

contempt and rebuke of every fair and honest mind; and such a paper, in spite of its pretensions, is unworthy to receive the countenance and support of the friends of liberty and justice.

PARKER PILLSBURY said that some appeared surprised at the developments relating to the report in the Republican organ of this city. But it is not among the anti-slavery agents and lecturers that this surprise is felt; they know but too well what to expect of the Republicans.

He then went on in a searching review of the position of the Republicans towards the Abolitionists, saying that the most bitter opponents that we meet with are the leaders of the Republican party, and the so-called anti-slavery ministers.

He said he cared not for a whole regiment of Dr. Adams, and Dr. Lords, and Dr. Plumer, and Dr. Fullers; he could handle them easily. He might say the hardest things he could say of them, and all the community would approve; but how are we to withstand the influence of the Beechers and the Cheevers, whose position enables them to stab with more fatal effect than any others can the anti-slavery cause?

So, he cared not for the New York Observer, the Journal of Commerce, and such papers. But when the New York Tribune, the Evening Post, the Boston Traveller, and other Republican organs come to us laden with all the old abuse of us and our movement that used to fill the columns of the New York Herald and Express, what shall we do with them?

Mr. GARRISON said that he was not prepared to say that the Republican movement is a worse movement or a more dangerous one than any other. He believed in progress, and those men are making slow progress, though now they seem to be as trees walking. He then went on to show that the Republican party is not an anti-slavery party, but only a non-extension party, and we should judge it by its own standard.

The Republicans, however, on their own platform, are not true even to their own ideas. They are 'half fellows well met' with border-ruffians after election. Mr. G. proved this by reading a report of a supper partaken by Republicans and Democrats at the Revere House in this city, to celebrate the election of James Buchanan!

Mr. PILLSBURY offered the following as a substitute for the resolution of the business committee upon the Republican party, and moved its adoption:—

Whereas, in Hon. John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Nathaniel P. Banks and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, and the New York Tribune, we have a full and fair exponent and representative of the acknowledged leaders of the present Republican party;

And whereas, all these together avow their determination to uphold the Union; and Mr. Banks declared emphatically, and then repeated more emphatically, 'that it was in theory, and only in theory, that one portion of the confederacy was arrayed against the other,' in the late Presidential election; and then said, 'I would to-day entrust the liberties and the institutions of the country with a Palmetto man'; and then added, 'I would say, in God's name, give us a Palmetto man, always and forever!' And Henry Wilson pronounces the Republican party pre-eminently the party of Union; that, for the sake of Union, it will 'evict the right of the South to hold slaves,' 'will vote for a Southern gentleman for President or Vice-President,' and were the Republican party in power, 'any man, North or South, who should lay their hands upon the Union, should die a traitor's death, and leave traitor names in the history of the Republic!'

And Mr. Hale asserts that 'the Republican party is not going to introduce any thing new,' and then argues that the party, being emphatically the party of State Rights, even slavery would be more secure to the South under it than under the Democratic party; and the New York Tribune boasts that it has supported a slaveholder for President, and is ready to do it again; therefore,

Resolved, That until these men repudiate these doctrines, or the party repudiate these men, we shall hold both as really more dangerous to the cause of liberty, on account of their anti-slavery pretensions, however honest many among them may be, than any other party ever formed since the foundations of government were laid.

C. L. REMOND seconded the motion, and discussed at length, and with his usual ability and earnestness, the position of the Republicans towards the anti-slavery movement.

Adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock.

EVENING. The President in the chair.

CHAS. L. REMOND said that much had been said in condemnation of the Dred Scott decision; but he held that that decision was in perfect accordance with the practice of the American people, and Judge Taney had not outraged that practice, but simply announced it as law.

Mr. R. continued in a strain of eloquence and power that would be too much marred by any attempt to report it, but which we hope to be able to give in full hereafter.

Mr. PILLSBURY then took the stand, and with graphic tongue portrayed the corruption and debasement of American politics, and especially the short comings of that 'best' of parties, the Republican. He reviewed the history of the anti-slavery movement, and the prophecies of the Abolitionists, with their fulfillment.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, of Rochester, N. Y., presented the claims of THE LIBERATOR on the confidence, respect, and support of every friend of humanity and freedom.

Mr. GARRISON said if any were present who did not know what the South said of him and THE LIBERATOR, it might be well that they should know, before they decided to become its subscribers; and proceeded to read from several Southern journals some choice specimens of their criticisms on himself, his paper, and the anti-slavery movement generally.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, offered the following resolutions:—

10. Resolved, That the decision of the majority of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, is at once unjust, inhuman and unconstitutional; founded on falsifications of history and perversion of law; an outrage and insult to all the decency, morality and Christianity in the land; a distinct revelation of the remorseless and insatiable spirit of slavery, and the unscrupulous eagerness of its official tools to do—whether with legitimate or usurped authority—its most atrocious bidding.

11. Resolved, That wanting every essential element of law, it ought nowhere to be respected or obeyed; but everywhere to be denounced, repudiated, and utterly repudiated by legislators, judges, magistrates and people, with united voice.

WENDELL PHILLIPS (who was received with tumultuous applause, constantly renewed through his speech), addressed the Convention. He treated of the Boston Traveller, of the 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' at Park Street church—a church which drove its own church member from its doors because he had a colored skin, and had dared to buy a pew there,—of Dr. Cheever and Henry Ward Beecher,—of Gov. Chase and the heroic Margaret Garner, (who that Governor had suffered to be dragged from Ohio into the hated and helpless slavery from which she had fled)—of the imperious condition of the slave States, and their inevitable bankruptcy if the North should cease to hold them up. (This speech we expect to give in a fuller report hereafter.)

The question then came up on the adoption of the resolutions before the Convention.

Charles C. Burleigh offered the following as an amendment to the amendment offered by Mr. Pillsbury:—

That these and similar declarations should be ac-

cepted by abolitionists as a sufficient warning that the Republican party is not an anti-slavery party, nor worthy of the support and co-operation of those whose object is the utter overthrow of slavery in all parts of the land.

Upon this amendment a debate arose, in which Messrs. Burleigh, S. S. Foster, Garrison, May, Foss, Hull, Pillsbury, and Mrs. Foster took part. The vote being taken, twenty-one voted in favor of the amendment, and twenty-one against it. It was then voted to lay on the table all the resolutions concerning the Republican party.

The remaining resolutions before the Convention were then unanimously adopted; and the Convention adjourned sine die.

EDMUND QUINCY President.
SAMUEL MAY, JR. Secretary.
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, } Secretaries.
D. A. COMSTOCK, }

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, At the Melodeon, Tuesday Morning, May 26, 1857. (Photographically reported by J. M. W. Terhoun.)

MR. CHAIRMAN:

I have not, of course none of us can have, any word to say in criticism of the line of argument pursued by our friend Mr. GARRISON, in regard to the Tract Society; but still, as he intimated at the conclusion of his remarks, I think the medal may be turned, and has another side.

My friend remarked that this report could not have been drawn with greater ingenuity, with greater sophistry, with greater or more plausible hypocrisy, had it been drawn by Ignatius Loyola himself. Who was Ignatius Loyola? The founder of the Jesuits; the man who tried to win back by guile the Europe which the strong hand of Luther had taken from under the Papacy. Loyola was created by the necessity of Luther. Hypocrisy is the homage vice renders to virtue; and when a strong body feels the necessity of being a hypocrite, it acknowledges that it is half conquered—that it stands in the presence of a foe whom it no longer dares to defy. The Tract Society never condescended to equivocate; it never uttered an uncertain note; it never cared whether men said it expurgated books or not—it had the brazen effrontery to deny the fact. It placed its own faultless character in the eyes of the religious public in one scale, and the demonstrations of its guilt in the other, and in the partial judgment of the American people, the proof kicked the beam. So it was, year after year. What makes it now get down upon its knees, and acknowledge that it has expurgated its publications, and promise to do so no more? This Committee was appointed to whitewash the Society. It was made up of the most hunkerish materials. When it was finished, the trembling friends of the Society said—'The volcano is capped for another year; they can make out a case for us; do not fear.' FRELINGHUYSEN stood at its head—a man that never looked the same way with him. W. LLOYD GARRISON. Twelve months pass away. The Dred Scott decision astishes the public; Kansas wins its uneasy hearing from the American people—pleas, louder than words—events, so rapid that they make eloquence tame and rapid—events, which outrun the lips even of CHEEVER, which seem to be touched, if man's lips ever were, by a coal from that altar that lent fire to the Hebrew prophet (loud applause); and this Committee, expected to defend, has to say what is, in fact, accusation. In the first place, the Society never before acknowledged slavery to be a moral evil. 'Who can doubt,' says the Committee, 'that with such influences as faith, hope and charity, in alliance with that chastened patience that loves to wait for the fruit until the harvest season, this and all other moral evil shall yield to the promised triumph of the everlasting gospel!' When did they ever hear that the Tract Society mutilated its publications? 'Whatever considerations in the past may have seemed to recommend to the Publishing Committee the course pursued in its revision of certain works,' &c. Who ever said they revised works, but the abolitionists? Who ever admitted it? No Orthodox church member. This Committee acknowledges it was done. They go further, and say, the reasons which seemed to recommend this course, not which did recommend it. You must not expect the strongest body in the land to get down on its knees and say, 'Great is the American Anti-Slavery Society!' They will begin with lying, paltering; they will begin with jesuitry; they will begin by trying to hide the sin which the very effort reveals.

Again they say, 'The Society cannot with propriety allow itself to be made the special organ of any one system of religious or moral reform, such as temperance, peace, anti-popery, anti-slavery, &c.' I should like to hear the Tract Society say, in the presence of South Carolina, Anti-Popery and Anti-Slavery in the same breath, and see how long their popularity would last! The American Tract Society is trying to wriggle—! All Orthodox has a tendency to wriggle—into a decent position. (Laughter and applause.) But in the very effort, we must acknowledge the great triumph which public opinion has gained. We must acknowledge that they at last see something to fear. Why, Pennsylvania last fall summoned half the South to stump the State for Buchanan. When they had tried it six or eight weeks, they banished every Southerner from their circle, called in Northern men, covered their banners with the motto, 'Free Kansas,' and by that guile saved the State. Is it no acknowledgment of the strength of Northern opinion, when the devil puts on the angel—when he says, 'I cannot conquer as devil, therefore I conquer in a white coat'? O no; I acknowledge, with Mr. Garrison, that this report betrays no virtue in the heart of the American Tract Society, but it betrays dread. I never expected that public opinion would make the slaveholders or their apologists Christians, but I thought it might make them still more evidently cowards. I think they will treat before a public opinion which they will never be converted by; I have no hope of anything more. I think the Tract Society has done what Senator Toombs said he did on the Senate floor before somebody's pistol, 'did progress backwards,' (laughter); and I think the pistol before which they 'progressed backwards' was the public opinion of last fall and winter, and the dread excited by the reckless, shameless audacity of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision. I think the fact, like the case of Pennsylvania, to which I have referred, shows us also the strength of the North. It shows us that leading men, observing intellects, are beginning to see which way the current sets, and are trimming their sails for the wind.

