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to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to freeted, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inthree times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, B in Agency of Michigan Anti-Slavery Soa are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the of the paper, viz : - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS LOSING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK. WENDELL PRILLIPS.



he Thited States Constitution is 'a governmt with th) and an agre

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

ables of the institution. . There is some excuse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States and by force restore their rights; but they are seithou excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our pathers, in ranking the Constitution, swerved from the most. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and saust walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. ... No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enalaying of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1857. WHOLE NUMBER, 1383.

OPPUGE OF OPPRESSION.

OUTH CAROLINA BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Isia in Regard to the Late Proceedings of the Parent Society. the following is an authentic copy of the Report

a Resolutions alluded to in our paper of Wedneshe undersigned, members of the Committee to he undersigned, members of the Committee to ha were referred the report and other papers meeted with the late proceedings of the American hat Society, on the subject of slavery, beg leave shuit the following Report and Resolutions:—

The American Tract Society was established, as it impressed in the Constitution (Art. 1.) to different shadeless of our Lord Leave Chief.

knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ as the smer of sinners, and to promote the interests of godliness and sound morality, by the circulad religious tracts calculated to receive the aphation of all evangelical Christians.'

is passance of this object, the Society and the mades have for thirty years acted with great zeal, many and efficiency, in printing and distributing signs works, and their publications have, hith-manceived the cordial sanction and approval of englical Christians in all parts of the country. ed together in bonds of mutual love, . Christian urious names have devoted their means and hard their efforts to promote this great and phiand and rewarded, in a very remarkable degree Jestheless, for some time past, Southern Chris-

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me restless faction, whose untiring agitations unit slavery have introduced confusion and diviinto every body which has allowed their influwere also at work in the American Tract Sostriving to intimidate its officers, and perver principles upon which the Society's operations to based, with the hope of converting it into an age for the promotion of their fanatical and mis-

We saw, therefore, with unmingled regret and approbation, the appointment of a Committee to alle into and review the proceedings of the Ex-tire Committee, for we knew full well from what re this movement proceeded, and were satisfied only mischievous consequences could follow the least concession to these unhappy agita-

Report and Resolutions introduced by that mittee, and unanimously adopted by the Soci-Their language, however carefully chosen, wheshown to admit of but one construction, viz. the form of domestic servitude prevailing at the this a moral evil in itself, (per se,) and as such, its maintenance is incompatible with the prev-tor of Christian truth; and their recommendas, if acted upon, will afford Northern fanatics suportunity, so eagerly sought, of assailing salem institutions through the presses of the arean Tract Society. Your Committee are untiling, in a matter of so much importance, to rest a simple assertion, and therefore beg leave to

the words in illustration of each point.

that the Report treats slavery as a moral evil per uss, therefore, as a feature in our social system is must finally yield to the prevalence of Christiaty, and that it looks forward to its removal of the results which the American Tract Somay hope gradually to accomplish by the inisi by its Constitution from discussing it directseident from the language of both the Report

the 6th paragraph of the Report, p. 225, we recorded with devout thankfulness to God the may and Christian confidence that prevailed in mmittee in the discussion and adoption of the scattors on the 'subject of slavery.' In the 8th scraph, same page, the following language exceptably the sentiments of its authors with reis below the same their anxiety that how is to slavery, and their anxiety that how is to be done precipitately by the American Tract heat, to bring about its abolition:—'It should heat, to bring about its abolition; that the sensantly borne in mind,' they say, 'that the pit of faith is not complete without the labor of mad the patience of hope. And who can doubt say, with such influences as faith, hope and charter in the state of the same of t in alliance with that chastened patience that is in wait for the fruit until the harvest season, (i. e. slavery) ' and all other moral evil, shall and in the 2d Resolution, slavery is virtually ed with drunkenness, war, popery, as thus: frity, allow itself to be made a special organ of as system of religious or moral reform, so In Committee observe that such a view of sla-

er, as is here set forth, is in perfect consistency acrtain 'moral evils and vices,' 'condemned in ans, which 'slavery is known to promote.' is to be anticipated that an evil tree will bring the sil fruit, and the Society, being satisfied that as the tree and its fruit are evil, should look form we eren though it be in 'chastened patience' of

low Committee do not question the right of described for the continued of the continuents to regard to slavery, but they do deny their right that them a basis of action for a Society which had a multitude of Christians, both North and ath, whose views of slavery, drawn as they be-ter from the Word of God, are essentially differ-ing and they are more than ever convinced of the

residity of committing the preparation and pubog subject, to men, however excellent in other pres, who differ from us upon what may be alled first principles.

Lar Committee are also compelled to regard the

amendations of that report as changing, in important respects, the attitude of the Amer-Tract Society towards the subject of slavery, a Tract Society towards the subject of slavery, as opening a wider door through which North-hinties may advance to disturb our peace and set our religion. It matters little that the avento opened, is at present occupied by our friends, a they have themselves aided, we cannot but at most imprudently, in removing the bar erectified the Constitution of the Society against the will which now threatens it. Under the first continuous of the Constitution the appreciations of the will which now threatens it. Under the first set of the Constitution, the operations of the core were expressly limited to the circulation of the core were expressly limited to the circulation of the core were expressly limited to the circulation of the core were expressly limited to receive the approbation a reasonable Christians. Under this provision, a full-shing Committee possessed, and have hithmat received, a discretionary power of deciding the tracts were calculated to receive the approbation a mangelical Christians; and finding that, upon a mad question of slavery, evangelical Christians at variance upon the very first point of its intelless, they wisely determined to be silent altoges, and leave the discussion of the duties and re

sponsibilities involved in the system with their Christian brethren at the South, to whom it properly belonged. They did not suppose that they stood committed to slavery, or could fairly be charged with sympathizing with it, because they avoided it ety be requested to enter into correspondence with the same authors upon which their constituents were not officers of the several Southern Agencies, for the purwith sympathizing with it, because they avoided it as a subject upon which their constituents were not agreed, and on which it was hardly possible for them to publish anything 'calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.' That they should have allowed themselves to be pressed by any urgency from this truly constitutional platform, is to your Committee a subject of the deepest regret. But they cannot hide it from themselves that this is the case. By the fourth resolution, already in part quoted, the Publishing Committee stand instructed, that 'those moral duties which grow out of the system of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vicees which it is known to promote,

noral evils and vicees which it is known to promot and which are condemned in Scripture, and so much deplored by evangelical Christians, undoubtedly do fall within the province of this Society, and can and ought to be discussed in a fraternal and Christian

If, as your Committee believe, nothing calculate to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians can be put forth by the American Tract Society, on the subject of slavery, in the present disturbed state of public feeling, the Publishing Committee are not only authorized, but obliged, by this resolution, to violate the fundamental Article of the Society's Constitution. And, as if to leave no room Society's Constitution. And, as if to leave no room for doubt upon this point, the attention of those who may desire to discuss the subject is officially directed to certain 'moral evils' and 'moral vices' which 'slavery is known to promote,' which are 'condemned in Scripture,' and 'so much deplored by evangelical Christians.' The word all before evangelical is here dropped, and we feel that it must be dropped also out of the first Article of the Constitution before a single tract can be published under tution before a single tract can be published under

that resolution. Your Committee think it due to the great body of Christians at the South, whom this Society represents, to add, that Southern Christians are not unresents, to add, that Southern Christians are not un-willing to consider their duties in regard to those whom the Providence of God has placed under their care and government; nor do they shrink from the discussion, in the proper place and manner, of any evils incident to this, as to other social and family relations, in the present fallen state of humanity. But they utterly deny that slavery is more or other-wise an evil than poverty, or other forms of servi-tude; and they cannot listen to teachings which are based upon the unwarranted assumptions that lie at the bottom of this Report. Had the Society recognized slavery as an existing social institution, upon the lawfulness or merits of which it did not feel call-ed to pronounce—had it then resolved 'that it was within its province—nad it then resolved 'that it was within its province to discuss the moral duties which grow out of its existence, and the temptations to which both master and slave are exposed, as those duties and those temptations are exhibited in Scripture'—your committee might have questioned the expediency of such a resolution at this time, and tremble at the dangers of this perplexed navigation upon which the Publishing Committee were instructed to enter—they might have anticipated little prac-tical benefit to either master or slave from the wellmeaning attempts of men, who, however zealous, subsists at the South—but they could not have de-nied the Society the right to publish, even on this subject, anything which, according to the first Article of the Society's Constitution, was 'calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians.' But when the very Report, which asserts the right and duty of discussion, proceeds, under the sanction of venerated names, to stigmatize our whole social arrangement as a 'moral evil,' and 'pro-motive of moral evil,' ranking it, consistently

their Annual Report.

which they trust this body will find it not inconsistent with its dignity to adopt.

Before submitting the resolutions which they have prepared, they would briefly advert to some of the considerations by which they have been influenced in coming to this conclusion.

First: It seemed to be more consistent with the spirit of that holy, meek and patient religion which we profess, to err rather on the side of long suffering and forbearance, in cases like the present, where no further aggression or injury is likely to be the result of a reasonable delay.

Secondly: They entertain the highest respect for the Christian character of the Executive Committee, and feel much sympathy for them in the trying position which they have occupied for several years

sition which they have occupied for several years past. The recent action of the Society was, your Committee believe, almost as unacceptable to them as to ourselves, and we know that they are earnestly as to ourselves, and we know that they are earnestly desirous to repair any injury likely to result therefrom. Under these circumstances, your Committee feel unwilling to embarrass them by any precipitate action, which would only tend to throw them irredeemably into the power of the Abolition faction.

Thirdly: They feel the profoundest unwillingness to destroy, or even hazard the existence of an organization which has accomplished so much for the souls of men and the spread of Christian truth. That Satan and his emissaries should achieve a tri-

That Satan and his emissaries should achieve a tri-umph like this, is hateful to their minds, and they carnestly desire to be in no degree whether umph like this, is hateful to their minds, and they earnestly desire to be in no degree whatever responsible for such a result. It is their hope and prayer that the Society, which numbers in its ranks so many of the truest servants of God, when made aware of Southern sentiment upon this matter, will, in the same spirit of Christian forbearance and candor, withdraw from its recent position, and return in good faith to that platform of the Constitution from whence the affairs of the Society, have been so peacefully, happily, and successfully administered for the last thirty years. But since this cannot be done until the next annual meeting of the Society, they recommend that no final step be taken until after that meeting be held. Therefore,

Resolved, That we will take no final action on the

Resolved. That we will take no final action on the nestion of separating from the parent Society until

. See especially Mr. Carpenter's address.

Resolved, That the Board of Directors of this Society be requested to enter into correspondence with the officers of the several Southern Agencies, for the purpose of exchanging views, and concerting measures, looking to the formation of a Southern Tract Society, in case the parent Society shall refuse to render us the justice we demand at their hands.

Resolved, That, in the meantime, we deem it necessary, under the circumstances of the case, and to receive the dissemination of books and tracts which

prevent the dissemination of books and tracts which might be objectionable, to exercise a general supervi-sion of the Society's works, within our territorial limits, and to suffer no tract or book to circulate with-out the approval of a Committee, appointed for that

Resolved. That we will henceforward elect our own Secretary, Depositary, or Treasurer, and General Agent; the election of these officers, for the present, being subject to the approval of the Executive Com-

Agent; the election of these officers, for the present, being subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Parent Society, who shall, jointly with ourselves, endorse their certilicates of appointment.

Resolved, That we will consider all applications within our bounds, for Colporteurs, and will commission those appointed, subject to the same restrictions as above. And that each Colporteur shall be furnished, for his protection, with a list of the Society's publication particular to the same restrictions.

lications, certified to as unobjectionable, by the Committee on Revision.

Resolved, That all moneys collected within our bounds for Colportage, &c., shall be paid over to our own Treasurer or Depositary, who shall keep an open account with the Treasurer of the Parent Society; render to him a quarterly statement of the accounts paid in, and have the same acknowledged in the

Resolved, That this Report and these Resolutions be published in all the papers of our city, with the re-quest that papers in the country, and in our sister States, will also copy and publish them.

It is in the most friendly feeling to the American Tract Society, as originally constituted, and with a deep interest in the work which lies before it, throughout our whole country, and with a desire to restore the confidence which has been so much shaken by the unconstitutional course pursued, that we pro-pose this plan for the future prosecution of the great work committed to us, as the only one that appears to be practicable; and we would represent to our friends at the South, that as all the colporteurs now in the field in South Carolina and the adjacent States are under the superintendence of the highly esteemed officers connected with the South Carolina Branch of the American Tract Society; as these colporteurs are themselves Southern men as no works or tracts are circulated which do not pass through our Depository, and it is evident, from the foregoing Report, that no interference with the subject of slavery will be permitted through any agency of the American Tract Society, we indulge the reasonable hope that the operations of the South Carolina Branch of the American Tract Society will receive undiminished and even increasing support, confidence and co-operation, at their hands.

GEORGE A. TRENHOLM, WILLIAM E. MARTIN, DANIEL RAVENEL, Rev. Dr. T. SMYTH, Rev. Dr. J. BACHMAN, Rev. JAMES H. ELLIOTT.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

From the Central Presbyterian, published at Rich mond, Va., we copy the following, for the purpose of showing how the recent action of the American Tract Society is likely to be regarded at the South. But the end is not yet. The rapacious maw of Abolitionism is just as unsatisfied as it was from the outset, and cries for more more little and cries for more more little. whole social arrangement as a 'moral evil,' and 'promotive of moral evil,' ranking it, consistently enough, with war, popery and drunkenness, and when the same Report, having laid this platform of operations, goes on to invite the aid of every fanatical sciolist towards the great work of reform—your committee feel that nothing but 'strife and evil work' can possibly ensue from a discussion so inaugurated. And your Committee must add, moreover, that their confidence is greatly impaired in the discretion and impartiality of those who could see nothing in this Report and these Resolutions injurious to the rights and position of their brethren of the South.

It is an additional ground of alarm and suspicion that speeches of a most dangerous character*—incendiary peeches of a most dangerous character—incendiary cause he has ever said or done anything amiss in that position, but because he wrote the 'South Side view of Slavery,'—a book which merely tells the bonest truth, and which it is much easier to demonate the contract of the Publishing Committee; not because he has ever said or done anything amiss in that position, but because he wrote the 'South Side View of Slavery,'—a book which merely tells the bonest truth, and which it is much easier to demonate the publishing Committee; not because he has ever said or done anything amiss in that position, but because he wrote the 'South Side View of Slavery,'—a book which merely tells the bonest truth, and which it is much easier to demonate the publishing Committee; not because he has ever said or done anything amiss in that position, but because he wrote the 'South Side View of Slavery,'—a book which merely tells the bonest truth, and which it is much easier to demonate the publishing Committee; not because he has ever said or done anything amiss in that position, but because he wrote the 'South Side View of Slavery,'—a book which merely tells the bonest truth, and which it is much easier to demonate the publishing Committee. Under these circumstances, your Committee have felt very much at a loss what to recommend. Their first feelings of indignation prompted them to advise an immediate separation, at whatever cost, from a Society which had so grossly disregarded their rights and wounded their sensibilities; but various considerations have at length prevailed with them, to recommend another and more moderate course, which they trust this body will find it not inconsistent with its dignity to adopt.

Before submitting the resolutions which they have prepared, they would briefly advert to some of the considerations by which they have been influenced in coming to this conclusion.

First: It seemed to be more consistent with the spirit of that holy, meek and patient religion which we profess, to err rather on the side of long suffering and forbearance, in cases like the present, where

From the Central Presbyterian.

With disappointment and sorrow have we peruse the resolutions unanimously adopted at the recent

the resolutions unanimously adopted at the recent meeting of the American Tract Society.

Hitherto the publications of this Society have been regulated by principles truly American, as well as evangelical; discussions calculated to stir up sectional animosities have been strictly inhibited; and upon the broad basis of Catholic unity in the reception and maintenance of the fundamental truths of Revelation, the Society has secured the confidence

Revelation, the Society has secured the confidence and co-operation of Christians of different denominations, and has scattered millions of 'the leaves which are for the healing of the nations.'

During this long period of prosperity and heavenblest efficiency, attempts, sometimes sly and insidious, at others undisguised and audacious, have been repeatedly made to revolutionise the character of the Society, and to convert it into an anti-slavery propaganda—but until now without the smallest success. So evidently did all good men appear to see that the only possible means of retaining the patronage which the Society received from all sections of the country, was by peremptorily prohibiting any discussion of the subject of slavery, that it was reasonable to hope that this wise and just policy would be per-petual.

We are neither afraid of free discussion on this subject, nor averse to it, at proper times and places—but we contend that there are already a plenty of but we contend that there are already a pienty of arenas for this purpose, without compelling the American Tract Society to become another. The agitation of the slavery question will as inevitably result in the division of the Society, as it has already resulted in the separation of churches and organizations, once happily and harmoniously united. The oftener we read, and the longer we reflect on the resolutions adopted at the recent meeting, the more

frm does our conviction become, that the first blow has been struck upon the entering wedge which is destined to split the American Tract Society.

