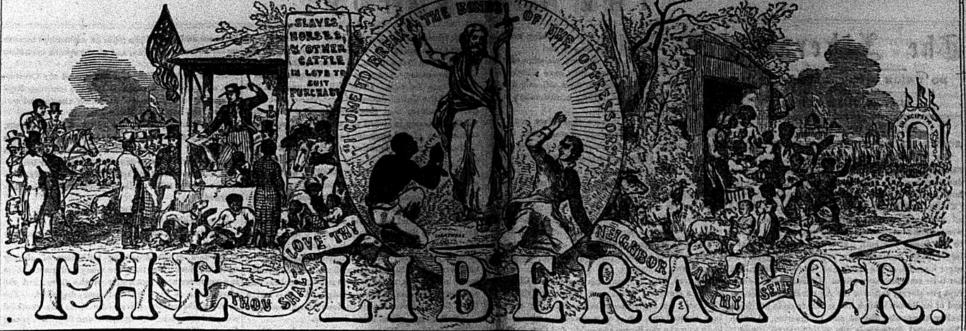
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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 's covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and e

they 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

mrighteous yoke. On this subject, our PATRIES, IN

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

MOHY. We their children, at the end of half a cen

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union

can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving 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 BLLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1858.

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

WHOLE NUMBER, 1433.

# The Liberator.

THE RELATION OF SLAVERY TO A RE-PUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER. At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Wednesday Morning, May 26, 1858.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On the matter of slavery, there is a great confusion just now in the American State and the American Church. Menarchic and Oligarchic Europe is at war with this institution. The British Teuton has driven it out from his soil; his kindred, the Dutch, the Scandinavians, the Germans and Austrians have done the same. The French Celts allow no property in man, and Napoleon's attempt to restore the doctrine and practice of the Dark Ages is now to fail. Even the Russian slaves attack the principle of bondage. Alexander will liberate 30,000,000 Caucasian slaves, and in ess than twelve years, the last footprint of the serf will be covered up by the new agriculture of Russia. Turkey cannot long hold out against the steady progress of mankind.

But, in America, the Democratic party thinks slavery is indispensable to good government, and is the normal condition of one seventh part of the people. The Republican party has nought to say against property in man, but allows a minority to own a majority in South Carolina; the American Church is the stanchest supporter of American slavery. To the American Politician, slavery is a 'Republican Institution;' to the American Priest, it is doubly religious-both Lewish' and ' Christian.' The Revival of the Ecclestatical Religion and of the African slave trade go on at the same time. They take sweet counsel together, and walk to the house of their God in company. Years ago, the greatest professional Rhetorician of America, 'the Monarch of the Platform,' 'Orator, Patriot, Sage, Cicero of America, Laudator of Washagton, Apostle of Charity, High Priest of the Union, and Friend of Mankind, justified slavery out of the New Testament, and declared his readiness to buckle on his knapsack, and shoulder his musket, and march South to defend the masters who make merchandize of men against their insurgent chattels. I know not whether Mr. Everett said that under the influence of 'an anodyne' or a stimulant ; but neither the public reply of Southern Congressmen, nor the private rebuke of Jefferson-then so near the grave-has yet led this 'Patriot, Statesman, Philanthropist,' to renounce this statement in his maiden speech! Noble Charles Sumper who I was wounded for our transressions,' in a foreign land seeks the quiet and health he cannot find in this. He bears with him the thanks and the prayers of religious men, but his sails are filled with the curses of the Northern Democrats, the South-Yeadon, and the remarkable language of Mr. Everett, their rhetorical coadjutor. 'Remarkable language'! Is there not a shorter name for it, wholly Saxon?

This ecclesiastical and political confusion is amazing. Can you and I do nothing to end it? Let us try. So I will ask your attention to some Thoughts on this Relation of Slavery to a Republican Form of Government.