Now, I think what we have got to do with public opinion is to save it from being misled by just such hypocrisy as this. While we acknowledge that this course of leading religious and political men of the day is the natural outgrowth of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and therefore grateful to us as a testimony of our strength and a sign of encouragement, we are just as much to remember that Ignatius Loyola was the most dangerous foe that Luther ever made; that he did stab half Europe; that he did set firmly on its seven hills the trembling throne of the Pope; and that the fact that to-day Catholicism survives in Europe is due to that policy which disarmed Protestantism, not daring to meet it. So I think, in the politics and religion of the day, that which approaches nearest to us, in the half-inspired lips even of BEECHER and CHEEVER, we ought to regard as the most dangerous enemy, the most dangerous opponent, to the Anti-Slavery cause. (Applause.) I know this may be deemed, the New York papers say it is, very cold and ungracious criticism; and that Reverend and impudent joker of jokes, Rev. George W. Bethune, says that all New England got such a chill on Plymouth Rock, that it has not got over it yet. I advise him to buy a primary school history, and find out, if he never once read, where all the benevolent, social, religious, literary, educational, and all other

beneficent enterprises of the land came from, if not out from that cold heart of Plymouth Rock. (Loud applause.) He came to Massachusetts, he said, and felt a chill. Well, if he did, he came to the great laboratory, where American intellect and American heart have begun every thing good these thirty-one States have ever produced. (Applause.) For not only out of New England blood, but with Plymouth Rock and the Mississippi, but out of New England, as a locality, has started every philanthropic effort that has opened the eyes of the blind, taught the dumb to speak, gave the idiot mind, annihilated pain, ministered to the reason, melted the fetter, printed, taught, comforted, raised, or began any other benefit to these twenty millions of American people, and their four millions of victims. But cold and ungracious as this criticism seems, it is still necessary for any one who loves the cause of the slave. God does not give us any thing, he sells us every thing; we buy every thing with a price. The price at which we buy the capacity of being servicable to the slave in this land of ours is to cut off, on both sides, every tie that binds us to kindred, to friends, and fixing a single eye on the South Carolina hotel, be true to that, no matter what loved name, no matter what apparently eminent service, our lips and our hearts may be brought to criticize and rebuke. I say, from such a pulpit as Beecher's, from such lips as Cheever's, from the forge of the Republican party, come up to-day the greatest danger to the Anti-Slavery movement; and the reason is this—we have no instrumentality, no tool, but this opinion. All the great material interests of society are against us; all the organizations of the nation are against us. Government, religion, wealth, fashion, literature, the press, every thing, is arrayed against the Anti-Slavery movement. We struggle against the consciences of the masses behind us—nothing more. In order that public opinion should ever govern, it must be relentless. It is a hard thing for ideas to make head against institutions. It is not true that majorities govern; they never govern. The opinions of a few energetic, decided men, in influential positions, who know what they want, have always governed. 'The millions have never governed; they have only made themselves felt in some critical hour when, the whole world fluid, society disintegrated, the fleets scattered on the ocean, for a moment, the dead weight of the opinion of the masses comes in as the ball that crystallizes society again into shape. It is only at such a time that the masses are felt. In ordinary times, they are kept down.

Now, I do not know how sanguine and hopeful other minds may be, but to me, the Anti-Slavery struggle, as far as government is concerned, up to this time, has been a failure. The government is against us, in every form, in every particular. It has never made an effort that has not succeeded; it has never put an effort that it has not been able to keep it down. Take the words that suggest its triumphs—Florida, Texas, Missouri, Fugitive Slave Bill, Kansas, everything that is not victories on their side? And to-day, private letters tell us, that this very month a Constitution is framed in Oregon that will add her to the list of slave States. As far as government is concerned, slavery has won the battle. If the government is to decide this question, the slave has no hope. So far as the American Government is concerned, it is a despotism. What do we want against it? We want something better than the resolves of the Tract Society; we want something better than the inspired enegy of Cheever; we want something better than the hopes of the Republican party. It seems to me we want just this. We cannot make crises—God makes them—offers them to our hands to use. We cannot control events; they will flow on in His Providence; He gives them to us to work with. But one thing we can, to a certain extent, control, and that is opinion—hearts. What we want is, the anvil upon which events shall be shaped. When the Supreme Court lays down a Dred Scott decision on the anvil of the American heart, we want an energy and fixedness of purpose in that heart which shall shape it into a tool that will pierce the very heart of the Union. (Cheers.) We want a decision, an intelligent, relentless decision, that knows its purpose, and is determined to fulfill it. An intelligent decision! The lack to-day is, men run about and do not know what they want. The Supreme Court affirms the Dred Scott decision. The Tribune says that it is not law; they had no case before them; they have said so and so, but it has no authority; the case did not justify them in making the decision. Besides, if it did, haven't we got McLean and Curtis for us and against them—the learning and respectability of the land on our side? True—all true; and yet, what matters it? Respectability and learning do not govern the country. Franklin Pierce governed it, and he never came within ear-shot of either. (Roars of laughter and applause.) The Supreme Court have intimated to every subordinate judiciary what they mean to decide, and on future occasions, whenever the point comes before any Judge in a State or District Court, he will decide accordingly, because he knows, if he does not, the decision will be reversed when it goes up. That is the way the Supreme Court has always governed. They do not wait—they cannot afford to wait—until the point comes up; they must intimate the decision beforehand, in order to shape public sentiment to the recognition and support of the decision when the point does come up. That is the purpose of the Dred Scott decision—all the more dangerous because the public mind is lulled by the idea, that, after all, it is not law, and we have got learning and respectability against it. It is law, inasmuch as all the Judges will shape their course by it—that is enough. It is law, so far as the action of the government is concerned. When the decision in the Lemmon case is given, as it probably will be, against us, and in favor of the slaveholder, allowing him to bring his slaves to the free States, keep them here as long as he will, and then return with them to the South,—when this decision comes, the whole question, as far as the courts are concerned, is settled.

In 1789, the Government was launched with the assertion of the statute of 1787, the whole territory free. Wythe, Washington, Jefferson, Rutledge, Lee, all the lights of the Revolution, were on that side. Public opinion, the world over, set in that direction. The Union was launched, the Constitution was framed. Sam Adams lived, John Hancock labored. The great men of the day, Hopkins, Edwards, John Jay, Elmer, and the other men, permeated society with the influence of their Anti-Slavery determination. So the vessel of State was launched. At that same moment, the devil hovered over Charleston, and dropped a few cotton seeds into the soil. Presto! sixty years, and the seeds of cotton have annihilated Wythe, and Lee, and Rutledge, and Jay, and the Constitution, the Revolution, and every thing else, and we are nothing but a cotton-bag to-day. (Loud applause.) A generation rolled away, to 1819. Another struggle came on the territories, and our fathers, though laboring hard and earnestly, were frightened from the struggle by the cry of 'Damnion,' yielded up half, and came home, and hung their heads in shame at the victory of the South—half for slavery, half for freedom. Another generation rolled away. The Webster, the Unitarian Clays, the Calhouns, the Whig party, the Unitarian clergy, the Dr. Bethunes, the Tract Society, Nehemiah Adams,—these men and organizations lived and labored. Unlike their father, they did not drop cotton-seeds, they dropped ideas into the national soil, and there came another struggle in 1852—the whole territory for slavery! That is the history of the Union. Beginning thus, the end we have secured is, a total victory of the organization and government in favor of slavery.

Now, what do we want? I want a prejudice against slavery and pro-slavery governments in this land. I do not want a sentiment; I do not want a resolution; I do not want an intellectual conviction. The mind does not act from intellectual conviction. The mother

who sees her child on the edge of a precipice does not stop to think, 'It is a hundred feet high, and unless I leap and seize him, he will be dashed to pieces.' She leaps! The man who sees his brother in a moment of danger, with a pistol pointed at his breast, does not stop to argue—'Fowler was invented five centuries ago, and unless I leap between the pistol and his breast, he must die.' He leaps, by instinct, and his breast, he must die. He leaps, by instinct, that was by a characteristic intellectual conviction, that was planted long ago, and has become character, and is in his blood and bones. I want a hatred of slavery that is in the intellect, in the heart, and in the brain. I want such a prejudice as the Catholic has against the Protestant, and the Protestant has against the Catholic, which was not reasoned up, and cannot be reasoned down, and makes the one fly at the other's throat the moment he sees him. (Applause.) Something that has got into the blood, that makes part of the bones; that, if Dr. Jackson were to analyze it, he would find it, in the ultimate analysis, as all that was left of Protestant or Catholic. Thank God! I wish a Yankee could be subjected to analysis in a crucible of chemistry so accurate, that they should find nothing left of him but curses for Carolina. (Loud applause.)

What I mean is this,—that when an issue is proposed, or when a question comes before the American people, they shall be ready to say to themselves—'We don't care whether they will succeed or not; but we have formed one purpose—it is that we will tear down slavery, we will abolish it; if the Union goes to pieces, let it go; and if the Church goes to pieces, let it go! We form but one purpose in life, for the present. The work of this generation is the abolition of slavery. We weigh every thing else against it, and every thing else kicks the beam.' I want that purpose distinctly formed and announced; that purpose, that mood of mind, is the victory. What I find fault with in the Tract Society, and in the Republican party, is not that they have their own method. I am tolerant enough to allow every man his own method. If Dr. Cheever thinks the battle is to be fought in Kansas, in Heaven's name, let him go and fight it! (Applause.) If the Tract Society thinks it is to be fought on the basis of these Resolutions, let them fight it there—God aid them! If Henry Wilson thinks that slavery is to be abolished by abusing us upon the floor of the Senate, God increase ten-fold his power of abuse, and let him pour it on our devoted heads! I do not care what method a man takes. What I ask of him, is that he shall tell the world that underneath it lies the determined purpose, that at all hazards, at every risk, at any cost, no matter what the danger, he will abolish slavery, and let the South take warning! (Loud applause.)

Why has the South always conquered? Because she writes one single word on her catalogue of requests, that is—'Slavery!' It is the first, it is the second, it is the third; turn the leaf, and it is—'Slavery!' All through the book it is—'Slavery!' The North writes—'Kansas'—'Tariff'—'Internal Improvements'—'Railroads'—'Robert C. Winthrop'—'Edward Everett'—and many other insignificant quantities, to the end. (Laughter and applause.) What is the consequence? The party that has but one object, knows what it wants, and is willing to sacrifice every thing for it, conquers—of course it must! As long as Henry Wilson, with the port of a hero, lets it be known that there is one spot his father, our pioneer, did not dip into the Sixty of Anti-Slavery, and that is, his love for the Union, just so long, the arrow of the South will find his heel, and prove him open to the temptation of office, and the ambition for political power. I want him to say—'Cover me all over with arrows; there is nothing I value but the service I can render to the cause of Justice and Humanity; soul my name with every odious charge of hostility to my country and its institutions—I will cover it all over, in the verdict of history, with one grasp of the slave's hand, if I can but lift him up to the level of my own sunlight!' (Enthusiastic applause.)

