sort of moral incarnation, not only of Jack Bonsby's oracular wisedom, but of his experience as well, for it 'rather likes it,' and now, having waxed fat under the exercise, it honors the universal law by lifting its sanctified hoof now and then at modern Spiritualism, with as much holy real as any Doctor of Divinity in the land.

The same is true of Brother 'Byles' and his compeers. Capt. Rynders and his merrymen for saveral years used to head the annual procession of saints, which, during Anniversary Week, was wont to exemplify to the assembled piety of the land, that kicking them was doing God most extential service, inasmuch as it was in reality kicking herery out of the Church, and discord, or liberty, which is the same thing, in their estimation, out of the Union. So 'Byles' and his troop of issus have been kicked into some consequence at last; and to maintain the grand equilibrium so escential to the preservation of the universe, must have something in turn to kick at, on their own account; and what been kicked thansalves for every issue of which the most fertile Reston imagination could conceive, but that; and as man must kick or die, there was no safe alternative but Spiritualism to take the drubhing.



CATHARTIC PILLS

OPERATE by their powerful influence on the internal viscera to purify the blood and stimulate it has healthy action. They remove the obstructions of the stomach, bowels, liver, and other organs of the tody, and, by restoring their irregular action to health, come, wherever they exist, such derangements as are the fact of disease. An extensive trial of their vitus, by Professors, Physicians, and Patients, has show come of dangerous diseases almost beyond belief, were they not substantiated by persons of such existed position and character as to forbid the suspicion of antich. Their certificates are published in my American Almana, which the Agents below named are pleased to arrise free to all inquiring.

Annexed we give Directions for their use in the smallants which they have been found to cure.

For Costiteness,—Take one or two pills, or sed quantity as to gently move the bowels. Citizens is frequently the aggravating cause of PILEs, and the case of one complaint is the cure of both. No press an feed well while under a costive habit of body. Here I should be, as it can be, promptly relieved.

For Dyspersia, which is sometimes the case of Costiceness, and always unconfortable, take mid foun—from one to four—to stimulate the stumed all liver into healthy action. They will do it, not an heartburn, bodyburn, and soulburn of dryspens will midly disappear. When it is gone, don't forget what tent you.

For a Four Stomach, or Morbid Inaction of the party.

you.

FOR A FOUL STOMACH, or Morbid Inaction of the Reserts, which produces general depression of the spoint sale had beauth, take from four to eight Pills at first, and smaller doses afterwards, until activity and strength restored to the system.

FOR NERVOUNDERS, SICK HEADACHE, NAUSES, Pakin the Stomach, Back, or Side, take from four to said pills on going to bed. If they do not operate sminerally, take more the next day until they do. These complaints will be swept out from the system. Don't was these and their kindred disorder systems. Don't was these and their kindred disorder systems foul.

FOR SCROPLIA, ENYSTERS and of the Scropy LA. ENYSTERS and of the spoint systems.

these and their kindred disorders because you though is foul.

FOR SCROPULA, ERYSIPELAS, and all disease of the Skin, take the Pills freely and frequently, to ken the bowels upen. The eruptions will generally some been a diminish and disappear. Many dreadful ulers and some have been healed up by the purging and purifying side of these Pills, and some disgusting diseases, which seemed to saturate the whole system, have completely yielded to their influence, leaving the sufferer in perfect beath. Patients! your duty to society forbids that you should parade yourself around the world covered with its ples, blotches, ulcers, sores, and all or any of the melean diseases of the skin, because your system was cleansing.

clean diseases of the skin, because your system same cleansing.

To PURIFY THE BLOOD, they are the best medicas ever discovered. They should be taken frely and the quently, and the impurities which sow the seeds of iscarable diseases will be swept out of the system like that before the wind. By this property they as much good in preventing sickness as by the remarkable curs which they are making every where.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Blicon startions arise from some derangement—either tendies.

LIVER COMPLAINT, JAUNDICE, and all Billows Afterions arise from some derangement—either topolar, congestion, or obstructions of the Liver. Turning and congestion vitiate the bile, and render it suff for digestion. This is disastrous to the health, and tree actitution is frequently undermixed by no other case. Indigestion is the symptom. Obstruction of the development of the contraction of t with a long and dangerous train of evils. Cattenes, or, alternately, costiveness and diarrhers, prevails. Fever ish symptoms, languor, low spirits, weariness, restlessess, and melancholy, with sometimes inability to sleep, and sometimes great drowsiness; sometimes there is sever pain in the side; the skin and the white of the eyestecome a greenish yellow; the stomach acid; the lewis sore to the touch; the whole system initiable, with a landency to fever, which may turn to bilious fever, bilious diarrhers, dysentery, &c. A medium dose of the or four pills taken at night, followed by two or there is the morning, and repeated a few deep, will remove the cause of all these troubles. It is we ked to suffer subpains when you can cure them for 25 cents.

Resumatism, Gott, and all Inflammatory Frees an rapidly cured by the purifying effects of these Pills upon the blood and the stimulus which they afford to the tule principle of Life. For these and all kindred complaint they should be taken in mild doses, to move the lovels gently, but freely.

As a Dinneu Pills, this is both agreeable and useful. No pill can be made more pleasant to take, and certain none has been made more effectual to the purpose for which a dinner pill is employed.

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