Man is gregarious by instinct; like sheep and deer, he cannot live save in flocks and herds. Solitary, he perishes. He is social by reflective will-consciously making terms of alliance with his fellows, and shaping the form of his community to suit his needs, which vary from age to age. So in all lands men group together, the wildest and also the most enlightened; for this gregarious nature of man appears in all states of his development-lowest and highest. But, while the gregarious savage makes only a herd of men who are driven together by necessity, or drawn by their unrefective instinct, and are domineered over by the strongest, who, while he protects the feeble, also robs them f natural rights as pay for his help; the reflective civilized man shapes his society so as to secure the Natural Rights of each; the ablest man rules, but it is for the joint good of him and all, and he does not take his pay by robbing them of their rights, but rather do they voluntarily give him the sweeter compensation of Honor and Gratitude. Thus are both parties materially and spiritually profited by the alli-

There are two great things to be considered in hu-

1. The Individuality of each man. He is an integer, a Unit of Humanity, impenetrable; his humanity must be respected.

2. The Sociality of all men. All must cohere into one symmetric whole. There is a mutuality of social need: the strong man requires the weak man, as the weak needs the strong. As the doctor wants patients, the speaker hearers, the herdsman cattle, the farmer land: so and not less does the great man need the little. If they require him as means for their protection and guidance, so he needs them as means for his development. Neither greatness nor littleness can be

Now, the Individual reaches his proper growth only in society-with the communion of his fellows. A great character cannot be built up alone; no more than great temple. A hermit constructs no pyramid; he tchieves no great nobleness of manhood. The man running alone goes nowhere, and is yet soon lost. The more perfect and complete the form of society, the more complete and perfect is the individual man whom it brings up. Society is to be tested by the men it breeds; that is the best which produces the best and most superior individuals.

The Substance of Society depends on the gregarious stinct which groups men into flocks and herds : this is always the same. But the Form of Society depends upon the will and intelligence of the controlling men. In the human body there are Voluntary Actions-eating, speaking, drinking, and the like; but also Involuntary Actions, which go on independent of the individual will-such as breathing, the circulation of the blood, and the like. So in the great companies of men, there are automatic motions of the community, tribe, nation, or mankind, which are not originated by the individual, nor even forethought in the consciousness of special persons; these are to the Bedy Social what breathing and similar things are to the Body Individual: they belong to social Instinct, not social Will

It is the business of statesmen to regulate the action | It consists tthnnhirgseel :—I. The development of :/ the Form and Substance of such institutions goes : son, with free spiritual or bodily individuality; she is
of both the voluntary and the automatic forces of the
collective mass, and make such a form of society as

| A thing—'a chattel, to all intents and purposes what| a thing—'a chattel, to all intents and purposes what| on with societated velocity.
| But at the South, you do not meet with a similar | soever.' Slavery is a condition contrary to Natural | what it commands—of course, the shall produce noble men, in the greatest number and ers in the gregarious mass. This is done by combinof the best kind.

pate experience, and are intended to shape and con- whole mass working as a well-harnessed train of men; trol the future-not representing experiments tried, and also Individual Variety of action-each man enbut experiments in process. One is the Common joying his own personal freedom of nature. III. The Law, made, not enacted—a path worn by the people's acquisition of Power over the material world, which feet; it is a public highway because men walk there: comes as a consequence of this personal and social dethe other is Statute Law, enacted by conscious will, velopment. This Power appears in two forms-1, not made by actual practice,-a road laid out inten- that of Science, which is ability to know the forces of duse it is a public highway.

nstitution of the Universe, the natural Rule of Right, them productors of Use and Beauty for our own purand the reflection thereof in the moral sense of man- poses. kind : or unjust-contrary to that Higher Law of This Progress is generic of Mankind-not an excep-God and the conscience of man.

power of one man over others is abused for the advan- yet, this advance of Mankind depends mainly on the holds it over, unless they have abundant means to by the foresight of man than the Providence of God seep him in check, and prevent his tyranny. Mean- acting through the great instinct of individual imwhile, governors make bad laws. The private con- provement and social progress. Mankind could not science of the ruler is seldom so good a check on his prevent it; no more than all the babies of Boston selfishness as the rod and the axe in the hands of the could prevent themselves from growing up to mangoverned.

of Conduct, and Conductors to see that they are kept our reach, there are yet fluctuations in individual men. Abstract Rules, Concrete Rules, The substance of government consists in these two, and is always the back. All round us there are good men who come land, and age to age; yet may they be thus grossly It is the course of nature. But there are likewise ummed up in three:

I. Monarchy-The One-Man-Power; government o be chiefly for the sake of that one.

over all, but by a few, and often in practice it turns ernment, with such ecclesiastical, political, social and ut to be chiefly for the sake of that few.

III. DEMOCRACY-the all-men Power; government over all, by all, and for the sake of all. Yet, practically, it must be government by the majority, and in fact, it often turns out to be chiefly for the advantage of that majority. As a general rule, no majority, no mall body of men, no individual man, is ever trusted with unlimited power over others, but he abuses itfor his gain, to their loss. Such is the friction in all social machinery.