This is the history of moral struggles in all times. Why, the Pope excommunicated Luther. Papal excommunication, up to that time, had shaken the world like an earthquake, but Luther took the parchment and tossed it into the flames, and excommunicated the Pope; and from that time 'Success' was written on the banner of the daring Saxon reformer. It is this willingness to sacrifice every thing that turns the dwarf into a giant. 'Beware of the man driven to the last ditch—beware despair,' says the proverb, for the man, you know, who is willing to risk his own life, is master of every other. When Massachusetts is willing to risk every thing in order to break the fetters of the slave, then her million of men, and her handkerchief-patch of territory, start up into omnipotence, and the weight of the world. Suppose, when Warren, and Putnam, and Prescott were on Bunker Hill, and 'Old Put' gave that order, 'Don't waste your powder boys, wait till you see the whites of their eyes,'—suppose, instead of that, somebody had come to him and said, 'The British have fired Charleston, and the shingles on the Congregational church are all in a flame,' and he had said to his men, 'Stop! Let's put out the fire on that church'—should we ever have conquered? When Wellington stood upon the field of Waterloo, he put his 'Old Guard' upon a spot of ground, and the French cuirassiers, armed in steel from neck to heel, and mounted on the best steeds of France, rode at them like a whirlwind, and turned back faster than they came. They stood there like a granite wall, hurling back every impetuous charge—and why? Because Wellington had said to them—'That spot of ground taken, and all England is not safe from the foe'; and with hearts stronger than British steel, they kept it, as our own rock-bound coast beats back the ocean in a storm. (Applause.) Now, this is the kind of resolution I want for the purpose of the North. I do not know, nobody can prophesy, what it will be necessary to sacrifice in order to secure the abolition of slavery; but then we know, that in the struggle betwixt two mighty and determined parties, that party which is determined to sacrifice every thing to success, that party that has no looking back, that means to write its history in the ditch, that means to leave nothing alive unless it conquers—that party will conquer. I want this purpose announced on the part of anti-slavery men. If I could have the twelve hundred thousand men that voted for Fremont, if I could have those few hundred pulpits that redeem the Sodom and Gomorrah of the thirty thousand Bethunes and Nehemiah Adamses, (applause)—if I could have said, 'We are not technically Garrisonians,' but we have laid life and reputation on the altar of justice. We have made up this purpose: Let the Union go; let the Church go; let commerce go; let grass grow on the wharves; let another generation be wasted, as our fathers wasted one, in the struggle for ideas, we care not: God willing, we will write out, as the history of this generation, that, at the sacrifice of every present interest, they melted every fetter beneath the flag of the empire!' (applause)—if I could have them say this, I should be sure of the victory. But, as long as we do not announce this, as long as the North falters, as long as it says 'Kansas,' and watches that struggle, announcing nothing beyond, just so long the South will, day after day, one class after another, buy up politicians, and cast out the virtue and the strength of Northern opinion. If a man begins to form a virtuous resolution, it melts away in the temptation of time-serving politics and a qualifying religion. The gallantry and bravery of an absolute purist who converts multitudes of men. He that rides forward and takes the lead, forms the purpose of the millions that lag behind.

Now, therefore, at such a moment as this, the fault that I find with the Republican party, and with the pulpit—eloquent, able, yet, in some senses, determined, as it is,—is, that they do not announce anything like a purpose sufficient to aggregate the American people into one mass, capable of struggling and

grappling with an energetic power like that of slavery. We are grumbling, and men blame us for grumbling. We are not to blame. We never yet found fault with any man's method. We never yet said to any man, 'Too the mark!' We never yet said to any man, 'Give up your own manner of working, and adopt ours. But this, certainly, by way of advice and criticism, every intelligent student of this question is bound to say, and justified in saying—Your temporary issue is very good. Waste a certain amount of Anti-Slavery enthusiasm. But while you go off to side issues, you are wasting time. Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, could have saved this experiment of self-government twenty years ago. The South had not hardened into despotism twenty years ago. She was not certain of victory twenty years ago. Had they said to their compatriots, 'It is necessary to meet the issue to-day, and let these Southerners know that we will sacrifice nothing to their demands,' they could have stayed the plague where it was. To-day, we stand with the triumph of the Slave Power written on the forehead of the government itself; and that is the reason why men ought to recognize the necessity of the hour, which is revolutionary. It is useless to disguise it; it is useless to doubt, to cajole men with equivocal words, with half measures. Dr. Cheever has written the bravest sermon, perhaps, ever delivered in this country, on the Dred Scott case. He certainly criticises it remorselessly, but as far as I read it, he does not tell his hearers that there is but one way of opposing it, and that is, by being ready for revolution. There is no other. What is the use of your talk? There is the law. The Supreme Court has decided to be law, it bows to it. 'What are you going to do, Mr. Wilson? What are you going to do, Mr. Cheever? Mr. Beecher? Do you mean to submit?' 'No!' every voice answers. 'Do you mean to rebel?' 'No!' (Laughter.) Well, where is the middle course? There is no course but to say to the popular mind—for it is on the basis of the people, at last, that the heavy machinery of the Anti-Slavery movement rests—it is to say to that people, and say it to-day, 'You must be ready for revolution. You must be ready to look the law in the face and say, "We will not submit to it!"' And when you have produced that readiness in the public mind, then you are ready for the first attempt to carry that decision of the Supreme Court into effect. But you must begin to preach to-day. You must preach from sentiment into conviction; and from conviction into character, and from character into prejudice, and from prejudice into instinct.

But I will not detain you longer. I came to occupy this place because the friend who was announced before me the welcome sight of his person. I will yield the platform to him, and hope that Mr. HARRISON will give us the speech we have taken the liberty to advertise for this morning. (Loud applause.)

ANNIVERSARY WEEK IN BOSTON. Last week was the customary Anniversary Week in Boston, and perhaps the most thronged and the most interesting one of the whole series. The meetings of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention (six in number) were numerously attended by the best portion of the people, in an intellectual, moral and philanthropic point of view, and fully sustained its high reputation for talent and radical character. The experiment of making the opening session as attractive as possible, in order to insure a prompt attendance, was entirely successful,—the Melodeon being filled with a choice gathering of the friends of freedom from all parts of New England; and, notwithstanding the unusual attractions elsewhere, all the other sessions presented a cheering spectacle. A very brief synopsis of the proceedings occupies five columns of our present number, which, together with one of the admirable speeches made by Mr. PHILLIPS, is as much as we can find room for this week. We call special attention to the resolutions that were discussed and adopted, as indicative of the uncompromising spirit and determined purpose of the Convention. Though the series relating to the Republican party was laid upon the table, it was not because there was not entire unity of sentiment in regard to its proslavery position under the Constitution, but it was owing simply to a difference of views as to the phraseology which was used to characterize it.

Next to the Convention, in point of interest, was the meeting held in the Music Hall on Tuesday evening, at which three or four thousand persons were present, to hear a discourse by the Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, of New York, on 'The Wrongs of Kansas.' It excited great enthusiasm, and was delivered with remarkable force of expression and action. We hope to see it in print; though we should have much preferred to have had the subject of the discourse, 'The Guilt of the American Church.'

On Wednesday afternoon, a 'Christian (?) Anti-Slavery meeting' was held in Park Street Church, (which was thronged to overflowing by an enthusiastic audience), and addressed by Rev. Mr. Stone, Prof. Stone, Rev. Dr. Tyng of Philadelphia, and Rev. Dr. Cheever—the most radical sentiments uttered on the occasion being the most warmly applauded, showing a marked change in public sentiment on the slavery question, and presenting a significant sign of the times.

The subject of slavery was also paramount in the discussions of the 'Universalist Reform Association,' and elicited conflicting views; but a very large majority adopted a Report of a radical character, we are told, covering the ground of 'No Union with Slaveholders.'

At the Universalist Festival held in Faneuil Hall, a most eloquent speech was made by Rev. E. H. CHAPIN, in the course of which he said that, to attempt to suppress Anti-Slavery agitation by Congressional acts and parchment decrees, is as wise as it would be to try to snuff out Vesuvius with a pair of snuffers!

Of all the daily papers, only the Republican (?) Traveller was guilty of ridiculing and misrepresenting the Anti-Slavery Convention; and this, too, most wantonly and basely. Specimens of its scandalous language and behaviour occupy the 'Refuge of Oppression' this week, and almost disgrace even that department. Mrs. Foster were no Bloomer, though such a dress is a mere matter of taste and convenience. The attack upon Mr. Foss is exceedingly malevolent. He is charged with saying in his speech at New York, 'I hate Jesus Christ!' This is a falsehood of the first magnitude. No such sentiment or expression ever came from his lips. But we have no room to extend our notice of the Traveller this week. May its subscription list feel the pressure of its own scurrility.

A MERITED REBUKE. In consequence of the scurrilous treatment of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention by the Traveller, the following letter was sent to the editor of that paper. It contains a merited rebuke, and sets an example worthy of general imitation.

Boston, May 29, 1857. To the Editor of the Traveller:—For some twenty years past, the doings of the annual meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society have almost uniformly been noticed in the New York Herald by low and scurrilous editorials—ridiculing the dress, address and speeches of its leading members.

In the Traveller, you have noticed the doings of the friends of that Society at the Melodeon very much after the same manner of the New York Herald of former years.

Had you inserted any amount of manly criticism upon the resolutions or speeches made at the New England Convention, I should have made no complaint. The Traveller, I have supposed, claims to represent the Political Anti-Slavery party in New England. I was therefore not a little surprised at its treatment of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention. Heretofore, I have been a subscriber to the Traveller, and to the Commonwealth; but I can remember nothing of low ridicule of us, in either of them. You have developed an unlooked-for spirit of enmity and misrepresentation towards the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, which renders it quite inconsistent for me to continue to take the Traveller. I have, therefore, to request you to strike my name from the list of its subscribers.

Respectfully, FRANCIS JACKSON. SOUTH BRIMOTON, May 31, 1857. FRIEND GARRISON:—The late assault on the true friends of freedom, by the Boston Traveller, is not only painful, but exceedingly mean and malicious. How wicked and libellous its language concerning Mr. Foss! What an exhibition of depravity on the part of its editor! From a paper that will abuse and misrepresent the friends of humanity, as the Traveller has done the past week, nothing can be hoped.