It need not be urged that the resolutions adopted, carefully discriminate between what they call the political and moral evils of slavery, avowing the intention to confine all discussion to the latter. Admitting that such a distinction was honestly made, with the actual intention of regarding it, what will be the practical value of such a shadowy and shifting line? Who does not know that if there be moral evils inscrearable from a system affecting the moral evils inseparable from a system affecting the half of the republic they must involve and comprehend the political interests of the republic? Who does not know that the most rampant anti-slavery preachers at the North, who every Sabbath convert evated tone of spirituality. We exceedingly pity the pulpits into rostrums for the denunciation of the moral taste of those minds that relish such food,

Even Dr. Cheever, who vomits his hebdomadal bile upon the Supreme Court of the United States, declares that his mal de cœur is excited by the odor of trampled Africans, offensive only to his moral sensibilities, and that he is no political preacher!

But when we come to analyze the language of the most objectionable resolution, we shall find that it opens as wide a door as the most fanatical abolitionopens as wide a door as the most fanatical abolitionist could desire for the discussion of every thing that could misrepresent and insult the South. Indeed the resolution itself is insulting, when it asserts that the object of the Tract Society is to discuss 'those ceils and vices which it (slavery) is known to provide and vices which it (slavery) is known to provide as Southern Christians contend that slavery as it exists among us is an institution recognized and justified by Scripture, and that the evils incident to it are not evils which flow from the system, but from the depravity of human nature, which entails abuses on the marital, parental, and every other relation which exists in society.

The very resolution then which opens the door for as wide a discussion of the subject as even Dr. Cheever could desire, is itself a protest against slavery; and with such an introduction, it is easy, though saddening, to anticipate the consequences.

It is a THOUGHT FOR CONSIDERATION.

There are two periods in the existence of reform papers when they need the special support of the friends of the cause they advocate. The first is at their inauguration. Then, when they lend their aid to draw the lines deeply which divide Truth from Error, they must receive from their friends the existence of reform papers when they need the special support of the friends of the cause they advocate. The first is at their inauguration. Then, when they need the special support of the friends of the cause they advocate. The first is at their inauguration. Then, when they need the special support of the resolution of the cause they advocate. The first is at their inauguration. Then, when they need the special support of the friends of the cause they advocate. The first is at their inauguration. Then, when they need the special support of the friends of the cause they advocate. The first is at their inauguration. Then, when they need the special support of the friends the cause they advocate. The first is at their inauguration. Then, when th

though saddening, to anticipate the consequences.

It is not worth while to argue that the character of the Executive Committee furnishes a guarantee that no publications of an offensive nature will be permitted. No committee can withstand the outside pressure which will now be brought to bear upon the Society; and what pledge have we that any conservative men will be permanently retained in that Committee, now that a new and hitherto inter-

that Committee, now that a now and interto inter-dicted policy has been inaugurated?

The fact is, Northern men cannot write anything on the subject of slavery calculated to instruct or edify Southern masters. Even when the intentions of these writers are most pure, such is their igno-rance of the real character of the institution, that they fall into so many unconscious mistakes and misrepresentations as utterly to vitiate their produc-tions, and render them wholly inefficacious for good. The only men who are competent to discuss even the reciprocal obligations of masters and slaves are not going to make the American Tract Society the vehi-cle of their communications; and the great propor-tion of all that is written will be written by men

have been among the warmest friends of the Society, will find themselves compelled to withdraw from it will find themselves compelled to withdraw from it their countenance and support. A few days since, we heard a very distinguished clergyman of one of the Northern cities express his mortification and grief at what he called the folly of the Society in forsaking the only basis upon which it could command the confidence of the whole country. Thousands in the South, who have been the fast friends of the American Tract Society, will share in this mortification and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration and grief, not only because of the fresh illustration and grief and support. A few days since, the choice in papers was between anti-slavery and pro-slavery journals, and many whose interest in the great question of the day was but just awakened, preferred, of course, the former. But since then, anti-slavery—except of the most ultra kind—has become more popular, and he who is in a transition state can be measured and filled with a paper that will suit him as nicely as the coat he orders from his tailor. For the Methodist, whose over its directed anti-slavery—wise, there is the Northsands in the South, who have been the fast friends of the American Tract Society, will share in this morti-fication and grief, not only because of the fresh illus-tration it presents of the insatiable greed of aboli-tion, which seeks to absorb and convert to its own purposes every institution of philanthropy and piety, but because if these recently adopted resolutions are followed by corresponding action, the American Tract Society will hereafter be known as the Northern Tract Society, and its operations arrested throughout one half of this confederacy.

ran and sectional prejudices. Conscious weakness or inherent folly, alone, will resort to such allies or apply such instrumentalities; and a good cause needs them not, and a bad cause is made none the practical comments upon what we have said, and

better by them.

The Observer intimates that it is whispered in private circles that Dr. Cheever has the fearful malady he charges upon the Chief Justice, and one in the

malady he charges upon the Chief Justice, and one who has had patience to read his raving, in the last Independent, would be inclined to this charitable construction of the case.

We are not willing, however, to allow the force of this modern and fashionable ples, which has been attempted of late to be made to cover a multitude of sins. We believe there is real moral turpitude in such gross violations of Christian charity and ministerial propriety. The mind may have become warped by its prejudices and unbalanced by the undue preponderance of a single idea, still such a condition of mind is not beyond the voluntary and

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

Paul rebuked the judge for commanding him to
be smitten contrary to law, but as soon as he was
reminded of the contumacy, he retracted, and plead
ignorance as his apology, and fell back upon the
Scripture as a safe warrant to submit to legal authority, though it be unjust: 'For it was written, Theu
shall not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.' We
commend this practical exemplification of this subject to the careful consideration of Dr. C. as worthy
of imitation.

Southern statesmen, literature, and social life, assert that it is only against what they call the moral evils of slavery that they inveigh?

Even Dr. Cheever, who vomits his hebdomadal

SELECTIONS.

From the Anti-Slavery Bugle. A THOUGHT FOR CONSIDERATION.

to congratulate themselves upon having done a good work. And now has arrived the second period when they need the general and especial support of their friends, which they too often fail to receive. Very many think they did in the start all that can reaso ably be required of them, and now if the paper is sustained, it must be either by the heavy sacrifices of a few individuals, or by the charity-like support of the half converts it has begun to harden into

Anti-slavery papers of the Disunion type have always had a hard struggle for existence. Being more intimately acquainted with the history of the Bugle than of any other paper advocating the same principles, we refer to it for illustration; premising, however, that the history and experience of its struggles for support are, in the main, the experience of them all. The Bugle never boasted of a very extensive subscription list, and its publishers never anticipated a 'good time coming' when they could talk with complacency of 'our hundred thousand subscribers.' Such an expectation would be proof positive of insanity on the part of the entire Executive Committee, if not of the whole Society. But the time has been when the list was much larger tion of all that is written will be written by men who are not only utterly incompetent to instruct the South in relation to its peculiar duties, but by men who, under the invitation of the resolution, will stion to its principles was far more rampant than now. But, as active opposition died away, active slavery is known to promote, in a way which will support also decreased, until the question is now contains but mischief. do nothing but mischief.

It is a significant fact that the abolition press at the North already exults in anticipation of the results of 'carrying out the principles contained in the resolutions' recently adopted. It will not be long before some of the best men at the North, who have been among the warmest friends of the Society. o-operation.

Ten years since, the choice in papers was between

eye is directed anti-slavery-wise, there is the North-ern Independent; for the Baptist, the American Missionary; for the Presbyterian, the Independent; and for politicians, the Tribune, Times and Era, with others like unto them. These papers supply the wants of all who are not Disunionists, and have

Tract Society will hereafter be known as the Northern Tract Society, and its operations arrested throughout one half of this confederacy.

MORAL INSANITY.

No discreet and Christian man can read the uncharitable epithets and incoherent ravings of Dr. Cheever, in the Independent, as applied to the Supreme Court of the United States, without feeling an irresistible conviction that a good cause suffers exceedingly in the hands of such advocates. He charges the Chief Justice with moral insanity, and declares the late decision 'as utterly null and void,' as if the Judge who uttered it had been a maniac.

The decision of the Supreme Court may be invalid—indeed, we believe it to be erroneous and unjust in its application—but if it is ever to be made to appear so, and its practical force destroyed in the popular mind, it must be done by argument and reasonable and truthful showings, and not by vituperation and abuse, and a frenzied appeal to partizan and sectional prejudices. Conscious weakness or inherent folly, alone, will resort to such allies or annly such instrumentalities; and a good cause of all who are not Disunionists, and have consequently caused some diminution in the subscription lists of The Linearron, Standard and Buyle.

We are not sorry that these papers are influenced by the leaven of abolitionism; on the consequently caused some diminution in the subscription lists of The Linearron, Standard and Buyle.

We trust our readers are prepared to make some practical comments upon what we have said, and rather than have them at any loss what to do, cheerfully furnish them the following memorandum: Item .- If any subscriber is in arrears, I will at

once remit the amount to the publisher, and pay for at least one year in advance.

Hem.—If I can possibly subscribe to all the Disunion papers, I will do so, and will exert my influence to have others go and do likewise, in whole, or in year.

N. H. METHODIST CONFERENCE.

The following Report on Slavery was adopted by the New Hampshire Methodist Conference, at its late session, and is published at its request in Zion's Her-

The committee on Slavery present the following

Paul rebuked the judge for commanding film to be smitten contrary to law, but as soon as he was reminded of the contumacy, he retracted, and plead ignorance as his apology, and fell back upon the Scriptureas a safe warrant to submit to legal authority, though it be unjust: 'For it was written, Thou shall not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.' We commend this practical exemplification of this subject to the careful consideration of Dr. C. as worthy of imitation.

Gerrit Smith proclaims that the judges ought to be hing, while Dr. Cheever affirms that they are insane. Now, these moral doctors, judging from the diversity of their prescriptions, agreeing only in their extravagance, must, at least one of them, by mistakeu in the true nature of the case. For an

the least, hard to be received. All men cannot receive it. We cannot receive it, because we cannot reconcile it with the constitution of our beloved country, the laws of humanity, and the doctrines of our holy religion.

our holy religion.

We see in the spread of this evil, its extension into territory consecrated to freedom; its permission to go into every free State in the Union, to exhale its pestilent odors, tainting the moral air—the pouring out of a vial of wrath of God upon the nation; the curse which good and wise men have feared, because we have not repented of this great evil.

Your Committee conclude with the following resolutions:—

1. That we re-affirm, with increased emphasis, the

2. That we joyfully anticipate the time when the M. E. Church, in her official councils, shall give that construction to all her 'Rules' which shall require

her communicants to let the oppressed go free.

3. That we heartily approve the position taken by the editor of Zion's Herald upon the subject; and cordially welcome him to his present post of labor, as an able and fearless co-worker in the cause of huas an able and learness co-worker in the cause of numanity and religion.

4. That this is no time to abate our zeal or cease
our efforts for the overthrow of slavery; and, as
Christian ministers, we pledge ourselves to renewed
and unending warfare against it, by all Christian
means, till it be extirpated from the church and the

Respectfully submitted, O. H. Jasper,

G. S. DEARBORN, E. R. WILKINS, SILAS GREEN, Committee.

JUDGE LEAVITT.

This notorious legal kidnapper, who, as Judge of the Federal District Court, bore so distinguished a part in restoring Margaret Garner and her family to slavery, was a member of the Old School General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, lately in session, in Lexington, (Ky.) We observe that he figures in that body as chairman of a committee for the relief of the destitute widows and children of deceased ministers! One would suppose that, in such employment, he would not fail to remember how he had made Margaret Garner and her old mother more than widows, and her infants more than orphans. And yet if he did, not unlikely the recollection was accompanied with pious self-com-placency, while greeted with the approval of Ken-tucky Presbyterians to whom he had returned their scaped human chattels. Such is the influence of successful iniquity, no matter how gross its characsuccessful iniquity, no matter how gross its character, when it is rewarded with popular applause.—But the church that welcomes, honors, and follows such criminals as spiritual guides and civil rulers, what shall, what can be said of it? And the people who support and honor such a church as the embodiment of Divinity, theoretically and practically, how blind, how morally besotted! Till they have a clearer spiritual vision, and a purer and higher standard of Christianity, how can we expect them to be other than willing partners with kidnappers and pirates? It will not yet do for moral suasion abolitionists to abandon their work for political partisanship. They have need to expend political partisanship. They have need to expend all, and a thousand-fold more than all, of their vigor and labor in morally educating the nation, and bringing it to the practical recognition of the simplest principles of justice. The blind guides of the church have led the besotted people of the nation into the slough of slavery, and there they are content to wallow, and will be content till something of a moral renovation is effected.—Anti-Sianara Paral

MORAL COWARDICE.—The Old School Presbyterian Assembly had not even the moral courage to assail Mormonism by a condemnatory resolution even in the present state of public sentiment against that sect. The supporters of concubinage in the South are remarkably tender of the feelings of the Salt

Lake polygamists.

In the course of the proceedings of the Assembly at Lexington, last week, Rev. J. E. Bright, of Tennessee, offered a resolution, denouncing the iniquities of Mormonism, and expressing the desire of the Assembly to see those iniquities wiped from the

Assembly to see those iniquities wiped from the escutcheon of the nation.

Judge Fine expressed his abhorrence, and that of the whole country, of those iniquities, but doubted the propriety of introducing such subjects into the Assembly. He moved it be laid on the table!

The mover asked leave to withdraw it, which was granted, and it was withdrawn.

THE WEST DID THE WORK .- It is not the least gratifying circumstance connected with the late dis-comfiture of the clerical friends of slavery, at the comfiture of the clerical friends of slavery, at the New School Presbyterian General Assembly in Cleveland, that the movement by which they were forced to re-affirm the old doctrines of the Church on this matter of human chattelism or boldly declare their belief in the insane absurdities of Calhoun, and withdraw from all fellowship with the congregations of the North, came from the West. It was the constant complaint of the apologists for the women-whippers and man-stealers, that the West had present this matter upon them—that the West only stood in the way of some compromise—that the West was ed this matter upon them—that the West only stood in the way of some compromise—that the West was intractable. Thank God for the complaint, and the reality of the causes that produced it! The West could not have been more loudly praised. Be hers the honor of standing in the first rank of those who are resisting the inhuman heresies and anti-Christian aggressions of the madmen who have prostituted our Government to the uses of bondage, and now wish to debase Religion to the same unholy purpose.—Chicago Tribune.

The Discussion. The utter uselessness of trying to silence the discussion of slavery is shown by the religious anniversaries. It comes up in the Home Missionary Society, on a question of garbling tracts. It comes up in the Presbyterian General Assembly on a question of church membership. It comes up in the Methodist book concern, on a question of church funds. It comes up in the shape of two Anti-Slavery societies, organized for the sole purpose of discussing it once a year. It is like Banquo's ghost that would not 'down.' It is like the gint Anteus, who, the oftener he was crushed to earth, the stronger he arose to his feet. Put it down on the stump, and it comes up in the pulpit; suppress it in the streets, and it comes up in the school-house and by the fireside. This business of debating the slavery question, disagreeable as it may be to some of us, cannot be avoided. It can neither be skipped over, nor crawled under, nor got round. It must be met, faced, stood up to, grappled with, like a relic of barbarism as it is, and disposed of according to the best lights of the science, philosophy and religion of this 19th century.—Albany Eccuing Journal.

The South is overhauling Mr. Buchaman's organ, the Union, on the subject of Squatter Soverignty.

The Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BURNESS BERN THE RESERVE

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF INDE-PENDENCE DAY.

BOSTON, JULY 10, 1857.

The wet and chilly weather of the first three days of July, and the rain which fell through much of the day and night of the 3d, left little reason to expect that the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause would be able to assemble at Framingham on the 4th, in their usual numbers. Contrary to such expectation, however, and notwithstanding the forbidding aspect of the skies during the earlier part of the day, a very large concourse of friends of the cause, and of earnest and interested inquirers, came together from all parts of the State, to renew their vows and purposes of devotion to the sacred cause of freedom, and to do what they might to redeem the hours of the Nation's birthday from the utter perversion and desecration which it everywhere suffers at the hands of this degenerate nation. The beautiful and convenient grove, too, in which the meeting was appointed to be held, was found to be at eleven o'clock sufficiently dry to be occupied; and at that hour the meeting was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston, the chairman

of the Committee of Arrangements. Mr. Jackson said that, before proceeding to the ganization of the meeting, he would like to submit a few remarks to the audience, and spoke as follows :-

FRIENDS-Eighty-one years ago, the self-evident truth was proclaimed in this country, that 'all men are created equal,' and with 'an inalienable right to

Those who made that declaration were in earnest they backed it up with ball and cartridges, and dissolved their union with the mother country. A few years after, they came down to blank cartridges, rockets, and windy professions, and by their acts endorsed that self-evident lie, chattel slavery.

Boston, that money-cursed city, will doubtless burn more gunpowder, and waste more rum to-day, than all the rest of Massachusetts. After repeating and puffing that self-evident declaration seventy-five years, Boston, at the bidding of the Slave Power, seized Thomas Sims, a very handsome young man, twentytwo years old, and sent him to life-long slavery. Her Mayor Bigelow, Marshal Tukey, with all the police of the city, including Asa O. Butman, who arrested Sims, and for that act was rewarded with an office, no at Worcester, but in the Boston Custom-House-the militia of Boston, now known as the 'Sims Brigade,' volunteered their services, and were under arms of that occasion. They marched down State street and Long wharf, and thrust him on board John H. Pearson's brig Acorn, beside which there was a reserv guard of 1500 of the first merchants of Boston, (so said the City Marshal,) who volunteered their assistance in case of need, to help enslave Sims.

