EVERY FRIDAY MORNING, - AT THE -

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent. TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per an-

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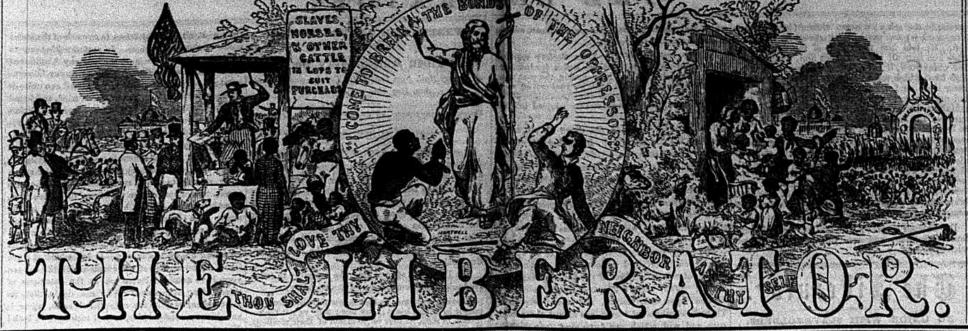
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num, in advance. IF Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN pollis, if payment be made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters

relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. 15" Advertisements making less than one square inerted three times for 75 cents — one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soeleties are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz : - FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIES GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK. d WENDELL PHILLIPS.



death, and an agreement with hell."

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

dal supports of slavery. We are the jailers and conthey espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our pathers, in PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED PROM THE BIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for 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 enslaving 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.

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 21.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1858. WHOLE NUMBER, 1431.

more comprehensively. Senator Douglas calls for action on the bill for the admission of Oregon, a free State, when Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, says he is ready to vote in favor of its admission, and Senator Green, of Missouri, says he is ready to do likewise, and probably the main body of the democratic members are ready; but Senators Trum-ball, of Illinois, Ilale, of New Hampshire, Fessen-den, of Maine, and Wilson, of Massachusetts, make factions speeches AGAINST HER ADMISSION. Is this a representation of northern sentiment?

Look, moreover, at the ground on which, for instance, Wilson labors to keep out Oregon. The people of that territory have put a clause in their State constitution adverse to the admission of negrees into their State; just as the Kansas Topekaites at a clause in their constitution, which were by so long, excluding negroes from that new gamst Oregon, keeps her out of the Union, for what the chooses to consider an inexpiable offence in her constitution!! What was no objection in Kanzas the unperdonable sin in Oregon!! What right has he, as a member of Congress, to say what sort of men shall live in a State? What does the illustrious Jefferson say as to such an assumption by Con-cross of the power—to use his own language—to equiate the condition of the different descriptions of composing a State ? Hear him- THIS CER-AINLY IS THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT OF EVERY STATE, THICH NOTHING IN THE CONSTITUTION HAS TAKEN ROW THEM AND GIVEN TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT. The offence of the territory of Minnesota was, when so many of the Massachusetts delegation mis-represented their State, and the offence of Oregon

is, that of being democratic and national; ing flatly opposed to the sectional and dangerous ourse of the anti-slavery agitators. For this reason do the black republican senators fight against their duission as free STATES into this Union! For doing this they deserve and will receive an excoriating rebuke from the north.
We hope and trust that the democracy of the

whole Union will vote in solid phalanx for the admission of both Oregon and Minnesota; and thus show that they mean to stand on the impregnable ground of asking only this question as to a new State which has the requisite population :—Is it republican in form?

A SLAVE'S SPEECH.

The Washington (N. Carolina) Despatch of the 14th inst., contains the following speech delivered at a Festival of the Auxiliary Fire Department of that town. The speaker, John Randall, we learn is a slave, about 28 years old, 'an excellent, orderly, and respected man,' belonging to John Taylor.

ment Festival.

Gentlemen:—Public speaking is rather out of my line of business, and I had made up my mind that to-night, except when eating, I would keep my mouth shut, for I well know my inability to do justice to the cause, or the occasion, or credit to my-self. But I hope that my interest in the cause, and my exertions as one of the committee of arrange-ments to make this occasion as pleasant and agreeable as possible to all, will be apology enough for me. I am, gentlemen, under many and lasting ob-ligations for the honor conferred on me by calling

If I were this night in New York or Boston, or any land of pretended liberty, presiding at some abolition or fanatic meeting, I should not feel myself more elevated, nor half so highly honored, as I now feel. Don't think that I make this remark to

load it not with heaviness of spirit. There are three chief rivers of despondency—sin, sorrow and fear. Sin is the deepest, sorrow hath its shallows, and fear is a great noisy rapid. But even in the darkest

This very house I have seen on a former occasion Insight were the wealth, the fair, and the beauty of Washington; but it has never before been crowded with real happiness or pleasure, such as we colored people enjoy. There are few towns, if any, where colored people have greater privileges of enjoying themselves in any civil way, than in Washington the greater of South Carolina. Our ogton, the garden spot of South Carolina. Our inging schools, temperance and charitable societies. and our fire companies, are all good, moral, and perfectly harmless. Among the persons that com-

that none others have. To you every citizen o Washington, from the richest to the poorest, look for help, when that alarming, destructive and often that unquenchable enemy—fire—is about to destroy them and all they have. Let them not look in vain.

silver locks pleading for silence on the sin of slavery, and justifying the Executive Committee of the Tract Society, as possessing an indestructible negative against the instructions of their constituents, and in opposition to the will and Word of their constituents, and in opposition to the will and Word of their constituents, and in opposition to the will and Word of their constituents, and in opposition to the will and Word of their constituents. in opposition to the will and Word of God, by vir-

We have also seen venerable and Christian men and patriotism, and the security of an unlimited command of the whole patronage of the United American slavery is a sin, as ultra and inexpedi-American slavery is a sin, as ultra and inexpedient, and exposing the cause of righteousness to defeat and ruin. Paul rejoiced, in his day, that he had not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God. The professed followers of Paul in our to defeat and ruin. Paul rejoiced, in his day, that he had not shunned to declare the whole counsel of God. The professed followers of Paul in our day do not shun to rebuke such declaration as fanatical and rash. Before such developments, were it not that our trust is in God and not man, we should have no more any strength, or life, or courage left in us. There is no hope, apart from God's Word, and from the full and faithful application of it. There is wanting the element of conscientious, stubborn, heartfelt, eternal hostility against slavery as born, heartfelt, eternal hostility against slavery as sin, as reprobated and forbidden of God in the same catalogue with lying, perjury, murder, whoremongering, piracy, man-stealing, and guilt, that, by the law not of God only but man, is worthy of death. Where shall such an element be found? How shall it be created, quickened, trained? Not in the school of political self-seeking and expediency; not under obedience to fugitive slave laws; not under proclamations and assertions of allegiance to Dred Scott decisions; not in the school of unrighteous and oppressive statutes; not under the law of silence on the Word of God—silence in the pulpit—silence in he Tract House; but under the thunder in the manifestation of the truth to every the wrath of God from heaven against all unrighte-ousness and ungodliness of men, and against this stupendous iniquity as foremost and most germinatmisery, the elements and securities of national ruin. Our only hope is in the revived, living, faithful re-

ligion of a free, out-spoken, consistent church, and a fearless, unmuzzled, faithful ministry. Our only hope is in a conscience fastened to the Word of God, and a heart flaming with its sacred fire; a popular church and ministry, holding forth the word of life, and giving themselves up to its supremacy, in such an unrestricted abandonment of all things to its sovereignty (not the popular sovereignty, but God's overeignty), that it may have free course and be

The intensity of the plague with us, the exasperation and strength of the iniquity and the evil, are in the provisions for its perpetuity and the insurances selves, for one generation, we have by law entailed it upon others; and the generations to come, as God distributes the consequences, must inevitably rise up and call each preceding generation accursed. If this sin had a possible death, like that of intemperance in the grave of the present drunkard, and were not propagated by a legal fatalism forbidding it to die out, or to be renounced, or the will to be broken—a legal fatalism and missionary zeal united, providing future victims for it in the fastest ratio of increase in human population—then would the evil be comparatively trifling, and the sin would speedily come to an end. But there is no such limt, no such natural consumption or wearing out, no carefully secured against death, and injected, as the heart's blood, into the veins of the next generation, and any attempt to stop the process throws the rhole system into convulsions.

We practice the iniquity upon children, innocent we practice the iniquity upon contains, allowing the hildren, the natives of our own land, unbought, insold, unpaid for, without consultation or consent of ather or mother, or the shadow of a permission children, and their children have no parents, except from the Almighty: and they, the new-born babes of this system, are the compound interest year by year added to the sin and its capital, which thus foubtless upon us in the next generation, and must reble in another. We make use of the most sacred domestic affections, of matenal, filial, and, I was going to say, connubial love—but the system forbids, and I have to say contubernal—for such rapid and accumulating production of the iniquity, as shall be in some measure adequate to the demand. The whole family relation, the whole domestic state, is whole lamily relation, the whole domestic state, is prostituted, poisoned, turned into a misery-making machine for the agent of all evil. What God meant should be the source and inspiration of happiness, becomes the fountain of sin and wo. The sacred ames of husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, habe, become the exponents of various forces and values in the slave-breeding institute. And the

SELECTIONS.

This is the manner, these are the principles, on which we obey the precepts and fulfil the glories of the 72d Psalm. Instead of obeying God in delivering the children of the needy from deceit and violence, we foredoom them to all the oppression endured by their fathers; instead of judging the poor with righteousness and the children of the oppressed with equity, we deliberately and solemnly give them over to oppression, as incapable of brotherhood and citizenship, and having no rights that white snea are bound to respect. Instead of removing every yoke, we predestinate them for the yoke, and perty, for the poor slave. We have seen that men of piety, age, gray hairs, experience, eloquence, can plead the very authority of the Word of God for concealing and denying that Word; can call upon Christ to bear witness that their first Christian duty is to take down His light from the candlestick and to put it under a bushel; can deliberately in the world.

This is the manner, these are the principles, on which we obey the precepts and fulfil the glories of the 72d Psalm. Instead of obeying God in delivering the children of the needy from deceit and violence, we foredoom them to all the oppression endured by their fathers; instead of judging the poor with righteousness and the children of the oppression endured by their fathers; instead of judging the poor with righteousness and the children of the oppression endured by their fathers; instead of judging the poor with righteousness and the children of the oppression endured by their fathers; instead of judging the poor with righteousness and the children of the oppression endured by their fathers; instead of judging the poor with righteousness and the children of the oppression endured by their fathers; instead of judging the poor with righteousness and the children for the potential party, or oppression, as incapable of brotherhoad and citizenship, and having no rights that white snead are bound to respect. Instead of removing every yoke, we predestinate the

Christ to bear witness that their first Christian duty is to take down His light from the candlestick and to put it under a bushel; can deliberately in the name of God so pervert the salt of Christian truth as to make it nothing but an additional corrupting element on the dunghill of the world's corrupting element of the world's corrupting element on the dunghill of the world's corrupting element of the world's corrupting element of the world's corrupting element of the world's corrupting el

tion by themselves; if we made a descent upon Africa, China, India, or elsewhere, and carried off into hopeless slavery the children of four millions, the universe would utter a roar of terror and indignain opposition to the will and word of cod, by the proposition to the will and word of cod, by the perfection of whose sagacity and strength is in the art, How not to do it. We cannot but remember the answer of God: 'To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin;' and the independent of the Lord Jesus: 'Inasmuch as ye to do good, and doct it not, the Lord Jesus: 'Inasmuch as ye tion, and set up its support as the watchword of a did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, powerful political party, the test of faithfulness sustaining of it become the shining virtue of compromise and expediency, and he is the dangerous with the reprobation that God has laid upon it.

And especially the political world and the Phari-

sees of political churches stand in horror of the very bad spirit, the unchristian spirit, of those who de-nounce this wickedness with the direct application of the Word of God. It is a subject which must be excluded from the pulpit, because it is a sin en-throned in state, a political sin, to be treated only by political quacks, with political drenches, plat duty of the Church and the ministry is quietly to indorse and sunction, for the sake of peace.

be the chosen missionary institute of the Lord Al-mighty. And, admitting it to be such, we are certainly foremost of all the nations in carrying for-ward the great missionary work. If the appointed work to be done for the children of the needy is that of branding and training them as chattels and brute beasts for the market, we have no rivals in this honor. This is, in fact, the great st, vastest, most persevering missionary work that we perform. Our instrumentality in binding down in hapeless bondage the children of four millions of immortal beings guilty of a skin not colored like our own, is our argest instrumentality, thus far, in the glories of the millenium.

By our laws providing that the slave and its increase shall be deemed and doomed our personal chattels forever, we constitute for them a m of sin and misery. We convert them into a com-munity, in which it is impossible that the fundalaws of Christianity should be recognized and obeyed, or the most commonly acknowledged and most sacred institutions of the Christian state be regarded. The laws of God for husbands, wives, fifthers, mothers, sons, daughters, children, cannot be applied, cannot be obeyed, in such a community. 'Husbands, love your wives,' is a divine injunction. But for those most miserable outcasts of humanity, the American slaves, there can be no such law, bu an admonition against it. God's claims, so expressed, interfere with man's property in man. Husbands, beware of imagining that you have any rights, any authority, in regard to the chattels you are permitted to live with; beware of ever so loving them as to be unwilling to sacrifice them at a moment's warning to the avarice, the need or the passions of your owners. Ye are not permitted to love, but only in subjection to the price of the market, the necessities of your master, and the grand rule of your domestic institution, the slave and its increase.
Wives, be obedient to your husbands. What?
Obedience from a chattel to a chattel? Wives you are none, and this divine law belongs not to you, but for the profit of your masters. Your obedience and

only as the bales of cotton have a parent in the gi and the factory, where they were shaped and bond-ed for the market. These commands and precepts are all and only for the masters, not the slaves. gations, no belongings, but for their owners, whose property they are, and for whom and at their bidding every faculty, capacity, emotion, must be de-voted, occupied, tasted, improved, sold at the highest premium to the highest bidder whenever, however and wherever the owner's interest requires it.