Just look into yesterday's paper. The editor, in speaking of the high price of slaves in Missouri, and the selling of women and children, very truly says—'It is something horrible in these facts, and women's sales by auction being quoted in the prices current of the land of freedom.' In what respect is the country where such things are permitted better than Sahara, where shipwrecked Christians are bought and sold at high rates? Men are bought when they read of the sale of a woman by the Mahometan Arabs of the desert; their children are proclaimed to the world their property that all men are created free and equal, nor have they descended one branch of the slave-trade as they descended on the other with the utmost liberality. The Arab slave-trader is frank and consistent, and the Englishman of Providence is the deceiver; the same man is proclaimed (1) of the same race as man, and the American pockets the dollars, and supports the Democracy, both from principle and interest. They are separated divided in this world, but they will not be in the next!

Ah, yes! these sales are truly heart-rending. Ah, are not so vile and devilish. True—every word of it. And who is guilty of these atrocities? The editor of the Traveller knows that they are perpetrated by this nation—by its politicians, church-members, doctors and professors—the North maintaining political and Christian union with the South. And because you and your friends, Mr. Garrison, are outspoken in these matters, and act according to your professions, there come the abuse, the misrepresentation and slander of the press, the ministry, and the church. Only let the press, the church and ministry treat slavery just as apologists, as they treat other sins of a much less magnitude, and the work is done, and the slavery ceases.

Yours, truly, A. THE U. S. CONSTITUTION. It is either cool assurance or self-stultification to say, that to affirm the U. S. Constitution to be a pro-slavery instrument is to impeach the character of those who framed it; and, therefore, that they never made such an instrument. Surely, it is as wrong to attribute virtue where it does not belong, as it is to detract from true merit. Our revolutionary fathers all lived and died, recognizing the pro-slavery character of the Constitution; and we have not the folly to affirm that they were better than they claimed to be—that they were in heart and practice, what they never professed to be, even in theory, uncompromising abolitionists—that they were the consistent champions of imperial liberty. They were transgressors of the law of God; they ate our grapes, and their children's teeth had been set on edge thereby; they connived at what they deemed, and what was then comparatively, a small evil, in order to reach a more desirable end. Some of them were sentimentally opposed to slavery in the abstract, and spoke approvingly of its ultimate extinction; but, as a body, they made no moral issue with the crime of holding slaves. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Marshall, Polk, lived and died slaveholders—not in contempt of the Constitution, but under its fostering protection. Why, then, refuse to take the nation's word? Why, when it acknowledges every thing to be true that we allege against the Constitution, and glories in its shame and guilt, persist in saying that it is utterly self-deceived, and would stand by the destruction and oppression were it not for demagogues, office-seekers, and political partisans?—But we will not dwell upon the most ridiculous crochets ever presented to an intelligent people. We have a more necessary method of procedure. Taking the Constitution as it is, as it was designed to be by those who framed and adopted it, as it has ever been accepted by the American people without distinction of party, and as it is interpreted and enforced by all the courts, we call upon the people of the North to repent of their iniquity, and to refuse to walk in fellowship and union with those who traffic in human flesh, whose victims have multiplied to millions, and whose avowed purpose is to extend and eternalize slavery, to the consequences what they may.

MATTHEW R. HULL, Esq. Among the speakers of the meetings of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in this city, last week, was Matthew R. Hull, Esq., of Indiana. Mr. H. is a native of Virginia, but early in life, by his espousal of the cause of the oppressed, was compelled to leave that State, and has ever since been a resident at the West, where he is extensively and favorably known as a bold and stirring advocate of the slave; having been the editor of a fearless journal, a few years ago, published in Cambridge, Ohio, entitled the 'Christian of Freedom'—and since then, an Anti-Slavery lecturer. This is his first visit to Massachusetts, and it is his wish and his first visit as practically, for the purpose of testifying of the things he has seen in regard to slavery, and stimulating to fresh exertions in its overthrow. We hope he may receive many invitations to lecture, and be aided and encouraged in his mission. The East has hitherto sent its speakers to the West, and it is but reciprocal to have the West send its speakers to the East. If Mr. Hull lacks somewhat in culture and finish, he makes am

PARK STREET CHURCH.

On leaving the Melodeon after the Thursday morning session of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, we found posted at the door a written notice, Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting at Park Street Church, this afternoon. Addresses by Rev. A. L. Church, Rev. Dudley A. Tynge of Philadelphia, and Rev. George B. Cheever of New York.

It was gratifying to know that another Christian Anti-Slavery meeting was to be held in the city, by the one whose faithful testimonies and eloquent appeals we had been hearing through the sessions of that morning and the previous day. But though we had designed to attend the Melodeon again that afternoon, and though we are accustomed there to hear eloquence not less than that of the eloquent orators elsewhere mentioned, these considerations yielded to the attraction of the very remarkable and unusual place for the holding of such a meeting. The tautological terms of the announcement showed that it was made by a person not familiar with Anti-Slavery; moreover, Park Street Church has always been rather antagonistic than kindred to each other; and we know that there had been recently carried on there a successful revival of that same sort of religion which, many years ago, when Dr. Edward Beecher was pastor of the church, had driven a colored man, without even the allegation of any reason, except that he was colored, out of the pew which he had bought and paid for on the floor of that house. Various circumstances combine to render it proper to record the exact features of that transaction to the memory of our readers, and we therefore ask their attention to a Chapter in the History of Park Street Church.

In the year 1830, a colored citizen of Boston, who had bought a pew in Park-Street meeting-house, paid for it, received the deed, and occupied the pew part of one Sunday, was prevented from entering it for the next service on the same day by a constable or police officer employed by the Church Committee. This occurred in February, probably the 21st. What followed may be seen in the statement below, consisting partly of—

Extracts from the Church Records. Feb. 23d, 1830. W. T. Estlin and eleven others called a meeting of the Church, which assembled Feb. 23d, and was opened with prayer. The object was stated to be the consideration of the adoption of measures to prevent individuals who would disturb the peace and harmony of the Church from procuring seats of pews. After discussion, no vote being taken, the meeting closed with prayer.

Wed. Mch. 3d, 1830. Meeting was opened with prayer. Voted, That henceforth it shall be the duty of the Prudential Committee for the time being, to prevent the intrusion into the meeting-house of all improper persons, or persons who may disturb or incite the congregation, and to remove all such persons who may at any time be found in the house, and for this purpose they be authorized to employ a constable or officers, and such other assistance as they may deem necessary or expedient. After prayer by the Pastor, adjourned.

On the Saturday following this last church-meeting, the colored man in question received the following letter, and saw that it was useless to attempt any defence of either his property or his rights:—

Boston, March 6, 1830. Mr. FREDERICK BRINSLEY: Sir—The Prudential Committee of Park Street Church, to notify you not to occupy any pew on the lower floor of Park Street Meeting House on any Sabbath, or on any other day during the time of divine worship, after this date; and if you go there with such intent, you hazard the consequences. The pews in the upper galleries are at the disposal of the General Overseers.

For the Committee. We now continue the extracts from the church records. March 24th, 1830. Meeting was opened with prayer. Moved and seconded that the Prudential Committee be requested to consider the expediency of so altering the deeds of pews as to prevent colored persons procuring seats of the same. Meeting closed with prayer.

[At a subsequent meeting, opened and closed with prayer, it was voted that a new form of deeds of pews be prepared for the examination of the church; and at a still later meeting, opened and closed with prayer, the following was reported, as the amended form, with the accompanying 'Explanatory Remarks'.]

Article—No sale, transfer, or assignment of a pew shall be valid, unless by and with the approbation of a majority of the Prudential Committee, certified in writing on the back of the deed; and no pew, or part of a pew, shall be let to any person or persons without the consent of two of that Committee certified in writing.

'Explanatory Remarks,' following the Deed. 'The principal object of the above provision was that the church might secure the control of the pews, and be able to prevent a person who might, from becoming obnoxious to them, from becoming the proprietor or occupant of a pew.'

'Oct. 11th, 1830. Meeting having been opened with prayer, Voted, that the new form of deed be adopted, and printed for use. Meeting closed with prayer.'

It thus appears that the church (not merely the congregation, or that majority of the attendants in Park Street meeting-house whom that church were accustomed to stigmatize as 'the world,') but the church, acting in their official capacity through their Prudential Committee, did these three things, and did them with the full co-operation of their pastor, Rev. Edward Beecher.

1. Adding their influence to the stigma with which the world branded this colored man as belonging to a 'low caste,' and thus unworthy to associate with them, they refused to let him even worship God on equal terms with themselves.

ministers, and the meeting (like the meetings in 1830, above recorded) was 'opened with prayer,' in which Rev. Dr. Leavitt, of Providence, implored the Divine forgiveness for 'our brethren, nominally Christians, who hold slaves in the South.'

The appearance of Rev. Professor Stowe, of Andover, as the first speaker, was suited to excite the expectation that he had been commissioned, in the absence of his brother-in-law, the Rev. Edward Beecher, to read a confession for him, of penitence for the grievous sin above mentioned, and of exhortation to his surviving accomplices in the church to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

Professor Stowe, however, seemed not to have been commissioned to make any such statement. He spoke for himself only, and though the statements which he made respecting himself showed a long-continued and wicked complicity with slavery, he said not a word of acknowledgment or penitence for himself. He had been eighteen years, he said, 'IN IMMEDIATE CONTACT WITH SLAVERY.' Of course then, (since slavery does not allow any real minister of the Gospel to live in contact with her single week after the utterance of a faithful rebuke,) Professor Stowe for eighteen years played the part of an unfaithful watchman; yet, when he came, thus late, to speak in what assumed to be a 'Christian Anti-Slavery meeting,' he had the cool self-complacency to denounce the sins which 'our fathers' committed in this respect, and to utter the following excellent sentiments with an air as if he had all his life believed and practised them, instead of having spent the greater part of his professional existence in open and gross violation of them:—

'By compromise with wrong, the right loses its essence, and changes to the nature of wrong. 'The Scriptural "beast" of this country is slavery; and "the false prophet" is the Scriptural defence of slavery.

'We must make no compromise with wrong, and no connivance with it, in any case whatever.' Out of his own mouth shall Professor Stowe be judged. His life at the South was an eighteen years' compromise with slavery, giving silent connivance, and receiving disgraceful salary; and he has ever since been, and is now, in full ecclesiastical communion with those whom he has now designated as 'false prophets,' Drs. South-side Adams and Blagden, of Boston, not to speak of others of the same sort nearer Andover.