A few days afterwards, the Fourth of July cam round again, and was ushered in with gunpowder explosions. Boston honored the day, (in its way,) and forgot that poor Sims, (who had been whipped with the paddle,) was then lying in Savannah jail :- over again, Boston declared that all men were born free Friends, let us no longer be deceived by profession when barefaced acts are so outrageously glaring.

Who now, in this eighty-first year, accepts the declaration of '76? The Southern States all scout it, and the other States are in union with them.

The Democratic party have repudiated Democracy and are openly allied to the Slave Power for the sake of the offices.

The remnants of the Whig party, mainly merchant and capitalists, adhere to the Slave Power from choice without even the hope of office.

The Republican party are in a transition state : they have some good Anti-Slavery men in their ranks-Free-Soilers, those who have left the Whig party, and those who have run away from the Democratic party-Know Nothings and Know Somethings, all in on omnibus together. They have agreed upon their driver, who is running for luck upon a sliding scale. A striped party, surely; but all agreed upon supporting slavery in the States, and saving the Union !

Verily, there appears to be nobody left to-day but self-evident truths of '76.

Not a State, nor a political party, nor a religious sect in the Union, that accepts that declaration; and yet nearly all of them are celebrating its anniversary, or pretending to support it. Truly, we are a nation of hypocrites.

Friends, remember that the Declaration of '76 went for disunion as a remedy for oppression; it drew the line for sundering the Union of that day, and main-

Let us go for disunion, notwithstanding Senator Wilson's threat that we shall die traitors' deaths. Let us do what we can to dissolve a Union that holds nearly four millions of chattel slaves, and help organ ize a free government on the only true basis of equal rights, without regard to sex or color.

There was a general and animated response from the audience to the sentiments which Mr. Jackson had so well expressed.

Mr. Jackson then, in behalf of the Committee, reported the following organization of the meeting :-For President-WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

For Vice-Presidents Francis Jackson, Boston; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballou, Milford; Chas. L. Remond, Salem; W. G. Babcock, South Natick; Rodney Moore, Slatersville, R. I.; Charles F. Hovey, Framingham.

For Secretaries-Dr. Henry O. Stone, Framingham Joseph A. Howland, Worcester.

For Finance Committee-Ebenezer D. Draper, Milford; Daniel S. Whitney, Southboro'; Charles Brigham, Feltonville; Sylvester C. Fay, Southboro' John'H. Crane, Worcester. The nomination of officers was adopted.

Mr. Gannison then took the chair, and thus briefly

addressed the meeting :-FRIENDS OF THE ENSLAVED:

I should not be willing to stand on any other platform than the one indicated by my friend FRANCIS JACKSON, to wit, the platform of 'No Union wire SLAVEHOLDERS!' and, therefore, of the Dissolution of this existing American Union. While the great mass of our unreflecting and misguided fellow-countrymen are to-day engaged in offering a hollow and spurious homage to the memory of our dead ancestors, who suffered and bled in the cause of American Independence, we have convened together,-not unmindful of the toils and sacrifices of those who have gone before us,-to make complete, as far as in us lies, what they left undone; not to talk about bonds and vokes of old that were broken, but about those which remain to be broken,-to bear our testimony against an oppression, 'one hour of which,' in the language of Thomas Jefferson, 'is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose in re bellion to oppose.' We are not here in any spirit of exultation, but in the spirit of sadness and Our country is recreant to the cause of huma liberty. It is the great slave nation of the world, and its mission now seems to be to propagate and extend slavery throughout this continent, and, if possible throughout the earth. We, therefore, are here, in the spirit of boasting, but to mourn over the fallen on of the land in which we live, and to which we are so tenderly attached. Before God, we feel that we can best honor those who, in olden times, dared to do something for liberty, by rebuking the men of the age in which we live, who are conspiring to perpetuate chattel slavery in our Republic.

One thing is very palpable—our likeness, as a peo-ple, to the Jews of old. It was said of them by the

prophet, in regard to their wickedness, 'Were they

that hath rebelled against me. They and their fathers have rebelled against me, even unto this very day; he or she can be free. Talk to me of Bunker Hill for they are impudent and stiff-hearted.' So it becomes our duty to call this nation to repentance, and demand that she bring forth fruits meet for repentance, by the putting away of her great iniquity.

wards God, and justice towards man :- Yet they seek I will scout the memory of the Revolution, the me me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation ory of Washington, and Adams, and Hancock, until the that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God. They ask of me the ordinances of and as free to me, as it is to the descendant justice; they take delight in approaching to God.' them. (Loud applause.) And until we shall do this Such is the character, such the conduct of the American we talk in vain, and celebrate in vain. ican people, whose inconsistencies and hypocrisies cannot be matched even by the ancient Jews; and a day like this witnesses the consummation of their deceitfulness and criminality.

Our nation is rich, prosperous and strong, and imagines that therefore no harm can come to it, let it do what it may that is evil. Has it not an army, and a sas prostrate and bleeding, the result of Ar fall? The prophet described this infatuated state of slavery. I look at Massachusetts, and I see our State, mind when he said, in regard to Edom—'The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high; that United States Supreme Court, whereby it is declared saith in thy heart, Who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and I bring thee down, saith the Lord.' So we may talk Court! Shame on Massachusetts, that she does of our power, and boast of our prowess, and declare ourselves to be impregnable; but there is One mightier than all, ' who taketh up the isles of the sea as a very little thing, and before whom the nations of the earth are as grasshoppers; ' and he can utterly blot out this bound to respect as those of the whitest man am crime,-the crime of oppression. America, the land cied security, and tremble !

Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it was infinite; yet was she carried away, she went into captivity. Thou also shalt be drunken: all thy figs; if they be shaken, they shall even fall into the set wide open unto thine enemies: the fire shall deyour thy bars. . . There is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of the shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hatl not thy wickedness passed continually?

In order that our guilty land may be saved from means, all that we have and are, to the cause of the obtain deliverance from the judgments now so fearfully impending over us. But I will not detain you any longer by further preliminary remarks.

The whole audience then joined in singing the first piece on the printed sheet, commencing

From British yoke and galling chain, Our fathers loosed the land ; But other yokes and bonds remain

After which, CHARLES LENOX REMOND address the meeting in his most eloquent and indignant vein, speaking somewhat as follows:-

SPEECH OF CHARLES L. REMOND.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I hardly need inform those who are gathered to gether here to-day, that I take some satisfaction in responding to the kind invitation of the Committee of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, for more reasons, perhaps, than would at first appear to many who are present. We have been informed, by the gentleman above all others, take pleasure in coming to this platcommon-place idea of a colored man's speaking in public, nor is it the grateful associations that may appear to other minds, on another account, or for other reasons, but it is that I may have the satisfaction of saying, in a word, that I hold all demonstrations on this day, outside of the gatherings similar to the one of which we form a part, as so many mockeries and insults to a large number of our fellow-countrymen. To-day, there are, on the Southern plantations, between three and four millions, to whom the popular Fourth of July in the United States of America is a most palpable insult; and to every white American who has any sympathy whatever with the oppressed the day is also a mockery. Why, sir, I have been informed, since I came into this grove, that on this platform sit one or two men recently from Virginia, known and owned there as slaves. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, and I ask this audience, what must be the emotions of these men, who are now on their way from Virginia, through the free State of Massachusetts, to Canada, where alone they can be free, happy, or out of danger? I ask you if I say too much when I say, that to the slave, the popular Fourth of July in the United States is an insult? And hence I was glad to hear our esteemed friend, FRANCIS JACKSON, inquire if we are willing to take our places here to-Slaveholders'; if we are willing to subscribe to the declaration that shall affirm our purpose to be to dissolve this slaveholding Union. (Applause.) I do not know how others may feel; I do not expect to get a hearty when a larger number than is gathered here to-day as the only means of their own safety, as well as of selves to it. the emancipation of the slave.

enough to warrant me in saying, that we cannot come here for a better or a nobler purpose than to help for- where, and Slavery nowhere. (Great applause.) ward the effort to dissolve the American Union, because, if the Union shall be dissolved, if for no other purpose than for the emancipation of the slave, it will upon the position of the Republican party in reference Hence, sir, I do not feel, as many may feel to-day, to sal favor, but no one, at that time, attempted to quesmake an appeal over the prostrate form of some slave tion the essential correctness of the critical mother; nor do I care to repeat the sayings of some Mr. Gauntson added a few remarks, showing that noble slave father; nor do I ask the men on my right what they have to say. I have only to speak for myself; to speak for freedom for myself; to determi for freedom for myself; and in doing so, I speak and determine for the freedom of every slave on every plantation, and for the fugitives on my right hand; and in so speaking, I speak for those before me as emphatically as I can for the blackest man that lives or suffers in our country. I subscribe, Mr. Chairman, to the remark made by our esteemed friend, Mr. Foss, in the cars, while coming here to-day; that I have not a word to say about the evils of American slavery, as they are detailed on the one hand, and retailed on the other. two o'clock.

The time has come for us to make the ground upo hich we stand to-day sacred to the cause of lib ashamed when they had committed abomination? Which we stand to-day sacred to the cause of the remaining that seems to be the exact description of the American people. We are without shame, and we cannot blush, though our iniquity reach unto the heavens. Again, our mission, as Abolitionists, is the same as was that of the prophet of old :— Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel, to a rebellious nation, that hath rebelled against me. They and the faith to-day! Talk about Lexington, and tell mother must be kept secreted in Boston! of commemorating the memory of Joseph Warre Like the Jewish nation, also, ours affects piety tosetts shall be as free to every fugitiv soil of Mass

O, sir, I long to see the day when Massach and every New England State, shall be the only Can ada needful to the American slave. I see CHARLES SUMNER, on the one hand, in Europe, trying to re cover from illness and physical prostration, the result of American slavery; on the other hand, I see Kan navy, and a multitudinous people, and 'a glorious slavery. Before me, I see Honace Greener, kicked Union'? How, then, is it possible that it can ever and cuffed in the city of Washington, as the result of that the black man in the United States has no rights which the white man is bound to respect! Shame though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will Judge Taney! Shame on the United States Supreme vindicate herself from the insult cast upon her through my own body, and through the body of every colored man in the State! (Loud cheers.) My God and Creator has given me rights which you are as much nation, as he has obliterated other nations for a similar you, if I make the exhibitions of a man. And black men did make the exhibition of manhood at Bunker of my birth! hear the word of the Lord, in thy fan- Hill, and Lexington, and Concord, as I can well testify. But in view of the ingratitude of the American people, in view of the baseness of such men as Judge Taney, in view of the dough-face character that deit, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from grades our State, I regret exceedingly that there is the sea. Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and one single drop of blood in my own veins that mingled with the blood of the men who engaged in the strife on Bunker Hill and at Lexington. Better that strong holds shall be like fig trees with the first ripe any such man had folded his hands and crossed his knees, during the American Revolution, if this is the mouth of the eater. The gates of thy land shall be reward we are to derive from such hypocrites, such cowards, such panders to American slavery, as Judge

Taney and his co-operators. Mr. Chairman, I will not dwell upon this theme am not the man to speak to a white audien Fourth of July. I am reminded by every thing over me, beneath me, and all around me, of my shame and doom like this, let us consecrate our time, talents, degradation; and I shall take my seat on this occasion by stating to every white man present, who does enslaved, and through their enfranchisement hope to not feel that the time has come when the rights of the colored man should be restored to him, that I am among the number who would embrace this day, this noment, to strike the last fetter from the limbs of the last slave, if it were in my power to do so, and leave the consequences to those at whose instigation i has been fastened upon them.

I look around the country, and behold one other lemonstration, and with the mention of that, I shall take my seat. During the last year, not a few exhibitions have been made, in various parts of our coun try, of the purposes of American slavery the year t come; but there was no stronger demonstration than that made during the late Presidential canvass by the American people; and whatever may have been said prior to that time of the general sentiment of our untry, the election of James Buchanan to the Presidency has placed that question beyond doubt and eavil, and has determined that the American people by an overwhelming majority, are on the side of slavery, with all its infernalism. Now, sir, it belongs to the true friends who are present to go forward, deterwho preceded our respected President, (Mr. JACKSON,) mined that this state of things shall be altered, and it that this is a repetition, of eighty years' standing, of can only be altered by the largest application and the of liberty and independence. The reason why I, American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies I am glad, therefore, to utter my testimony from a form, is not to exhibit, if I may so express myself, the platform where they are represented; and let me say, friends, whether you believe it or not, that if the cause of universal liberty shall ever be established in our country, within our day and generation, it can only be by the promulgation of the most radical type of Anti-Slavery, known as the 'Garrison doctrine,' to the country. (Applause.)

> At the close of Mr. Remond's speech, the Preside said, 'All who mean to trample Judge Taney's decision in the dust will say Aye; ' when all of that great audience, apparently without an exception, with united shout responded AYE. A voice added- And on the Judge too!'

On motion of S. S. Foster,

Voted, That all persons present, competent to address a public meeting, be invited to address this meet ing upon either side of the questions before it.

Rev. W. G. BABCOCK, of South Natick, was ther introduced to the meeting as one who had, by his fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause, preached him out of two or three pulpits, and whose presence with us was proof that he had not been subdued by the pro-slavery influences which mould and enfeeble the Northern pulpit.

Mr. BARCOCK was received with friendly demonstra tions, and made a brief and good address. He spoke day upon the glorious motto of 'No Union with of his present residence on the spot where the 'Apostle' Eliot first preached to the 'praying Indians' of the Massachusetts Bay colony. He referred to some analogies and to some contrasts between that and the Anti-Slavery movement of the present day. He deresponse to that expression; but the time is coming clared his deep interest in this movement, his confidence in the principles upon which it is conducted, will subscribe to the idea of a dissolution of the Union and his respect for those who have devoted them-

Miss FRANCES ELLEN WATERNS, of Baltimore, being Sir, I do not care, so far as I am concerned, to view called on by the President, then addressed the meeteven the deeds committed by the greatest men of the ing. She contrasted, with touching power, the tri-Revolution, nor the purposes which they achieved. umphant shouts and jubilee songs, which we see and I do not care whether the statue recently erected to hear about us this day, on every side, with the uncommemorate the deeds of Joseph Warren be deserved pitied woes and unheeded cries of the four millions of or not; I do not care whether the great majority of slaves, whose united voices now go up into the ear of the reminiscences that cluster around the history of God to convict this nation of its apostacy and hypocthis day be veritable or not; I do know, in my heart, risy. She demanded, in behalf of her and our enthat every slave, on every plantation, has the right slaved brethren and sisters, that we should forever from his God and Creator to be free, and that is abjure the motto- Freedom National, and Slavery

STEPHEN S. FOSTER was then called to the sta and proceeded to give a sharp and searching criticis be glory enough for me to engage in it. (Applause.) to slavery. His words were not received with univer-

> while the Abolitionists did not seek to be, and could not be generally regarded as being personal in an un warrantable sense—yet the cause was such, and the guilt of the nation such, that we could not possibly avoid a certain kind and degree of personality, while holding every professed Republican and Christian to The meeting then joined in singing, to the tune

Auld Lang Syne, the piece beginn 'Fling out the Anti-Slavery flag'-

nd at a quarter to one, an adjournment was had t

social intercourse, in partaking of re walks, in sailing upon the adjoining beautiful lake-to all which the music of a band, furnished for th asion by a liberal friend residing in the neigh hood, gave an additional pleasure. The company re-assembled at 2 o'clock, and more numerously than in the morning; not only every seat being oc large numbers standing throughout.

The meeting joined in singing the piece entitled

Protection to the Fugitive.

Mr. Mar having made an appeal to the audi or a contribution in aid of the cause, and his ar having been warmly and elequently seconded b Remond and Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster, the Fi Committee proceeded to the discharge of their office It was subsequently found that the sum of \$117.33 was contributed in cash and pledges.

ADIN BALLOU, of Hopedale, was next introduced, and spoke in substance as follows :-

SPEECH OF REV. ADIN BALLOU. MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS:

We have great professions of anti-slavery from quarters in the Northern section of our country, and nresume many look with a degree of re will be worth while, then, perhaps, to inquire what anti-slavery is. To be just and charitable to all parties, I am constrained to say that there are two kinds define the other to be compromising, expediency anti-slavery. I will not raise the question of personal honesty and good intention, in regard to the advocates and adherents of either of these two kinds; but that they differ from each other very essentially, in some respects, there can be no doubt.