None of these three types any where appears simnonarchy is partly oligarchic, for King One cannot dispense with the help of the superior men, and if ome of these be wiser and skilfuller than he, ere ong it is they who govern, while he only reigns. And these able men, the Few, cannot prevent the auomatic action of the social power in the great mass of nen, who will instinctively, nay, who must of necessity, walk in new paths of their own, spite of the nany statute roads which perplex the land, and the ommand to walk in them. Thus do the domestic lements spring up, wild flowers of humanity, where Oligarchs and Kings scattered only the privileged eed, collected by authority out of the court-house. nd appointed to be sown in gardens.

government will contain oligarchic and monarchic elments. The Democracy cannot enfeeble the powerful man; strong by nature, no position can make him weak. He will rule men just in proportion to his ower, and if wicked also, will rule them for his apparent gain and to their real loss. So companies of rich men, powerful by money, or of educated men, owerful by knowledge, will do much to control the najority who have only their naked members to rely -must be counted, and not also weighed. If they likewise are wicked men, or but commonly selfish. they will sway the people with an oligarchic misrule. Thus, even in the national field, an 'enemy,' so men call what they do not comprehend, is continually sowing these tares among the wheat, which, though they suck the ground and check the grain, must yet not be pulled up, lest worse ill fall out thereby. Let not names deceive us; all monarchies have spots which are like democracies; and popular government have institutions, at least practices, which are oligarchic, and even despotical. There are many points of rear-ward government in Europe, and our own Democracy, which we think the foremost in the world. Still, not misled by names, define the governments by their centre, where they are most distinct and faithful to this idea, not by their circumference, where they meet and blend, and you find these three-the One-Man Power, the Few-Men Power, the All-Men Power, -each for the sake of one, of a few, or of all. At present, no one of these has combined the separate

the Individual, who reaches his earthen limit of at- for it, what resolute will, what practical action I tainment in a short life, and dies; it is also true of We have the foremost Form of political institumankind, which never dies, nor reaches the limit of tions, with local self-government as the Ideal; we attainment. You and I start as babies, and grow up take it for the equivalent of Freedom, while centralto manhood; Mankind starts from naked, ignorant ized government by others we look on as the same wildness-the babyhood of the human race-and with Slavery. grows up till the hindmost nations are what we hear of in New Holland and Pategonia, while the foremost ture, Mining, Manufactures, Commerce-the four are what we see in New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna. Rome. The whole of human History is evi- all departments of thought; even theology is amenadence of this Progress. But even now, it depends ble to improvement. Unitarians, Universalists, Spirchiefly on the automatic actions of mankind; once it itualists, carry on the historic continuity of developwas controlled entirely by them. It was an instinct, not a will, a thought, or even a conscious wish. Man was progressive, as the beaver was constructive, and the squirrel acquisitive. As you and I grow up from babyhood, and, though we take no thought yet, add whole cubits to our stature, so has Mankind made progress from wildness to the enlightened condition of

the foremost people to-day.

ing men into companies :- first, there is the binary For the development of Society, there must be Gov- union of Him and Her, and at length the multitudiernment; that is, the social body must observe cer- nous compounding of four hundred millions, despottain Rules of Conduct, called Laws, whereto all ically welded into a Chinese empire,-which is a stiff, persons are held subject. There may be Customs unwieldy bar of iron; or of thirty-two sovereign which men hit upon, and become wonted to, and they States, federatively connected into one American are the consequences of an experiment, the product Commonwealth-which is a chain of many links, of history, the record of the past; or they may be the alike flexible and strong. To develop these powers of Ideal Aims of the people or the rulers, which antici- Society, there must be National Unity of Action-the

ionally by the surveyors. The people walk there be- Nature in their present and past condition, and to foretell their future condition: 2, that of Art, which These twofold laws may be just—conformable to the is ability to control the forces of Nature, and make

tional, but an instantial fact. The Human Race, taken Human experience shows that all governmental as a whole, never goes back, never stands still. But age of the holder thereof, and the hurt of those he automatic forces of Human Nature; it is directed less hood. But while this progress is continual in Man-All society must have its government, that is, Rules kind, dependent on organic causes which are out of and in particular nations, that stand still, or even go ame; but the forms thereof vary much from land to to their growth, and stop there, then decline, next die. evil men, who by their vice debar themselvee from natural and healthy growth, and perish, immaturely ever all, but by one, and often in practice it turns out old and die not half grown. The same is true of States. I do not know that any nation has died a nat-II. Oligarchy-The Few-Men-Power; government ural death of old age. Many adopt evil forms of govdomestic institutions as prevent them from advancing, force them to stand still, and so to perish. Here I notice two things.