The next speaker was Rev. A. L. STONE, pastor of Park Street Church, who bears in some quarters the reputation of being an Anti-Slavery man, and who is well known to be 'Republican' in politics. If he really holds Anti-Slavery principles, if even his Republicanism be any thing more than advocacy of the 'rights of white men,' he has, of course, set before his church, during the recent 'revival,' the guilt of that persecution and robbery of an unfortunate colored man, in which they have persevered, without confession or amendment, to this day; and the greater guilt of 'framing iniquity by a law,' made to operate against all colored men, because they are colored, which still stands on their Church Records—and has earnestly exhorted them to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

Dr. Stone, however, without even looking on these topics, at the meeting in question, passed by on the other side. He was not commissioned, it appeared, to read any confession for his pro-slavery predecessor, Rev. Edward Beecher. He was not authorized, on the part of the church, to make a confession before the community, as public as their guilt had been, nor yet to make either an open apology, or the offer of restitution, to the individual robbed and insulted, or to his family; on the other hand, instead of expressing such sentiments as a Christian minister would of course feel, and feel with painful intensity in that which purported to be a Christian Anti-Slavery meeting, in regard to his past sinning or a perniciously pro-slavery people, he had the hardihood to claim an Anti-Slavery character for them and for himself, and even to utter such denunciations, and to imply such a contrast between Park Street and Essex Street, as this:—

'Do you know that men defend slavery from the Bible, and write South-side views in favor of it? Let this abominable slander have ventilation before the Christian public. To sell a man, with an assertion of his piety, in order to get a higher price for him is selling the Holy Ghost.'

It appears, then, that, however desirous Dr. Stone may be to cover up the sins of his church, and however guilty in openly attributing to them an Anti-Slavery character, while he knows that the persecution and robbery of Frederick Brinsley remain unatoned for—he now declares that the defender of slavery from the Bible commits an abominable slander, and defends the selling of the Holy Ghost. Let us try him by his own statement.

Rev. Dr. George W. Blagden, pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, has always been a defender of slavery from the Bible; and his colleague, Rev. Jacob M. Manning, (according to the recent public boast of an Orthodox minister of Boston,) is as pro-slavery as he. Yet Dr. Stone has, within the past year, publicly recognised both these men as Christians and as Christian ministers, by uniting with them in ordination and installation services, when he would have promptly refused such co-operation with a Universalist, or a Unitarian, or a pickpocket, or even a layman of undoubtedly pious and excellent character, on the ground that such services require not only Christians, but Christian ministers, for their proper performance.

Rev. DUDLEY A. TYNG of Philadelphia next spoke. His youth, taken in connection with his birth and education in the South, and the manly stand which he has taken in his own pulpit against slavery—a position not yet shared by any Episcopal clergyman in the country,—takes from us all disposition to make a harsh criticism on the faults of his speech;—such as his disclaimer of abolitionism—his recommendation merely to agitate, without professing a definite end to which the agitation should be directed—his not even wishing to break the chains at the South until the North should be emancipated—and his error in still supposing that it was a Christian church in Philadelphia, out of which the Slave Power drove him. A Christian church would have adhered the closer to him for such frank and noble boldness. Besides these imperfections, Mr. Tyng's speech made many good points, and showed an excellent spirit.

Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER'S address came next, and by its eloquence, energy, fervid Scriptural style, and entire control of the attention and sympathies of the audience, justified the eagerness of the great assembly to hear him. The press of matter in THE LIBERATOR, this week, will allow us to give but a few of the admirable things that he said; but these were among them:—

The fact that a man is a slave confers not the slightest title upon the master to enslave that man's child; every such instance is as directly man-stealing and kidnapping as the original seizure of slaves in Africa. But, under our government, the son of a slave woman must follow the condition of the mother, instead of the father; and by the late decision of the Supreme Court, the son of the freeman is as thoroughly deprived of his rights as the son of the slave.

There is no intimation in God's word that slaves owe any obedience or allegiance to government. No one does so but he who receives benefit from government. God requires the obedience of citizens as free men, not as slaves. We may lawfully submit to injustice in our own persons, for Christ's sake, but we must not abandon our weaker brethren to such injury; we are commanded to defend them, and their rights.

Every slaveholder is a man-stealer, and every nation of slaveholders is a nation of man-stealers. Unjust judges are worse than drunken pilots.

If the judges themselves pervert justice, they destroy themselves and the people also. This inquiry, so largely practised in this country, has so deeply corrupted us, that our very Christianity becomes so far from being the opponents of slavery as called insane and fanatic.

If the church and the ministry keep silence under such circumstances, they consent to sin. There is no apology for silence. They were instituted to testify plainly against all iniquity, and to proclaim the whole counsel of God; and His command now says—'Let my people go, that they may serve me—with their little ones.'

God has a controversy with this nation! This is never to be settled but by repentance and obedience, and there never was a grander opportunity for the church and ministry to act. If God's word had been faithfully applied by the churches and ministers forty years ago, the whole evil and sin would have been removed before this time. We ought all of us to have done this long ago.

This last expression, this 'we' in the last sentence, was the only intimation given by Dr. Cheever that he himself has been committing this great sin of silence, for eighteen or twenty years previous to the two or three years last past. He preached faithfully and thoroughly on this most important subject in Salem, twenty-three years ago. Ever since, until a comparatively recent period, commencing after the mass of the people had begun to be aroused, by causes outside of the church and the ministry, to the guilt and the danger that belong to slavery, though possessing, all that time, the transcendent eloquence which we have now listened to, Dr. Cheever has chosen either entirely to keep silence, or so to speak that not one in a nation of slaveholders has been disturbed, in demands for some explanation from Dr. Cheever than a single long, unmarked by any emphasis, and slid into a 'we' series of statements of the short-comings of the church and the ministry, as if it were them, not us, of whom he was speaking.

Still further: taking advantage of the public knowledge of the dissatisfaction felt by a certain proportion of his own people, in view of the energy of his recent sermons, he adroitly uses a form of expression which seems to imply, not only that he has no part in the guilt, but that the churches are the retarding influence, but for which the ministry would now lift up, and would long ago have lifted up their voices, like trumpets. He says:—

Our beloved churches and congregations must bear with us, and not say that in preaching these things we omit Christ, and Him crucified.—as if the congregations would ever have thought of such an imputation, if multitudes of clergymen had not long ago preached and printed pro-slavery sermons, asserting and elaborating that idea, and undertaking to prove it from the Bible!

Dr. Cheever was quite right in objecting to Mr. Tyng's excuse for the slaveholders, and in saying—'There is no apology for them.' But as little can he be excused—a man who assumes to take his stand upon conscience, right, justice, the commands of the most high God, and who, prophet-like, thrice declares, with ascending energy and emphasis, GOD HAS A CONTROVERSY WITH THIS NATION, and who thunders and lightens against reservation and compromise—for saying that the voting that all children of slaves should be born free after forty years would be 'the simplest remedy of the whole iniquity that could be conceived.' This specimen of compromise—though not quite so bad as the declaration of Henry Ward Beecher in the same place a few years ago, that he would cease from all agitation of the subject of slavery, and allow its unmolested continuance as long as the slaveholders could retain it, if they, on their part, would refrain from extending it beyond its present boundaries—is, still, much more like Henry Clay than Habakkuk. In making that assertion, is he remembering those now in bonds 'as bound with them'? And will he agree that arrangements now made by slaveholders, for freedom to such children of their slaves as may be born forty years hence, shall be considered a 'remedy of the whole iniquity'? To us, the doctrine of immediate emancipation seems more just and more Christian than this.

We would by no means deny, or undervalue, the great service rendered to the cause of the slave by such a thrillingly eloquent as Dr. Cheever's, addressed to points of such vital importance as the inherent wickedness of the whole claim of property in man, and all its constituent parts, and also the absurdity and falseness of the pretence that such a claim is sanctioned by Christianity. We rejoice also to see the promptitude with which he takes up the new aspects of the slavery question which successively came before the public, and tries them by right, justice, the Golden Rule, the law of love. But we rejoice with trembling. A large experience, relieved by but few exceptions, has shown us that the tendency of the clerical function is first to compromise and then to defection, where the cause of the slave is concerned. We know that Dr. Cheever recognizes the Orthodox Church of this country as the church of Christ, in spite of its practice of slaveholding at the South, and consent to slavery at the North. We know that he regards it as God's chosen instrument, and its method as God's chosen method of reforming men, in spite of its complicity with this great sin. We know that, being entangled in an ecclesiastical system which is permeated and saturated with this delusion, he yields to the entanglement, shrinks from the painful effort of cutting himself loose, and, in dealing his blows at slavery, spares the guiltiest and most efficient of its defenders, because, though they hold slaves, they also hold the belief of the trinity and the statement. Knowing these things, and interpreting by their light the sentence with which Dr. Cheever closed his address—'Let the system [of slavery] go, if it cannot be stopped in God's method, or for his glory'—we cannot but feel a painful apprehension that, valuing the church more than the slave, he may be expected, in any emergency, to cleave to the former and forsake the latter.

This meeting, in our judgment, did not fall the pretension of its title. But the immense throng in attendance shows that the people are ready enough to come, when the clergy call them. We trust they will try again, and come nearer to holding a Christian Anti-Slavery meeting.—C. X. W.

UNITARIANISM AND SLAVERY. At the recent meeting in ALTON, Illinois, of the Western Unitarian Association, Rev. M. F. CONWAY, of Cincinnati, introduced a series of resolutions against slavery, which, after a discussion, were referred to a committee. This committee reported, through Rev. Mr. Haywood, of Louisville, Ky., that as far as they knew the opinion of the members of the Conference, there was 'entire unanimity in regarding the system of slavery as evil and wrong, and doomed by God to pass away through the influence of the truths proclaimed by his Son; and that as the Conference is simply a voluntary assembly of such Unitarians as choose to unite with it, it had no power to prescribe a course of action for the churches represented. But even this mildness of criticism was offensive to the Unitarians of St. Louis, who thought the Conference ought not to meddle with the subject at all, and had no right to do so. Therefore Rev. Dr. Elliot, Hon. Judge Treat, Hon. Wayman Crow, and four or five other gentlemen, members of the Church of the Messiah in St. Louis, respectfully withdrew from membership in the Conference.

The Cleveland correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette states that a separation of the New School Presbyterian Church, on the question of slavery, at or immediately after the present session of the Assembly, is anticipated. Such a separation would leave this branch of the church without any slaveholders in its communion.

Last week, two men were run over and instantly killed, by a train on the Harrisburg and Lancaster Railroad, who were found, by documents on their persons, to have been notorious counterfeiters, burglars and thieves.

M. R. HULL. Mr. M. R. Hull, of Indiana, for years known as an able advocate of the slave's emancipation, visited Salem, last week, and delivered three lectures on the subject in the Town Hall. Mr. Hull is a Republican, but deeply imbued with the importance of elevating the Republican standard to the level of Abolitionism, and for this he seems to be earnestly laboring. Whatever may be the result of such an effort, Mr. Hull should have the earnest sympathy and zealous co-operation of all friends of freedom in the party and out of it. He certainly has ours.

It was not our good fortune to listen to his address, as we were absent attending meetings in Cincinnati. A correspondent, who is very enthusiastic in his admiration, sends us the following notice of his addresses:—

'Steel-pon' once said, in the Campbell Sentinel very doggerally, 'Salem, you are some.' If his appreciation of truth bears any decent proportion to his funny proclivities, he would say of three lectures delivered by M. R. Hull, had he heard them, they were 'some,' and the audience 'some,' in other than a sarcastic sense. He would have heard the speaker uttering naked truth, earnestly and stentorously, in such connection that every listener would be compelled to appreciate such parts as were applicable to his own condition.