I understand that uncompromising moral-principle anti-slavery looks at the simple right and wrong of the thing. It looks upon the enslavement of a human being by another human being as the greatest wrong which can be perpetrated by man upon man. You will ask-'Greater than murder?' Yes; it must be greater than murder, inasmuch as, if we try it by the weapon than be subjected, as a piece of property, to hopeless bondage, we shall undoubtedly choose the former. Or if it were the case of our wife, or of our husband, or of our darling son or daughter, or of any dear friend, we should not be long in deciding, if there were no hope of escape otherwise, that death tion unequivocally on that ground. should be preferred to bondage. Taking it in this point of view, and not to dwell upon the evils that grow out of slavery in all directions, moral-principle ncompromising Abolitionists look upon slavery as a sin per se, and not as an ordinary sin-not as a faultnot as a light and trivial offence—but as a capital crime ; consequently, they cannot tolerate it. They go for exterminating it; and they cannot be consistent to go for anything less. We tolerate a little drinking, a little petty larceny; we tolerate a great many little vices in the community and in government; we tolerate a little error in the bosom of the church, because, we say, human nature is imperfect, at the best. But we do not tolerate murder; we do not tolerate the laying of the hand upon man by another man, and robbing him of all that is dear to him-never for ourselves-never for those who are dear to us-never for those we love as we love ourselves. It cannot be.

Now, I understand that compromising anti-slavery takes a lower view. It professes to be opposed to slavery, but it is opposed to slavery as a crime, or a sin, or a defect in society, or a wrong, which may be tolerated to a certain extent, which may be compromised to a certain extent; -it does not treat it as a capital felony. It looks upon it as something with which we may be united, which we may act in harmony with. to a certain extent. It is only opposed to its going beyond a certain limit; it opposes its extension; it insists upon its being resisted, to some extent, to the greatest possible extent, perhaps; but yet, at the same time, it looks upon it as a thing to be tolerated where it has obtained a foothold. Consequently, with compromising Abolitionists, constitutions, compacts, laws, decisions of Courts, majorities, public opinion, however expressed, weigh a great deal. They determine how far they may feel called upon to go in their anti-slavery, and where they must stop they define. Uncompromising anti-slavery, on the other hand, is superior at once to all constitutions made by man-to all laws made by man-to all decrees and decisions of Courts made by man-to all majority decisions of men. It does not ask what public opinion is, what the majority will sanction, nor what the law is; but it asks, Does this wrong exist? Is one human being, who has as good a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as any other, deprived of them all? The answer is, Yes. Are a hundred? Yes. Are three, four millions, peradventure, men, women and children? Yes. In what part of the world? The United States of America-a land professing to be a Republican land-a land professing to bask in the them, and say, 'You are traitors-destroyers of you light of the nineteenth century. It is here, in this country, -overthrowers of the Church of God, -you country, in this land, that this great abomination- are disastrous to the welfare of a people '? Is it so this four-million-fold abomination-is perpetrated .- Depend upon it, if all we ask were done, every thing What is to be said and done about it? Is anything? good under heaven would be promoted. We all know Those who take the ground of uncompromising, moral- it would be so. principle abolition have no other position to take than that of deadly hostility to slavery as existing in this country, and under these circumstances, or wherever it may exist. They cannot be influenced to take any by such degrees as we are able. You are impracticaother ground. They cannot treat slaveholding or man-holding as a small crime; they must treat it as a gross, capital crime, committed against great light, in lieve there are two kinds of impracticability-on the midst of a nation professing to be the most de- springs from want of will, the other from want o voted to the rights of man. We have assembled to way. I ask you if any thing we demand is not pracdo honor to those professions, made more than eighty ticable, provided there was the will to do it? Is it no years ago-to the great self-evident truth, that the practicable,-the whole of it,-so that this Society Creator of all has created all with an inalienable right should be abandoned, and its dangerous characters dis to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We step missed from the platform at once? Nothing is wanted forward and stand upon this platform. When we but the will. 'Oh!' say you, 'there is not the will talk earnestly, when we raise our voices against Church in Congress, in the nation, in the government, in the and State, or against any party, -- and raise it, perhaps, church, there is not the will in the great body of the with our own roughness, in our own manner, there is people.' Then, my friends, is there the will to do felt to be a wrong done, an injustice done; and especially is there felt to be injustice done, when men say say, 'What will you do? You are opposed to this glo to themselves- I, too, am anti-slavery; I am as much rious Union of ours.' Is your Union a Union to up engaged in this work as you are; and yet you stand hold liberty, or to uphold slavery? If it is a Union to there in your self-righteousness to condemn me.'— uphold liberty, we would neither destroy it if we Now, let us examine this subject for a moment calmly.

what would be the noblest action that could be re- settle that question for yourselves, whether the Unio est act of justice, and yet but a simple act of justice, to more people in their own country, than existed dependence. Why, then, are we such enormous traiclearly right, and since, if it were done, it would re- and liberties. flect the greatest possible honor upon the Government You say we are opposed to the Church. Is the

We will proceed. Suppose we should turn our atwhat if the Democratic party should be persuaded, alogue, we cannot injure the Church. The Church can to-morrow, to emblazon it upon their banner, that they injure itself, but we cannot injure it—it is impossible.

would never cesse their efforts until they had put a total end to the evil of slavery—that they would use all their energies to blot out this evil from their coun-try—would it be any thing more than right—any thing ignoble—any thing to shame and disgrace that party to everlasting infamy? No; it would retrieve its character with mankind. It would place it heaven-high in the estimation of all who look up to any party with love at all. It would be a simple act of justice, yet a great and glorious act of justice; it would be doing right for rightcousness' sake, and in that would be involved the good of all parties—the bound made free, and the free made more free.

If we should turn to the Republican party, which undoubtedly feels aggrieved many times by the re proaches that are cast upon it, and should at once call upon that party to too the line, and say all as one,- Our object is to abolish that abomination wherever it exists, for it is the greatest crime that man can commit upon man-the greatest, most infa mous one that any government can tolerate, and we will never rest, by night or day, until we abolish it, if it be in our power, —would we ask the Republican party to do a mean or dishonorable thing—any thing which could reflect disgrace upon them in the pag of history-any thing that would not make their bos oms swell, if they are actuated by any thing like upon those who claim to be exclusively anti-slavery, noble principle, or have a free thought? We all say, alleging that they themselves, in their way, and in their judgment, are as anti-slavery as any body. It ground, and would not hold them back from it. Suppose we direct our eyes to the Church-

Church, which has received so many thumps, as it is said, from this platform. Suppose we should call uncompromising, moral-principle anti-alavery. I will the Sermon on the Mount—for the second great com-mandment—for the Golden Rule—for Jesus Christ— I am compelled to say that there is no greater sin in this land than the enslavement of four millions of human beings, and I must speak of it and regard it as the greatest crime.' Do we ask him to do any thing more than his duty-any thing more than would be to his everlasting honor, if not in the immediate opinion of his pews, yet in the regard of posterity, and in the decision of his own conscience? Would it be disgraceful in him-would it be wrong in him-would it be vile in him? Every one feels that it would be noble. Indeed, we ought to feel that any man, with Golden Rule, and ask ourselves whether we would that Golden Rule and second Commandment before not rather prefer to be stricken down by a deadly him, should be ashamed to say less than this. To some this appeal has been made-not without its effect. I was once-for I claim not to be of the original apostles-I was once in the ranks of the ministry, and that appeal was made to me, and I felt that I should be false to all my professions, unless I took my posi-

Well, suppose we should say to every church in the land—'Slaveholding is the greatest and most heinous crime that man can commit against man. Speak of it as such. Discipline your members on this ground, Insist, in your pulpit ministrations, upon this idea. Would it destroy the Church? Would it disgrace the Church? Would it be a wrong done to the Church Would it disembowel it? Would it overthrow it? My friends, we have all to regret that every church in the land is not pure enough, at this moment, to take a stand so clearly and incontestably right as that. Indeed, no man ought to be so bad in the Church as not to be ready and willing to say that; an atheist ought not to be so bad as that; a Hottentot ought not to be so had as that.

I appeal to your consciences, if we ask any thing that ought not to be done; and if it were done, no absolutely evil consequences would flow from it Would your country be worse off in wealth or morals We are deploring the degenerate state of morality in the land; we are deploring the fact, that all our large cities are the great common sewers of crime. But how can this great nation sanction the greatest of all crimes, and expect its inhabitants to be virtuous? How can the government of a great nation sanction that which every true soul feels to be the most enormous of all crimes, and expect that we shall have fewer gamblers, fewer pickpockets, fewer 'Plug Uglies, fewer 'Short Boys,' fewer riots? I tell you, as sure ly as there is a God, unless those who are at the head society set a better example, and reprove this enormous wickedness, they will not be able to govern the fag end. To uphold slavery and denounce lesser crimes, is to confound all moral distinctions, and our being sanctioned by the greatest names, petty deviltry and small knavery must flourish. It reduces itself to the case of the father who is himself living in the practice of the grossest crimes, who takes his child and flogs him for stealing an apple. If a man swears twenty times a day, will he whip his son for saying 'D-n it' This is the state of things in this nation, at the present hour. I say, if this were done, as it must be done, we should all perceive in our country a very clear diminution of those many crimes that are now stalking abroad, and we should see every interest that belongs a thousand? Yes. Are a million? Yes. Are two, to the permanent welfare of this country advance at once. On this account, these men have no reason to be ashamed of their platform.

Of what avail is it, that you point your fingers at

But then it is said by those who feel at liberty to compromise to a certain extent- We cannot do this work at once, and therefore we are disposed to do it ble fellows; we are very practical; we are for accom plishing some things which can be done.' Now, I beright, or is there not the will to do wrong? But you could, nor could we if we would. Is it not so !-- w What do we ask that ought not to be done? If we would not destroy it if we could, and we could not if look up to the United States Government, or to the we would. Is it not a Union to uphold slavery? If nation, and ask the nation at once to break every it is, I submit to you all that it is a Union that ought yoke, and let these four millions of oppressed go free, to be disavowed, that ought to be dissolved, that every do we ask any thing more than ought to be granted? honest and upright man, every true Christian, and Do we ask any thing that is not right? Do we ask patriot, and Republican, ought to say, at once, 'I canany thing but what it would be an everlasting honor not and will not support a Union which is used for to this nation to grant? Do we ask any thing but the purpose of upholding slavery!' Now, you may corded of this Government upon the pages of history? as it is, is for the upholding of liberty or slavery. I No; every man, woman and child knows we do not, tell you, that if this Union were not regarded at the In what we ask of the people of this country, we ask South as upholding slavery, it would be abolished them to do the greatest work possible—to do the great- at once by them. If it be a Union that upholds slavery, we are bound to oppose it-we are bo to more people in their own country, than existed use our utmost exertions against it. A few honest here when they made that solemn Declaration of Inmidence. Why, then, are we such enormous trai-such flagitious characters—such 'turners of the to take the initiatory steps, you will be forced to do world upside down'? Why is it, since the thing is it by the aggressions of slavery upon your own rights

Church pledged to give countenance to slavery? for if it is, we ought to be opposed to it. But if the rention to the Democratic party. Now, I will ask, Church is opposed to it, as to every crime in the dec-

But, say you, if you insist upon these measures, the Union must be dissolved. What if it should be? Will the sun ever rise again ? Will the moon shine? Will the stars give their light by night? Will there be an more produce out of the bosom of mother early Fuppose we were obliged to dissolve it, to abolish sla rery—would not the gain be greater than the loss and whatever is good in the Union be preserved. But suppose, by upholding the Union, we uphold in yery. Slavery eats out and subverts the very good for which the Union was originated. Will you go for that? Slavery will not let the Union stand. A fer years more will roll away, this tyranny penistenth marching forward, till finally the avalanche will co down upon you all, and you will be obliged to tak the very ground which we now say you ought to tak upon principle. Just as surely as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, such will be the fact. Union that upholds such a crime cannot stand. Union that upholds such ends will become an inteler. able curse to its own devotees—it cannot be other

You say, if we insist, it will break up every Church in the land. What a confession is this! The Church of Jesus Christ, the Congregationalist, the Presbyte rian, the Episcopalian, the Baptist, the Unitarian, the rian, the Episcopanian, the Daptest, the Universalist Churches, all broken up by doing rightby doing that which we should all lift up our hand and beg of our dearest friends to do, if we had wife or child in bondage! Do not own it, my friends :yes, own it, but with sorrow. Ministers would preach themselves out of their pulpits-they would not be tolerated, would not be heard there! That would be very uncomfortable and very disagreeable; but how can a man look in the glass and see his own face, and feel a consciousness that he is afraid of such a resul as that? It is a sad result; but think of a minis being reduced to such a puppet as to fear to speak out in rebuke of crime, lest he should be deprived of the support of those beneath him! What a position is that for a Christian minister, one called by God, sent by the Holy Ghost to preach without fear or favor and call men to repentance ! Will you confess it !

But, you say, it is not expedient. Why? The Union will be dissolved. It is not expedient, Why We cannot call on a large and powerful party to accomplish any good. It is not expedient. Why? The Church will be sundered, and it is not expedient that preachers should preach themselves out of their pulpits. For doing what? For doing what ought to be done, and what must and will be done; and it only remains to be seen whether you will allow those who have worked on this platform, by their internal fre producing this higher heat in the atmosphere, to work on unaided, or whether you will yourselves take per in the work, and act with them. It is said we are impracticable. Now, practicability

depends on what men undertake to accomplish. It is

not practicable to dig stones with a cambric needle it is not practicable to make a fine shirt with an iro bar; but it is practicable to dig stones with an iron la and to make fine shirts with a cambric needle. It is not practicable to raise an apple tree that shall bear twenty bushels of apples in five years, but ye may do it in fifteen or twenty. Our work is before What is that work? Is it to abolish ministe or churches, or constitutions, or laws, or existing public opinion? No, it is to correct them all; make them all feel ashamed of the wrong, if they do no feel an honest conviction against it. It is to stir then up, so that they cannot rest by night or day until they have put down this great evil. This is our work You may say that twenty-five years have already been spent, and the work is not accomplished. Suppose it is the work of half a century, is it not a work neces sary to be done? Why did we not hear this win from the wilderness before? Why did we not hear it from the pulpit, from the halls of Congress, from large and popular conventions of politicians? Why was it left for this poor, despised 'infidel,' as he's called, (Mr. GARRISON,) to start it? In the honesty and simplicity of his own soul, he supposed he had nothing to do but tender the great idea to the Church and the ministry, and they would grasp it; to the most noble politicians, and they would grasp it; but the all turned round and said, 'This is a hot potatoe; w cannot hold it. (Laughter and applause.) You m going too far; you ask too much. We will do not ing at all, nor permit you to do any thing.' Then fallowed all this hard toil, all these appeals made to the consciences of those who could feel, and to the shane of those who could feel shame. Have these s been altogether inffectual? No; consciences have been reached; and there are at this time, in this land, thousands and tens of thousands whose conscien have been awakened on this subject, and who are daily coming nearer and nearer to us. Is that doing nothing: Is that being impracticable altogether? Is it not its thing that must be done—the first thing? And if it had not been done, where would have been your Republican party, where would have been the power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself? When you perceive this fact, I think you will confess that then has been a degree of success. .

awakened shame in the bosoms of those church menbers whose consciences did not compel them to come forward at first, so that they feel-'We must have some Anti-Slavery, after all. Slavery is a hemile thing, and we must be opposed to it, or we shall injust the cause of religion. We must be in favor of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, to some extent, or our church will not be respected. We must have something that goes part way, at least, in the same direction. of that feeling has arisen those mighty influence which have sundered our most powerful religious denominations. How is it with the confessions that have been made? What does Dr. Barnes say! What is one of the strongest appeals he makes to his brother Preabyterians, to induce them to take an anti-sisrent position? He says, 'The sentiment of the world's getting forward of us : the sentiment of the world's putting us to shame. We cannot retain the confdence of the people, if we allow the sentiment of the Church to get behind the sentiment of the well.

Who created that sentiment? and how could it has been created, except by a practical and practicals I tell you, this platform, after all, is a very pract-

Then we have produced another effect. We have

cal thing. It has done that without which noting could be done. Why, then, oppose it? I heard man say this morning of this gathering-It is only meeting to abuse the Republican party and the Church I would not be caught in such company. Is not the thing right? Most certainly it is. Why, thes, to you not come to it freely, heartily, and devote your energies to the great and noble work?