And it is not isolated beings that we devote thus. And it is not isolated beings that we devote thus, for a mere lifetime, to such degradation and cruelty, but we create a perpetual, unfailing, and self-renewing spring of this wickedness. It is not a transitory shower of blistering drops that we cause to pass over the land, but an Artesian well that we sink of domestic shame and misery for future generations. In the Word of God it is said, referring to the glory and blessedness of the matching. and values in the slave-breeding institute. And the whole perfection, completeness, and concentration of this creative power in this manufacturing interest, descends like a trip-hammer on the children, beating them from the birth into marketable articles, and stamping and sealing them as chattels, of thee the yoke, thou shalt raise up the foundamental fix-

mit the right of theft; no law can sanction it; repentance in such villany, and each new Administeren if we had a right to steal the parents from themselves, this could give no right to steal the children from the parents and from God. This is the deep damnation of our guilt. The offence cries up to heaven. By stealing children from the birth, we are A NATION OF MEN-STEALERS, and we renew, perpetuate and increase the guilt from generation to generation. We perpetuate the sin and the cruelty upon five times the number that our ancestors did, and insure its being perpetrated by five times more, and then thank God for the success of this providential missionary institution. this providential missionary institution. The guilt is increasing, but all the while the con-

science in regard to it is diminishing and being seared. The sin, by being enlarged in surface and in quantity, seems lessened in intensity. We are more guilty than our fathers in the practice of it, and has no rights that white men are bound to and yet we contrive to make ourselves imagine that and yet we contrive to make ourselves imagine that we are less guilty and more pious than they. The iniquity is a moral cancer that is eating at the vitals of our piety, while the only treatment we tolerate is increased doses of chloroform, till the whole system is stupefied under its influence. When a new outrage is committed, we just send to the apothecaries for more laudanum, or swallow, through our representatives, a Lecompton drench and sweat, or suffer Congress to administer an English swindle. Never was a sick and groaning victim more completely at the mercy of unprincipled quacks. Every six months some new experiment of fraud, despotism, bribery, unprincipled and ignorant political surgery, and we are hauled and tossed about, and cut and skinned, as if we were a dead body in the dissecting-room, and Congress nothing but a

justice, it cannot well go higher; and now that editors, denounced the denunciation of it as fountains of waters, and men drink and die. Our turned away backward, and justice stood afar off, public officials of justice and of policy, from the highest to the lowest, every time they are about to enact a new violence against the oppressed, only have to refer to the Dred Scott decision, and the Lord saw it, and it displeased Him that there was basest, meanest, most detestable acts of fraud and no judgment.

cruelt, are converted into righteousness. From the Secretary of State down through files of marshals, judges, bailiffs, lawyers, to the con-ductor of the street rail-car, the word passes, and the policy is established, and it is officially an-nounced, and the judicial dictum is reverberated and applauded and applied, that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect.
This dictum is fast being welded into chains, into
political precedents scaled and made sure, and snare
after snare in the iron net is woven on by lies, by
perversions of the Constitution and of history, by new measures of usurnation unresisted, by predeath, just as vile assassins poison the wells of their neighbors by throwing dead dogs into them, or the

hedge; they trust in vanity and speak lies; they conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity; they hatch cockatrice's eggs and weave the spider's web; he that cateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper. There is no judgment in their goings; they have made them crooked paths, speaking oppression, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood, so that judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off. They are never so happy as when they conceive absolute mischief, the dregs of profound social ignorance, prejudice and depravity, framing mischief by a law which thenceforward they impose as the supreme political and moral state god. They set up the sin of Slavery as law, enforce it by the Constitution under judicial opinions, to which they swear allegiance, and if they cannot discover precedents they make them.

The Secretary of State dares publicly to affirm that no black man ever received a passport, and cannot, as a citizen, receive one, and shall not. The Dred Scott decision has prepared this lid for the black man's living sepulchre, and Secretary Cass acts the undertaker for the body, and screws down the coffin with an incontrovertible falsehood. Then the Secretary of the Tressurr declares that a morning prayer meeting every morning at 6 o'-lock. In the course of the conversation, he was asked him how it was with him, and morning that on a morning prayer meeting every morning at 6 o'-lock. In the course of the conversation, he was asked how he felt in regard to the iniquity going on in Congress. Oh, said he, I don't trouble myself about that at all, and as long as I and my family get enough to eat and to drink, Congress may do what they choose; I have no concern about it. Now, of what possible avail can be whole churches of such Christians, or what effect can tuns of such previous of religion reach the sins of the nation, if piety is content with eating and drinking, and attendance at 6 o'clock morning prayers, while the nation, and if that salt hav

down the coffin with an incontrovertible falsehood. Then the Secretary of the Treasury declares that a free negro cannot receive a register for his own vessel, nor be master of his own vessel, nor as such, have any title to his own property by United States marine papers—for by the Dred Scott decision he is no citizen, and can be none, and to be the rightful owner and master of his own maritime property, a man must be a citizen. As he has none of the rights of a citizen, any seafaring man may own him, but he cannot himself be the owner of so much as a plank or a nail in his own vessel. Then comes, on the heels of this outrage, the United States Land Commissioner, and from the General Land Office, with the same despotic authority under the

THE ADMISSION O' OLEGON.

We must be pedged for war.

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Would the open revival of the slave trade be any greater atrocity than the decision that a human being with a colored skin, though born in this

and cut and skinned, as if we were a dead body in the dissecting-room, and Congress nothing but a class of raw, headstrong, roaring medical students, with their knives in their hands and Dunglison's Anatomy in their pockets. The body does not wince, does not kick, does not even protest; and so they keep cutting and carving, no outrage as yet attempted being so monstrous as to have gone beyond the people's tame endurance.

Our iniquitous and cruel career against the African race came to its climax in the Dred Scott decision; for when iniquity takes the place of national law, and is enthroned in the tribunal of justice, it cannot wall so higher; and now that decision, unresisted, uncorrected, is producing its greatest sin. It had come to pass literally, as in fruits. It is like the star wormwood cast upon all the 59th chapter of Isaiah, that judgment was

If ever the Church and the ministry were going to speak out, it should have been then; and if not then, I do not know that any revival of religion, on utterance. But the calamity to a nation, when the Church and ministry are thus unfaithful to their trust, is not to be computed; nor, on the other hand, is the blessing to a nation possible to be measured, when it has a Church and ministry that it cannot corrupt nor silence. The Church is God's own enshrinement among a people of the living sense of right and wrong, the perception of God's claims, and the sensibility to them; and where sumptuous, umauthorized interpretation of law, till that sensibility is vivid among the people, there is the very breath of the black man is almost beaten out of his body, and he is refused the privilege of spirit to defend them. But where that sensibility Our judges, Cabinet ministers, attorneys-general and local, and Secretaries of State, are hunting up there both the conscience toward God's ministers. and local, and Secretaries of State, are number of liberty are debauched and wasten, and the manner examples of old injustice, for precedents of new villary. They thus set immorality and cruelty in the lany. They thus set immorality and cruelty in the ripens for destruction. Even the most fatal oppression, the most vital injuries are not felt, or are Can we go any lower, any deeper, than the Dred

carcasses of cats and skunks.

As God declared in a case fearfully similar, they have turned judgment into gall and wornwood, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock. They hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward; and the great man, he uttereth his mischievous desire, and so they wrap it up. The best of them is as a brier; the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge; they trust in vanity and speak lies; they conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity; they hatch cockatrice's eggs and weave the spider's web;

the Unuren is corrupted and darkened, the nation has no means of knowing its own evils, and may be far advanced towards irremediable destruction. The conscience of the Church is the only conscience that pretends to be guided by the Word of God, and by that Word a living conscience in the Church and ministry must be the nation's watchman.

One of the darkest and most distressing symptoms in the processes of this injunity is the insensibility of

motion, while every day our very power to manage them and to keep them from the villany of our own example grows less, and we go boasting of our health and strength and prosperity, with this ter-rific disease, under which we may be staggering as a drunken man upon the very last verge of God's en-The indulgence, maintenance, protection and de-

fence of this sin, is the one great obstacle against the missionary influence and work. It cripples us, the missionary influence and work. It cripples us, it manacles our energies, it palsies our efforts. We are in the condition of a man whose whole left side is paralyzed, so that all the strength and life of the right side are occupied and tasked with keeping the palsied half of the body from falling. We are like a man indulging in the use of ardent spirits to a degree just bordering continually on intoxication, so that all the soberness left is but just sufficient to keep him out of the gutter. We are unfit for God's work of overcoming the idolatry of the nations, while we are in slavish subjection to the worship of this Moloch at home. And this is the upshot of all our preparations by truth, providence, and graco, for the world's deliverance from sin and Satan! Is it such an agency, or the instrumentality of such a for the world's deliverance from sin and Satan! Is it such an agency, or the instrumentality of such a people, that can be relied upon for the world's conversion? Eighteen hundred years Christ crucified has been known and preached on earth, as a righteous Judge and Savior for the poor and needy, the oppressed, and the children of the needy, and yet, in these last days, and in the nation now vaunted as the foremost Christian nation upon the face of the globe, the iniquity of slavery itself has been revived and maintained as the missionary agency and institution of the Gospel! And all this comes from hiding instead of revealing that divine life which is the light of the world, which is the disclosure and destruction of sin, but being withheld leaves the world in darkness, and the church to be the nursing mother of the world's abominations. As in the absence of the solar light there is nothing but a cellar vegetation, and the nourishing and running wild and free of monsters that shun the light and love the darkness, so in the absence or concealment of God's Word, a sickly really bleedless sentimental. the darkness, so in the absence or concealment of God's Word, a sickly, pallid, bloodless sentimental-ism of compromise and expediency takes the place of vigorous, virtuous life, and gigantic forms of ini-quity breed and thrive. The tremendous despotism of slavery is the result of the policy of silence in the pulpit, silence of the ministry, the delaying and withholding of the Word of God. Where can such things end, if continued? And

where can such things end, it continued? And
if the conscience of the people is not reached and
roused, what hope is there that the wickedness of
the Government will ever be arrested? They will
go just as far as the people will let them—for their
conscience is always lower and more insensible than
that of the people, but never higher. The conscience
of the people is the last defence of Liberty—the last
element of righteous power. If the conscience of
the people can be set right, then there is hope in
God. If they disayow and throw off this injouity. God. If they disarow and throw off this iniquity, God will not lay it to their charge; but if they do not resist it, God will certainly visit it upon them; he will let them be destroyed by it. They have sown the wind—they shall reap the whirlwind.

sown the wind—they shall reap the whirlwind.

Here, then, are demonstrated the responsibility and duty of the church and the ministry, as God's appointed instrumentality for training and awakening the conscience of the people. How can national sins be reached in any other way? And how in this way, except only by the Word of God, which is the sole instrument in the hands of the Spirit of God to convince the world of sin? And how is the Word of God to be applied, except by the ministry, sustained by the church for this purpose, and on the Sabbath, when God gathers the people beneath its hearing and its power! The whole salvation of our country—the whole possibility of redemption from the sin of slavery—rests on this question: Will the church and the ministry be faithful? Will the church uphold and protect the ministry in such faithfulness? ministry be faithful to God? Will the church up-hold and protect the ministry in such faithfulness? The ministry must speak out, and speak with a will, with a purpose, with a preservance and continued pressure on the conscience.

The ministry must speak to move the country— not means to allow.

not merely to relieve their own consciences, to clear their own skirts by a quiet declaration of opinion, or to enter a protest and then retire. The ministry can move the country, but not by resolutions in Associations or General Assemblies, while the pulpit is as silent as the grave. There is no courage whatever, and there may be very little faithfulness, in framing resolutions which may be but an anodyne to the conscience—a dispensation from ever preaching on the subject. There are no general resolutions in the New Testament to stand in the place of pulpit faithfulness in the application of God's Word; but the rule was always, and everywhere, to renounce the hidden things of dis-honesty, not walking in craftiness nor handling the Word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. And again, We were bold in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God with much contention, and as we were allowed of God to be put in trust with the Gospel, when the gospel was a pleasing men, but God, which o we speak, not as pleasing men, but God, which Now, the Word of God is for aggression and con-

quest, and not a compromise with sin. The Word of God is a park of artillery—a swift-rushing mountain of thunderings and lightnings against sin, to overcome it and get it out of the world, and not a far advanced towards irremediable destruction. The conscience of the Church is the only conscience that pretends to be guided by the Word of God, and by that Word a living conscience in the Church and ministry must be the nation's watchman.

One of the darkest and most distressing symptoms in the progress of this iniquity is the insensibility of the popular conscience under outrages that we once supposed, if any approximation to them were perpetrated, were even attempted, would set the nation in a blaze. Even Mr. Webster used to talk of the danger of experiments upon the conscience of the country; but we find no hazard attending them.

Outrage upon outrage is quietly endured, until the people become accustomed to be trampled on, and conscience utters no remonstrance. A fearful para-

John Randall's Speech at the Auxiliary Fire Depart-

me to preside over this respectable and intelligent assembly. A more pleasant task I never perform-

gain the good will or praise of any. I speak it from the honest convictions of my own mind, judging it all by myself, that we are this night enjoying ourselves, to greater perfection, than any class of men,-I liked to have said white folks not excepted. We have but few cares to disturb the peace of our minds; the heavy responsibilities of business mat-ters does not crowd so heavy upon our brain; our thoughts are not so much occupied upon the accumulation of wealth, therefore our sleep is sound and refreshing at night. Our thoughts by day are light and free, and we can think to-day how we shall enjoy to-morrow. The happiest man on earth is the Christian colored man, who has just troubles enough to keep him in the constant discharge of his duty; and the performance of that makes him happy an

Not few nor light are the burdens of life; then hole in guilt's profoundest river, hope can pierce with quickening ray, and all those depths are lighted

pose them, there may be some improper characters, but the institutions themselves are right. Then, sentemen, let us use, and not abuse those things.

To you, my brother firemen, are extended privile-

When the alarm is given, be not reluctant; but go and do your duty; fight as though you were fighting to save your own house and property. Do that, and we are apt to conquer, we'll have a supper; or at least we'll allow you the privilege of breaking

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Old Testament, the intense fires of God's love of justice, and his wrath against injustice and oppression, the forked and chain lightnings of the prophets, and the thunderbolts of Hebrew history, are yet to be shot upon this nation's sins. Who dare do it but a ministry commissioned of God, and illuminated and inspired by his Spirit? Who can do it but they only? Whose appropriate business is it to do this but theirs, and what is the duty of the Church but to support and protect them in doing this? And when and how can they do this, except on the Sabbath—their day, God's day for instructing, re proving, and calling the world to repentance?

ED COUNTY NEW MEANWOOD ON

It is not a mineing, delicate, light notice of this iniquity that God requires, or the broad, hardened, brazen, unblushing abominations of the Government and the people demand, but a reiterated, reverberating, loud thundering of God's truth. It is very easy to say a soft, apologizing word now and then in regard to it, and excite no anger, no disturbance and do no good, rouse no man's conscience; and not a few, in what they do say or intimate on such a subject, seem to be begging pardon of the congregation for such a painful allusion, instead of uttering God's voice fearlessly, grandly, and declaring, Thou art the man!

In this matter, Christ's dividing line is true : He that is not for me is against me. If men will not now speak out and act out against slavery, their voice and influence are in favor of it. If the ministers of the Gospel, instead of the policy of silence, had poured out their vials; as God's commissioned angels, and let the thunderings, lightnings and earthquakes shake the heavens and the earth, this iniquity would long sines have been arrested. It is only under the repression and forced silence of the Word of God that it has been able to advance with such giant strides, till it has taken possession of the Sen-atorial, Representative, Executive and Judicial branches of our Government.

Now, Satan will never cast out Satan, and this iniquity is to be stayed and turned back only by the Word of God, and by the Church and ministry being faithful to that Word. 'If they had stood in my counsel,' says Jehovah, 'and had caused my people to hear my words, then they should have turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doings.' Just so now. But this great and mighty result of repentance for sin is not to be got at by silence in regard to the sin; and they who keep silence in a time of temptation and trial do, in defend and daub the sin with untempered mortar.

They may say that they are good Anti-Slavery men, as much opposed to this iniquity as any one; but their silence gives consent, and carries them over into the ranks of the enemy. Their pretensions of Anti-Slavery principle are indeed excellent, if the principle itself could be got at for use. They say it is in them in esse, as the diamond is in carbon and so indeed every lump of charcoal, if it could speak, might say, 'I am a diamond—do not treat me as if I were merely a piece of charred wood. In potential essence, the diamond is in my nature,'

Ah, yes, my good friend, and if you would only tell me how I may bring it out, and keep it in the form of a diamond—how I may catch the essence, and make it stay put—you will make my fortune. But, alas! the world will never see anything in you but the state of the but charcoal! Your diamond nature does not speak

out; your charcoal does.