The lectures are so abstrusively great as in his field of examination he is too much of an economist to waste it on vacuity or nonentity. It will be conceded by some who felt his, there seldom is so much important truth brought to light in three addresses.

The miseries of intemperance—the destruction, the bereavements and the criminality of war, the unpeppable injustice, cruelty and entire demoralization of slavery, we had often heard, but never before were their magnitudes so accurately placed before us, or their portraits drawn with such lifelike coloring.

Some one may say, 'Hull talks too fast; he vociferates and gesticulates painfully, if not to himself, to the audience.' Be it so; but, in our mind, critic, that each workman does best with his own tools. The lawyer could not plead successfully with his pack-thread; and how could the Yankee think without his stick to thither and so on, and ascertain whether it is not the matter, rather than the manner, that offends. Bear in mind, there will come a day after to-day, and have a care that, on that day, the memory of incoherence and apathy does not, as in the case of Randolph, of Roanoke, require that 'Remorse' be pencilled on both sides of your card.—Salem (Ohio) Anti-Slavery Bugle.

Mr. M. R. Hull, of Rush Co., Indiana, addressed a meeting at the Court House on Tuesday evening of the 29th inst. on the present condition of political parties. Mr. H. is an eloquent and effective speaker. He is a native of Virginia; and from his own experience drew a striking picture of the effect of slavery upon the non-slaveholding whites of the South, and pointed out the causes of the ignorance of that class of Southern citizens with great clearness and effect. We have never listened to a more effective exposition of the fallacies of Know Nothingism, than that given by Mr. Hull, and especially the absurdity of the charge of foreign-born citizens on the grounds of ignorance, while in some sections of our country, through the depressing influence of slavery, so large a share of native Americans are unable to read or write.

The anecdotes and illustrations given by Mr. Hull are novel and original, and both his manner and manner are well calculated both to instruct and amuse audiences. At this time of general apathy on political matter, such a speaker as Mr. Hull, by arousing attention to the subject of Slavery, and pointing out the causes of the ignorance of that class of Southern citizens with great clearness and effect. We have never listened to a more effective exposition of the fallacies of Know Nothingism, than that given by Mr. Hull, and especially the absurdity of the charge of foreign-born citizens on the grounds of ignorance, while in some sections of our country, through the depressing influence of slavery, so large a share of native Americans are unable to read or write.

We have had the pleasure of listening to Mr. Hull, and can state with pleasure, that his tongue is clothed with power, and his whole frame filled with fire and energy. He has the graphic, descriptive faculty of a Whitefield, and a fearful exercise of those qualities which arrest the closest attention. He is just the man to be heard and heeded at a time like this, when the guilt of slavery has invaded the North, and the sanctuaries of human rights—the Supreme Court.—Detroit Daily Advertiser.

Mr. HULL'S MEETING. We are not in the habit of complimenting speakers about their deserts, and do not intend to now; but it is due Mr. HULL to say that we never listened to a more powerful effort than we heard last night from the eloquent Virginian.

Mr. HULL'S subject was, 'The position of political parties in the United States, and especially the relation of the Republican party to the slave.' He dealt with them as they are, and not as they should be. He drew a striking picture of the crippling, humiliating and debasing influences upon the government and the church—upon the black and the white races—and appealed most powerfully to the people of the North to bear a bolder and more effectual testimony against the 'peculiar institution,' in both Church and State.

Mr. H. drew a striking picture of the effects of slavery upon the non-slaveholding whites of the South, and pointed out the causes of the ignorance of that class of Southern citizens with great clearness and effect. We have never listened to a more effective exposition of the fallacies of Know Nothingism, than that given by Mr. Hull, and especially the absurdity of the charge of foreign-born citizens on the grounds of ignorance, while in some sections of our country, through the depressing influence of slavery, so large a share of native Americans are unable to read or write.

Mr. HULL'S illustrations seemed all to be novel and original, and both his matter and manner are calculated to instruct and amuse. His anecdotes are rich beyond conception; he brings down the house in roars of laughter and thundering applause. He is just the man to be heard and heeded at a time like this, when the guilt of slavery has invaded the North, and the sanctuaries of human rights—the Supreme Court.—Detroit Daily Advertiser.

Mr. HULL at RINGBROOK HALL. The address of this gentleman at Ringbrook Hall, last Friday evening, was full of interest. Being a native of Virginia, he makes from personal knowledge. His choice of facts was highly interesting, and the callous doughfaces in view of them would be obliged to admit that the miserable condition of the poor whites in the Old Dominion was caused by American Slavery, and nothing else. While men, then, have something to do with this very 'peculiar institution,' now struggling to curse the Territories with its infernal presence.

Mr. Hull showed the great danger to be apprehended from the spread of this scourge over a territory now under the control of the United States. He was followed by law, and he sustained by Northern Democracy, Know Nothingism, and Southern Border Ruffianism, combined.

He reviewed very ably the action of the Southern religious bodies, and showed that, like the baggage and outlaws of our advancing army, they were in the rear, instead of being in the van; and they were professing love for heathen thousands of miles off, and at the same time heathenizing the heathen in their own families—not even allowing them to learn to read the Bible.

Mr. Hull is an able and interesting speaker, and his heart and soul are in the work. He is entitled to a warm reception by the friends of equal rights. Lockport Journal.

R. I. REPUBLICANISM AND MR. HULL. Mr. Hull has recently delivered two Anti-Slavery lectures in this city. Mr. Hull is a brave, uncompromising, Anti-Slavery Republican. He is for open, unending, earnest war upon Slavery, as well as upon Slavery catering in Born in Virginia, where his childhood and youth were passed, he seems to have inherited a large share of those noble qualities of mind and person, which so eminently distinguished her Revolutionary heroes. Knowing by experience, as well as by close observation, what Slavery is, and what it does, and to what it is tending, his hatred of the accursed thing is equalled only by his intense love of universal liberty. Gifted in an unusual degree with all the powers of oratory, and inspired by sentiments of the most heroic and the broadest humanity, his speeches fall upon his auditors with magnetic and telling effect.

If Republicanism in Rhode Island has vitality enough left in it to put itself within the reach of Mr. Hull's influence, we hope it will take the earliest opportunity to be shaken into life, by his clear and just criticisms of its short-comings.—Providence (R. I.) Daily Transcript.

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE—A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE U. S. AND STATE AUTHORITIES—GREAT EXCITEMENT.

From the Cincinnati Gazette. There has been great excitement during the last two days in Greene County, in this State, in consequence of the arrest of four individuals charged with aiding a slave to escape. On Tuesday, United States Deputy-Marshal Churchill, accompanied by eleven assistants, left this city for Mechanicsburg, in company, Ohio, eleven miles from Urbana, having with him a warrant issued by Commissioner Newhall, for the arrest of Charles and Edward Taylor, brothers, Russell Hyde and Hiram Grutridge, who, says the warrant, did, about the 21st day of August, 1856, harbor and conceal one Add White, a person owing service and labor to Daniel G. White, of Flemingsville, Ky., who had, previous to said date, escaped from the State of Ohio, and was then a fugitive from such service and labor, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of the said Add White. The offence charged, it will be observed, is not that the slave was aided in his escape from his master in Kentucky by the four accused persons, but that they sheltered and protected him in Ohio, or in other words, they 'put him through' on the Underground Railroad. The penalty for the offence is a fine of \$1000 and imprisonment.

On Wednesday morning, the Deputy-Marshal left Urbana with his posse, in hired carriages, and in Mechanicsburg and the neighborhood immediately surrounding the four accused individuals. While the arrests were in progress, the most intense excitement was created in the vicinity. The news spread rapidly, and a determination was expressed to use every means the law provides to rescue the prisoners from the hands of the Border Ruffians, as the officers had been called, whose sole object it was to take them over to Kentucky, and lynch them.

A writ of habeas corpus was procured from a Judge in Champlain County, and the Sheriff attempted to serve it; but before he could do so, the officers had concluded the prisoners beyond the bounds of the County, and the Sheriff of that county, with his posse, started in upon the United States officers at 6 o'clock yesterday morning, in Jamestown.

The United States officers resented the act of the country officers in seizing their horses' reins before making known their business. A warm altercation ensued. The Sheriff and his men were assisted by an excited crowd of two or three hundred persons. Rifles and pistols were displayed. The Marshal and his men drew their weapons, and several shots were fired. Mr. Churchill discharged his revolver at the crowd, but no one was injured.

The conflict was sharp and stubborn, but superior numbers prevailed, and the Deputy-Marshal and his posse, and a dispatch received yesterday afternoon stated that they were sent last night to Springfield for trial.

At Springfield, at 1 o'clock yesterday, Deputy-Marshal Kiefer arrested Isaac Sargent on a similar charge to that made against the others, and brought him to this city. He was taken by Commissioner Newhall in \$1,500 bail for examination next week.

When the Sheriff seized the horses of the carriage in which the United States Marshal was riding, the Marshal with great show of authority shouted out, 'Hold on there, old man! Sheriff, I intend to hold on.' Marshal—'I have an order and doing my duty. Sheriff—'So am I, and doing my duty.'

The broad grin of earnestness, determination and coolness which marked the old General's countenance, together with the suspicious looking implements of his formidable posse (about 20 persons,) by this time made the redoubtable Marshal and his crew soon conclude to surrender without further ceremony. One fellow (Bunker,) however, during the melee, jumped out of his buggy and made his escape into the woods, and has not yet been arrested. The rest were brought back to Xenia about noon.

The Constable and his posse took the Marshal and his comrades back to Champlain on the 21st inst. to answer to a writ of assaulting Sheriff Layton. And the other four men from Champlain County were taken to Urbana by the Sheriff of that county, in obedience to the 'habeas corpus,' where the legality and sufficiency of the warrant on which they were arrested will be duly investigated. The people of Champlain County, it is believed, will all be anxious to see the Marshal and his posse, and to see their neighbors seized, handcuffed and marched off to a distant city, for the offence of not helping a pack of slave-catchers to do their dirty work, and we do not believe they will permit it, Fugitive Slave Law or no Fugitive Slave Law. The force of that law's intonations provisions is about done in Ohio.

We have learned some facts in regard to the conduct of the United States Marshal and his accomplices towards the prisoners while in their custody, which go very far toward showing that they were engaged in a scheme to kidnap these men under color of legal authority, take them to Kentucky, and deal with them as their depraved passions might dictate. They not only had handcuffed the prisoners, but they treated them with all manner of indignity; as, for instance, remarking when a convenient limb of a tree projected over the road, that that would be a good place to hang such &c.—Abolitionists as they call themselves, and who profess to believe that they have brains out if they opened their mouths to tell anybody that they were under arrest, or what for.—Xenia News.