I. In all progressive nations, there is a continual hange in both the Form and in the Substance of

(1) In its Form. The Monarchy tends to Oligarhy, the Oligarchy to Democracy. There is a popularization of Government, a progressive diffusion of power. Centralization yields to local Self-Government. This movement may go on by that regular lope we call Development,-where the continuity of historic action never seems to be broke,-or by those irregular stairs we call Revolution, which seems to interrupt the historic continuity of action, though it does not.

(2) In its Substance. There is a moralization of Government; statutes and customs conform more to the constitution of the universe; the roads laid out. the paths walked in, come nearer to an arc of that great circle which is the shortest distance between two points on the human sphere; the natural Rule of Right becomes the Rule of Conduct, and secures Justice, which is the interest of each and of all, the point common to me and mankind, to men and God.

This change is noticeable in all progressive nations, just as clearly as the swelling of buds, the opening of So, on the other side, the most Democratic form of flowers, and the shooting forth of leaves, is distinctive of spring.

II. In a regressive or a stationary people, the opposite takes place. There is a change in the form of Government-Democracy tends to Oligarchy, that to Monarchy: local self-government yields to centralization; political power is monopolized; Government by All shrinks to Government by a Few, that to Govern ment by One. The change in the substance is of the same sort. Statutes and customs conform less to natural Justice; the Rule of Violence becomes the Rule of Conduct. This change is noticeable in all decaying nations. It is like the fall of the leaf and the tightening of the bark when winter sets severely in.

At this day, the Caucasians are the most progressive people on earth. Their most advanced and advancing nations are the Celtic French, who have made vast strides within a hundred years, and though now checked in the march, they will not stop long; and the various Teutonic people. Among these, the English and Americans are types of progress, representa resemblance between the Turkish despotism, the most gress, and advance by this automatic action, but also the Idea, the conscious Will. They look forward to the end, and devise means to help them thitherward. In America, the most popular phrase is, ' Go ahead.' No where has there been such advance in 250 years. Think of North America at the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1608, and of the United States at the settlement of Sumner in Kansas in 1858! What growth of numbers, of wealth: what improvement of Institutions-ecclesiastical, political, social, domestic! What instinct of progress there is Now, man is a Progressive Being. This is true of in the American people! What speculative desire

This progress appears in many things-in Agriculgrand divisions of the Business world. You find it in ment, which reaches from the flight of Moses out o Egypt down to the meeting of this Anti-Slavery

Since this century began, there has been a great progress in the Political Institutions of all the Northern States. Constitutions become more democratic, customs and statutes are more just; condensed, centralized power is broken up and diffused abroad to This Progress of Mankind may be thus summed up. many centres of local self-government. This progress

mprovement; nay, you often find the opposite. For Right. Slavery has there a permanent welcome. That shoot | II. What is a 'Republican form of Government'? from the Upas tree of foreign barbarism has been im- Here the dictionaries will not help us, neither will the ported and naturalized there; with its pernicious private opinions of distinguished men living at the shade it hinders the growth of the fair plant of Lib- time the Constitution was made; for it is notorious erty, once set even in that soil. What was once a that such men as Franklin, Jefferson, the two Adtransient exception in the history of the North, is become a typical institution there; it is a guide-board ance, pointing to the central peculiarity of the South. Under her control, the Federal Government also retrogrades in the same way, under the influence

under it special protection, passed the first Fugitive like nature coming from the People. The interpreta-Slave Law, according to Property in Men a guarantee it never gave to Property in Land or Things. Here faith, good head, good judgment: there is nothing it violated both the natural and the constitutional rights of the individual States, and adopted a vicious centralization of the most dangerous character. In 1836, the Supreme Court,-which is also the purhased creature of the Slave Power, -in the Prigg case, decided that the individual States had neither duties nor rights in this matter; but the United States might kidnap a runaway on any free soil of the individual States. In 1850, by the new Fugitive-Slave the same manner and form. The Revolutionary War Bill, the means of kidnapping were provided at the is the People's Vote for accepting the Declaration. I expense of the General Government, and man-stealing was nade easy. In 1857, in the Dred Scott case, the United States as no other in our history. Now, the Supreme Court decided that a colored man had the meaning of the words 'Republican form of Govno rights which the people were bound to respect, for ernment' is to be sought in the Constitution itself, he could not receive a passport enabling him to travel tion affords light to read the Constitution by, and as on the European continent, nor command a merchant that is the older, let us look at it first, and then at essel, nor claim a citizen's bounty in the fishery, nor re-empt a quarter section of the public land, nor excise any of the other rights of citizenship; yet is he ande amenable to all the laws whereof he is thus haitually put to the ban. Two Judges dissented from this iniquitous decision as false in history as unjust in law,-Mr. McLean of Ohio, Mr. Curtis of Massachusetts :-- it gives me great pleasure to mention and exple-what a striding backward for five and sixty