Just so, there are many in the ministry who will Just so, there are many in the ministry who will be much offended if you tell them they are not opposed to slavery—therefore, in effect, defend it. They will affirm that, in potential essence, the abhorrence of slavery is in them, though they do not go to the extreme of ever speaking against it.

Aye, and the very difficulty is, that it never makes itself known except by a most potential silence. It is as silent and invisible as the diffund is in the charcoal, or the light in a mass of solid anthracite.

On this principle, there is not a dark subterranean

On this principle, there is not a dark subterranean coal mine, or bed, or pit, in existence, but what is a region of brilliant, glorious light; but, unfortunately, it needs a great many manipulations of science, a great many torturing processes of art, and operations of fire and water, to extract the material of light, and put it in shining order.

And just so with not a few, who should be lights

in the ministry, but are rather like invisible, un-smelted native ores. If they might be subjected to the necessary roastings and smeltings and purifica-tions, and the Word of God extracted from them in visible, glorious form and shape, confronting and exposing the gross and damning features of this sin, then indeed it would be a powerful and conquering testimony. But what is principle good for, if not to come forth in action in the time of trial, if not to withstand temptation, to rebuke iniquity, and protect the weak and down-trodden from the wicked and the strong? What is the worth of silent, inactive, concealed principle, whole acres of it, what better than treachery, or salt that has lost its savor, and is not fit even for a dunghill? What is the worth of a million candles, each hidden under its own bushel? What is the light of the Christian Church and the Christian ministry given for, but to be the light of the world? If it is hidden from the world out of fear, out of a selfish expediency, it is darkness; and how great is that darkness!

It makes us think of the recent discovery that

every cubic mile of ocean contains more than two pounds weight of solid silver. How potential! It makes the mouth of a miser water; but he is forced to think, If I could only get at it! Oh, thou mine of incalculable wealth! Two million tons of solid of incalculable wealth! silver in the Atlantic! Ye potential, silvery waves, if I could but evoke, by some concentrated, irresistible chemistry, your hidden riches!

Ay, but there's the rab. 'Tis of no more use to you than the commonest puddle of sea-water; whole

leagnes of it, may, the all-surrounding ocean, at your command, of no more value than the smallest secluded nook before your own cottage on the East River. And just so, a whole cubic mile of such Anti-Slavery ministers with scaled lips, or as many as could stand together in the dry bottom of the ocean, would be of no use whatever with their principles of liberty that never speak out—their upright hearts, but silent tongues and pulpits: They are upright as the palm-tree, but they speak not; and because of their own policy of silence, they hate him that rebuketh in the gate; they are not valiant for the truth upon the earth, and, in consequence of their silence and conservative influence, the few that do speak out seem extravagant and eccentric, and do speak out seem extravagant and eccentric, and are marked as madmen or fanatics; they become objects of derision, as noticable as poor Christian and Faithful were in passing through Vanity Fair—simple, innocent creatures who said, We buy the truth. Truth! Go to the Tract House!

But truth is not only unpopular and inexpedient on such a subject as the sin of Slavery, but exceed-ingly dangerous. It is not proper to be brought into the pulpit, nor mentioned on the Sabbath— that sacred day of rest, when every irritating and disturbing theme should be kept far aloof from the Sanctuary and from our hearts, for we come to the Church to be comforted, and political preaching is an outrage on our feelings, and a descration of the day of God; and preaching on the sin of Slavery is political preaching, and if you preach such preaching, it offends the pew-owners, and drives away the people from the Church, and prevents them from hiring pews, and diminishes our revenues, so that, if you preach such preaching, the best interests of the Church and society require that we should un-

settle you.
Well done, Simon Magus! There you stand unveil your face, step forth into the light; only arow that you buy your minister, and use him, or lay him on the shelf, just as you would a case of umbrellas or a bale of silk, that you settle him for pew revenues, and that your pulpit is up at auction to the highest bidder for the man who will insure you the greatest sum total of pew rentals, and your power is at an end. The statement of such things is enough to make them a by-word and a hissing. You never can get the people to admit that the final end of God's Word is just simply to keep the finances of a society above water, or as a locomotive to drag them up-hill. God's Word is given for edifying and saving souls, and not merely building temples and paying for them. And the ministers of God's Word, if called to preach in Nineveh and fleeing to Tarshish, will not much longer find the churches to be mere packet ships in which they can snugly sleep out the storm, and pay their passage by concealing their mission.

Concealment is not the law of God's Word, but MANIPESTATION, and in times of danger and of treachery, you are compelled to vary the ordinary law of God's Word, as mins and gentle showers, and to come down in a perfect cataract, as if all the windows of heaven were opened, and the fountains of dows of heaven were opened, and the fountains of the great deep broken up. We may learn something here from our colored brethren. During the war of our Revolution, it is said that at a particular impor-tant point of his lines, Washington found his senti-nels, night after night, picked off by a party that could not be detected. At length he committed the care of that point to a sagacious, trusty negro, on

service in the army; a negro citizen (let Secretary Cass mark it) was particularly trusted by Washington. He told him the nature of the danger, and bade him have all his wits about him, remembering to each a word of comment:—

'1. The majority of the Tract Society meeting vesterday voted to approve the action for inactical vesterday voted to approve the action. the watchword, if any suspicious movement was be-fore him, which was to call out, Who goes there? three times, and then fire. The faithful, keen-witted negro reflected, and made up his mind. Past midnight, his watchful car caught the stealthy advance of the enemy, and just waiting long enough to be sure of his aim, he leveled his gun, and called out, in one sentence, at one breath. Who goes dere tree time? and then fired. The foe was shot and discovered, the alarm given, and the post saved. Sometimes we must thus concentrate, and give the warning and the shot at the same moment; not here a little and there a little, but all at once, and blow after blow followed up so rapidly, that neither compromise nor retreat shall be possible.

Dr. Cheever's speech was listened to with profound attention, and was frequently interrupted with applause.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, MAY 21, 1858.

NEW ENGLAND

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION. MERCANTILE LIBRARY HALL, in Summer street, on get hold of the hilt.

higher and stronger in all directions, this anniversary ought to secure a larger and more enthusiastic gathering than has yet been witnessed on a similar occasion. Let all necessary home and business arrangements be seasonably made, so as to insure this most desirable attendance. A determined and united effort must be made, the coming year, to consecrate the soil of New England to freedom in all cases, by making it unlawful to hunt, arrest or try any person on the charge of being a slave or the property of another, before any commissioner, jury, or other tribunal whatsoever. This must be the rallying-point until the work be

Among the speakers expected are WENDELL PHIL-EDMUND QUINCY, PARKER PILLSBURY, CHARLES L. and HENRY C. WRIGHT.

The meeting on Wednesday forenoon will be addressed by Rev. THEODORE PARKER and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Admission fee to defray expenses, 10 cents. In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Sec.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

The anniversary of this Society, which was held in New York last week, and which has been looked to with intense interest, for the indications that it must necessarily give of its relation to slavery, has now shown, in an unmistakable manner, the correctness of our statements for two years past, not only that the pro-slavery 'management' was a fair representative of the position and the wishes of the main body of the Society, but that the protesting minority was small in number, compromising in character, and utterly unreliable as to any exertion of their influence (what there is of it) against slavery.

Two things have manifestly appeared in the various meetings of members of the Tract Society that have just been held. First, that the protesting party were thoroughly routed, defeated by an overwhelming majority upon every point which they brought up for trial; next, that they were disgracefully and ignominiously routed, having richly deserved this defeat by their want of principle as well as by their bad management, or rather their want of management.

An immense crowd attended the meeting, and to insure an unequivocal expression of the animus of the Society by its vote, the floor of the house was reserved for the exclusive occupancy of those members who but their disposition to favor slavery remains the were allowed to vote by the present Executive Com- same; and if you expect them to make voluntary mittee. We say allowed to vote, because the man- concessions upon that important point, grieving the agement ' took the responsibility ' to reserve the lower floor of the house for male members and directors,' whose votes were to decide whatever questions should come up, although large numbers of scomen are life members and life directors (so called) of the Tract Society, and ought to give their voice in the decision whether the twenty or the fifty dollars they have paid for these fine-sounding names shall be used to sustain or to oppose slavery.

The first distinctive development as to whether the pro-slavery or the half-and-half men were in the asendant, was on the resolution of Rev. Dr. Tyng to reaffirm the milk-and-water resolution of last year, declaring it to be the duty of the Executive Committee to publish tracts (not against slavery, but) 'on those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote.' This resolution was voted down by about three to one, according to the estimate of the Is Christ divided? And do you mean to stir up Journal of Commerce.

A resolution of Judge Jessup, similar in character. though of different phraseology, was also voted down by a large majority.

A motion of Prof. Howard Crosby, that 'no tract bearing upon the relation of master and slave be issued at present, and that the circulation of the tract . Samoo and Toney' be therefore stopped,' was laid on the table by an immense majority. 'Sambo and Toney' is a pro-slavery tract, which has been in circulation a

A resolution offered by John Jay, Esq., that ' nothing published by this Society shall countenance the idea that the Scriptures sanction the lawfulness of slavery,' was also laid on the table by a large majority. A resolution previously offered by Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, accepting the report of the Executive Committee, (which undertook to justify their pro-slavery course through the past year,) was then adopted by a

very large majority.

The election of officers for the ensuing year was next in order.

The Boston 'American Tract Society' had some time ago requested of its New York sister, that the New England member of the New York Publishing Committee might be chosen from the Committee of the Boston Society. The granting of this request would supersede South-side Adams.

Dr. Bacon now moved that this request be comolied with, and that President Hopkins, of Williams College, be chosen in place of Nehemiah Adams, D. D. of Boston.

The vote for officers was then taken, and every me er of the old Board was re-elected, South-side Adams receiving only fifty-two votes less than the oth-

Perseverance, however, overcomes many difficulties, specially when it is enforced by impudence; and a rictory has sometimes been gained, by the beaten party ignoring the fact that it is beaten, and moving forward to a new struggle, talking and acting as if it had gained the victory in the former one. The Independent seems disposed to try what virtue there may be in this proceeding, for its first bulletin to its defeated followers bears this sonorous heading,-

THE MORAL VICTORY ACHIEVED. With a cheerful and hilarious aspect, as if going on from conquering to conquer, the Independent declares its willingness to go before the public upon the new issue which this year's meeting has raised, and 'itionists.-C. K. W.

1. The majority of the Tract Society meeting yesterday voted to approve the action [or inaction] of the Publishing Committee during the past year, though distinctly warned that, by that naked vote, they would virtually resent the Resolutions of the Committee of Fifteen, unanimously adopted in May, 1857.

The majority voted this, did they? Well, would you have the minority rule? In another part of your paper is a very energetic article, signed B., seriously protesting against control exercised by a minority. and commencing with the emphatic question- Are we governed, or to be governed, by minorities?' If such government is so much to be deprecated, why don't you acquiesce in the vote of the majority, in a case like the above, where you confess it to have been against you?

But 'they were distinctly warned' of an opinion which you entertained respecting the purport and bearing of the Resolutions of the Investigating Committee! What then? They entertained a different opinion upon that matter, and they were right Those Resolutions (of which you moved the acceptance, and with which you have ever since declared yourself perfectly satisfied,) had two edges, equally sharp; the difference is, that the party in possessio can use their edge, and make it effective. They hold the hilt of this two-edged sword. The edge that you sharpened and polished with so much care, The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will and for the sake of which you foolishly consented to hold its twenty-fifth anniversary in Boston, in the let the other edge remain, is utterly useless until you

WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 26th and 27th, commencing at 10.0 clock, A. M., on each day. With the tide of Anti-Slavery sentiment swelling the existence of slavery, and the moral evils and vices which it is known to promote."

Why should they reaffirm it? They didn't insert that Resolution in the series, didn't wish for it. didn't mean to act upon it. That Resolution was put in by your party in this compromise, and you have ever since been looking at it with a single eye, and refusing to see any meaning but its meaning in the whole series. You thought you were nicely circumventing those dear brethren, whose fidelity and devotedness' you praised in the 5th Resolution, and whose 'wisdom' you confidently trusted to in the 9th; but they, all the time, kept their single eye upon the opposite, and counterbalancing, and, as it LIPS, Rev. TREODORE PARKER, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, admitted one of these sets of phrases to amuse them, has proved, the preponderating set of phrases. You while you gained your own point. They admitted REMOND, ANDREW T. Foss, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, the other set to amuse you, while they gained their point. They outgeneralled you. Wny should they reaffirm the 5th Resolution ? Thas served its purpose, and they have nothing more to do with it.

13. When the tract called Sambo and Toney, which nstructs servants in their duties, and bids them 'obey their masters in all things,' was brought fairly before the meeting, the majority refused to role to print a tract on the duties of masters, according to the New Testa

Well, what then? The majority wished for such tract. Were they to vote it because the minority, and so small a minority, wished it?

'4. Finally, most of all, worst of all, they refused vote that no publication of the Society SHALL IMPLY

THE CHRISTIAN LAWFULNESS OF AMERICAN SLAVERY! Well, what of that? To do otherwise would be to act inconsistently with the whole of their past course. They prefer to imply the Christian lawfulness of American slavery. Entertaining (as you, a year ago, declared yourself to do,) 'a high respect for Dr. Nehemiah Adams, as a Christian minister,' and unwilling (like you) to 'wound his sensibilities'-and regarding Dr. Spring (as you call him even this year) s 'an honored and revered brother, a venerated father,' they UPHOLD the pro-slavery course pursued by those men, instead of half-way trying to counteract it, as you do. And when you afterwards call their present position a 'new and revolutionary platform, you utterly reverse the facts in the case. They have acquiesced in slavery from the beginning of the Society. They have always 'implied its Christian lawfulness.' You have succeeded in preventing them from mutilating any more tracts, because, (as the most sagacious will, now and then, make a slip,) they suffered the Resolutions to pass without any counterbalancing clause about 'the widest and best usefulness of the Society through our whole country; righteous souls of their slaveholding members in the South, and of their pro-slavery members in the North, you make a ve-ry great mistake.

But, you proceed to ask respecting the Secretaries and Agents who are shortly going forth to solicit funds for the Tract Society-'Will the churches receive them? Will pastors admit them to their pulpits?' Why, poor blind brother, have you utterly lost your wits? Certainly they will receives them, and fill their pouches, as of yore. Of course they will receive them. Will not that 'venerated father. Dr. Spring, receive them ? And is not Dr. Joseph P Thompson his brother in Christ? Will not that highly respected Christian minister,' Dr. Southside Adams, and his Southern brother with Southern principles, Dr. Blagden, receive them? And are not Dr. Stone, and Dr. Baron Stow, and Mr. Richards, and Mr. Dexter, their brethren in Christ? dissension between Christian ministers who are nov walking together in peace and amity?

But at some future time, we will look and see what union there is in your camp, and whether the minority have that unity of principle which is indispensable to such unity of action as will insure victory. C. K. W.

WILSON'S VOTE ON OREGON.