We look a little further, and we see that if Nes England is to go forward, the heat must be made hotter in the rear. You need these brave dragoons be hind you, and if you could get them off the stage, you would lose by it. These men are the core of its onion, which permeates all the layers that summed it, even to the outside husk. First is the core, and then a cut, that is a little diluted; then another that has got so far off that it would not have any that to do with the core if it could help it, but sell the stamina is given to it. And so they go, and it says, if you get to the husk on the outside, and it says, if don't care anything about slavery; and these would not give ninepence, or a "three-cent piece," is get rid of it. (Laughter.) So this thing is worker I do not stand here to deal damnation to these ous cuts of the onion. If I am not the core, I all of to be next to the core; and if you are only the side husk, I hope the juice will reach you will yet be educated up to a higher position-you are not brought into by conscience, you hamed into, and what you are not shamed into, ! will be driven into by the slaveholders themselve they will take you by the ears, and grind your se

on their grindstones, and make you do every thing they

I want you to look at this matter conscientiously sincerely, wherever you stand, in this light,-that this platform, after all, is a preferable platform to this which are nowhere near the onion. It is bettose which are included the onion. It is betplatform, which requires to be changed and made over anew every two or three years. This never will require any alteration. It begins by saying Robber! take your heel from the neck of that man ! Let him stand up and be a man! We cannot fellow. ship you at all, in Church or State, until you do that. Let him get up! It is not a great thing to do. It is simply doing your duty. The great shame is, that we do not all rise with a shout, and say- Let the slaves have their rights—now, instantly! You may choose to wait twenty-five or fifty years, before making this demand; but I advise you to jump on the Car of Emancipation at once, and help roll it on to its real. In so doing, God will bless you, humanity will bles you, the angels in heaven will bless you. (Ap-

WENDELL PHILLIPS next addressed the meeting in a speech which was listened to with the most eager tion, and elicited frequent applause.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS. ME PRESIDENT:

I am sorry to have been so long detained as to come before this audience at this late hour, for I feel that I have nothing to say in addition even to the single speech from our friend who sits behind me, (Mr. Bar-100,) to which alone I have had the privilege of listening. I have nothing new to say. You will not be surprised that at these gatherings, repeated year after year, there is very little that is new to be offered. We can only repeat the same exposition of principle, varying it by application to the last facts, pointing the moral by the most recent history of the community

I suppose, from the tenor of friend Ballou's remarks, that he supposed some of you would criticise the frankness of the remarks of some of the preceding speakers. I do not know what they were; but I recognise the usefulness of these meetings in this—they are meant for the most unfettered criticism. When any man stops to consider his words, I should hardly use too strong an expression if I say, these meetings will cease to be of any use. The Republican party meets beneath the roof of the Town Hall; the church, beneath the arches of its worshipping place of abode. We meet beneath God's heaven, with no roof but his sky to fetter our thoughts or our utterance. We have nobody to put into office, care for putting nobody out. We have no friends to make, no tender consciences to save, no personal considerations to be careful of. We have only to speak every where the absolute, living truth. Thatt is our only trade, our only capital, ou only use in the world-the total, outside, extravagant, fanatic truth, rolled out so fearlessly, heedlessly, it you will, as to attract the attention of the most indifferent. That is our mission. John the Baptist in the desert, with no church to organize, no human institution to save or serve. Whoever comes here, and God has given him an honest thought which startles the rest of the community like an earthquake, our best service in living is to serve him for an audience, to be his sounding-board to echo that thought to the

In my view, Republicanism plays a very differen

part before the State. We have merely to plough

deep, waken conscience, stir thought, hold up the eye

to the North Star of the Future, and they must make the smooth road, the public highway, for the multitude to walk on. A very different function; let us not quarrel the one with the other. I recognise that distinctive difference. Republicanism in this State cannot afford to speak its whole mind. It cannot afford to speak even as much as Massachusetts will bear, for if it did, it would injure the cause on the banks of the Mississippi. My old college professor used to say, 'If I strike this table, the universe trembles.' So it did. If HENRY WILSON lets out his whole soul in Massachusetts, it jeopards the election of a Republican Senator a thousand miles west Provided he elects to be a Republican, he must therefore guard his words, must shape his action. To-day the Republican party of Massachusetts have no principles to represent; they wanted a man to represent them, and they went to Waltham ;-they could not Who finds fault with them ?-not I. Mr. BANK has certain anti-slavery pretensions-so he has. Do you know the test by which, in college, when they have turned a glass wheel for a great length of time, they know whether or not it is charged with electri city? I will tell you. On a table at the side lie en puff balls, and when they begin to mount up and attach themselves to the moving wheel, it is a sign the wheel is charged. Now, this State has been re volving under his hand [designating Mr. GARRISON] for thirty years, and it is so highly charged with electricity that Mr. Puff Ball of Waltham rises up an attaches himself to it. (Laughter and applause.) It was no voluntary effort of his; it was his unwilling obedience to the law of his nature, which is to look behind him to his constituency before he answers letter of candidateship. I do not find fault with the Republican party of Massachusetts for taking Mr. Banks as their representative in the present emergency. You remember the story of the old farmer who went into his barn in the twilight, and called out to his eldest son, 'Jack, what are you doing?' 'Nothing, sir.' 'What is your brother Ben doing 'Helping me, sir.' That is what Mr. Banks has been doing for the last year or two-helping the Repub-

As I said, I do not find fault with the Republican party for having taken Mr. BANKS as their represent-They have done a wise thing; they have done a thing by which they will probably triumph, because they will have no burden of past history to carry. Nobody can charge Mr. BANKS with ever having made an enemy by doing any thing. Nobody can hunt up his history, and having dragged some ugly or beautiful fact out of the darkness, say, 'Thou didst it!' for he is the mushroom growth of yesterday, with nothing at all to answer for, good, bad, or indifferent. (Laughter and applause.)

lican party of Massachusetts do nothing.

Do you ask me how the Republican party came into that condition? That, too, is the law of its being. You must not grow tired of the work God has set us to do. It is to create public opinion, to enlighten conscience, to strengthen purpose, to make sentiment pass into ideas, to strengthen ideas into habit, and then to sink habit into character. Men do not act from an idea. The mother that sees her child about to perish on the edge of a precipice, does not stop to reason, and say, 'If I leave him, he will fall over and be dashed to pieces.' With an instinct, part of her life, as much a part of her as the marrow o the spine, she rushes forward without a thought. It is an instinct, a prejudice. I want to create in New England a prejudice in favor of liberty equal to that of South Carolina in favor of slavery. I want the New Englander ready to fly at the face of the pro-slavery apologist, minister, politician, slaveholder, or any thing else, with the same irrepressible, inevitable prejudice that the hound flies at the neck of the deer I never expect to see an anti-slavery triumph until then. I want it to be part of your blood, part of your bones; such a part of you as your Calvinistic hatred of an Irish Catholic, which makes up three-quarter of a Yankee. (Laughter.) But you must not expec politics to wait until that deed is consummated. Politics seizes the torch as soon as it is lighted, and hur ries on to do some immediate work with it. So it is in the Church. My friend here has been criticisin the Church. A Church that ever got established and organized had already begun to rot. There never wa

a Church truly of God, the living Church of the age, that was not kicked into the desert by the organized

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Church of thirty years before. It is only exaggeration that covers truth to say, Organization is the first stage of corruption, for it is the minority, touched in wasting that public opinion by hurrying it into po by God, yielding to the majority, in order to shape matters for the present. Here, one is a majority. If I am right, you do not begin to weigh against me. My friend Henry Wilson—who sits yonder, and who, I think, means as honestly by the slave as I do,—with his method and his purposes, must count noses, to find where his majority is, and he must keep back half his purposes, and must express himself to suit the My friend Stremen Poster wants to go to the bal present. I do not care for the present. I spit against lot-box. The public opinion which will serve h purpose never will go to the ballot-box. The public opinion which will serve h purpose never will go to the ballot-box. The public expect any man to recognise me until that time. He takes a different view; he does what he considers will serve Kansas, and put back the Missouri Com the work of the present moment. My friend Foster promise to hem in slavery, will go to the ballot-bo wants us to enter into the same partnership, a politi-cal one. I think it is bad philosophy. If there is a certain work to be done, and he wants to do it, I have no objection, not the least, to his taking that place Hill; and if you want to find it, you will find it be and doing it. And if the Republican party had put ried beneath the monument of Joseph Warren; a HENRY WILSON OF CHARLES SUMNER up for Gover- the public opinion STEPHEN FOSTER wants for his nor of this State, I never would have said that they politics is the public opinion of revolution, nothin had no principle, and that they had found their correct representative in Mr. Banks, for HENRY WILSON the right hand of Salmon P. Chase, and asks himand CHARLES SUMNER have a past; they do not need to say to-day what is their purpose hidden beneath the the militia of the Buckeye State, and surround you Republican measures of the present moment. Their past looks over their shoulders, and tells the world, past looks over their shoulders, and tells the worte, whether they avow it to-day in words or not, that their real purpose is the abolition of slavery in the Carolinas themselves. Wheever put his ear low is a slaveholding monarchy, to all intents and purish a slaveholding monarchy, to all intents and purish a slaveholding monarchy, to all intents and purish the monarchy. could hear the grass grow, and then put it low enough poses.' But Salmon P. Chase knows that when he to the earth to hear it grow in California, -who, even takes that step, he takes the first step of revolution with that Indian delicacy of hearing, ever heard that defencible on no other logic; that he leans back on NATHANIEL P. BANKS had any anti-slavery purpose, vide and the Republicanism of New England never has braced under any method? (Applause.) The fault I find the Republicanism of New England never has braced with his letter is, that he opposes the schemes of the him up to take it. The Republicanism of New Engslavery propagandists. For what?—on what account land has obeyed law; the Republicanism of New Engdoes he oppose them? Nobody knows. He never land has ignored Garrisonism, because it was revolu-has dared to say any where that he opposes them in tionary; the Republicanism of New England has behalf of the slaves of the Carolinas; that, not agree- sworn by the Union. That is the reason why the ing with us in Disunion as a method, not agreeing with us in this fanatical crusade against the Union as is not ready to-day to endorse Wisconsin, and defy the proper means of reaching slavery, his method is to the United States Court. Slavery is too vigilant, too curb it in order to kill it. Nobody ever heard him sagacious, ever to let us have a Bunker Hill in the say so. My friend HENRY WILSON may offer, as I streets; we shall have it in the courts, if any where think he did most unhandsomely, on the floor of the She will preach despotism just as the Stuarts did Senate, to hang me and Garrison; but he may put gal- in the stealthy guise of law, in judiciaries, in juries lows from Boston to Washington, they cannot hide in statutes, in prostituted judges. She does it to-day his previous expressions of anti-slavery purpose so in the Dred Scott case; she does it to-day in the entirely, but what Carolina hears his footsteps ap- forms of law in Kansas, endeavoring to put the Free proaching on her plantations, and hates him. That State men outside of the legality of their position. s the reason why I would like the Republican party She is the government; she can always do that. If had they chosen such a man for a representative, and you wait, my Free Soil Republican friend, until you deemed that they were still alive, and working in find the slaveholding aristocracy at fault, until you their field and function, by a different method, but can resist them behind a writ, you will wait till long for an honest end. But when they undertake to drift after your children are gray. On the side of the from all their moorings, to go out and select a man oppressor there was power.' On the side of slavery purely for the sake of gaining the State-no other is the government, the forms of law. We have go reason, -not to cram one single additional item of to educate public opinion up to a willingness to resist setts—not to dawn the throat of Massachu-setts—not to advance the Anti-Slavery cause in this

Now, you may say this is fanaticism; you may setts-not to advance the Anti-Slavery cause in this lull of politics, between the epidemic madness of think it a very trifling thing, some of you. I know Presidential elections, when the patient is able to lis- one of the ablest men in the Republican party, the ten-not to advance a tried veteran one single hair's leader of the State, as he knew he was, and responsible breadth in the confidence of the people, — what good can they do?—who can trust them? When is the Burns case, 'I dare not move a hair's breadth un-Republicanism to approach the South, if not in such til you give me a constable and a writ. Give me a year as this? CHARLES SUMNER is settled in the constable and a writ-I don't care whether it is a good Senate; HENRY WILSON stands there also; there is writ or a bad one-but only give me a writ, and I will

a man must bend to the other point of the commeasure and argues it to the people. I do not think hitch, then the other hitches; they never act togethit can afford to bear the responsibility of a meeting like er, or very rarely. Sometimes, in a happy moment this. When I advocated a resolution last winter, dis- a man will act wholly from his ideas; as a general tinetly telling the country that Hener Wilson was not a Disunionist, I said it was a certificate for him. You may prophecy the future of this nation by mulagainst the charges made on the floor of the Senate; tiplying its idea into its interest. You must not exit was giving him our sign-manual that he was not pect to make them all saints. You will never convert guilty of hating the Union; that he loved it, and al- South-Side Adams by appealing to his heart; he has ways supported it here. My idea is, that I shall be not got any. God only gave him a muscle to circuways supported it here. My idea is, that I shall be willing that he shall criticise me, to any extent, fair-late the blood. (Laughter and applause.) You must y, in the Senate, and that he shall be willing that I not expect to appeal to the intellect of some men, shall criticise him to any extent on the soil of Massa- for they have not got any; they only know enough chusetts; and it is only by the most relentless mutual in State street, to count ten on their fingers, and there criticism, it is only by the utmost frankness that we multiply. (Renewed laughter.) But there are men can serve so desperate a cause as ours. We have no who act from conviction; there are men who ac never met him within the girth of an Anti-Slavery If you can only get a sufficiency of pluck and deter meeting. I cannot, without an effort, form my lips mination into the minority, they can drag the majorit to pronounce his name before Abolitionists. I should along with them. Why, the world is not governed to pronounce his name before Abolitionists. throw him aside, or trample over him, his present and by majorities—it never was. Thank God, it never his past, no matter what my criticism might be. If was! If it was, it would have to go down to the av the Republican party stoops to lumber thrown aside, erage of the race. The world is much better that and picks it up for their building, they must not expect us to guard our words. But when our lips minorities-men in earnest, men who think. On mention the names of men common and frequent upon them in years past, like that which I have named so this, with five Orthodox churches, and no Anti-Slaveoften, like those we have all known, we pause. We ry Society. (Loud applause.) Why, he thinks leaders of the Republican party to-day as I judge the who thinks beneath the hunker calm of New England rank and file, I would not waste five minutes' time in self-interest is like the giant in the old fable beneath of slow growth.' When I have known a man long. when I have summered and wintered him, stood men want to do it; and most men are very willing shoulder to shoulder with him in many a struggle, borne the same abuse, fought in the same trenches, seen my name linked with his with the same epithets known each other for a quarter of a century, I lay radical sentiment of the State; and that they have

It would not bear the political action that men fancied

DANIEL WEBSTER said ten years ago. By the living

man to sit in that chair, and be honest. Any common

man will find it difficult to speak the truth in the

Governor's chair, after Henry J. Gardner has sat there

minority. The average of public opinion is not ripe 'Is there a State of Ohio? If there is, summon Supreme Court, and show the nation that the bro seal of the sovereign State of Ohio shall be respected the United States Marshal, the sovereignty of the West, which follows the public opinion of the East,

no immediate purpose at risk. Now is the time when, tear that Court House stone by stone to the earth. if it be an Anti-Slavery party, to any extent, we have the right to claim of it that in its speeches and lican party could not live a day if it was made respon Well, he spoke wisely; because he knew the Repubresolutions, in its public nominations, and in its plans sible for resistance to the forms of law. But how do and purposes, it shall announce not only its immedithey hope ever to conquer? Slavery has the governate purpose, but its final intention. They have not ment on its side; it has got the judges in its hands done it; and for this reason-because they are dead. it can appoint as many more; it can make the laws To-day, the Republican party says nothing more than and they can declare them constitutional; and no until Liberty rises up, as she did in '76, and tramples God that made the sky above us, I would rather dig forms under her feet, and says, 'By the living God I go for the ESSENCE! '-until she is willing to do up DANIEL WERSTER'S bones from the grave at that, there will not be the twilight of victory to the Marshfield, and put them into the Governor's chair, Anti-Slavery sentiment of the North. than put Mr. BANKS there, with any hope of an anti-Do not despair because I say that you have got to slavery purpose. (Applause.) It would take a strong

carry public opinion to that extent. We can carry it. We are not utterly without allies. Men sometime stand and look up to the colossal wealth of the Slave for three years. (Laughter and applause.) It has Power—two thousand millions of dollars—and say, t one way so long, that in order to stand straight, 'With such an immense bid for selfishness, what can motive. Men ride on a car with very uneven wheels: My idea of a party is, that it takes some immediate one is principle, the other interest. One gets along a sures to keep with NATHANIEL P. BANKS. I wholly from interest. We have interest on our side. mination into the minority, they can drag the majoritdo not judge them by a single act. If I judged the That is high treason in America! Thinks? A man talking about them. I would throw them out of the the mountain of Etna, that every time he turned window like waste rubbish. But I do not judge the there was an earthquake that shook the island. No Republican leaders by the action of to-day. Idid not | the world is never governed by majorities. Mos place confidence in them for one act; they shall not men put out their thinking as they do their washlose my confidence by one. 'Confidence is a plant ing, to be done by their neighbors; very few men of slow growth.' When I have known a man long, have the industry to do it for themselves; very few

other men should do it for them. Then, again, when you look at interests, they are not all on the side of slavery. There are the Harof scorn, by the same hunker press; when we have pers. They count their wealth by millions, and are certainly rich enough to afford the luxury of his character on the shelf. And when, at a distance, a conscience. (Applause.) And yet, you know it has he does some act, the circumstances of which I do not been their habit to expurgate English works publishknow, the motives for which I cannot understand, I ed by them, omitting matter that might be offensive do not take his character down for a single act. I to the South. Twice they have been seen on their judge the act by the character, and not the character knees in the columns of the New York press, apoloy the act. Adams, and Sumners, and Wilson, and gising for the accidental virtue of a forgetful hour PALFREY, and him whom the grave has just closed when they happed to publish a work whole. Now, over, my namesake of Salem,—I have labored with you would think they had a far larger trade with the them for twenty years. Their characters were laid South than with the North. They have not. The upon the shelf. It is not in the power of one puff- head of that house confessed lately to an acquaintance all of Waltham to weigh them down. I do not of mine, that they sold only one-fifth of their publijudge them by a single act. I expect that political cations south of Mason and Dixon's line; the other movement to be kicked into greater meaning in time four-fifths are circulated at the North. The Missionary to come. I believe that the healthy portion of the Society, that has been gagged and dumb, that has never Republican party will yet find that they have been dared to look South for fear of seeing something, misled—that they will gravitate to the old Anti-Slagets one-sixth of its contributions from the South very centre again—that they will come back to the The American Tract Society, that has just waked up this year, speaking something in tones that nobody has yet been able to understand, has only a fifth gone off from it is your fault and mine. Massachusetts is not so thoroughly abolitionized as they thought. part of its contributions from the South. Even the Colonization Society gets from the North double what it does from the South. The Bible Society gets four it would. The State that could swallow HENRY J. times here what it does at the South. So that the