2. The Federal Government has taken special pains to acquire territory, and put this exceptional institution in it. Look at Louisiana and the other States made out of the territory acquired for France; look at Florida, at Texas, Utah, New Mexico, Arizonia! What pains does the Government take to spread Slavery! That is the second example.

3. It assumes that Slavery is not only consistent with the nature of a Republic, but is favorable for its development. The Slave Power controls the Governfailure'; that Slavery is indispensable to a Repub- with the poor, the ignorant, and men born in the lic.' If the present and the past Administration, mean, the Presidential and Senatorial Executive, with their manifold subordinates,-are not personally of that opinion, they yet are officially, for all their acts look that way. Witness the attempt to force slavery into Kansas, whose whole brief life has been the history of violent attempts to inoculate her with that disease which even in their youth makes Virginis and the Carolinas decrepid-hindering their inrease in men, their acquisition of things, and degrading their intellectual and moral character. So imortant does the present Administration think Slavery or political welfare, that it not only allows Kansas, with but 50,000 inhabitants, to come into the Union as a Slave State now, but offers her enormous bribes if she will thus defile her maiden honor; while, if she nsists on being a Free State, then shall she have no lowry at all, and shall not enter the national family entil she has 93,000 inhabitants, in 1860, or 1864!

These are but three examples; I could count many nore. All this wickedness comes from the adoption of Slavery by the Federal Government. Had it done othing at all about the matter-taken sides with neiher Freedom nor Slavery-how different had the nation now been! What if the Government had sided with Freedom! What a nation should we have become ! What population, what industry-Agriculure, Mining, Manufactures, Commerce-should we see in the Southern States themselves !-what intellirence, what morality!

But, strange as it may seem, the Constitution of he nation contains these words :- The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government.' (Art. IV. sec. 4.) These are not words of idle ceremony; they are

very? (2) What is a Republican form of Govern- C ompatible with a Republican form of Government? et me say a word on each of the three. The first two are questions of definition, the last of compar-

But at the South, you do not meet with a similar soever.' Slavery is a condition contrary to Natural

amses, Washington, Madison, and others, differed very widely on this ideal government, indicated and guaranteed by these words. The common rules of interpretation are well known, and must serve us in this as in all other cases. We are to look at the Conof the same exceptional cause. From the latter, I stitution itself, to interpret its words by reference to the Purpose which the People had in view in making 1. In 793, the Federal Government took slavery it, and the Principles set forth in every document of tion of this clause requires only good sense, good mysterious in the matter.

I shall seek the means of definition in two documents which are the work of the People of the United States, viz., in the Constitution itself, which is professedly and on its face the act and deed of 'the People of the United States,' and in the Declaration of Independence, which is equally their free act and deed, though not set forth and published as such in think these two papers are the act of the People of was not a citizen of the United States, -of course, though it occurs therein but once; yet the Declarathe Constitution.

I. The Declaration of Independence is the National PROGRAMME OF POLITICAL PRINCIPLES, solemnly adopted by the Delegates, and subsequently by the People themselves, as their Rule of Conduct in separating from the mother country, and organizing their own voluntary and automatic powers into a new form of Government, and constructing its institutions. tol his manly conduct then! This is the first exam- You all know the words; here are the principles, which, for convenience, I put into a philosophic

1. All men have certain natural and essential Rights; among them, the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

2. Those Rights are unalienable, except by the misconduct and crime of the possessor thereof. One man cannot alienate another's rights.