Whenever the Republicans do a good thing, the Democrats ridicule, denounce and calumniate them. Read, in the 'Refuge of Oppression,' the comment made by the Boston Post on the votes of Senators Wilson of Massachusetts, Hale of New Hampshire, and Fessenden of Maine, against the admission of Oregon with a clause in her Constitution excluding negroe rom residence there. A large proportion of the Republican settlers in those Northwestern Territories seem to oppose slavery only because it would cause turmoil and disquiet to themselves, not because of its meanness and wickedness; and if the same selfish end can thereby be promoted, they do not shrink from the equal meanness of disfranchising and banishing men who have committed no crime, but who as the subjects of an unjust prejudice, are especially entitled to sympathy and help. The more such narrow notions prevail among their constituents, the more creditable is it in Wilson and his associate to make a stand against them. But why should not these gentlemen be consistent in their advocacy of right and justice? Why should they not stand up for the rights of the slave in South Carolina, as well as for those of the free negro in Oregon? Though they have made the blunder of swearing to support a pro slavery Constitution, they are at perfect liberty to seek its amendment. Why should not Mr. Wilson show himself an advocate of freedom on principle, and do his part to change the oligarchy under which he lives into a true democracy, by moving to amend the Constitution, by striking out the infamous three-fifths clause in the apportionment of representatives, and restoring their right to vote to those oppressed natives of the country who are now called slaves? If his oath prevents him from doing other right things, it does not prevent him from doing that. But until he and other Republican members of Congress do a least as much as that, they can have no decent pretence for asking, in any emergency, or for any period of critical importance to their cause, the help of abo-

TWENTY-PIPTH ANNUAL MEETING

American Anti-Slavery Society, At Mozart Hall, New York City, Tuesday and Wednesday, May 11th and 12th, 1858.

Phonographically reported for the Liberator, by Mr. YERRINTO

TUESDAY-MORNING SESSION. Wednesday of last week.

The meetings commenced on Tuesday morning. There was a very good audience in attendance when the Society was called to order, at half-past ten, by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, its President, and before the conclusion of the forenoon session, the hall was entirely filled.

The President, after calling the assembly to order, read selections from the Scriptures, as follows:

people in whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings. For the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool. I, even I, am he that comforteth you. Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man that shall be made as grass; and forgettest. son of man that shall be made as grass; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the

Thus saith the Lord God, My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there; and the Assayrian oppressed them without cause. Now, therefore, what have I here, saith the Lord, that my people are taken away for nought? They that rule over them make them to howl, saith the Lord; and my

mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the ter-rible shall be delivered; for I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children. And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their

of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharach be your shame, and your trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.

This is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the Lord; which say to the seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophesy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits, get you out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us. Wherefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon: there-

Thus saith the Lord, Forasmuch as this people draw men: therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. Wo unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord, and their Now, Mr. Chairman, allow me to say, we have passworks are in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us? Surely your turnings of side of the water, the steamer brings us the news-if things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's it can be wholly trusted that the representative of

Make a chain; for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord. Shall not my soul be can place reliance upon the whole extent of this inavenged on such a nation as this?

An opportunity being offered for youal prayer, Rev. Mr. Collyer, of Pa., came forward and offered a prayer calm-the granite Alps, piled to the sky and rooted to the God of the oppressed for his blessing on the to the centre, for her emblem-vields to the spirit of deliberations of the Convention. FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer of the Society, then

read his Annual Report, as follows :-

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

	DK.
	Agency account\$6,673 42
	STANDARD account
	Publication account
	Expense account
į	Balance to new account2,459 04
	Total\$18,512 48
	Balance to old account\$3,260 78
	Dalance to old account
	STANDARD and Donation account 15,199 89
	Publication account 51 81
	Total\$18,512 48
	To which may be added the receipts of Auxiliary
	Societies in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and the

West, according to their last Annual Reports, amounting to the sum of \$17,354 76. Making the aggregate receipts of this Society and its Auxiliaries, \$35,967 24; and their expenditures amounting to

The Report was laid on the table, for subsequent

to trespass on the time of the meeting any longer than will suffice to read the resolutions-resolutions in as pertaining to our struggle generally, and in regard to its particular aspects during the past year. If you will be so kind, therefore, as to give me your attention while I rend the resolutions, I will not trespass on your time any longer, but give place to others,

These resolutions—the reading of which was frequently interrupted by applause-were published in last week's Liberator.

The reading of the resolution with regard to the so-called 'revival of religion' called forth some marks of disapprobation, which were answered by hearty applause on the part of a majority of the audience. Mr. Edgar Ketchum rose and said- We cannot all agree in the sentiment of that Resolution. There are hundreds here who are'-(the conclusion of the sentence was lost in calls of 'Order, order.')

Mr. Ketchum-Only one word. (Cries of 'Hear him,' . hear him.')

The President-The gentleman is out of order. is only the opponents of the resolution who make this disturbance. Those who approbate the sentiment of the resolution have surely no need to occupy the time in giving their applause; for the serpents that are pre- an eagle to see the weak points of an enemy, and a sent are indicating the nature of this revival of religion sufficiently, without any demonstration being needed on their part. (Applause).

When the reading of the resolutions was finished

the President introduced CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem, Mass. [Mr. Remond's speech may be found on our last page.]

The President said it gave him great pleasure to in-

troduce to the audience, as the next speaker, WEN-DELL PHILLIPS of Boston. (Prolonged applause.)

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT: I come upon the platform to express, as the friend who has preceded me has profoundest sagacity to conquer. just done, my most hearty concurrence in the resorose in front from stating his objections to any one of nothing to oppose it but the paper promises that have those resolutions; but if that is the rule, I hope that been made ninety and nine times, and broken, (ap-

they wish, all their objections to any one of the statenents of those resolutions. In regard to that one to which he objected, I cannot see how any Abolitionis can fail to recognize the patent fact that our Government and our Church-either, considered as a unit-is an enemy of the slave. It has been tried, and found wanting. Sixty years of life have seen the victims of that system doubled, quadrupled, beneath the re-ligious organizations and civil institutions of the country. Nobody needs anything more than that general In accordance with a call heretofore published, the fact. There must be something rotten in the religious American Anti-Slavery Society celebrated its Twentyfifth Anniversary at Mozart Hall, on Tuesday and allow slavery to exist, much less to grow, to usurp power, to monopolize the functions of governmen to make a vassal of the Church. That if the indict. ment. The Church has had its sixty years as school master; these millions have been its pupils. It has educated them into silence or indifference to the greatest wrong known to our age. It has educated them into a nation capable of the events which the last ten years have unfolded before us, in the catalogue of slaveholding aggression. Who can doubt that, no Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the matter what may be the exceptional cases, there is an inherent, unmistakable, radical rottenness in both ! The character of the nation is the result of the two Dr. Adams, of Boston-the same who wrote the

South-side View of Slavery '-signified his attachment to the revival by publishing a sermon on 'The heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where is the fury of the opplessor & And where & And wher laughter and applause.) [A Voice-'Hit him again.'] Then, again, my friend, Mr. Remond, in criticising suppose he alluded to that recent story of Mr. Everett's friend, [Mr. Yeadon, of South Carolina,] that when he signed a letter expressing sympathy with name continually every day is blasphemed. when he signed a letter expressing sympathy with

Thus saith the Lord, Even the captives of the Charles Sumner, he was under the influence of an anodyne, and did not know what he did. Mr. President, I do not go with Mr. Remond in his criticism upon that story. I think it bears its own falsehood upon its face. Edward Everett, under the most poown blood, as with sweet wine.

We to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a call his soul his own; (roars of laughter and apcovering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin plause;) but if, for one moment, you suppose him, not asked at my mouth; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow not be able to sign his name. The story is a flat contradiction in itself. There must-be some other door out of which he will walk.

But I did not get up, Mr. President, to speak on these topics, but on the resolution which concludes

Whereas, a central despotism exists at Washington, whose purpose is to uphold and extend slavery

Whereas, one of the readiest means to resist it is the fore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant; and he shall break it as the breaking of the potter's vessel that is broken in act of Government, gives to it the force and sanction

of law; therefore, Resolved, That we urge the Northern States to asnear me with their mouth, and with their lips do sume every attribute of unlimited sovereignty necessa honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, ry for effectual resistance to the Slave Power; and and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of as a first step, to enact that no fugitive slave shall

ed through a very strange month. From the other it can be wholly trusted-that the representative of European despotism has taken the final step to strike can place reliance upon the whole extent of this information. The despotism of Europe-Russia, with unlimited sources at her command-representing the nineteenth century, and strikes off fetters. On the other side of the globe, the representative of Liberty and Progress, Education and Ideas, whose emblem is the ocean, only pure because never still-FRANCIS JACKSON, Treusurer, in account with the Amer- America—the popular representative of the Democtean Anti-Slavery Society, from May, 1857, to May, racy of the nineteenth century—signalized that same slavery, spite of the remonstrances of its people, upon a virgin State. How did we come there? How did we reach such an antagonism to the spirit of the century in which we live? It seems to me that, in the power. She loves despotism; she represents it; she does not shrink from avowing it; she lives up to it; But in her internal necessities, or by a law of her outward growth, she sees the necessity brought upon her to put an end to the weakness and danger of servitude. The reason why we have sunk so infinitely below her is because we are not a sincere power; we do not mean what we say. Neither our Church nor our State means one word that it uses. We have played with words, like counters, so long, that they have no meaning, no effect upon the popular heart. A 'revival'-of what? Of words, of pasteboard forms, of superstitious observances, of something that no two in-The President then said-I find my name down in telligent men meet, and look into each other's faces. the programme for a speech this forenoon; but as I was and discuss, without laughing at each other. (Applause requested to draw up a series of Resolutions to be and hisses.) Oh, the rank and file, the men who presented to the Society for its consideration, as I come here and make that noise, may believe, because have done so, and as the series is necessarily some- it is possible, St. Paul has told us, that at last a man what extended, I shall not undertake, this forenoon, may be left to believe a lie. (Loud applause and hisses.) I speak of the intelligent guides of national sentiment : I speak of the sources of national actionwhich, by a sort of hydraulic pressure, I have endea- of the men who, in the real and proper sense, are the vored to concentrate my thoughts, feelings and ideas nation, civilly and religiously. We do not mean what we say; we love falsehood and hypocrisy. The consequence is, we have played with those counters until they have lost all effect. We are case-hardened to any moral influence. We are bought up by patronage. Why, the President, the papers say, gives twenty-five dollars a barrel for flour to go to Utah. He buys it cheap, if he buys a voter in each barrel. (Laughter.) It is the organization that underlies pat-

ronage to which I allude, hardened by constant exposure to noble words without a meaning, until at last the heart refuses to answer to any appeals. Republicanism is the prominent representative of civil resistance to slavery. Now, one great error of Republicanism-even in that noble protest, the let-

ter of Mr. Giddings-is, that it commits the capital mistake of letting the enemy choose when and how to fight. It lets the enemy choose the point of attack; it lets the enemy choose the form of the issuethat is half the battle. The man that stays to be attacked, and lets his foe criticise him until he finds his weakest point, and concentrates his strength upon it, is sure to be conquered. The greatest merit of Napoleon, said Wellington, was, that he had an eye like power, beyond all known to history, to concentrate a million of men upon one point. The Slave Power is equally as sagacious. It sees exactly where is the weak point in the moral attitude of the opponents of slavery, and it directs its efforts there. Take the Tribune. Years ago, the Tribune laid

down the doctrine against the extension of slavery. Hard pressed by the anxious crisis of the Kansas question, the Tribune avowed its determination to admit Kansas as a slave State, if she wished to come in as such. It deserted every one of its own chosen points, in order to meet the one suggested, shaped by the enemy-shaped, of course, with the intention and the

It seems to me that when we stand in such a month lutions which have been read to us. For one, sir, as this-Kansas conquered-under the heel of the I am sorry that the nature of this morning's meeting Federal Government-[avoice-'not yet']-I say, unshould be such as to have precluded the friend who der the heel of the Federal Government, and there is he, and those who sympathize with him, will be pres-ent at some of our subsequent sessions, and take ample time to state, as fully as possible, as much in detail as Washington—all made, and I doubt not in many cases

honestly believed, and all broken-I say, Kansas under the heel of the Federal Government, and President Buchanau is as strong, with forty thousand postmasters and seventy million of revenue, as Napomasters and seventy militar of revenue, as Napo-leon, with five hundred thousand armed men in a country where the sin of not being rich is only atoned for by the effort to become so (laughter,) Then what is before us? for what purpose does the President and his Cabinet clear the checker-board; Why, in order to bring Cuba, and Central America, and the revival of the slave trade, on the board. In three months, you will not hear of Kansas. It will be a 'dead horse,' a trite subject, forgotten. The speaker will be slow who goes back to Kansas. It will be covered three feet deep with Cuba, Central America, and a new slave trade. The next Presiden. America, and a new state that the party which car. ried Kansas, by stuffed ballot-boxes and border-ruffianism, may not carry Pennsylvania as well: Fifty thousand native-born Pennsylvanians who cannot read or write, and fifty thousand more standing next to them who cannot read or write to any purpose-the nucleus of one hundred thousand I norant men to be bought in the political shambles! Why, it is a better game than that of Kansas; it is an easier thing to carry Pennsylvania or Indiana. The Presidential election never will go by honest votes-mark me! It will go, as Kansas and Minnesota have gone, by reck, less cheating, by a Democracy that assumes despotisn without the name, and means to control this govern ment, and make it what it pleases. What are we providing against it? Ideas! What

is the Republican party providing against it? Party tactics !- the same that have been used so often and defeated. It is too great a crisis to trust them say longer. It is time to tear down the idels. A le will keep its throne a whole age longer, if it may skulk behind the shield of some fair-sceming name. It is names that form the strength of this Democratis enterprise against Liberty. 'Union'- Religion'-The Empire' - 'Patriotism'; something that nobody must touch, must lay his lips in the dust before it. Honied all over with praise of the Union is every Republican speech in Congress. You know it! It reminds me of the old story of the Chinese sage who was sitting in the garden of the Emperor Hong Fong. The Emperor says to him, ' Ninety years of wisdom must have taught you much. What is the great danger of government?' Said he, 'It is the rat in the statue.' 'The rat in the statue!' said the Emperor, 'what is that?' 'Well,' said the sage, 'you know we build statues to our ancestors; we set them up in the secret places of our houses. They are of wood, hollow, and painted on the outside; and if a rat gets into the centre, you may not burn it, for it is the image of your father; you may not plunge it into water, for it will wash off the paint. The rat is safe, because the image is sacred (prolonged applause). So it is with the Union. Buchanan is in it-rottenness itself (laughter and cheers). The Democratic party is covered by it. With slavery in its heart, you may not touch it. Washington founded it; Jefferson blessed it; Hamilton launched it; and our fathers have all sworn to it. Let not fire come near it-it is sacred ! Plunge it not in the ocean of public scorn, for you will take off the traits that remind us of the Revolution !- and the rat is safe (applause)! So it is with Religion. Our friend over there at