'You shall love liberty,' as the South has said, 'You go. Recognize the service we did and do you. Help shall love slavery,"—that is all that is needed. A man us in raising higher this Massachusetts sentiment went into the store of a friend of mine in New York There are men at the South that heed it. I read went into the store of a friend of mine in New York city, and he said. If your shoemakers in Lynn don't mind your behavior, we South Carolinians won't buy any of your shoes.' Well, said my friend, if you don't mend your manners, you shan't have our shoes.' (Laughter and applause.) If the spirit indicated in that answer could pervade the North,—if, when my friend whom I have named once or twice shows that he loves the Union more than he loves the slave, Massachusetts would send him back an answer so like one of our northeast snow storms that he could never slaveholders alone, if the South that heed it. I read a book the south that heed it. I read a book the other day from the pen of a North Carolinian—a noble book. He calculates the motives which the non-slaveholders have for abolition. Why, he says, the very land that we non-slaveholders own would be raised in value twice the whele value of the slaves ago free. Four thousand millions of dollars—ay, as some calculate, six thousand millions of dollars would be added to the value of the land owned by non-slaveholders alone, if the South were free. The land one of our northeast snow storms that he could never slaveholders alone, if the South were free. The land get a train to bring him back to Massachusetts,-if owned by slaveholders would gain three thousan we could teach those Republican representatives at millions of dollars in value by freedom. There Washington that Massachusetts expects them to love another weight of interest on the side of liberty and the slave, the living, suffering, agonizing slave, more justice. Our hay crop at the North, from Plymouth than the dead fathers, swallowed up in lying eulogy Bay back to the Illinois prairies, is worth double the for sixty years,—if Massachusetts would only teach them that, and make her soil too hot to hold them hemp, sugar, and cotton, all into one scale, and nothwhen they had uttered any praise of the Union, that ing but the hay-mow into the other, and the South would be much. Screw the nut up just as fast as we ern products kick the beam. Yes, interest is on ou carry the building forward. I went into London Tunnel once. They were tunnelling the Thames, as they you must put the impetus of opinion behind it. In are tunnelling the Hoosac. There was an iron frame order to get that opinion, every man man work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants were the same mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants work, and a hundred men sat down behind it, digging mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants were mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants were mind,—just what he thinks, and means, and wants were mind. the dirt with one hand, they would screw up a nut is the servant of Massachusetts. If Rep with the other, and push the frame forward. HENRY Wilson and Charles Sumner are the iron frame; a right to criticise his agents. If they do not like to be my friend Mr. Garrison is the digger of the mud criticised, let them stay at home. The politician must that obscures every vision, and with the other hand be case-hardened; he must have a skin tough enough upon the iron frame, and push it forward somewhat mother gave him; to dig that half-blind Republican out of HENRY WILSON, and set him up a Garrisonian, on his own feet. Criticise! Keep a look-out for Massachusetts ! Take soundings ! Find whether the pilot is wide awake! Find whether the helm sets down South, into Charleston, South Carolina!

We owe a heavy debt. We stand to-day with the blood of DANIEL DRAYTON on our conscient demand it of the slavocracy, who murdered him in Washington prison for obeying the Sermon on the Mount; and every Abolitionist in New England should set his foot upon his green grave, and swear by the living God that no Massachusetts hand shall ever lock again the prison-doors of the District of Columbia against the Slave Savior of these New England States. (Loud applause.) What have we to do with a Union that takes the men who obey justice and mercy, and murders them in the capital of the States? Forswear it!

I will tell you the kind of Republicanism that I have no fault to find with. I do pick a bone with HENRY WILSON-I picked it with him in private. I do not like his Union sentiments. I do not like Massachusetts Republicanism to be one end of a magnetic telegraph, of which Illinois is the other. I do not like a Republicanism that has to hold Massachusetts down to the level of Pennsylvania. That is National Republicanism. Now, I will tell you what sort of Republicanism I like-a Republicanism which does not, no matter what the necessity, confuse or conceal its ultimate purpose. I envy Republicanism no victory that she can gain in Massachusetts, if she will gain it thus; if she will say, 'My only object is, at present, to get back the Missouri Compromise; but the only reason for which I seek it is, because I think that getting it back will enable me to abolish slavery in the Carolinas.' If she will keep that declaration flying at the mast-head, if she will never attempt to gain a victory by concealing it that is honest politics. She differs from us. She thinks it necessary to take a crumb instead of the whole loaf. No, that is not it; like the boy, who went to the menagerie without a ninepence in his pocket, and told the keeper he would take a look at the picture outside instead of the bear, she takes a picture of the loaf instead of the loaf.-She takes the symbol of anti-slavery for the reality, I

am willing to give HENRY WILSON four years to get him into the Normal School. I am willing to give to the cause of freedom, or more proscriptive towards Amos LAWRENCE the whole State of Kansas to edu- its friends, than the Boston Traveller. The multitude asked me for money for Kansas; I was fool enough to give him some. (Laughter.) I said, 'It will not do an atom of good in Kansas, but it will teach you that you are a fool for trying to get Kansas for an Anti-Slavery end, and I am willing to educate you.' So I say to CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS—the ablest man in Massachusetts for a politician, if culture, and experience, and sagacity, and honesty, make ability. I say to him, 'You do not know what you are about-I think so; but the years you are trying will educate you. God speed you for your education! I am willing to stand by and see it; and in the meantime, whenever you make a palpable mistake, I shall say so I do not doubt your honesty. Thank God, your face Zionward: and so long as it is-so long as you bick Carolina, and Carolina kicks you, God save you do not care where you stand, if you stand pointing Pillsbury about it, I thought I might perhaps attended in that direction.' Mr. Banks does not point any- the Convention; but an unexpected press of business where. (Laughter.) The fault I find with him is, will prevent my leaving home at all before sailing that his friends cannot trust him out; that when his except to speak in Worcester next week. I have been mother does not know where he is, they revise his so constantly engaged in endeavoring to advance the speech. Why, he made a speech on the steps of the interests of Temperance, that I have not been privi New York Exchange—the second man in the Govern-ment, the Speaker of the House of Representatives—But be assured, dear sir, that with all the strength of ment, the Speaker of the House of the House of the first in the Republican movement, officially, for he my soul do I hate the accursed system of slavery takes rank before the Senators—he made a speech, and as an Abolitionist, my sympathies are with all of and said—the recreant! he said, with the history of every sect, party, creed or color, who are endeavoring Anthony Burns and Thomas Sims ringing in his ears, to crush it out of existence. with the Boston pavement polluted by the step of
United States troops carrying away a slave under
God must beget in me love to my neighbor, and I martial law—he, the recreant Massachusetts boy, said consider all the human family, every man and woman he had no objection to the Fugitive Slave Law! The high or low, rich and poor, bond and free, even the New York papers printed it; and his Boston friends, when it was printed on the indignant soil of Massachusetts, had to expurgate the foul sentence, and let it stand, simply, that he had no objection to the Compromise measures. I do not make Massachusetts Governors worthy of the name out of such timber as that! But, between the dead body and the living one, you must put fresh soil-soil that may have no seeds in it, no grass on it, but it must be soil.—Well, between HENRY J. GARDNER, a living grave, you may put the dead soil of NATHANIEL P. BANKS. For God's sake, put something in that chair before a decent man sits down upon it! (Loud cheers.) I do ful' at Framingham on the 4th of July. I hope to de not know as we could afford any body but a nonconductor. When I was in Rome, I saw some of the marble steps that were said to be the steps of Pilate's Hall, up which the Saviour went to judgment; and in that way. the pious Catholics had covered them with two-inch plank of oak, that no Catholic foot, even, should ever ouch the sacred marble. The devilish rottenness of GARDNER we will cover with the New England pine-BANKS. It is not oak, it is not walnut, it is not maple, it is not elm-it is only pine, of which we make caffolding in building, glad to throw it down when the work is done. But our work is behind these men, to create public

pointon. After all, party is but a weathercock-it will point which way you make it. Principles!-it is for you to make principles. I came to this meeting on purpose to criticise you, Republicans. I came to show you the work you ought to do, the work you are doing. I allow you just your proper place in the Anti-Slavery movement; I am willing to take mine down in the trenches, making the moral highway, unseen, to be thrown aside when the road is Slavery, and we have borne him for three years. Massinterests of these very religious institutions, like those interests of these very religious institutions, like those done. Yes, I will acknowledge it all. You are the newly-escaped victims of slavery, but also one, a men to walk over us—to walk over us—to walk over us to triumph. You are welcome to do it, only do not kick us as you like are extensive slaveholders in Kentucky,) who,

side. In order to get that mechanism in operation

Washington, they go as our agents. Every man h he screws up the nuts, and pushes them forward in the Commonwealth. (Applause.) Our Republican friends must not be angry if the nuts grate somewhat enough to stand Stephen Fosten's spear (applause); and until he has one, he has no right to go. He has violently. That is the use of such a meeting as this. no right to complain of criticism. He ought to come It is to dig you out of your idols; to dig that fossil here and ask it. Every man who loves the slave ought Whig out of his grave, and set him on the feet his to ask it. I will give double for a book written against the Anti-Slavery cause than for one that is written its favor. I had rather learn from the critic. I had rather talk-not with South-side Adams, for he has not got any heart-but I had rather talk with Dr. Ross, with the New York Herald, with the Charleston Mercury, than with the Anti-Slavery men and papers of the tree States. They tell us what they think our faults. We have got a great cause in our hands-the work of a generation-the welfare of four millions of people—the greatest practical work ever given to man. We have got a Normal School for the whites. Our idea is not only to save the colored race, it is to educate the white race in justice, in civil liberty, in selfgovernment, in moral philosophy. God gave us Anti-Slavery to save Christianity. If there is a Christian Church left in New England, it is not owing to the ministers, it is owing to the slaves; it is owing to the mute hand of the slave raised to the Northern Abolitionist, who takes the Bible, and claims of Christianity that it shall be true to its purpose.

This is the responsibility laid upon us. Who shall dare to tone down his speech, to frame it to suit any body, to conceal aught that God has taught him No; throw it into the common cauldron of public opinion, and out of it, by the blessing of God, will come an Anti-Slavery purpose, intelligent, adequate, relentless, determined. And when that comes, the Anti-Slavery cause is won. (Loud applause.)

Rev. ANDREW T. Foss made a statement with refer ence to the slanderous charges recently made against him by Mr. Bowles, principal editor of the Boston Traveller; and also to the Traveller's retraction those charges. Mr. Foss said he had taken no little pains to discover the origin of the slander that he had used the words 'I hate Jesus Christ,' and he had been unable to find or to learn that it had appeared in any other paper than the Traveller; and he had com fully to the conclusion that it was a fabrication of the Traveller's. Mr. F. then spoke of the dishonest way in which the Traveller had retracted the charge, leav ing it to be supposed by the general reader that ar accidental error only had been committed, for which the editor was sincerely sorry. Mr. Foss said it ought to be known that it was from no love of justice o sense of honor and duty that the Traveller had retract ed its base charge; but wholly and solely under the pressure of an anticipated prosecution for defamation Mr. Foss said that he knew of no journal in the coun try, North or South, more virulently hostile in spirit

George W. Stacey, of Milford, then briefly adiressed the meeting in a very encouraging strain, and referred to the time when, on seeing a gallows erected in front of Mr. Garrison's residence in Boston in the mobocratic times of 1835, he warmly espoused the cause of the slave, and from that period to the pres ent he had given to it his unwavering support.

Mr. May read the following letter from Joun B. Govan, the celebrated Temperance lecturer :-

HILLSIDE, BOYLSTON, July 1, 1857. Roy SAWUEL MAY, JR. :

Dear Sire-Your favor of the 27th ult. I received on Monday. wit

I regret that I shall be unable to be at Framinghan on the 4th of July. When I spoke with Parker

Rev. Dr. Ross, of Tennessee, as my neighbor.

Could I see my way clear, I should have been happy to send you an acceptance of your invitation to be present at the meeting on Saturday.

I am, most truly and respectfully,

JOHN B. GOUGH.

WOONSOCKET, June 20, 1857.

MY DEAR SIE: Yours of yesterday is just received.

It would afford me great pleasure to join the 'Faith so as a hearer; but my health has compelled me relinquish all public speaking for the present, and I cannot expect to be able to assist you on that occasion

With ardent hope in the ultimate triumph of hu manity, I am,

Fraternally yours, JOHN BOYDEN.

Rev. Samuel J. May. Jr.

The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, it was nece sary to bring the speaking and public exercises to close, which was done with singing the doxology,

' From all that dwell below the skies, Let the Creator's praise arise '-

nd the audience dispersed, with the feeling which appeared to be general that no previous occasion of the kind had ever been more satisfactory, and that a more favorable day for the purpose could hardly have been desired. We cannot wholly refrain from expressing the pleasure, felt by the few who were aware of the fact, that amongst the audience were not only three

having conceived from her earliest years an abhorrence of slavery and a deep sympathy with the slave population around her, had formed the fixed resolve never to be herself a slaveholder, and who has given freedom to the slaves who had been bequeath her, although by so doing she has impoverished her-self. Noble and glorious deed, though it be one of simple justice only! May the heroic spirit of this young girl animate us all to a more entire devotion to the work of freedom, and fire many souls with a kin-

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, President; HENRY O. STONE,
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Secretaries.

CELEBRATION

British West India Emancipation.

The Anniversary of that most glorious act in British history, the Emancipation of Eight Hundred Thousand Chattel Slaves in the West India Islands consummated by the potency of moral agitation, and achieved without the spilling of a single drop of human blood,-will be celebrated (under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society) on SATURDAY, AUGUST 1st, at ISLAND GROVE, ABINGTON,-the friends of freedom every where being most cordially invited to be present, and to participate in the proceedings, that the day may be hastened when a still more glorious jubilee may be effected in our own land, in behalf of a five-fold larger slave population. It is hoped that they will rally on

the occasion like a gathering host.

A Special Train of cars will leave the Old Colony R. R. Depot in Boston at 9.30 A. M., for the Abington Grove, and return at \$4 o'clock, P. M. FARE, to go and return-Fifty cents for adults; Twenty-five cents for children.

From PLYMOUTH to the Grove-Leave Plymouth at 9.20, A. M., and return at 6.10. FARE-Fifty cents for adults, Twenty-five cents for children.

In case of unpleasant weather, the Town Hall (near to the Grove) will afford accommodation to the meet-The pic-nie plan will be followed as heretofore

persons taking their own provisions with them; but refreshments will be for sale at the Grove, as usual. A strong array of able and eloquent speakers may be expected on the occasion. Particulars hereafter.

In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,
FRANCIS JACKSON, President

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec.

INDEPENDENCE DAY.

The proceedings of the Framingham celebration ccupy almost every inch of room of our inside form, to the exclusion of much other interesting matter designed for our present number. In Boston, the day was celebrated by the city au-

thorities in the usual manner, by a public processi an oration at the Tremont Temple, delivered by Rev. WILLIAM R. ALOER, Unitarian minister of the Bulfinch street church in this city, and a dinner at Faneuil Hall. The oration was remarkable for its rhetorical eloquence, and the fidelity with which it portrayed and rebuked our national sins and excess particularly in regard to war, filibustering, slavery propagandism, &c. One particular passage in it instantly set all the hunker wolves to howling, and all the pro-slavery snakes to hissing. Mr. Alger said :-

'When we are lifting our marble martyr to his niche on Bunker Hill, the slaveholder who forced the Fugitive Slave Bill down our throats is introduced, with complimentary flunkcyism, into the very shadow of the awful place, and we listen to his haughty-toned common-places with respectful patience.'

At the dinner which followed at Fancuil Hall, Mr. ALGER was insolently and bitterly assailed for his no ble sentiments by those 'Border Ruffian' demagogues, Col. I. H. Wright and C. L. Woodbury, U. S. District Attorney, paid mercenaries of the Slave Power; but they failed to intimidate the object of their venom-ous assault. On Monday, contrary to all usage, the Board of Aldermen refused, by a vote of nine to one, (Alderman Bonney,) to print the oration, or to pas the customary vote of thanks ! Miserable dirt-eaters. they shall have their reward—the scorn of the South, and the contempt of all noble souls. Mr. ALGER will receive the thanks of posterity, and of all the true-

In the evening, a terrible accident occurred, during the progress of the fireworks. By the explosion of a mortar, four persons were killed, and several others

APPOINTMENT. We are pleased to learn that Rev. N. R. Johnston, of Topsham, Vt., has been appointed a lecturing Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to labor in the State of Vermont, &c., at such times as his present engagements will allow time for; and that he has accepted the appointment. We are also glad to know that Charles L. Remond has engaged to spend a portion of the present summer in the same State.