CINCINNATI, May 30. The U. S. Deputy-Marshal Churchill and his assistants were brought before Justice Christie at Springfield, this morning. Messrs. Elliot and Chaffee were arraigned on two charges, one for assaulting Deputy Sheriff Compton, and the other for assaulting Sheriff Layton with intent to murder. Messrs. Churchill and Elliot asked through their counsel that the amount of bail fixed for their appearance at the next term of the Common Pleas. Their bail was then fixed at \$2500 each on both charges. The amount of the party, right to be required to give bail in the sum of \$10,000, and refusing to do so, the whole party were committed to jail.

CINCINNATI, June 2. The habeas corpus, issued by U. S. Judge Leavitt, in the Mechanicsburg slave affair, has been served, and the prisoners, (the U. S. Deputy Marshal and his posse,) brought here for trial. The examination commenced yesterday, but the case finally adjourned for a week, to allow of the production of affidavits. It is probable the prisoners will be discharged by Judge Leavitt, but that will not prevent their indictment by the Grand Jury of Clarke County, and their re-arrest for trial.

LEICESTER, K. T., May 28. Gov. Walker arrived yesterday, and was received very quietly. He read the Inaugural Address, which is lengthy, and in which editorial laws shall be enforced; criticizes the action of the free State men; and declares the Constitution shall be maintained by the whole force of the Government. Gov. Walker passed through Lawrence on his way here, and assured the people there that every thing should be done. Gen. Lane was arrested on Tuesday for assault on a battery, and intended to kill an old African. He made a political speech in the evening to 1500 persons.

The 9th of June is the time fixed for the re-assembly of the Legislature of Kansas, elected under the Topeka Constitution. Gov. Robinson, Judge Conway, and other officials have been invited to the meeting, and urged their prompt attendance, to complete the State organization, preparatory to admission into the Union.

NEW ORLEANS, May 28. Gen. Walker's friends confidently assert that he will go back to Nicaragua in 30 to 60 days, with plenty of men and means. He and his wife, as well as upon Slavery catering, Spaulding's Amphitheatre. The house was filled with a crowd, and when Gen. Walker appeared, the audience rose and cheered him most enthusiastically, the bands playing the National air.

Gen. Walker will address a public meeting here tomorrow night, on 'Neutral Ground.'

NEW ORLEANS, June 1. The steamship Louisiana was buried in Galveston Bay yesterday morning. Eleven lives are known to be lost. Besides these, 31 others, including Col. Bainbridge of the Army, are missing. Twenty-five persons were picked up by the steamer Galveston.

BLOODY RIOT AT WASHINGTON. The municipal election in Washington on Monday resulted in a Democratic victory, but was accompanied by a terrible riot, the result of an effort of clubs of fighting men in that city and Baltimore to give the victory to the Know Nothing. The riotary mob, who went out, and fired upon the police, killing some half dozen, and wounding many, and wounding several of them, as usual, innocent spectators, and wounding several others.

Dr. Fred Scott, his wife and two daughters, have been emancipated by Taylor Bow, Esq., of St. Louis, to whom they had been conveyed for that purpose by Dr. Chaffee, M. C., from Springfield to this State.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

TO THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Collections by Joseph A. Howland:— Duty Evans, Providence, R. I., \$1 00 John A. Brown, do, 0 50 E. W. Lawton, Newport, R. I., 1 00 By Parker Pillsbury:— Dr. Wm. Fifeild, Weymouth, Mass., 5 00 William Arnold, Conn., 5 00 In Putnam, do, 6 50 In Essex, Mass., 6 00 In Weymouth, do, 4 50 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

MEETINGS AT ABRINGTON.—WHEELER Phillips and C. L. ROSSON will address the inhabitants of ABRINGTON, in the Town Hall, on Slavery, on Sunday, June 14. There will be three meetings. JAMES N. BUTTUM, also, and other speakers from abroad, are expected on the occasion.

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 doing good 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.) Tenth, (1844.) Thirteenth, (1845.)

BOSTON, May 15, 1857. 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 assistant in a school. Apply at 9 Columbia street, or to R. F. WALLCUT, Esq., 31 Cornhill.

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

MARRIED.—In Manchester, N. H., May 7, by Judge Cross, NATHAN PAOB, Jr., of Danversport, to MARY H. SAWYER, of Herkimer, N. H.

DIED.—In Roxbury, on the 10th inst., Mr. JEREMIAH C. BRUCE, aged 39 years. 'He died!' has been pronounced of all the by-past human race from Adam downward to the present day. Some, like a shock of corn fully ripe, depart when age and infirmity no longer render existence desirable; and some, like our friend, go the way of all our race in the prime of life and the flush of health, when he might well have looked forward to many years of usefulness and happiness. But by those who knew him best, he will be kindly remembered, and many will sympathize with his afflicted family in their sudden and painful bereavement.—Investigator.

POETRY.

For the Liberator. SONNET—TO RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Out from the arch'd centuries, great man, Thou hastest, as some planet from a sky;

MISCELLANY.

PROGRESS OF SLAVERY AGITATION.

Speech between the Unitarians North and the Unitarians South—The Unitarian Conference broken up.

(Correspondence of the St. Louis Republician.)

ALTON, Ill., May 18, 1857. The Unitarian Conference, which has been in session in this city for ten days past, closed its labors yesterday.

There were forty or fifty ministers present, representing Boston, Syracuse, Utica, Buffalo, Detroit, Cincinnati, Louisville, Chicago, St. Louis, and other western and northern cities.

The proceedings were of a pleasant and harmonious character, up to last Friday morning, when the prevailing slavery question was brought forward by the name of Staples, who sprung a set of resolutions upon the body of that character, introducing the subject as one of the reforms which demanded the action of the Conference.

Speeches waxed hot and hotter. The calm waters of the Christian brotherhood were agitated and tempest-tossed. So many chafed and struggled for the floor, that the main rule for speaking was adopted.

The 'abolition' portion, who soon proved to be the strongest by at least two-thirds of the Conference, declared that the action of that body last year, at Chicago, when they gave the slavery question the go-by, was wrong; that the Unitarian Church was anti-slavery, and it was incumbent upon the Conference, as such, to pronounce publicly against the unholy and infamous system.

The 'pro-slavery' party professed an entire willingness that each delegate, each pastor, or each church, in all the land, should entertain their peculiar opinions upon the subject of slavery, and all other questions. But they claimed that this assembly was simply a conference of voluntary delegations from various free and independent congregations, and it had no power to make creeds, establish platforms, or pass resolutions declaratory of church position upon any of the great contested questions of the day.

The debate waxed hot, until night, when the subject was referred to a committee of clergymen to consider upon the resolutions, and report thereon the next morning. The President of this Conference was a Northern man—he decided in the various motions, points of order, &c., made during the afternoon, quite generally against the minority—many of which were made by Judge Treat, of St. Louis.

He put Rev. Dr. Eliot, Judge Treat and three Northern men on the committee; but the two former gentlemen announced their declination, saying, that the conference, having no power to make creeds or platforms upon the slavery or any other question, such a committee was unnecessary, and to serve on it would stultify them in those positions.

The President then put on Rev. Mr. Wood, of Lowell, and another of the majority party, Mr. Hayward, who, after some hesitation, consented, hoping to devise thereby some plan to avert the impending storm.

I should state that some harsh speeches were made during these proceedings. A young man by the name of Conway, the same who had a difficulty with his flock of the Unitarian Church of Washington City, several months since, because of preaching political sermons, and was compelled to leave it, and who is now preaching to a small congregation in Cincinnati, made a violent attack upon the speakers, and some of the majority party, Mr. Hayward, who, after some hesitation, consented, hoping to devise thereby some plan to avert the impending storm.

Oh! I long once more to see him, And to fold him in my arms! As I did when he was with us, With his thousand budding charms.

Oh! 'tis true the soul must suffer, And be bowed with anguish down, Ere 'tis ready for its crown.

But, O Jesus! blessed Jesus! Thou wilt meet us, thou wilt bless us, Thou wilt give us perfect joy.

LITTLE FOOLS AND GREAT ONES. Friend, when in youth's too fleeting hours You roam the earth alone, And have not sought some loving friend, That you may make your own: Remember woman's priceless worth, And think, when pleasures pall—That little fools love too much, But great ones not at all.

And if a friend deceive you once, Absolve poor human kind, Nor rail against your fellow-man With malice in your mind; But in your daily intercourse, Remember, lest you fall—That little fools confide too much, But great ones not at all.

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER. Life is a race where some succeed, While others are beginning; 'Tis luck at times, at others speed, That gives an early winning. But if you chance to fall behind, Ne'er slacken your endeavor; Just keep this wholesome truth in mind—'Tis better late than never.

If you can keep ahead, 'tis well, But never trip your neighbor; 'Tis noble when you can excel By honest, patient labor. But if you are outstripped at last, Press on as bold as ever; Remember, though you are surpassed, 'Tis better late than never.

Choose well the path in which you run, Succeed by noble daring; Then, though the last, when once 'tis won, Your crown is worth the wearing. Then never fret if left behind, Nor slacken your endeavor; But ever keep this truth in mind—'Tis better late than never!

FLOWERS THAT NEVER FADE. Flowers that bloom to wither fast, Light whose beams are soon o'ercast, Friendship, warm, but not to last—Such by earth are given.

Seek the flowers that ne'er shall fade, Find the light no cloud can shade; Meet the friend that ne'er betrayed—These are found in heaven!

a theoretic question, suspended on an imaginary line. And he particularly regretted as an Alton man, that the act of separation was to be done in this city, where, after so long a struggle, and with all the resources of the city, he had been unable to get the church organization and erect an edifice. He had hoped that those Northern gentlemen, who were so anxious to do the deed, would wait until the Conference should meet upon their own soil, and thus die with the blood of the martyred denomination. He would say to those young advocates of liberty, (the fast young preachers,) that they would quite as well show their anti-slavery zeal to the world by going to the slave States, and live among, and deal with, and preach against, it, as to enter such a body as this, many years past, or to enter such a body as this, and make empty speeches and pass imaginary thunderbolts in the way of resolutions, against an evil which here did not exist. He was willing for them to have their opinions, but was not willing that their opinions should be forced down the throats of others. If they wished to talk over the slavery question, let them call a special meeting for it, outside of the Conference, and talk their fill. And further, if the young men feared that this course would not give them the publicity they could have had, let them speak printed, and cast broadcast over the land—and he would cheerfully pay all the attendant expense.

The speech was cutting. I can give no more of it, for I am already too lengthy, I fear. Other speeches were made on the majority side, some fanciful, some flat, (especially of Conway's, the expelled,) one or two of which were most excellent in spirit and manner, of elderly ministers in the church, who were not so green as the young men, but believed it better to err on the side of temper and compromise with sin, by refraining to declare against the great national sin of human slavery.

The dissenters withdrew, and the report of the committee was adopted, by about twenty-five eyes, judging from sight and sound—nays but one or two. The Unitarian Church of the United States was divided.