Brooklyn, who rides alone in the unique, gigantesque strength of his great heart, with a brow bright and tall enough to be seen from Brooklyn to the Rocky Mountains-he cannot touch the Church-the rat sacred within it! He must bow down in the house of Rimmon, when it baptizes itself with the name of · Revival, although it is hard-hard-hard to fancy that, in the bottom of his own heart, he did not know that every atom added to the strength of that fabric was another pound weight laid on the heart of the bondman (applause). What have we to oppose to this programme of m-

tional iniquity? Why, we have 'converts.' They say we have a great many converts from the Demo eratic party. You will see them all wheel back into line the moment the trumpet sounds ' Cuba ' at the head of the host. You will see them all wheel back week by the triumph of the Government in fastening into line the moment the word passes from captain to captain, 'Aggression'-' Extension of the Area of Freedom, and 'Another Slice of Mexico.' But if they do not, I distrust them. I distrust Banks and Douglas, in the van of the party for Liberty. (Heat, broad sense, one might say, we reached it by the fact hear.') As the lover said to his mistress, 'There are that Russia means what she says. She is a sincere but two places in the world, where you are and where you are not.' So in politics, there are but tw -on the slave's side, and against him. When these who are on the slave's side will not have you, where must you go? There is such a thing as being kicked into a party. Horace Mann was kicked out of the Whig party into the Liberty party. Mr. Banks suffered the same honor. (Laughter and applause.) consider Mr. Douglas in the same position. He stayed by his Democracy as long as they would let him but when they cut the rope, he had to fall; and then being no other place to fall except into the hands of the Republicans, of course he fell there. But that does not make him a lover of liberty. They say his name would be stronger than any other at the head of the Republican ticket at the next Presidential canvass. I do not know but it would. It is very likely, as parties go, that the ticket with his name at the head of it would be a strong ticket. He might be elected. Suppose he were; it would be no better, nay, not so good, as if he were defeated; for, when he is seated in the chair, it is a Democrat in the grain, not an Abolitionist. He did not come in at the door on his own feet, he was pitched in headlong, in spite of himself. (Applause.) I distrust him. When the old Democratic trumpet rings to arms, his soul will obey the summons. I remember when I was in Manchester, they had a story in this wise. You know the cavalry horses of the English army in Spain are said to have got so used to the trumpet's sound, that they obey the call as well as the disciplined soldier himself; and when the rider is sent to the ground a corpse, the steed still hears the trumpet, wheels into line, charges and fights for England, as if an Englishman sat in his saddle. One of the regiments which had come home from Spain was stationed just outside of the city of Manchester, and they had a sale of their refuse horses. They sold some score of them. Among the rest, one old man who sold sand about the streets purchased for a pound one of the troopen horses, put him into the shafts of his cart, and peddled sand for a month. The old man thought he had got a bargain, and trotted up and down the city. and the horse did his little work, his drudgery, as if he had been born to it. But one day, when the old fellow of eighty was sitting on his sand cart, engaged in his daily toil, a sergeant's guard passed by him, and the trumpet sounded. The old steed shook his mane, broke the cart to pieces, shook the old man on to the pavement, and wheeled into line with the troops. So with Douglas, when the Democratic party sounded its trumpet-President though he might be (Applause.) It is in him : no baptism of a six months' ession with Hale and Giddings can wash out the lifelong servility of a bought and sold politician. (Renewed applause.) The South will never trust him; but he has not the manhood, I believe, to be a leader of the North—the effectual, radical, resisting North

-no! It seems to me that this resolution points to some thing which politics ought to consider and adopt-Bancroft says, in his last volume, 'American lav's no result of individual wisdom; it is the growth of necessity—the growth of the hour.' So it is. When we framed the Constitution under which we live, the men who went to Philadelphia to frame it knew they were doing what they were not sent to do; and M. Madison, in the 'Pederalist,' defends them for doing what they were not sent to do. The people sanction ed the work, and to-day it is an idel! In 1801, Mr. Jefferson said the acquisition of territory was clearly

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prometitutional. The people bowed to it—it is law! So you may trace down American law until to-day. go you may the Government does, whatever the organ-Whatever the organised system to be a first law. The experience of sevthey rears says so. Now, I appeal to the North to enty years for the North to grain herself of that principle against the Slave Pow-Mr. Buchanan throws off the fetters of the Coner. Mr. Buchanan Chicago of the letters of the Consimples what they please. Let us try the same In fighting this battle, let us throw off fetters. rame. In his and ask it of the Republican party in Congress. I do not sworn, there to support a certain system of hey are the but I ask them for more than they do. I sak them to do what the English have always done them to do is chused monator (Applause.) There has not refuse them an appropriation bill brought before Congress for the last four or five years, that has not been rotten to the last route or the core with pro-slavery service. Table it! Checkmie the Government-make it bankrupt! Avon it: argue it to the people; begin to fight, not to deit; area. Let the South no longer choose the issue, and feed. Lee us what we think. Massachusette has bethen ask us (Loud applause.) She has thrown them the had of a wicked Judge as her gauntlet. (Renewed applane.) The Governor of Massachusetts said that applause.)
he removed Judge Loring because of a certain incomsatisfity between the offices of United States Com fissioner and a Massachusetts Judge of Probate the people removed Edward Greeley Loring because the people remark to the slave yoke, and sent back Anthony Burns to bondage. Fit Judge for the Union Anthony Bulland Assachusetts! (Prolonged cheering.) Let the Republican party organize resistance, and not resistance simply, but aggression. I do not know how son, in the contingencies of events, they may, as soon, in the color amajority, and actually embarrass the Government. But it does not much matter. The moment a great party avows its purpose of resistance, avows its determination to make the Govern ment bankrupt, and flings that question before the people, it will educate them up to that level. The deal sends us texts in James Buchanan, and we are to preach the sermons ; (applause) ; and the education of the people is according to our preaching.

Then, again, as States, the refuge of our liberty the machinery of the State Governments. When Salmon P. Chase had his hand on Margaret Garner in the Cincinnati prison, he could have clutched the stare question, and helped it forward a quarter of a century, if he had then and there provoked resistance by the Buckeye State to the Federal Government; for there is something in the loyalty of individuals to the State Governments, in home love and sympathy, stronger, after all, than love of the Union itself. There is a State pride. Now, for the first step, let us declare-and if the people submit to it, it is law-that no slave ever shall go back from New York. You remember the story of the Irishman. who, finding his blanket too short at the bottom, cut of a piece from the top, and sewed it on to the bottom. If the Democratic party sewed Kansas on to that end, she must be balanced by Massachusetts on this. Let us say to the South, ' We will have no more slave territory; and if you increase it at the West, we will clean up all the East to make it even.' In every State, under the pressure of this great question, stirring the consciences of the people, it will be possible, one after the other-Massachusetts first, or Wisconsin. I care not which-to make an enactment, which the will of the people will seal into law, that no man shall ever be tried, upon that territory, on the question whether he is a slave or a freeman. And when Massachusetts has said 'Amen' to such an enactment, it is law in Massachusetts; for we have Bancroft's authority, that American law is no result of individual wisdom, but the growth of necessity-the I say, let us begin at home to organize garrisons

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and forts where the party of morals, of ideas, can take refuge against the organizations of Government. The organizations of Government palpably increase, day by day, on the slavery side. Ideas are ours. I know to some of us they seem to advance very slowly. We do not see the influence of such a meeting as this, or a dozen like it. The Scotch bleaching woman said to the elergyman, who asked her why she watered a piece of linen so often, 'The water I pour on this morning will part sink into the earth, and part have watered it with just the same seeming uselessness, day after day-but the arst day of June it will be white.' (Applause.) So, twenty-five years ago, the bar of Boston said to Samuel E. Sewall, when he sked them whether a person brought into Massachusetts as a slave could be carried back, 'Yes; he is a fagitive, although his master brought him here. But he took the question to the Court, and argued it, until a Massachusetts Court responded to Mississippi, and said 'No! There is a distinction; and that is enough for a twig to hang freedom upon.' It took twenty-five years of plotting, and Taney, with both his feet in the grave, to reverse it; and Massachusetts was that same year saying to the man who had returned a fugitive, even, ' Get thee behind me, Satan! Thou shalt have no office of mine ! (Applause.) Day after day, year after year, our President poured the water of his rebuke, with seeming uselessness, on the stained conscience of Massachusetts, and the clergyman cried 'Infidel,' and the politician 'Fanatic,' and said, ' See! he is putting back the cause of emancipation!' But they tried it, and found it was healthier for Edward Greeley Loring to live in Washington than in the atmosphere of the Bay State.

The President next introduced Miss FRANCES EL-LEN WATEINS, of Baltimore, who proceeded to make a speech full of pathes and highly effective, in the course of which she depicted her emotions when, for the first time, she ever saw free land for those of her own complexion - it was when she first gazed upon the Canada shore!

The meeting then adjourned to meet for business in the afternoon, at 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The members and friends of the Society met informally to consider the present aspects and wants of the cause. No business was transacted, the time being chiefly occupied in discussing and delining the freedom of the platform' in relation to questions of theology, in respect to which the members of the Society do not even expect to agree. The reporter yes not present, and it is impossible for any one to state, from memory, the views urged by the different

EVENING BESSION.

The meeting was called to order about 8 o'clock, when the platform was taken by EDMUND QUINCY, Faq., of Dedham, in the absence of Rev. Thropore PARKER, caused by bodily indisposition. He said he had been thinking that it was just twenty years since he first attended a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the year 1838, and it had occurred to him to reflect upon the vast changes which had taken place in this country during that period. What prodigious strides had the American people taken towards their glory or their doom, as e case might be, according as they might yet decide as to their future course!

The speaker then reviewed the history of the country for the last twenty years, as connected with the avery question, referring to the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, which grew out of that iniquity, the passage of the Pugitive Slave Law, the repeal of the Ordinance of '87, the Kansas question, and the long catalogue of slaveholding usurpations and ag-

Mr. Garrison next spoke, as follows :- 11 2001

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. I do not know that there is anything to be done here, this evening to make us a unit on this question of freedom and equality. We come together from the peculiar views entertained by each. But, then, so far as the bulk of this audience is concerned, I suppose I may take it for granted that you are from the free States, and that very few are from the South. First, a word in regard to the South.

There are those who say they do not marvel a all that slaveholders are unwilling to part with their slave property. Well, I also think that Southern Independence! Slavery forever, and everywhere! men are behaving very much according to human nature in its ordinary manifestations, in view of the fact that, inheriting an old institution, and finding it men, in Congress and out of it-and an open, bold sustained by all that is deemed respectable, honorable and religious in the South, they feel that to ask them to give up their slaves is tantamount to asking the men of the North to give up their houses and lands; and he, surely, would be regarded as a fool or a madman who should undertake to prove to the people of the North the enormity of holding horses, sheep and swine as property, and should call upon them, in the the Southern plantations, from among those who are name of the living God, to cease holding such as now clanking the chain, and brought into this hall, property. I do not wonder that slaveholders strain as fair, as white, as beautiful to the view, as those every nerve to perpetuate slavery. As slaveholders, now before me. Complexion is no longer any safe-they are sagacious, far-sighted, and prompt to do the guard. No man's household is safe, on the ground very thing that needs to be done to preserve their that he is an Anglo-Saxon, and his children are of slave-system intact. They are not extravagant in his own blood. Then again, the theory of the South any effort they make; they do not employ one single is, that slavery is not a question of race, but of caste slave-driver too many; they do not own one superfluous bloodhound; they have none too many fetters-none too many whips; they have a slave code exactly adapted to the necessities of their position- slaves. The working men of the North are branded everything complete and perfect from beginning to as nothing better than 'mud-sills' by the Southern

their behalf, that they are acting just as other men because she is hard-working, industrious, self-supset, under kindred circumstances. I grant it. So, porting, and finds her prosperity in free labor, and when you send your missionaries to the ends of the her safety and glory in free institutions. The aim of earth to grapple with heathenish idolatry, do the the Slave Power is to overthrow all the institutions idol-worshippers behave. They do not accept your which we cherish so deeply, and, if possible, to inauone only living and true God'—they believe in gods; gurate a bloody slaveholding military despotism, by and, therefore, they resent the intrusion, and do precisely what we have a right to expect idolaters will Napoleon to seize the reins of government, and rule do to protect their idolatrous system. Nevertheless, idolatry is a false religion, and the true God ought day by its perfidious betrayer. to be known and honored in all parts of the earth, let the consequences be what they may. So in regard to this system of slavery.

Men who are slaveholders must dread free discus sion. I do not wonder that no man is tolerated on pire! While I blush for my country, I take off my Southern soil, with a free soul and a free tongue; hat to the Czar for that praiseworthy act. Neverthefor the toleration of one such man would insure the less, I would like to reduce him to the size of a com abolition of slavery at no distant day, and the tyrant mon man, and put an end to autocratic rule forever. knows it. 'Instinct is a great matter.' Give me a My motto is, 'No King, no Emperor, no Pope!' Not single free press in Russia, and I will guarantee the even a Queen-for, though I honor Victoria as a wife upturning of autocracy. Grant me freedom of speech and mother, yet I would say even to her, 'I go for effect a revolution, and work out the problem of uni- woman a queen; just as I would have every man versal emancipation. Therefore it is that, in all those king.' (Applause.) despotic countries, not a visible freeman stands upon their soil, and every press is fettered. What! cannot the French Emperor, or the Roman Pope, or the with everything in his grasp, allow one free press or heard of before, of a people willing to allow others to one free spirit to exist in his dominions? Not one have rights on their soil which they will not concede not one! This tells the whole story : it is a confession of conscious injustice and indefensible tyranny. And the right to hold a man in bondage, because it is an so in all the South, no man speaks, no man can speak, immoral and sinful act, we yet say to the citizens of as a freeman, and live. Slavery will not bear investigation.

Southern men will stand up for slave institutions, let this soil too hot for any slave-hunter to stand upon it me ask you, men of the Empire State, men of the one moment. (Renewed applause.) Let us resolve North, whether we are not bound, on our side of the that we will have no more palpitations of the hear line, to stand up as boldly and uncompromisingly in here, on the part of the flying fugitive; no more hidfavor of free institutions? Why should we not do ing away in dark cellars, or running into the woods so? And if we are false to our own principles and to avoid the pursuer; and that every fugitive slave

professions, the more shame to us. Now, throughout our mighty North, you know we have settled one thing-that slavery shall not be one religion, shame on our patriotism, that the only thing pass into the air—and the cloth is the same as it was of our institutions. Not a solitary slave clanks his we can now do for the poor trembling fugitive is to chains on our Northern soil. We have put an end to chattel servitude as it once existed among us. This York is mighty in its wealth, and strong in its power; was well done, was it not? We abolished it because it is multitudinous in its population-almost a million of its inherent injustice and immorality; because it of men and women strong; its churches swarm with could not be defended; because it was a blighting hearers, the religion of the Son of God is here professcurse; because man was never made to be a slave, ed, and the people say they accept it; but, if you and freedom is the inalienable right of all. (Applause.) would not again wear the chain, get out of this city-If this is so, then I hold that they who undertake to away for your life-for something dearer than life, frame or furnish apologies in behalf of Southern your liberty—to the free soil of Canada!' Now, w slaveholders, and bring up objections against Aboli- must put a stop to this. We must have a revival, tionists, are not Northern men, but recreant to their genuine, thorough-going revival of pure, freedomown principles, and should migrate to the South. loving, freedom-giving Christianity. (Loud ap-(Applause.)

We are 'fanatics,' forsooth! and the men who are flinging this taunt at us are the very men who have, by constitutional enactment, in the Empire State, throughout the whole North, subscribed to the docallowed to be a slaveholder here. Tell me, men of (Laughter and applause.) It brought back the mem the Empire State, why not? How dare you pass a ory of thirty years ago; I felt about as good as new first step towards making a slave? How dare you we do need a genuine revival of religion in our landand uncompromising adherence to the doctrine they partial freedom, or make against it?