A letter from F. W. Bird, Esq., of Walpole, in reply to our Worcester correspondent last week,

Supply Death of Hon, WILLIAM L. MARCY. The late U. S. Secretary of State, Hon. Wm. L. Marcy, died very suddenly at Ballston Spa on the 4th inst.

PLEDGES At Framingham Grove, July 1, 1857, to Massachu

setta Anti-St

John C. Hayes, Boston, Mrs. Denny, Clappville, Thomas P. Knox, Boston, R. W. Henshaw, Lucynda Lyford, Isaac Mason, Ebenezer Hemmenway,

MEETINGS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE,-WM. WELLS BROWN will speak on Slavery, at the City Hall, Dover, on Sunday evening next, July 12; at Rochester, on Tuesday, 14th; and at Exeter, on Thursday, 16th.

MEETINGS AT WORCESTER -- Wx. WELLS BROWN and Miss FRANCES E. WARKINS WILL hold meetings at Worcester, on Saturday and Sunday, July 18 and 19, commencing on Saturday evening, and continuing during the day on Sunday.

F MEETINGS AT FELTONVILLE -- WK. WELLS BROWN and Miss FRANCES E. WATKINS will hold meetings at Feltonville on Saturday and Sunday, July 26 and 26, commencing on Saturday evening and continuing during the day on Sunday.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, an Agent

of the American A. S. Society, will speak on Slavery and the Decision of Judge Taney, in the Town Hall, North Danvers, on Sunday evening next, June 12, commencing at half-past 7 o'clock. Collection to defray expenses. EF SOUTH NEWMARKET, N. H.-PARKER

Pillsnuny will attend meetings next Sunday, July 12, forenoon and evening, at the usual hours, in South Newmarket, N. H.

lecture on the Mission of Christianity, in Union Hall, at PORT NORFOLK, (Dorchester,) on Sunday afternoon next, July 12, at 3 o'clock.

ternoon next, such that the property of the second second

Worcester, June 21, 1867.

POETRY.

A PLAIN MAN'S PHILOSOPHY. BY CHARLES MACKAY.

I've a guinea I can spend, I've a wife and I've a friend, And a troop of little children at my knee, John Brown I've a cottage of my own, With the ivy overgrown,

And a garden with a view of the sea, John Brown; I can sit at my door By my shady sycamore, Large of heart, though of very small estate, John

So come and drain a glass, (*) In my arbor as you pass,
And I'll tell you what I love and what I hate, John

I love the song of birds, And the children's early words, And a loving woman's voice, low and sweet, John

And I hate a false pretence. And the want of common sense And arrogance, and fawning, and deceit, John Brown I love the meadow flowers,

And the brier in the bowers, And I love an open face without guile, John Brown And I hate a selfish knave, And a proud, contented slave, And a lout who'd rather borrow than he'd toil, John

I love a simple song, That awakes emotions strong, And the word of hope that raises him who faints, John

And I hate the constant whine Of the foolish who repine, And turn their good to evil by complaints, John Brown

But ever when I hate, If I seek my garden gate, And survey the world around me, and above, John

The hatred flies my mind, And I sigh for human kind, And excuse the faults of those I cannot love, John

So, if you like my ways. And the comfort of my days, I will tell you how I live so unvex'd. John Brown : I never scorn my health, Nor sell my soul for wealth,

Nor destroy one day the pleasures of the next, John Brown; I've parted with my pride, And I take the sunny side,

For I've found it worse than folly to be sad, John I keep a conscience clear, I've a hundred pounds a year, And I manage to exist and to be glad, John Brown.

· A glass of cold water, nothing else, John Brown

OUR NEIGHBORS

How many social ties there are neglected, That should rejoice our days! How many happy spirits sit dejected, Beside the world's highways!

A blessing, then, be on those pleasant faces That genial warmth impart ! Sunbeams they are that brighten darksome places Within the human heart.

Such cheerful faces have I to befriend me. In our retired street: What pleasant nods and kindly smiles they send me

Whene'er our glances meet! How joyous is our morning salutation ! How hearty our good night! Ten thousand visits without preparation,

How welcome with delight! The household news, how earnestly related, And small domestic cares

The aches and ailments mutually stated, And costs of various wares. Trifling indeed these themes of conve

And yet momentous still; For the small world of household occupation These topies almost fill. And let not those who legislate for nations

Despise these little things-The heads of family administrations Bear weightier cares than kings. Our silent street is like a river flowing Towards the commercial sea;

But the rude storms, with all their furious blowing, Do us no injury. There is no tariff on the freight we charter,

From heart to heart they move; The noble fortunes that we make by barter Are those of growing love.

May peace be with you, then, my pleasant neighbors Wherever you abide, And when we leave this scene of earthly labors. We'll still keep side by side.

GIVE ME THE PEOPLE. BY CHARLES SWAIN.

Some love the glow of outward show Some love mere wealth, and try to win it; The house to me may lowly be, If I but like the people in it. What's all the gold that glitters cold, When linked to hard or haughty feeling? Whate'er we're told, the nobler gold Is truth of heart, and manly dealing! Then let them seek, whose minds are weak, Mere fashion's smile, and try to win it; The house to me may lowly be, If I but like the people in it,

A lowly roof may give us proof That lowly flowers are often fairest; And trees, whose bark is hard and dark. May yield us fruit and bloom the rarest ! There's worth as sure 'neath garments poor, As e'er adorned a loftier station ; And minds as just as those, we trust, Whose claim is but of wealth's creation! Then let them seek, whose minds are weak, Mere fashion's smile, and try to win it: The house to me may lowly be If I but like the people in it.

THERE COMES A TIME.

There comes a time, or soon or late. When every word unkindly spoken. Returns with all the force of fate. To bear reproof from spirits broken Who slumber in that tranquil rest, Which waking cares no more molest.

Oh! were the wealth of worlds our own, We freely would the treasures yield, If eyes that here their last have shone, If lips, in endless silence sealed. One look of love o'er us might cest, Might breathe forgiveness to the past.

When enger arms the thoughtless tongue. To wound the feelings of a friend, Oh! think are yet his heart be wrong In what remorse thy wrath may e Withheld to-day the words of hate, To-merrow it may be too late !

The Liberator.

THE N. Y. TRIBUNE AND THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the Liberator : Sir,-The New York (weekly) Tribune, dated May 23d, in an article headed 'Anti-Slavery,' speaking of the American Anti-Slavery Society, saks th following question, appending the subsequent remarks:

masses, and cannot claim a numerical ascendancy in any township or ward throughout the Union? Bad as the world is, it is not a desert without oases; and if the Garrisonians were wholly right, it is hardly possible that they should be every where outnumbered.

bered.

'In our judgment, the radical defect of this Society inheres in its stubborn refusal to perceive rital and palpable distinctions, to recognize manifest and essential limitations, and to regard inevitable facts. Its general policy resembles that of a pedestrian who, being in New York, bound for Pittsburgh, should draw a bee-line from his starting-point to his destination, and insist on following it throughout, regardless of whatever rivers, mountains or morasses might

The American Anti-Slavery Society, in accordance with its first resolve at its late Anniversary in New York, adopts, as the basis of its action, the following self-evident truths, viz.: All men are created free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain natural and inalienable rights, among which is the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The masses do not believe these truths; they never did believe them; and this is the reason why the Garrisonians are every where outnumbered.

The object of the American Anti-Slavery Society is the liberation of the slave. The slave is in bondage, and there is but one way in which he can be liberated, and that is, by a strict adherence to these truths, in theory and practice. The course of those who thus adhere to these truths may, very properly, be represented by the idea of a bee-line between two Liberty, or Bondage and Freedom. Between those points, the road is direct and plain. In this road. there are no rivers, mountains or morasses to obstruct the onward progress of the traveller; it is only in the way of those who have not found this road that these obstacles appear.

I said, the masses do not believe these truths; they never did believe them. In 1776, the masses, by their representatives, declared, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident'; but by the side of this they put the following- They [the States] have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do."

This was the first promulgation in America of the doctrine of 'State rights'-the assumption, by the Colonies, of the power of State-or 'State sovereignty,' and its first provision is for war. 'It is a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life,' consequently the levying of war by a State, or States, is an assumption of power not founded in right, but standing in direc opposition to self-evident truth. The idea, or asser tion, that a State or States have the right to levy war, or to take the life of man, under any circumstances, is a self-evident error or falsehood, because standing in direct opposition to self-evident truth.

Did the masses, by their representatives and other wise, levy and prosecute war to the taking of human life? They did-and that is proof positive that they did not believe the self-evident truth that all are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life. They believed that, under certain circumstances, the State has the right to take the life of man. They believed the doctrine of 'State rights,' of 'State sovereignty.' They believed the doctrine of the supremacy of governmental enactments over the God-given inalienable rights of man.

They were not on the bee-line-they were not Gar-

Again, in 1787, the masses, then holding a part of the people in slavery under State laws, met, by their representatives, in the capacity of States, to form a Constitution for the United States; and in that Constitution they ordain that three-fifths of persons no free, or persons held in slavery under State laws, shall be added to the whole number of free persons in getthey have acted on that theory from that time to the present :- and that is proof positive that they did not believe the self-evident truth that all men are created free, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty. They believed the doctrine of State rights-the doctrine of State sovereignty, of the supremacy of State laws, or legislative enactments, in governing or controlling the people of a State. They to self-evident truth, consequently in direct opposition believed that a State has the right, under certain circumstances, to take from man his liberty. But the making of laws, by a State or States, which shall take from man his liberty, is an assumption of power not founded in right, but standing in direct opposition to self-evident truth. The idea, or assertion, that a State or States, have the right, under any circumstances, to take from man his liberty, is a self-evident error or falsehood, because standing in direct opposition to

self-evident truth. The masses were not, and are not, on the bec-line The masses were not, and are not, Garrisonians. The Tribune having quoted one of the resolves

adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society at its late Anniversary, says-'The mistaken assumptions in this resolve are as follows: 1. That the North, by its Union with the South to attain certain ends in which they are mutu-South to attain certain ends in which they are mutually interested, does necessarily "give its sanction and support to slavery." We hold, in opposition to this view, that the North, as represented in Congress by Seward and Sumner and Giddings, and in the State governments by Chase and Hamlin and Holley, does not "give its sanction and support to slavery," but not "give its sanction and support to alavery," but does all it may rightfully do to limit and cure this dreadful evil."

The North as well as the South, including Seward and Sumner and Giddings, Chase and Hamlin and Holley, swears support to the clause that gives to the Congress; and that is proof positive that the North, States, have so far, excepting in the case of Kansas as well as the South, does not believe the self-evident by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty. To say that the North, including these men, believes these truths, while it swears support to a slave representation in Congress, would be to charge it with crime-with the deliberate commission of known wrong. The North, as well as the South, including Seward and Sumner and Giddings, Chase and Hamlin and Holley, does not believe these truths, but believes, with the South, that it is right, under certain circumstances, to swear support to a representation for slave ry on the floor of Congress, to attain certain ends in which they are mutually interested.' . The North, with the South, including these men, believes the doctrine of 'State rights,'- State sovereignty,'- the right of a State to control its own affairs, 'to regulate its own institutions,'- the supremacy of State laws' over the God-given rights of man. The North, with the South, including these men, believes that a State has the right, under certain circumstances, to take from man

But to say that the North, including these men does not give its sanction and support to slavery, while it swears support to this clause, is to say that a thing does not exist and does exist at the same time, which is an impossibility. The men who say that are not on the bee-line. They are among the rivers, mountain and morasses that lie in the way of those who strike hands with the oppressor. They are not Garriso-

it is no less criminal and disastrous to perpetuate it Carolina." Yes; but the Republican party, whi opposes the planting in Kansas, does not perpetuate in Carolina. It has power over the question of planing slavery in Kansas; it has no power over, consquently no responsibility for, its perpetuation in Carolina."

Carolina, covered with wounds received in the hous of thy professed friends, move lightly with thy win the air that fans the American Republic, for darkness has covered the land, and gross darkness the people They have bound thee with fetters of iron, and know it not. They have sold thee into slavery, and are ig orant of the fact. The fathers of the Republic de creed thee not an elector in choosing Representative for Congress, because Carolina refused to acknowledge thy manhood, yet they reckoned thee three-fifths a man in counting up for the number of Repres tives from Carolina on the floor of Congress, and their children swear support to this unrighteous decree, and then say, We are guiltless of the blood of the slave—we have no responsibility for the perpetuation of slavery in Carolina

The founders of the American Republic selves and their posterity by an oath, so long they shall sustain that Republic, to deliver thee up or laim, should thou escape from Carolina to anoth State, as a condition on which the Union was formed and as a recognition of 'State rights,' of 'State sov ereignty, and the Republican party, at its Nationa meeting, 'assembled for the purpose of presentin candidates for the offices of President and Vice Pres dent' of the United States, resolves that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved; and yet the Tribune says, the Republican party has no respon for the perpetuation of slavery in Carolina!

But, neither the unrighteous decreeing of legisla-tive enactments, nor the false doctrine of 'State rights' or 'State sovereignty,' shall longer hold thy loved given points. Those two points are-Slavery and form in the cold embrace of chattel slavery, for the power of the American Republic is no more.

Further, the Tribune says:

'The resolve proceeds to ring several changes of the same idea, closing with the assertion that "an 'The resolve proceeds to ring several changes on the same idea, closing with the assertion that "any other issue with slavery in this country, save that of its immediate and total abolition, is wild and delusive." To this we reply, that slavery in the old States has in a generation been kept vital and aggressive by means of successive additions of territory, whereby slaves were rendered valuable, and slavebreeding profitable; and that slavery would have died out ere this, after becoming an intolerable burden to the masters, but for these annexations, which the free States had the right to prevent, while they had no legal power over, consequently no right to abolish, slavery in Virginia."

The point here made is, that the ' Free States' have in a generation been responsible for the vitality and aggressions of slavery, that they are responsible for the continuance of slavery itself; the vitality, the aggressions, and even the existence of slavery having been dependent on the successive additions of territory which the 'Free States' had the right to prevent,

If this point be sustained, it is proof positive that the 'Free States,' no more than the 'Slave States,' believe the self-evident truth, that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty; and this brings us to the conclusion of the whole matter, viz.; that the masses, including the fathers, the founders of the Republic, their children, the North, the South, the Republican party, the ' Free States' and the 'Slave States,' do not, and never did, believe the self-evident truths, that all men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And this is the reason why the Garrisonians are every where outnumbered.

The Tribune closes its article as follows :-

'It would seem needless to adduce considerations and insist on distinctions so obvious and palpable; but when we see men of undoubted ability and moral worth beating the air, and leading others astray, through lack of their perception, we cannot refrain from speaking, though we know that, so far as the apostles of this misdirection are concerned, all remonstrance is vain. They will persevere as they have begun, being effective mainly in the utterance of sweeping philippics against the Christian Church and the American Union, just adapted to being caught up and dilated on by pro-slavery orators and journals, in order to bury the Republican movement under the undeserved reproach of being hostile to Christianity and hostile to the Union.' 'It would seem needless to adduce consideration

The Republican movement is not hostile to its Christianity, nor hostile to its Union, but has been true to them both; but its Christianity is a spurious Christianity, beginning with war, which is the opposite of peace; its Union is a slaveholding Union of States, coming into existence by the assumption of power not founded in right, but standing in direct opposition to the kingdom and government of God. Let the Republican movement, its Christianity and its Union, be buried together!

The American Anti-Slavery Society calls upon the people of America to reduce to practice the self-evident truths that all men are created free and equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalien right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. WILLIAM S. FLANDERS.

Cornville, (Me.) June 22, 1857.

THE PROSPECT IN OREGON. The following letter from a highly respectable and intelligent gentleman in Oregon to C. K. WHIP-PLE will be perused with interest by our readers :-OREGON CITY, May 11, 1857.

I have recently received from you a package of an ti-slavery Tracts, Nos. 2, 4, 8, 9, 13, 17, with the request that I examine them, and give you my views a to the desirableness of circulating them in Oregon.

To understand our wants, it is necessary to under stand us, as a people. One familiar with the early settlement of our new Territories and States knows that the population comes together from many different regions, with discordant views and prejudices and, as a whole, below the average in education and slaveholder a representation for slavery on the floor of intelligence. Our border States, and our Southern and the extreme Northern Territories, furnished by truth, that all men are created equal, and endowed far the largest quota of population. This is especially true of Oregon. Our population is largely from Missouri and Central and Southern Illinois. They bring with them much of the hostile feeling that, perhaps five to ten years ago more fully pervaded those sec tions than now, against anti-slavery mon, anti slavery agitation, and the auful name of Abolitionist. Consequently, great prudence is necessary to avoid at the start, arraying these prejudices against the Free

> There is another element to be taken into the ac ount. Scattered on large claims, very much cut off from religious and educational privileges, our people are not a religious and cultivated people. Too man are entirely indifferent on the subject, and argumen drawn from the Bible, and from the great laws of jus tice and righteousness, fail to strike a chord that wil vibrate. The question of loss and gain pecuniarily is the great one with a very large proportion of our peo-ple. Convince them that slave labor will pay, and they will favor its introduction.