The Conference adjourned to dinner. Some of the delegates left town immediately. The Northern wing had an afternoon session. On yesterday, the Sabbath services were held at the Unitarian Church in the morning, and in the afternoon the Rev. Mr. Forman was installed as pastor of the Alton Unitarian Church. This morning a Chicago train bore away to their homes many of the Unitarian preachers, Church North, with bitterness in many of their breasts against the brethren of the Church South. The upper Mississippi packets will take away those this evening.

SCHOOLS IN WASHINGTON. The Federal District has a colored population of 14,000, most of them free, while a large proportion of both free and slave are par-colored, carrying a taint of African blood. The colored population of this District is not so numerous as that of any other public provision made, while nearly all of them exist in a state of poverty and social degradation which forbids the thought of their education by spontaneous effort. Living in a state of social vassalage, tolerated by the ruling class only as ministrants to their pride, luxury and indolence, or panders to their vices, it is not strange that the moral as well as intellectual condition of these blacks is a very low one—it would be strange indeed if it were otherwise.

These facts, some years since, impelled a Northern lady, Miss Myrtilla Miner, to undertake the establishment of a school for colored girls. The plan was favored by a few philanthropists, through whose aid a plot of three acres or so lying near the boundary dividing Washington City from Georgetown, has been purchased and paid for, with a small but commodious building thereon, which is at once the school-house and residence of the teacher and her boarding-schoolers. Forty or fifty girls of all hues but white are being instructed as well as the abilities and means of the teacher will permit. The impossibility of renting a room for such a purpose has constrained the purchase of this house and ground, while the absence of any appeals for local sympathy or local notoriety has not shielded the enterprise from the wrath of his Democratic Majesty, King Mob. For some years past, however, it has been unmolested—a favor which Miss Miner gratefully attributes to the personal interposition of Mrs. President Pierce, who, hearing that his riotous suppression was imminent, drove over repeatedly in her carriage to inquire into the progress of the school, and be assured of its prospects and safety. The cowardly miscreants who were plotting its destruction, noting with amazement its reflected shadow of the White House patronage, will find mean weeds under a July sun.

Recently, an effort has been made, mainly in Boston, to raise \$20,000 for the enlargement of the house, and general improvement of this school, so as to fit it for the accommodation of half a dozen teachers and one hundred and fifty scholars, including twenty or thirty boarders. Such dangerous radicals and fanatics as the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, George S. Hillard and Deacon Sam Greole were conspicuous in the effort, and it was thought that the \$20,000 required could be raised in the course of this year.

These facts have stirred up the Hon. Walter Lenoxx, a pecuniary magnate and ex-Mayor of Washington City, to a center of controversy. He is now through *The National Intelligencer*, that this school must be put down. He don't want to provoke a sentimental controversy? He would simply suppress agitation by suppressing the education of colored children in the district. Says the Hon. Walter:—

'The matter involved is too momentous in all its relations, not only to this community, but to the entire country; and, in the language of the extract itself, "rises infinitely above all party or sectional views. It is my duty to relate to you, as it is also elsewhere, in order that such immediate measures may be adopted as the exigency of the case demands. If I do not entirely mistake the opinion which the citizens of this District will entertain of the character and fatal consequences of this enterprise, they will almost universally, without distinction of party, class, or condition, be ready to support me, and will confidently expect that the advocates of this measure will promptly abandon it, as an unjust and dangerous interference with the interests and feelings of a separate independent community.'

'We shall gain nothing by concession or delay. This scheme was started some years ago in haste, and has since been steadily and already gained, it feels secure of its future progress. Earnest, prompt action can now arrest it peacefully; tumult and blood may destroy its future history.'

'With justice, we can say to the advocates of this question, You are not competent to decide this question. It is my duty to relate to you, as it is also elsewhere, in order that such immediate measures may be adopted as the exigency of the case demands. If I do not entirely mistake the opinion which the citizens of this District will entertain of the character and fatal consequences of this enterprise, they will almost universally, without distinction of party, class, or condition, be ready to support me, and will confidently expect that the advocates of this measure will promptly abandon it, as an unjust and dangerous interference with the interests and feelings of a separate independent community.'

'We are no longer prevented by any feeling of delicacy from expressing our sentiments concerning this citizen, over whom a cloud of mystery has hung for seven long months. Those who know him best have most deeply felt his wrongs, although the circumstances which attend his life are very painful, and we recall with a shudder the late moments, or rather hours of his life, his friends who were haunted with a variety of conjectures will now find painful satisfaction in the solution of the mystery so far as it is a solution, while those who are perhaps too much disposed to judge others by themselves, and have therefore settled down upon opinions derogatory to the character of Mr. W., will learn a wholesome lesson in the discovery that there has been a man more ready to injure himself than others.'

Mr. White was 38 years of age. Of his early history, the writer has little knowledge. His boyhood was spent in Watertown, Mass., and he was blessed with all the favorable influences of a New England village, which did not fail to leave their impression upon him. His sense of religious obligation early learned to manifest itself in the substantial form of humanity, and soon after he was graduated at Harvard College in 1838, he became engaged in the great reform of the day, and always generous almost to a fault, he was devoted not only his time and strength, but also a goodly portion of his large inheritance to the cause of Temperance and Anti-Slavery. He was either editor or frequent contributor of reform journals in Boston, for a number of years, and frequently spoke at anti-slavery and temperance meetings in that city and throughout the country, and fearlessly exposed himself to danger where he felt any good might be accomplished by his personal advocacy. He has been a member in a cause which, though it has been, is now very generally exposed. As another said of him—He studied law, but practised the gospel. If, in common with men who engaged in good works, and in accordance with the universal imperfections of human character, he loved the notoriety which he thus gained, who is therefore to take from him the credit of heartiness? Indeed, it is not to be questioned that he would have found other means of giving himself prominence, if his sympathy for suffering fellow-beings had not been quick, and his moral sense strong. With all the property he inherited, he must have seen before him a career of influence as a man of wealth, but his ambition was of a nobler grade. He was impatient with conservatives, and despised those whose God was the dol-

lar. He moved to the West with high purpose, locating in Madison somewhat over three years ago. Our citizens will long remember him as a disinterested and public-spirited man; one who, though glad to be widely known as engaged in good works, never sought popularity, and never would stoop to pandering or sycophancy to obtain the honors of office.

He was far above the common level of the community—above it in moral purpose and power as well as in intelligence and independence. W. A. White was of such men as this country needs, but whose worth cannot be appreciated because it cannot be reckoned by dollars and cents. If he lacked anything good, it was nothing so much as worldly wisdom, and if, judging by results, as the world is too apt to judge, he was not always shrewd and cautious in business, it is also to be remembered that his whole soul was not bent upon accumulating wealth, that he thoroughly despised that shrewdness which is only another name for meanness and trickery. Those who know him best, know that he would rather die than be guilty of a dishonest act. Of his last hours we know little. We will not judge him upon our conjectures; of the wonders of his physical frame we are too ignorant. The over-strained cords must eventually snap.

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THE LATE WILLIAM A. WHITE. The remains of William A. White, which were lately discovered at Milwaukee, were brought to this city yesterday, and taken to Watertown, where they were deposited in the burial place of his family.

Mr. White was born at Watertown, Sept. 2, 1818, and was the only son of Abiah White, a wealthy citizen of that place, who died in 1845, and whose children, besides his son, were six daughters, one of whom, now deceased, was the wife of Professor James Russell Lowell, of Cambridge. The rest of the daughters are still living. One of them is married to Col. Richardson, Mayor of Worcester, and another to Charles W. Elliott, author of the recently published History of New England.

Mr. White graduated at Harvard College in 1838. Among his classmates were William Apinwall, Wendell T. Davis, Charles Devens, Rufus Elliot, William W. Story, Nathan Hale, Jr., and Professor Estlin and Lowell, of Harvard University. Upon leaving college, he entered the Law School, and afterwards studied in the office of B. R. Curtis, now one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was admitted to the bar, but practiced law for only a brief period, as he soon, with characteristic ardor and energy, threw himself into the Anti-Slavery and Temperance movements, in behalf of which he was for several years conspicuous as a zealous and efficient public writer.

In 1843 he made an anti-slavery lecture tour to the West, in company with George Bradburn and Frederick Douglass, and while in Indiana and Illinois, was repeatedly assailed by mobs, and exposed to great personal danger. On one occasion he was severely injured in the head by stones and bricks. After his return, he became editor and publisher of the *Excelsior*, the *New Englander*, and the *Washingtonian*, temperance journals, which he conducted with vigor and ability, and kept in existence at the expense of his own private fortune. In 1854 he removed to Madison, where he died in Madison, Wisconsin, where he soon became distinguished as an able and public spirited citizen. At the time of his death, we believe, he was Chairman of the Republican State Committee. In 1855 he married a daughter of Justin Butterfield, of Chicago. He had been previously married, in 1846, to Miss Harriet Sturgis, of Roxbury, who died in 1850, leaving two children. In October, 1856, Mr. White went from Madison to Milwaukee to attend the State Agricultural Fair. On the ninth of October, he decided to visit to see his wife, who was there on a visit to her mother, in Milwaukee. He left Milwaukee early on the morning of the tenth, took breakfast at his hotel, and walked out immediately afterwards. He was quite unwell at the time, and while at Chicago had complained of severe headache and nausea. He was met in the street by an acquaintance at a short distance from the hotel, and was not again seen alive. It appears that he continued his walk outside the city along the lake shore for about two miles, until he reached a solitary bluff overlooking the water. Here he probably was seized with a fit or disease of the heart, and fell over the edge, and died, while seated on the edge of the bluff looking down upon the lake. The body was found about a fortnight ago, by a boy, at the foot of the bluff, to which it had been brought by the fall of a portion of the bank.

There was nothing whatever in Mr. White's circumstances or character that rendered it probable that he had committed suicide. Notwithstanding the reports to the contrary at the time of his death, it has been ascertained by his administrators that his pecuniary affairs were in a satisfactory condition. His own property, inherited from his father, would have paid his debts twice over. His wife possessed in her right a very large property, an ample fortune, an fact. He was singularly happy in his domestic relations, and was devotedly attached to his young children, for whose sake, in fact, he had been led to settle in the West. It is not to be presumed without evidence, that he would without cause voluntarily desert them by taking his own life.

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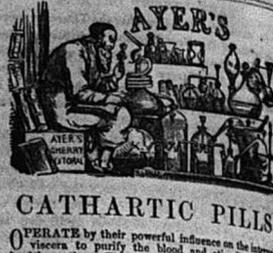
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FOR CONSTIPATION.—Take one or two pills, not frequently, the evening before going to bed. A course of one or two pills is the cure of both. These pills are free to all inquirers. A course of one or two pills is the cure of both. These pills are free to all inquirers.

FOR STOMACHIC AFFECTIONS, or Morbid Irritability of the Stomach, which produces general depression of the mind and smallness of stature. Take one or two pills at the end of each meal, until a healthy habit of body is restored to the system.

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