Southern slaveholders; we must not question their it is spurious—not in regard to individual cases, for I patriotism; especially, we must not doubt their piety. am not speaking of them, but to the nation at large. For are they not orthodox in their religious faith, It is a wide-spread epidemic, everywhere exhibiting and 'bound for the kingdom'? Have they not been the same characteristics and results. It prevails at baptized, and do they not eat the sacramental bread the North, and also at the South. There is the same and drink the sacramental wine? Are they not general confession of sin, which means little-the members of the Church of Christ? Who shall pro- same profession of repentance, which means less-and sume to cast suspicion upon the piety of men who the same conversion to the same religious faith; and have done all this? It is a clear case that they hold yet, there is no change of spirit or purpose toward the their slaves benevolently, and for their good, and millions in bondage, on the part of those who claim therefore are not to be condemned. Do you mean to have been turned from darkness to light, and from all that? Is it so that, in Carolina, men are benevo- the power of Satan to the living God. (Applause and lent, high-minded, patriotic, Christian, and yet slaveholders? Do you really mean to say that? Then, I ask, why do you prevent high-minded, benevolent, Christian men, here in the Empire State, from be-coming slaveholders? How will it tarnish my Christian character if I enslave a man here? And why should it justly subject me to reproach and infamy Where is your consistency?

I do not wonder that the North is driven to the wall, by the South, in this controversy. Against such glaring contradictions, such a shuffling morality, the slaveholder has the argument. For if you concede his right to hold slaves on his own plantation, on the ground of benevolence, and in consistency with morality and religion, then he logically answers that it cannot be wrong to hold slaves in the Empire State, and slavery ought to be a universal institution. The argument, I repeat, is with the slave-

What I want to see is consistency. I see it at the South-I see nothing but inconsistency at the North The slaveholders are resolved to exterminate free dom universally. Rely upon it, we shall have the various parts of the country—strangers, more or less, very forms of republican government overthrown in to each other—and, personally, not knowing what are this land, and a military despotism substituted, unless slavery be abolished. The slaveholder cares nothing for the rights of any man. He who, to promote his own interests, would enslave one human being, would as readily fasten the chain upon every other human being, for the same reason. The cry of the slave oli garchy is, 'Down with the liberty of the press! down with freedom of speech! away with the Declaration of The doctrines of Toryism are constantly avowed in the Southern journals-from the lips of Southern absolute denial of the rights of man, without regard to race or color, is everywhere heard, without alarm and even with general acquiescence-a sure indica tion that we are fast ripening for a military despotisn As a matter of fact, with regard to the victims

slavery, all complexional distinctions have long since ceased; and an audience might be gathered up from -the strong against the weak, the rich against the poor; that all who labor with their hands to earn an honest livelihood are ordained of God to be made lords of the lash, even on the floor of the Senate of Now, the apology is often made at the North, in the United States, who despise and hate the North sudden coup d'etat, and thus enable another Loui us with a rod of iron, as unhappy France is ruled to

What a strange spectacle is presented to the world While America is eagerly bent on perpetuating her slave system, the Czar of Russia is busy in striking off the fetters from the limbs of the serfs in his emin France, Spain, Italy, Austria, and I will speedily your dethronement, except as I would have every

Now, what we, as Abolitionists, have been trying to do has been simply to make the North consistent -to induce her to carry out the doctrines laid down Russian Czar, claiming to rule 'by the grace of God,' in her own Constitution. Was such a thing ever to one another? While we deny to our own citizen the South, ' If your slaves escape, and take refuge in our borders, you may hunt them with impunity; and Now, I say, if slavery is to continue, we must if you can run them down, we will consent to your have just this condition of things. It is absurd to carrying them back to bondage.' I want no more talk about the cruel treatment by slaveholders of running away to Canada! I think the Empire State their slaves, while conceding the right of property in is as good as Canada-at least, ought to be (applause) man. They are not unnecessarily brutal; they do -and my word to you is this: we have allowed the best they can, under the circumstances.

If, then, it is to be expected that, on Southern soil, think of it? (Loud applause.) We ought to make shall be made free whenever and wherever he is disposed to take up his abode with us. Shame on our say, ' You are not safe here! True, the city of New plause.)

A word in regard to the so-called revival of religion now going on in the land. One of the resolution before us, on this subject-drawn up, I thought, very guardedly [1]-elicited such serpent-like hisses in th trine of 'Garrisonian' Abolitionism! No man is galleries that it was really refreshing to my spirit. law making it penal for me to take even the very in the struggle. (Renewed laughter.) Seriously, have a law interfering with my benevolence and would to God we might have it! . The whole head is philanthropy, so that when I see a poor creature, who sick, the whole heart faint, and we are full of wounds, cannot take care of himself, I may not seize him, and bruises, and putrifying sores. Our hands are and claim him as my property - for his good, of full of blood, and we cannot deny it. We need a course? If you say, God has not authorized me to genuine revival of religion—a religion which is pure hold a slave here, then I say, he has not authorized and spotless, which has no injustice in it, which has it at the South. There are not two Gods-one for no lash to apply to the naked bodies of defenceles the North, and one for the South-but one God; women, which does not steal children, which does not and if He makes it immoral to hold slaves at the traffic in human flesh, which goes for immediate and North, He makes it no less immoral to hold slaves at universal emancipation. We want a religion of this the South. Before you reject a single doctrine I have kind; and God forbid that I should say anything laid down, you have got to burn every Northern which would tend to prevent a revival of such a reli-State Constitution. I do not transcend them a hair's gion as this! But we have a right, in regard to the breadth. The only difference between me and the revival now going on in our land, to inquire what is people of the North is, that I am for a consistent, the tendency thereof. Does it favor the cause of im-

have laid down, and they are not. (Applause.)

Some of the features of this revival are worth looking at. In the first place, I will tell you why I think

Let us argue the matter a little. I suppose we shall not differ about the fact that we are, as a nation, hor-

[1] The following is the resolution on the revival here referred to :-

Resolved, That the 'revival of religion,' which Resolved, That the 'revival of religion,' which has awept over the country with contagious rapidity during the last three months, is manifestly delusive and spurious, exceptional cases to the contrary notwithstanding; because it has expressly excluded the millions in bondage from all consideration—has multiplied its converts as readily at the South as at the North—has excited no opposition in the midst of universal, all-abounding corruption and profligacy—has received the sanction and cooperation of the most pro-slavery divines and journals in the land—and has operated (as it was evidently designed) to strengthen a Church which is 'the bulwark of slavery,' and to divert attention from the work of practical righteousness.

ribly wicked. Certainly, the American Church, which holds in bondage, through its members, seven bundred thousand slaves, is tolerably corrupt! There must be a good deal of blood upon the garments of such a Church! There is, moreover, no end to political corruption and demagogueism in the land. If the Prince of Darkness has ever held complete supremacy any where, he holds it at the present time in Ameri-

ca. Now, you have a genuine revival of religion go-ing on, mark you!—a revival that hates the wrong, defends the right, loves man, abhors tyranny. Have you got it? If so, then there is a tremendous strife going on in the land with 'principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places.' The antagonistic elements of heaven and hell are now in ferce conflict, and a blood-stained Church and State are shaken to their foundations, as by a mighty earthquake! But does any body tremble? No! Is Satan uneasy? Never more easy! Is corruption terrified? Why, it goes soundly to sleep, and snores over it. (Loud laughter and applause.) A genuine revival of religion would scare James Buchanan so that he could not sleep o' nights (laughter and applause) -and the whole South would be up in arms to resist this

invading spirit, and, if possible, to lynch it. Now, when all is calm and peaceful, in the midst o ill-abounding corruption, how dare you say that the spirit of the living God is at work? How dare you say that we have a revival of the religion of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer? Let exceptional cases be granted—that, here and there, a man may be changed from an evil course to a good one-it does not affect the general fact-it does not invalidate the statement, that the revival of which we hear so much is spurious and worthless, because it gives no trouble to the corruption, the demagogueism, or the demon spirit of Power, sustained by the Democratic party, has been slavery in the land.

You know they are determined on having the piratical foreign slave trade re-opened, and are looking for the time, not far distant, when it will be made a legitimate branch of American commerce. Yet among the very people who are thus desirous to extend and perpetuate slavery, and to renew the African slave traffic, the revival is spreading, and converts are multiplying in all directions! They have prayer-meet ings in Washington, in Richmond, in Charleston, in Savannah, in New Orleans: they pray earnestly to their God, at the same time that they prey upon their poor manacled slaves, and are determined to have more victims. (Applause.) I say it is a sham! Now let any one who wishes to hiss relieve his bosom. [There was a very significant silence, broken at last by loud applause.]

If any religion leaves a fetter upon my limbs, shall denounce it as spurious, call it by what name you please. As every other human being is by creation entitled to the same rights as I am, any religion which leaves any man in bondage is equally deserving of execration. (Applause.)

[Mr. Garrison proceeded to illustrate the nature of the revival in Boston, by referring to the active participancy in it of the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, of that city, the author of 'A South-Side View of Slavery'-a book which he pronounced to be as false, deceptive and godless as was ever published. He referred to the prayers that had been offered in the meetings in Park street vestry, that God would 'put a hook into the jaws' of Theodore Parker, or 'remove him out of the way,' or smite him with impotency, and paid a merited tribute to the mental independ ence, moral intrepidity, and philanthropic and progressive spirit of Mr. Parker, which elicited warm applause. He then said :]

I judge the present revival, and determine its true my exchange list embraces papers from every part of as it would be if expressed, through the more formal the land. These I examine with watchful and con- mode of heartless diplomacy. Such addresses will stant solicitude, from day to day. My finger is continually upon the pulse of the nation. I know, if any man can know, what is the heart of the American people, because the press is the general exponent of their real feelings and sentiments; and, therefore, I should be a dull scholar not to know what is the lesson it teaches. Everywhere revealing to me the fact, as it does, that the present revival is viewed with complacency and approbation by the most pro-slavery formation of Societies devoted to the promotion of this divines, by unprincipled political demagogues, by the satanic journals, by all who are hostile or indifferent to the cause of down-trodden humanity, I am sure it kening of the public mind, among all nations, to the cannot be of God, whatever exceptional cases there acknowledgment and maintenance of the right of evmay be in any part of the land-for if it were, they cry human being to live, to attain knowledge, elevate be alarmed by its prevalence, and tempt to suppress it.

ear, as melancholy as a wail for the dead, because it tian world may be thus concentrated, and brought to defines nothing, it means nothing, except in a secta- bear upon governments and people; and this gospe rian sense; it gives no aid to the understanding, it does of peace, of justice and of liberty, may be preached not reach the heart; it is destitute of moral courage, and seeks only conformity to a ritual religion. Now, the Christ who is 'not despised and rejected of men' in a thoroughly corrupt age, whose sympathies are not with the poor and oppressed, and to whom ostentatious homage is paid by the pharisaical and timeserving, cannot save us here or hereafter. Throughout the South, they offer up prayers to Christ, and profess to venerate his name; but do I exaggerate when I say, the Christ they adore is a slaveholding, slave-breeding, slave-trading Christ? And is not Progress' will convene at Friends' Meeting-house, such the Christ of America to-day, as interpreted and Waterloo, Seneca Co., N. Y., on the 6th of sixth mo., such the Christ of America to-day, as interpreted and

accepted by the American pulpit and Church? I glory in the Christ of Judea, because he was willing to be made of no reputation for righteousnes sake, and dared to confront popular iniquity, and exposed a rotten religion, to the sacrifice of his life. How my pulses leap, how my heart glows, as I read his history! How divine was his spirit-how worldembracing his love ! . Behold the Lamb of God, that embracing his love! 'Behold the Lamb of God, that ordinances, or priestly rule; that in the recognition taketh away the sins of the world!' His spirit we of one common Father for the human race, we also need; we want the same moral heroism, the same recognize the duty of brothers to love one another.

All those who have faith in God, and desire the abiding faith in the living God, the same willingness to 'endure the cross,' as he exhibited; so shall we find salvation.

I am for a genuine revival of religion—for no com promise with crime—for emancipating every slave for man universally, and God the Father of us all. (Loud applause.)

WENDELL PHILLIPS was then loudly called for, but excused himself from making a speech with the remark, that if any one in the audience wanted to add anything to the speech to which they had just listened, he should be glad to hear him; but, for himself, he had no such ambition. (Applause.)

The meeting then adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

[Remainder next week.]

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION. The interesting anniversary of this Convention will be held in Boston, in the Mercantile Library Hall, Summer Street, on Wednesday and Thursday of next week, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. As the Convention is to remain in session but two days, the importance of a prompt as well as crowded attendance will be appreciated; especially as the speakers at the opening session, Wednesday forenoon, are to be Rev. THEODORE PARKER and WENDELL PHILLIPS. Surely, no special appeal is needed at this time to insure a strong representation.

We ask the special attention of our readers to the powerful address of Rev. Dr. George B. Cheeven, (the most notable effort made by any public speaker during the anniversary week in New York,) made be-fore the American Abolition Society on Thursday afternoon of last week. It was our good fortune to be present at its delivery, which was exceedingly animated and impressive. The address is full of prophetic fire and apostolic fervor. We hope to see it extensively published by the newspaper press, as well as in a tract form. The New York Tribune has done a good service in printing it in its weekly edition.

LETTER FROM HON. J. R. GIDDINGS. The following letter from Hon. J. R. Giddings, Ohio, was read at the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York, last week, and received with hearty applause, and ordered to be printed with the proceedings :-

WASHINGTON CITY, May 7, 1858.

DEAR GARRISON : Thanks for your note, kindly inviting me, o shalf of the Executive Committee, to address the Imerican Anti-Slavery Society at its approach ng anniversary. Official duties will not permit me to enjoy that pleasure. Indeed, my physical infirmi-ties would seem to forbid any attempt at public speak-ing; but I assure you that age, with its attendant disabilities, brings with it a confirmed faith, and an increasing desire to fan the fires of liberty which burn n the popular mind, until the flame shall melt away every chain, and consume every prejudice which now pholds American slavery.

From the stand-point which I occupy, our cause ap-

cars prosperous. Its progress in Congress keeps pace with its onward march in the country. Indeed think Congress reflects the popular mind very accu rately. It is true that a majority of its members ex hibit but little of that spirit which was manifested by our fathers, who proclaimed the undying truths around which our expectations now cluster; but those who are conservative are progressing, and although they move slowly, yet every day brings them neare to the faithful advocates of liberty. Indeed, since 1796, the representatives of the free States have never made such a demonstration in favor of liberty as the have during the present session of Congress; and although neither party has achieved a victory, the Slave defeated. The President had declared in his messag that ' Kansas was as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina'; but Congress denied the flagrant

falsehood, and entered upon the records of the nation the solemn verdict that the Executive was guilty of gross misrepresentation. But, while pained with the President's avowal that

Black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect,' we are cheered and encouraged with thereflection that the Emperor of Russia recognizes the right of every human being to live, to attain knowledge, to elevate his moral nature, and prepare for heaven; that he, with the Princes and Nobles of his Empire, is employed in the humane and generous work of securing the enjoyment of their rights to the humblest individuals under his jurisdiction, without distinction of color or condition. Good men of the present and of coming generations will find no difficulty in deciding who are the real despots, and who are the true Democrats. Holland, too, has been converted to the gospel of freedom. She has extended liberty to her West India possessions, and in nearly every civilized government of the earth, philanthropists and statesmen are laboring to secure their fellow-men in the enjoyment of those inalienable prerogatives which God has bestowed upon mankind in all ages of the world, and under all forms of government.

In view of existing facts, I suggest that suitable addresses on behalf of the philanthropists and lovers of liberty in these United States be transmitted to the Emperor of Russia and the government of Holland, tendering them respectful thanks for their sympathy and generous efforts in the cause of Christian civilization. I am aware that this act of justice should be performed by our government; but it is well known o the powers of Europe, that its administration is wielded by men devoted to slavery; and it is believed that such an expression, emanating from the hearts character, by a very sure test. I am an editor, and of a grateful people, will be quite as acceptable evince to the world that American freemen appreciate the high dignity of our cause, that we approve the conduct of men who seek the moral elevation of our race, whether they wield the sceptre of political power, or tread the paths of private life.