These things being so, if I were arranging a plan for placing arguments before our people in the shape of printed matter, I would give greater prominence to the effects of the institution in retarding our advance in material and moral greatness, than to the highe and really more important views of duty. 'Will it pay?' is the great question; and around that thought I would group my facts.

me you have tracts of the nature of those The Tribune continues:—
speak of—comparisons between Ohio and Kentucky,
The Garrison resolve proceeds to say that, under
Virginia and Pennsylvania, Illinois and Missouri—as

Nos. 2 and 13 are the best adapted to our region unless withheld in view of se

or no slavery will be submitted in a separate schedule, so that any matter circulated here bearing on the sub-

then they must lose heavily by so doing, or Oregon must be lost to freedom.

During the past week, we have had our Bible Tract and Temperance Anniversaries, and have had some opportunity to compare notes. My opinion is strengthened that we shall not have slavery in Oregon. Opinions, so far as I have been able to gather them, concur that we will have a very consid majority against slavery; and we are doubtless safer ion can be kept down to the point of cool and quiet investigation of facts, than we shall be it any excited and angry controversy springs up.— Brown's speech in regard to Missouri emancipation is published here this week, and will do good; also the Address of the Immigrant Aid Association.

> From the New York Tribune THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

There is perhaps nothing in which the old fogy journals of all classes, especially our American sham Democratic journals, have taken greater delight than in the idea, out of which they have striven to squeeze by constant repetition the utmost satisfaction it could be made to afford, that the British West Indies have been ruined, and especially that the sugar cultivation of those colonies has been de-stroyed, by the emancipation of the slaves.

It is said of the visit to England of that good eler-

tobacco.' This race of Attorney-Generals and philanthropists is not yet by any means extinct. It seems to have been the opinion of a large class of persons, that the West Indies and their inhabitants exist only for the purpose of producing sugar; and all the sympathy ever expressed by a large proporan the sympathy ever expressed by a large propor-tion of American journals toward the great experi-ment of free labor, of civilization and of education going on there might be included in the correspond-ing curse and injunction, 'Damn your souls; make

peated, and with such deep satisfaction to those who employ it, is, like other human felicities, likely to prove short-lived. In fact, it has become already no longer available—at least among those who keep themselves informed as to the progress of events. Struggling through the inconveniences always attending every great change, and having been obliged to encounter not one great change, but another also on the top of that; not merely the trials of emancing the part of the still severer trials of free trade. cipation, but the still severer trials of free trade; obliged not merely to pay wages to their laborers and to be content with that amount of labor which the laborers choose to dispose of, but obliged also to surrender that protection which from the first introduction of the sugar cultivation they had always emiowed, and to comprete in the market with slave. ing of as an island—has come back to the old mark, and, as is stated in a private letter we have seen, the sugar planters are making fortunes. The same is the case in Trinidad, where the production has been carried far beyond the limit of the slave time, and whence large quantities—quite a new feature in the trade of the West Indies—are now shipped to the United States. We quote on this subject from The Port of Spain Gazette:

'The amount of produce shipped to America will, we should think, afford matter for serious speculation to our British merchants. There are now more than 1,700 tuns of American shipping loading in the Gulf, and equal to 227 hhds. of sugar, and 242 puncheons of molasses have left for that market since our last summary was written. In return, the stocks of American goods on hand are very large; breadstuffs, lumber, &c., are in abundance and cheap. But the arrivals are looked upon with very different eyes now, when we know that each vessel is likely to take our sugar away in return, to what it was when nothing went but hard cash.'

But while the other Colonies are thus recovering themselves, the haters of liberty and maligners of free labor have continued to draw vast satisfaction from the condition of Jamaica, which, co-operating with one or two local journals of that island in the with one or two local journals of that island in the old slave interest, they have—in print—ruined over and over again, and reduced to the last stage of poverty, misery, abandonment and desolation. Very active and conspicuous among the ill birds thus busy in fouling their own nest, and in helping, by spreading panic, to bring about their own prediction that Jamaica must and soon would cease to be a sugar growing. Colony, has been The Colonial.

we have been enabled to announce the gradual pro-gress of affairs toward improvement, and it is still more gratifying to feel that this improvement, pro-gressive as it has been, is likely to be of at least con-siderable duration, if it be not of actual permanence.

From another recent number of that paper we copy the following:—

The Port of Kingston presents an animated appearance. It is said that there are more vessels in the harbor than there have been at any one period for the last ten years. On one particular day last week, we learn that no less than upward of 8,000 bar-

This flour, be it noted, comes from the United States; the laboring population of Jamaica, in spite of their alleged return to barbarism, are now consu-

ming large quantities of flour in place of the corn

We also give elsewhere, copied from the paper, an account of an 'Industry School,' would go to show that while sugar-making it tended to, the fact that the Jamaica people tended to, the fact that the Jamaica people so that any matter circulated here bearing on the subject will have its influence, up to the time of the vote.

The only way of placing printed matter here in time
will be by mail or express, unless you are apprised of
opportunities to send in the trunks of travellers.
Doubtless such opportunities frequently occur.

Packages left with Abernethy, Clark & Co., San
Francisco, will be promptly forwarded. My hope and
my belief are, that we shall escape the curse of slavery. I do not think the majority of our people greatly
desire its introduction; but my worst fears grow out
of the necessities of the Democratic party, as a national party. That name is all-powerful here; and should
the day come, when, as a party, they find it necessary to create a slave State to maintain the ascendancy,
and openly take the field in Oregon on that question,
and openly take the field in Oregon on that question,
and openly take the field in Oregon on that question,
are the replanting with cane of one of those abandoned
plantations over which the advocates of slavery have
hurrahed and shouted so lustily. Great Valley
Estate, the property in question, used formerly to
be considered the second estate in value in the parish
of Hanover. It comprises a freehold of four thousand acres, well situated and easy of access. It had
made formerly five or six hundred hogsheads of
sugar, and since emancipation upward of two hundred. But, like all the other estates of whose
abandonment we have heard, it had the misfortune
to belong to a non-resident proprietor, and to be
managed by an attorney who made himself famous
for running out and throwing up all the estates with
which he was connected. Though there was a large
when the restate, the property in question, used formerly
to considered the second estate in value in the parish
of Hanover. It comprises a freehold of four thousand acres, well situated and easy of access. It had
made formerly five or six hundred hogsheads of
sugar, and since emancipation upward of two hundred. But, like al tended that he could get no labor. Each succeeding crop became less, until some five or six years since the cattle were turned into the few remaining cane fields, the coppers scattered, the mill sold, the engine sent away, and the works left to fall in ruins. Of the ruinous condition of this once fine estate, the letter to which we refer contains a graphic account.

A few weeks since this estate passed into the

letter to which we refer contains a graphic account. A few weeks since, this estate passed into the hands of a resident proprietor, who has determined again to re-establish it. In the letter, which we print elsewhere, will be found an interesting account of the planting of the first cane, to which the neighboring black population joyously and gratuitously contributed both labor and plants from their own sugar patches. This evidence of the growth of the idea of common interest between proprietor and laborer is a most fortunate sign for Jamaica, since it has been the hostility and suspicion with which—almost entirely through the fault and folly of old-time attorneys and overseers—these two classes have regarded each other, which has contributed more than anything else to diminish the sugar produce of the island. It is only necessary that the other abandoned estates should pass into the hands of intelligent, resident proprietors, and that they should abandoned estates should pass into the hands of in-telligent, resident proprietors, and that they should be re-established with all the modern improvements in manufacture, to carry the production of sugar in Jamaica to a higher point than it has ever yet at-tained. These abandoned estates are already at-tracting attention. We find in the Colonial Standard of the 8th of June, the following paragraph :-

stroyed, by the emancipation of the slaves.

It is said of the visit to England of that good elergyman, Commissary Blair, of Virginia, to solicitsome assistance from the Crown toward the foundation of the College of William and Mary, that to his representation that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved, he got from Attorney-General Seymour only the gruff and curt reply, 'Damn your souls; make to bacco.' This race of Attorney-Generals and the money support which has for a long time here results. money support which has for a long time been sought for in vain; and our only hope is, that the influence likely to be brought into immediate connection with the Colony, may be sufficient to induce the Government to consider whether some active measures may not be immediately taken for increasing the supply of available labor.' The Falmouth Post, another Jamaica journal

Capitalists in England are not the only parties t "Capitalists in England are not the only parties to whom we look for the restoration of the country to prosperity. We have capitalists among us who are determined to aid in the good work, and it is satisfactory to learn that the speculations into which they have already entered, have turned out well. Liberal offers are made for all the properties that are advantaged to be said by public auction or otherwise, and eral offers are made for all the properties that are advertised to be sold by public auction or otherwise, and there is every probability that our annual export will be doubled as soon as the capabilities of the soil are fully developed. With the introduction of capital, immigration of the right kind will follow as a matter of course, and an increased population will lead to the revival of commerce. Without looking, however, to immigrants from

and to be content with that amount of labor which the laborers choose to dispose of, but obliged also to surrender that protection which from the first introduction of the sugar cultivation they had always enjoyed, and to compete in the market with slave-grown sugars, the British West India Colonies have, nevertheless, gradually come back to an amount of production nearly approaching that of any former period. Barbados and Antigua, the oldest and most thickly settled of the British islands, make more sugar by free labor than they ever did in the most flourishing period of slave cultivation, while in every respect the condition of the inhabitants is vastly improved. British Guiana—which a certain pro-slavery journal of this city that makes vast pretensions to general intelligence will persist in speak. mere hired laborers, yet asserts that the peasantry generally are willing to labor for wages to the exgenerally are willing to labor for wages to the extent of one task a day for four days in the week.—
To obtain this labor, however, overseers must adopt a different policy from that which the Cornwall Chronicle, (printed in that part of the island in which the abandonment policy has been most general,) describes as having reduced a fine estate of two or three hundred acres to a miscrable pittance of forter. of forty.

Rarely does he (i. e. the overseer) speak to th Rarely does he (i. e. the overseer) speak to the people without an oath. He continually mourns for the old slave system, and wishes he had the unlimited power of the lash, and thus to the people themselves—brutes and villains, rascals and scoundrels, are his usual epithets. What is the consequence? He laments he cannot get work done, complains that the people have no interest in his welfare, and that they ments he cannot get work done, complains that they people have no interest in his welfare, and that they rather would, than otherwise, see stock trespassing in his cane-fields, and will not lift a hand or move a foot to drive out the trespassers. The peasantry are by no means bad peasantry, and this feeling would never have existed had the laborers been treated with even ordinary kindness. There is no scarcity of labor in this and neighboring parishes of this island; a kind in this and neighboring parishes of this island; a kind the people and punctual payments will ensure to an estate an abundant supply. Let but any one make the experiment, and we will guarantee success."

No wonder that the stupid folly and ignorance of the English non-resident proprietors in entrusting their interests in such hands should have resulted in a panic, of the immediate operation of which the Falmouth Post gives the following account:—

busy in fouling their own nest, and in helping, by a spreading panic, to bring about their own prediction that Jamaica must and soon would cease to be a sugar growing Colony, has been The Colonial Standard and Jamaica Dispatch. That journal, printed at Kingston, has been, ever since the Emancipation question was first mooted, most consistently pro-slavery and most profusely lachrymoes—a Colonial Jeremiah, as it were, lamenting over, not the captivity, but the freedom of its country—a West Indian Niobe, pouring out a perpetual flood of tears, not over lost children, but over lost slaves. But even The Colonial Standard, after sittings to long in darkness and sadness, begins at last to see light and happiness, as witness the following from that paper of June 4:

'It used, in some quarters, a few years ago, to be said of The Colonial Standard, after sittings to be rounded either to cultivate its soil, or to live by the substantial credit of the commonwealth; and there were many who considered that we did positive wrong to the community by publishing the truth. We believed then, as we believe still, that it was only by making the actual state of the Colony known to the Government and to the people, that there was the romotest chance of awakening the attention of the British public to the grievances under which Jamsica then suffered. We hope, however, none will have been induced to consider us as merely the oracles of evil. We should have been too happy, during the last twity years, to have been the unvarying reporters of protracted and undeniable prosperity, if the condition of the Colony could have justified us in adopting that iline of public policy; and, therefore, it is with heartfelt satisfaction that, during the last weight of the Colony could have been too happy, during the last twity bey are, to have been enabled its smounnee the gradual progress of affairs toward improvement, and it is still more gratifying to feel that this improvement, progressive as it has been, is likely to be of at least con-

All such panies, however, always have the beneficial effect of taking property out of the hands of persons unfit to manage it; and according to the same journal, the recent rise in the price of sugar has led to vast speculations, and the raising up of a resident proprietary body. Estates are no longer considered valueless; throughout the island ready purchasers are to be found; and there is every prospect of returning prosperity. Jamaica, in fact, is passing through the same process which is resulting in the regeneration of Ireland. The lands are passing into the hands of proprietors with the knowledge and means and common sense necessary to bring them into successful cultivation.

TREODORE PARKER AND THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY Theodorn Parker and the Mercantlle Library
Association of Montreal. We mentioned some
days ago, that an invitation which the directors of the
above named society had extended to Mr. Parker to
lecture before them, had been disapproved by the
association itself. The matter has been again considered, and after a debate, which is reported in the Montreal Herald, the following resolve was adopted:—

Resolved, That the resolution passed by the semiannual meeting, in relation to Theodore Parker, te
now re-affirmed. That this Institution, while it disclaims any intention of repressing liberty of expression, but on the contrary regards such liberty as an
invaluable blessing, claims the right of preserving
harmony and union by excluding such lectures as are
well known to be offensive to a large portion of its
members; that in the adoption of this resolution, no
discourtesy is intended towards the lecturer whose
name has been mentioned, the only consideration
being the preservation of that good feeling and cordiality among the members, so resential to the welfare
and prosperity of the Mercantile Library Association.

Interesting Correspondence.—The Cleveland Herald

To LAMBERT WRITE, Treasurer of the Den Party:—The bearer, Don McIntosh, has done a good deal towards the election of old Buck, I think he should be compensated for his services and that of his

To Mr. GALLAGHER : DEAR SIR :- Ther is no funds in the Democratic Treasury as I am a ware of Giv him an order on J. W. Gray or Benjamin Andrews the funds were all spent in Whisky.

(Signed)

L. W.

The Hallowell Gazette says that Mr. Davis, of Portland, has fifteen hens, of the Bolton Gray breed, which have laid, during the months of March, April and May, ninety-three dozen eggs.

A Sure Way to Prevent Hydrophobia.—In New York city, fifty cents a-head is paid for every dog brought to the pound, at the corner of First Avenue and 31st street. Consequently, the vagrant boys chase down every vagrant dog that they are able to, for the sake of the reward. In 1851, there were 2230 dogs received; last year, the number had increased to 5345; and this season the receipts are a hundred a day.

ad this season the receipts at the Colored Masons of Philadelphia have lately The Colored Masons of Philadelphia have lately Hall costing \$13,500, which was dedi-The Colored Masons of Philadelphia have lately built a new Hall, costing §13,500, which was dedicated on Wednesday. The order had been established in this country by the highest Masonic authority in England, through the institution of the African Lodge in Boston, in 1784. The warrant of authority bears the signatures of Thomas Howard, Earl of Effington, Lord Howard, and Frederick, Duke of Cumberland.

The French Moniteur de la Flotte publish es a letter from Sebastopol, in which it is asserted that the vessels raised in that harbor were those which were merely grounded in shallow water, receiving alight damage; while those sunk as barriers are im-bedded in the sand above the bilge, and were immov-

An Experimental Trip Across the Atlantic.—Mr. Charles R. Webb, of Stamford, Coun., has built a sloop-rigged yacht, forty-three feet long and thirteen and a half feet beam, and of twenty tons burden, with which he intends to run over to Liverpool, and expects to reach there in three weeks from starting. This is probably the smallest craft that ever attempted such a feat of navigation.

The Atalanta (Ga.) Intelligencer is informed by Dr. E. F. Alexander, of that city, that during the late 'small pox pan.c,' he had vaccinated over 200 children, and that he has found vaccination a speedy and permanent cure for the whooping cough. The Gallous .- On Friday last, George W. Sharpe

The Gallous.—On Friday last, George W. Sharpe and John Johnson were hanged by the sheriff at Edwardsville, near Alton, Illinois. On the same day, three men, named La Pointe, Shultes and Neuslein, were hanged by the sheriff, in the yard of the county jail, at St. Louis, Missouri. The crime of each of these wretched men was murder. Hon, A. G. G. Talbot, the Democratic nomine

for Congress in the 4th district of Kentucky, was an avowed emancipationist in 1850. He was then a member of the Legislature, and introduced a resolution favoring emancipation in Kentucky, and in his speeches declared himself for freedom in every State of the Union. The Louisville Journal, the leading American paper in Kentucky, now quotes this speech against him.

The Comet.—The Comet was seen from various localities, near the Ursa Major. It presented a round nebulous mass of light, slightly concentrated, of about two minutes of an arc in diameter. It passed the nearest point to the earth on the 8th ult. It was then about two millions of miles from our globe. It

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PRESIDENT J. H. EATON, L. L. D.,

Union University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee Says: 'Notwithstanding the irregular use of Mn S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, &c. the fallin S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, &c. the faling off of hair ceased, and my grey locks were restored to their original color.

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N. Y. 'My hair is changed to its natural color, &c.'
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think very highly of your preparations, &c.'
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