I would also suggest that the time has arrived for adopting measures looking to the union of those philanthropists who reside in different nations, by the great work. Let it be a fundamental rule that their energies and influence shall be directed to the awamoral nature, and fulfil his mission to earth by preparing his way to heaven. By an organized sys-All this talk about coming to Christ' is, to my tem of correspondence, the moral power of the Christo all nations.

Please accept for yourself and Committee, and express to the members of your Society, the assurance of my respect. Very faithfully, J. R. GIDDINGS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President of the American Anti-Slavery Society

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.'-The Waterloo, Seneca Co., N. Y., on the 6th of sixth mo., (June, 1858,) at 11 o'clock, A. M., and continue its sessions three or four days.

These meetings have been heretofore replete with

These meetings have been herecolore replace with interest, furnishing to every true reformer an opportunity for an interchange of views, and a reunion, that, both morally and socially, has been productive of much profit and pleasure.

Our views have been, year after year, so fully set forth, that we need not say any more than that our aim is to cultivate a religious life, apart from creeds,

spirits arrengthened, that they may go forth the more earnestly to perform works of good for humanity, are cordially invited to take seats with us in our delibera-

The meeting-house being three miles from Water loo, strangers inquiring for JAMES TRUMAN in the vil-lage, will receive all necessary directions.

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THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS OF PENNSYL-VANIA will convene at Longwood, (near Hamorton, Chester County, on FIRST DAY, the 30th of Fifth month, 1858, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continue its The friends of Truth, Purity and Progress, however named or nameless, are cordially invited to aid us by their presence and co-operation. HENRIETTA W. JOHNSON,

OLIVER JOHNSON,

JOSEPH A. DUGDALE,

WILLIAM BARNARD,

JAMES C. JACKSON, ISAAC MENDENHALL, JAME, and others.

NOTICE.—CHARLES C. BURLEIGH is as Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, more particularly for the Western part of the State. His post-office address is Cummington, Hampshire Co., Mass.

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Speech by Theodore Parker. THE PRESENT ASPECT OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA, and the Immediate Duty of the North: A Speech delivered in the Hall of the State House, before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Convention, on Friday night, January 29, 1858. By Theopone Parkers. Price, 17 cents. Just published, and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 14 Bromfield street.

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POETRY.

I loved them so, That when the elder Shepherd of the fold Came covered with the storm, and pale and cold, And begged for one of my sweet lambs to hold, I bade him go.

He claimed the pet; A little fondling thing, that to my breast Clung always, either in quiet or unrest : I thought, of all my lambs, I loved him best. And yet-and yet-

I laid him down, In those white, shrouded arms, with bitter tears: For some voice told me, that in after years He should know nought of passion, grief or fears,

And yet again, That elder Shepherd came ; my heart grew faint; He claimed another lamb, with sadder plaint, Another ! She who, gentle as a saint, Ne'er gave me pain.

Aghast I turned away; There sat she, lovely as an angel's dream, Her golden locks with sunlight all agleam, Her holy eyes with heaven in their beam; I knelt to pray:

· Is it thy will? My Father, say, must this pet lamb be given ? O! thou hast many such, dear Lord, in heaven; And a soft voice said, 'Nobly hast thou striven : But, peace-be still.' O! how I wept!

And clasped her to my bosom, with a wild And yearning love—my lamb, my pleasant child: Her, too, I gave-the little angel smiled, And slept. "Go! go!' I cried:

For once, again, that Shepherd laid his hand Upon the noblest of our household band : Like a pale spectre, there he took his stand. Close to his side. And yet, how wondrous sweet .

The look with which he heard my passionate cry-'Touch not my lamb-for him, O! let me die!' A little while,' he said, with smile and sigh, 'Again to meet.' Hopeless I fell;

And when I rose, the light had burned so low, So faint, I could not see my darling go; He had not bidden me farewell ; but O! I felt farewell, More deeply far

Than if my arms had compassed that slight frame Though could I but have heard him call my name, ' Dear mother ! '-but in heaven 'twill be the same There burns my star ! He will not take

Another lamb, I thought, for only one Of the dear fold is spared to be my sun, My guide, my mourner, when this life is done; My heart would break. O! with what thrill

I heard him enter; but I did not know (For it was dark,) that he had robbed me so, The idol of my soul—he could not go— O! heart, be still! Came morning; can I tell

How this poor frame its sorrowful tenant kept? For waking tears were mine; I sleeping wept, And days, months, years, that weary vigil kept. Alas! 'farewell,' How oft 'tis said !

I sit and think, and wonder too, sometime, How it will seem, when in that happier clime, It never will ring out like funeral chime Over the dead.

No tears! no tears! Will there a day come that I shall not weep? For I bedew my pillow in my sleep. Yes, yes ; thank God! no grief that clime shall keep-No weary years.

Ay! it is well': There, pleasant rivers wander they beside, Or strike sweet harps upon its silver tide-Ay! it is well.

Through the dreary day They often come from glorious light to me; I cannot feel their touch, their faces see. Yet my soul whispers, they do come to me: Heaven is not far away.

> GRIEF FOR THE DEAD. O, hearts that never cease to yearn! O, brimming tears that ne'er are dried ! The dead, though they depart, return

The living are the only dead; The dead live-nevermore to die; And often when we mourn them fled, They never were so nigh!

As if they had not died!

And though they lie beneath the waves, Or sleep within the churchyard dim-(Alas! through many different graves God's children go to him !)

Yet every grave gives up its dead Ere it is overgrown with grass! Then why should hopeless tears be shed, Or need we cry, Alas!

Or why should Memory, veil'd with gloom And like a sorrowing mourner craped, Sit weeping o'er an empty tomb, Whose captives have escaped ! 'Tis but a mound-and will be moss'd

Whene'er the summer grass appears; The lov'd, though wept, are never lost; We only lose our tears.

Nay, Hope may whisper with the dead, By bending forward where they are; But Memory, with a backward tread, Communes with them afar ! The joys we lose are but forecast,

And we shall find them all once more We look behind us for the Past, But lo ! 'tis all before!

HOPE. What is Hope? The beauteous sun, Which colors all it shines upon : The beacon of life's dreary sea, The star of immortality! Fountain of feelings young and warm, A day-beam bursting through the storm ; A tone of melody, whose birth Is, oh !-- too sweet--too pure for earth !--Whose fruit the angels only see ! A beauty and a charm, whose power Is seen-enjoyed-confessed-each hour.

THE YOUNGEST. I rocked her in the cradle, And laid her in the tomb. She was the youngest What fireside circle hath not felt the charm Of that sweet tie? The youngest ne'er grow old-The fond endearments of our early days We keep alive in them; and when they die, Our youthful joys we bury with them.

Liberator.

At the 25th Annual Meeting of the American Anti-

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have listened to a series of resolutions every way important in their character, and involving many questions and considerations upon this great subject which recognize the existence of slavery in any of the must more or less interest all who are present; and alave States. I wish to take this opportunity to say congratulating, Mr. Chairman, as I do, yourself, and that I ignore as heartily the sentiment or the feeling the members of this Society, and the friends of this of any and of all men who, looking at this subjec dience, I do not propose, at this time, and under the in the colored men of this country. Our friend Mr. but a very few moments of the time, in the hope that that, step by step, in everything that should entitle others that I see, both upon my right hand and upon a man to his freedom, to citizenship, to the po my left, will take some part in the deliberations of respect of a nation, in everything that should call

Not long since, I happened to attend a public did not expect, by any means, to be called upon to say a word, for the gathering was somewhat out of nation. Sir, this is temporizing—this is fragmentary my line; and I cannot well understand why I was —this is selfish; it is local, and I abhor it. It is in the occasion. (Laughter and applause.), I am here which I equally abhor; and I earnestly hope that, this morning, Mr. Chairman, not only to give color if, during the series of meetings on which we have to which we have listened. (Applause.)

have discovered also the revival of a custom which the black men of this country, as the greatest and I had hoped had become obsolete in our country—best means for the emancipation of the cowardly that no matter what was said, or where said, we whites in the same nation. (Applause and hisses.) could scarcely expect to call forth a hiss. Hence, I no longer limit my remarks to the black men when sir, in witnessing the 'revival' of this particular I speak of slaves in this nation; for if I should go American custom at this time, I am led to suppose south of Mason and Dixon's line to-morrow, I might that the work we have yet to do is greater than we in my humble judgment, rapsack society, day and had contemplated. But I propose to ask the atten- night, and not be able to find a more veritable slave tion of the audience for a few moments to that reso- in the blackest bondman on the darkest Southern lution of the series which looks to the overthrow of plantation, than I hold the Hon. Edward Everett to the American Government and of the American be in every particular which constitutes true man-Union, in their present form, and character, and hood. (Loud applause, mingled with hisses.) Mr.

quarter of a century, I discover that all efforts, of republicanism, to say nothing about the character of the religion of our country. Feeling, then, the pressure of this failure—that all attempts, from the old gradual Abolition Society, of which Benjamin Franklin was a member and an officer, down to the last phase of anti-slavery, have proved vain, and that in, or through, or over them all, American slavery has grown, and the number of its victims increased from one million to nearly four-of course, I have nothing to hope for in those directions; and having nothing to hope for in those directions, it seems to me that the only course left us to pursue is the one proposed by the Society with which I am happy to be identified. And so far from having my judgment swerved an iota, so far from having a single feeling or impulse changed by anything which has the Union, I am, as I before remarked, more deeply strengthened and confirmed in the feasibility of the plan as it has been suggested.

I give, as my reasons, some facts which cannot have failed to come under the observation of all who are present, together with some historical facts which perhaps, have not been so strikingly noticed as they deserve to be by every well-wisher of his country and the cause of universal freedom.

If. Mr. Chairman, I shall go back but fifty years, I shall mark-as every other man has done-where American slavery stood at that time, what part the larger than a coffin, and, secreted in that way, was leading men in our country were taking in it, where brought from one of our Southern States into the the press stood, where the pulpit stood, and where State of Pennsylvania, the only breathing air she the public sentiment was to be found upon the sub- obtained coming through a small hole bored by a time I have mentioned, I need not remain ignorant in clare, before God, that the American Union is a regard to the sentiment which was then extant in failure. (Applause.) And when I pass from the the nation respecting this subject; and whether I city of Philiadelphia, the residence of a Rush and a take my stand upon the history of that day or at the Franklin, and go to the Queen City of the West, and present moment in the City of Washington, I am am there told by the counsel of another woman that forced into a belief in the same truth, to wit, that the a more heroic effort for freedom was never made by American people are destitute of feeling, and desti- mortal man than that of Robert Garner and his wife tute of principle, in regard to this question. The to secure their liberty, and remember that they were scenes which have transpired on the soil of Kansas, dragged out of that city at noonday and hurried as well as those which have transpired in the Ameri- back to bondage, I again make the declaration that can Congress, go to prove this, if the doctrines held the American Union is a failure. And then, when I by many Doctors of Divinity do not prove it.

States?-and I refer to them only as an illustration: and Robert C. Winthrop as silent as a grave-stone Where do they stand? Why, sir, so far as the masses in regard to this question of slavery, I assert that to of the American people are concerned, they have no be even a stronger proof of the failure of this place in their regard, they have no place in their es- Union. teem. And when I make this remark, I want to say that it applies strictly to every other man and every the same character, until they should be higher than other woman in our country, be their complexions the hall, but I will not detain the audience longer what they may, if they have a regard for the principles which underlie our glorious movement. Then, which has come under the notice of many very recent I repeat, that the friends of universal freedom in this ly. It is this: I do not know that I need to ask this country have no hope for the emancipation of the audience whether they consider me a man or not. I slave, or for the rescue of the cause of liberty, but do not care what people consider me. I think the by the adoption of this plan, and that at the speediest American people are coming to one conclusion, and

a large humber of laws, all for the purpose of recog- the last and the best proof of it is—and this is the nizing slavery. If they were confined to Washing- fact to which I am now about to call attention—that ton, I should not have a word to say on this occasion; when the decision of Judge Taney was made, silence, if they were confined to the State of Virginia, I generally speaking, characterized the nation. The might not; but when I am made to feel that the blow, of course, was one struck at everything near and same class of laws does really exist, in spirit, in every dear to us as a people, and the impression generally State of this Union, I do insist, now as before, that prevailed that the colored people would hold meet our question or cause comes before and into the hands ings, from one end of the country to the other, to of every man within the limits of this and of every protest against that decision, thus signifying an anxiother State in the country, and as direct as it comes before and into the hands of every colored man.

question of anti-slavery and pro slavery in the United tion of the American people have evinced greater States is not the black man's question; that the ques- carelessness with regard to that decision than the tion of slavery and anti-slavery is practically an colored people themselves. I look upon this as a American question-all the way American, from be- good sign, if we may at all go by contraries in this ginning to end - and especially with every decent country; and if they would be as careless about many American. It strikes me that if justice was done in other decisions to which I might refer, I believe the this country upon this subject, we should have a day of their redemption would come to them soone; class of criminals arraigned before the gaze of the than it otherwise will. Now, I do not wish to b world such as few of us have presumed to antici- misunderstood in this particular, and perhaps I shall pate; and I long for the time when men shall be make my meaning clearer if I say, there are certain driven from their present hiding-places, in the ex- decisions which have been given by judges in this cuses, in the concessions, in the compromises which country, there are certain acts which have been passed they make, in the reasons which they are giving, by certain Legislatures in this country, there have from time to time, upon this subject. Dr. Cheever been some positions taken by the American Congress has very recently, in his allusion to scenes in Kansas, in regard to the colored people, which I am glad to and to the conduct of American Congressmen, made know that colored persons are careless of; and I long the remark that this Kansas controversy has been for the time to come when the American slave shall carried on, from beginning to end, in reference to the be so careless of his master, south of Mason and white men in that Territory, (as the resolution im- Dixon's line, that he will wake up some morning and plies,) and that the sin of American Slavery has not resolve to go about his business, as if there were not

Sir, I am glad that Dr. Cheever has so expressed resisted in the step he shall then take, that he shall himself-for many will believe the remark coming be ready to say to those who would enslave him, from that source who, it seems to me, have not cared am a man! If you doubt it, we will measure arms to notice the same truth when uttered from this plat- God and Freedom shall be my watch-word! When form. All that I can make out of the last effort of that hour shall have come, the American people will Dr. Cheever is, that he adopts the platform of the be ready, if they are not now, to subscribe to the doc-American Anti-Slavery Society, without identifying trine, at once and forever, 'No Union with SLAVE-himself personally with our movement. uoidens!' (Applause.)

Now, what I want to call attention to is this: that men who have gone the entire round of social rewritten, published or spoken on this subject, have not felt themselves called upon until so recently to utter those truths which have been uttered by other Slavery Society, in New York City, on Tuesday, May voices so long, but have ignored them, so far as their presence at our meetings, their influence and their

One other remark in this connection. There ar

those who believe that that man is a good anti-slavery

man who goes for freedom in Kansas, but does no

cause, upon the numbers and character of this au- from such a stand-point, profess the slightest interest circumstances by which we are surrounded, to occupy Garrison, in the resolutions he has read, has told us forth the regard of a great and growing people, the colored people have demonstrated their capabilities demonstration in Massachusetts, where I believe I and yet there are reformers in this nation, who go for chanced to be the only person of color present. I the non-extension of slavery into Kansas, who look called upon to speak, unless it was to give color to close affinity with the spirit of the American party, to this occasion—and a pretty deep one at that—but just entered, no other impression shall be made upon to give my most hearty approval of the resolutions those who are present, they shall at least be forced to the conviction that the friends of this Society are in carnest, solemn earnest, in their purpose to dissolve I have heard, sir, something of the present re-ligious awakening, or 'revival,' in the resolutions, and something in the sentiment around us; but I Chairman, those who hiss in this audience pay me I care but little, sir, about any other view of this subject at the present time, because, at the end of a subject at the present time, because, at the end of a search into the records of the past or look into the whatever kind, or in whatever spirit manifested, have proved complete failures, so far as the progress of the cause of universal liberty is concerned in our its victims, and outrage humanity at large; and when bers, in cruelty, in everything calculated to degrade country, and the practical demonstration of genuine I bear in mind that into the American Union, since its formation, there have been some seven slave States admitted, and that in the Constitution of the State of Arkansas may be found a clause which declares that slavery shall never be abolished within its borders, I inquire whether the Union into which these States have been admitted, whether the Constitution that has recognized them, whether the Government that has endorsed them, are not, each and all of them, complete failures upon the great question of Republicanism, Democracy, and Liberty? I hold that they are; and that we want no stronger proof that our Union, and Government, and Constitution are failures, than that one fact alone. But when I bear in mind that this Union, as now constituted, of and by some thirty-one or thirty-two States, is feeling or impulse enanged by anything been said by professed or non-professed Abolitionists, which should constitute the heart of the nation, is a slaveholding Union, that the District of Columbia, slaveholding district, and that no man before me, whether black or white, as a man, can exercise any other rights there than the blackest slave may exercise, I say I have here another proof of the total failure of this Republic, under its present institutions. And when I bear in mind that black men may be burnt in one State, and white men may be shot down in another, for their love of freedom. assert this Union to be a failure. And when I remember, that, standing in Philadelphia, a few days ago, I saw a noble woman who obtained her freedom by allowing herself to be placed in a box scarcely go to Boston, in my own State of Massachusetts, Where, sir, are the colored people of the United and find such men as Edward Everett, Rufus Choate

Sir, I might stand here and pile fact upon fact of that is, that whether they call the black people mer In the District of Columbia, we know there exist or not, they are fast proving it in this nation; and ety on their part to know whether the doctrine there laid down was to be allowed or not. The significant This, Mr. Chairman, leads me to remark that the fact to which I would call attention is, that no poran oppressor in the wide world; and, if he shall be

THE REVIVALS. A DISCOURSE.

Delivered in the First Congregational Unitarian Church in Philadelphia, on Sunday, April 11, 1858. MATT. XIII. 31.—The kingdom of heaven is like a grain and seed, which a man took, and sowedlin his field.

I have not the slightest disposition to speak lightthe selfsame Spirit which is now beginning to breathe those great meetings. I saw with pleasure, however thinking, to recover the hold which, through the rap- all the people shouted Amen-

id progress of things, it has been so steadily losing for the last half century upon the minds of men. It is an endeavor to awaken the old spirit-to carry out again the old notion of Religion, which represents the service of God as consisting mainly in praying and singing, in attendance upon religious meetings, and in feeling good, making religion a matter of supreme selfishness, an appeal to selfish fears and selfish hopes, giving men to think that sin is to be avoided, not first and chiefly for its own hateful sake, but because of the everlasting fire hereafter, and that Christ is to be loved and served not on his own account, but for the white robes and heavenly harps and golden crowns to be bestowed upon the righteous after death. This is the essential error of the religion so long and so widely prevalent: it convoys the impression that there is something more to desired than obedience.

That the present 'awakening' is accompanied with some improvement in the personal habits of those who are affected by it, that many may be led to forsake vicious courses, to abstain from criminal selfindulgence, I am not at all disposed to question. This marks all the proceedings of this American people. is the very least that it could do. There is hardly any I do not question that an impression may be made pressed by it, would not move him to do as much as stant of time, an impression of the most lasting charnot religious emotion, but only time can certify. But, while some personal sin is corrected, while some vices are abolished, other hateful vices are apt to appear in their stead : spiritual pride and censoriousness ; and, it has been wisely said, what men gain by self-denial, they lose by self-conceit. What an offensive manifestation of their weakness, to give it the gentlest name, have we had in the prayer-meetings which have been held in Boston, (in Boston, which claims to be the most enlightened of our cities,) prayer-meetings for the conversion or confusion of Theodore Parker. The idea! Why, it is the rankest spiritual arrogance that was ever gendered in the heart of man. Theodore Parker may have his errors. Who on earth has not? I do not believe in his theology, but I do say, that in a brave Apostolic devotion to the great cause of God and Humanity, he is an example to every Christian and to every clergyman in the land. When they who are praying that he may be converted or silenced, resemble him at all in his fidelity to God and his brother man, then they may make some claim to being converted themselves, and never before, though they attend religious meetings and pray there every hour of the day and every day of the year.

But, independently of the immediate good or evil effects of this religious excitement, I discern in it simply a re-awakening of the old way of thinking which magnifies formal prayer, praising God with psalms and hymns, and frequent religious gatherings. It is only serving up, with the attraction of novel places and how many are feady to smile at the world's rage and

elements, a re-hash of the old innutritious husks. soil in a state of bondage as abject as the world ever social pleasures. saw! So of certain religious denominations among to forget the other denominations that do not unite in and yet it is confined almost exclusively to two or three of the principal sects, sects that scarcely differ from one another. The Roman Catholics, the Friends, the unorthodox denominations, are entirely lost sight

But, after all, be this as it may, there is no doubt that this excitement is chastened and liberalized in some degree in conformity to the light of the times. The very fact that those who approve of it, who encourage it, who hold it to be a manifestation of the Holy Spirit, claim for it that it is unaccompanied by any extravagance, that it is sober and subdued, and free from all narrowness and sectarianism, shows that people are getting some inkling of the truth, and that its spirit must be liberal. This is almost the only sign of progress which the movement shows. Apart from this, it is a revival not of true religion, but, I repeat, of the old mistaken idea that verbal prayer and psalmsinging, and religious meetings and ebullitions of religious emotion, groans of distress and cries of Glory!' constitute the chief part of the service of God; the old idea, that allows its converts to pursue, unrebuked, the making of money, and to practice every art within the law to secure a pecuniary advantage, and to grind into the dust the unfortunate and the poor: the old idea which taught men to stickle at social parties and dancing, and the opera, while, scrupulous and religious in these matters, they were permitted to ignore justice and mercy, to live on, utterly heedless of the wrongs and agonies of millions of slaves, not only permitted, but encouraged, taught, by learned ministers and professors of this most orthodox faith, to silence every appeal made to them for the weak against the mighty, under the miserable plea that it is confounding re-

ligion with politics ! Now, my friends, as I solemnly believe, as I cannot help believing, that it is impossible and absurd to pressing our fellow-man, or countenancing others in despising and oppressing him, as this is my assured faith, how can I look with any satisfaction or hope upon a revival of that Religion which passes by the believe that they can be accepted of God when they out, ought to be buried forever, never again revived. are trampling down into the dust his sacred image in But what a true revival is, we might learn from

appalled at the guilt which we have incurred through the monstrous wrong which we are doing to our op-pressed brother. It is true, applications have been made in some of the meetings, by fugitives from slavery, for the prayers of all Christian people. But in one large meeting in New York such an application was rejected, and other petitions of like character for prayer to God that the fugitive might escape into security and freedom, have not been very warmly received. Even Henry Ward Beecher, loyal as he is ly, without due consideration, of the honest religious received. Even Henry Ward Beecher, loyal as he is convictions of a single human being on earth. But I to the right, while he read a note asking prayers for am bound in honesty to say, that I cannot recognize in the present religious excitement the operation of that it was somewhat out of place to read it in one of a poor fugitive slave-woman, yet seems to have felt in the balm and to glow in the light and the beauty that in one Methodist meeting, a note of this kind of the reviving year. On the contrary, it looks to was sent up and promptly read, and the fugitive was me like a spasmodic effort of the old religious way of fervently prayed for, and when the prayer was ended

Still, pleasing as such instances are, there is no de cisive evidence of the awakening of those sacred sentiments of Humanity which, here in this land, famili arity with Injustice and Oppression, and the powerfu influence of unrighteous laws, have thrown into such a long and death-like sleep. It is only the revival in men's minds of those old religious impressions of the importance of certain forms, impressions, made on them in tender childhood and youth. I do not hear that any new and grander views of duty are opening upon men's minds-that they have caught any new vision of Righteousness and Mercy. Still there is the same old talk of religious duty apart from daily duty, as if God could not be served as acceptably-indeed even more acceptably in the shop or the counting room than in the Conference or Prayer meeting, as if a man might not show his religious principles more be dreaded than doing wrong, something more to be significantly even, in the making of a bargain than in the singing of a psalm. There is the same mystic phraseology, about the atonement and blood of Christ, the same confounding of emotions that are transient with principles that should be eternally active. This revival too undertakes to transact the great busines acter. But then again we all know the magnetic influence of a large number of human beings crowded together on one spot, and how that influence will overpower and carry an individual away, almost against his reason. Music helps powerfully as a conductor of this mighty magnetism, even the simplest hymn, if the words or only the tune comes to us like a voice from our early childhood when we heard it sung in reverence and love by parents and friends long since past away. Can we not see plainly what is in great part the attraction of these large meetings, and what it is that is taken for a thorough and radical change of heart? It is the revival of early impressions. It is the delight one feels in the indulgence of sensibility, in feeling good, which is a very different thing from being good and doing good. One of the favorite hymns at the revival meetings is Dr.

> When I can read my title clear To mansions in the skies, I bid farewell to every fear, And dry my weeping eyes. second verse of this hymn reads thus :-Should earth against my peace engage, And hellish darts be hurl'd,

Then could I smile at Satan's rage,
And face a frowning world. How many, think you, who sing these words, and with the utmost fervor, and who believe themselves converted, with a clear title to heavenly mansions,times, of week days and theatres, the old beggarly face its frown? How many are prepared, or dream elements, a re-hash of the old innutritious husks.

It is true, it is claimed for this excitement, that it larity and life even, for righteousness' sake? They is unattended with any violence or extravagance, and are ready enough to attend prayer meetings, and pray that it is remarkably free from sectarianism. It is cu- and sing, but the world does not rage against them rious, by the way, to observe how some people talk or frown upon them for doing these things. All about not being sectarian. They talk about it just as, this is very easy to do, a great deal easier than to till within a short time, we all talked about the freedom of this country. Nothing was more common than the assertion—we could hear it every where, in puled, always living in communion with the Highest and pits, on the fourth of July, and in all sorts of public Best, always maintaining the right in every company addresses; I have made it doubtless, in times past, to and at all hazards, and thus making every act an ofmy shame, namely: that here in this country every fering of praise and prayer. The religion, of whose man is free. This we all affirmed without qualifica- revival we are now hearing so much, is the popular tion, for we actually believed it. We actually and world's religion, the religion whose greatest sacrifices consist in rigidly abstaining from certain innocen-

us. If they unite in any movement with two or three of true Religion would present very different appear-Now you may depend upon it, friends, that a revival denominations with whom they differ very slightly, ances. It would not be dispatched with quite so much at the most, then they proclaim that the movement case. It would show itself not in conformity with popular ideas, but in opposition to them. It is now it. Thus in the case of this revival, so called, the this country a true Revival, a Revival of Religion, not of Calvin or of Wesley, but of the New Testament, the Religion of Jesus Christ, the Religion that places the worship of God in the Love of Man, in fidelity to the claims of the weak and the wronged, the Religion that acknowledges no enactments of man as of greater authority than the two great Commandments of God and Christ, the Religion, the proof of conversion to which is a willingness to speak and act and suffer for Righteousness' sake. Twenty-five years has this great Revival being going on, and still the leaders in this, the most profoundly religious movement of the country and the age, have been, and still are to this hour denied all claim to be regarded as religious men, denounced as infidels, as the enemies of Christianity, as political agitators aiming to stir up wrath and violence. Still they work on in patience and in faith. willing if they may only be faithful, to endure to their graves the reproach which in every age of the world has been cast upon those, who have sought to turn men from the worship of the dead letter, to the inspiration of the living and lifegiving Spirit. If they call the Master of the household Beelzebub, how can his servants expect to fare any better?

It has been precisely so in every real revival of Religion from that grandest of all Revivals which took place under Jesus and his Apostles. In all these instances men were converted, not to a popular, but to an unpopular Religion, and their conversion was at the peril of position, of property, of personal liberty and life. Then dungeons were prepared and scaffolds and stakes were planted, and faggots gathered, and crosses erected for the converts, who went straight from the baptism of water to the baptism of blood and fire for the sake of the defamed and persecuted truth, the truth which comes down from the holy heavens and from the bosom of God to preach glad tidings to the outcast poor, to heal the broken hearted, to think of serving God while we are despising and op- proclaim deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised. Any religion that ignores this truth, that neglects these offices, any religion that does not inspire its converts to confront and defy human opposimost sacred claims of Humanity, and allows men to tion, does not deserve the name, and when it is doing

the person of the slave? Such a religion is a pretence, what is going on before our eyes in the world of exteran undisguised mockery before God, a gross fraud put nal nature. There how gently, how without noise of upon man, teaching him to put the form for the life, display, with no spasms, but with a silent and the letter that kills for the spirit that gives life. In- steady energy, from the smallest grain, in every partistead of welcoming the revival of such a religion, I cle of sap, does the Holy Spirit of God renew th pray that God in his mercy would bury it deep beyond face of the earth! There is no sudden and violen the possibility of resurrection. We have tried it long, action; we talk of the break of day, but there is no and it has so deprayed and seared the conscience of the break. The morning light steals imperceptibly over whole nation that, with all their wealth of intellectual sky and earth, and the darkness of night melts softly power and activity, this people are blind to the su- away. So also is the coming of Spring; and so to remacy of simple justice, and insist upon building the is the path of the just, the advent of Truth into the fabric of their prosperity upon a gross violation of the soul. Not in a moment, and by one convulsive three Eternal Law of God. I see in this movement no extraordinary manifesta- robes of green on her throne of flowers. Neither is tion of a spirit of Humanity. I do not see that the it in any such way that the soul is brought to the awakened consciences of these great gatherings are knowledge and service of Divine Truth. The light of

truth dawns, the warmth and life of human sympathy and love of eather and the hidden germs of good be gin to swell, and as the wind blows where it will and we cannot tell whence it comes and whither it gos, so is every one that is born of the Spirit. O! dee friends, open your hearts to the generous and its friends, open your needs to be generous and like giving warmin of that Divined ! he stands without incarnated in Christ. Behold! he stands without and knocks. Open to him, I beseech you, or rather and knocks. Open to him, to his poor, wounded, bleeding and wronged brother whom he sends to us, a great multitude, in his stead Admit them, admit them all, there is room for them in your hearts. Turn your eyes full upon the claims of your brother. Attend to the voiceless anguish of those who are crushed now under the weight of ou inhumanity. And in the blessed work of laboring for them, before we are aware of it, the long cold wints of our hardness will have passed away, and we stal find all around us a new heaven and a new earth, the Spring time of the eternal year of the Lord. [For want of space, we could not insert the whole

of this excellent sermon.]

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REV. C. A. BUCKBEE, Treas. Am. Bible Union, N. Y. I cheerfully add my testimony to that of atmerous other friends, to Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The latter I have found superior to anything I ever used.

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