3. In respect to these natural and unalienable Rights, all men are equal; with the rich, the educated, men of famous family, these rights are not quar. . ment, and continually declares that 'free society is a titatively greater, or qualitatively more nice, that

4. Governments are instituted to secure these natual, unalienable and equal Rights to all men.

5. These governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is, from the majerity of the inhabitants; and accordingly, when the government does not secure them the enforcement thereof, it is the right of the people to alter or abol-

In this Programme of constructive Revolution, the government charter of American Law, these Principles are not referred back to any grant from Parliament or King, to any statute Law, nor rested on the foundation of any customs among men, or inductive reasoning of philosophers. They are founded not on the Facts of Observation in human History, but on Facts of Consciousness in human nature itself. Our fathers said- We hold these truths to be SELF-EVI-DENT.' Young Mr. Jefferson furnished the popular words, but the Ideas were of New England, and had all been passed upon in the town meetings of Boston. and other little villages in Massachusetts, where Franklin and the two noble Adamses took and inspired them into the democratic young man from Virginia. New and strange to the world, when they were to have a great future, they were familiar to New England, when even then they had also a history. That is the first witness for definition; such his testimo-

ny. If the people were to establish such a government as would represent the sense of that document. a 'Republican Form of Government' must be one which in substance secures to all men their natural, unalienable and equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and has the consent of the gov-

olain without any scruple, and absolute without any II. The next source is the Constitution of the daring; ' prudent antiquity included much matter UNITED STATES itself. During the war, a Confederan few words.' The only ambiguity is in the words, tion was made, intended to be provisional; but when Republican form of Government. What do they the Revolution was complete, something more lasting nean? Is Slavery consistent with a Republican was needed. Institutions must be invented, organform of Government,' in the constitutional sense of ized and administered, which should apply the Printhe phrase? If so, then it may spread every where, ciples of the Declaration to actual work, and incorpond include not only black men, but also red men, rate them into the political life of the People. This brown men, yellow men, and white men-for the could not be done directly by all the People; it must color is but an accident of the skin, affecting the sub- be by a few—the servants of the People. So a scheme stance of no man's nature. But if 'a Republican of Institutions must be prepared. For that purpose, form of Government' be hostile to alavery, then, delegates were appointed in all the States, and a Conpeaceably or forcibly, alayery must go down and per- vention held. They made 'the Constitution,' and ish utterly out of every 'State in this Union.' The proposed it to the people, who accepted it by rather question must now be decided, practically through a small majority of the popular vote. The servants istom, or intentionally by statute. It is the public who wrought it out confessed that it had great de who are to determine what the words mean ;-the Le- fects. Such was the opinion of Franklin, the ablest gialative, Judiciary and Executive are but attorneys man in America, of Washington, the next most dishaving only delegated and limited powers; while the tinguished: many leading men in the individual People are the Proprietors and Sovereigns, with Em- States, who voted for its acceptance, disliked many ment Domain over the premises of their vassals. things in it. Such was the case with Samuel Adams The opinion of these attorneys is but advisory and and John Hancock, then the two most influential men provisional, while the decision of the majority of the in Massachusetts. But it was accepted as 'good for People is declaratory and final.

Here, then, come the questions—(1) What is Slashypocritical talk now about the 'sacredness of the ery? (2) What is a Republican form of Govern-Constitution,' which would sound a little contemptiment, in the constitutional sense? (3) Is Slavery ble to Hancock and Adams, to Washington and Frank-

by which the People of the United States, authorizing their servants to do certain matters and things pertain I. What is Slavery? I define it by its essence—ing to the Government of America—i. e. to invent, or Slavery is Property in Man. I make Dinah my ganize and administer such Institutions as shall inslave. She is my property—her substance becomes troduce these Principles of the Declaration into the my accident. She is no longer to be counted a per-actual political life of the People. All officers of the

i. e., to conform to that Power of Attorney, to de what it commands-of course, the agents of the Pecple have no official authority, except what they receive under that Power of Attorney.

Now, this Power of Attorney contains two parts: (1.) The Preamble, and, (2,) the Purview, the Seven Articles making up the body of the document.

1. The Preamble is a PROGRAMME OF PURPOSES, telling the People's agents what matters and things they are authorized and instructed to do. Common ly the preamble to a statute merely recites the historical occasion of that enactment; but the Preamble to this solemn act of the whole People is quite different-it declares the Motive, the Animus propter quem, and the Purpose, the Finem usque ad quem. These are the words: 'To form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.' Those are the things to be done. Nothing else is commanded or even permitted; and it is elsewhere expressly declared that 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor Inhibited by it to the States, are secured to the States respectively,' to the People. (Amendment, Art. X.) And again: 'The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the People. (Amendment, Art. IX.)

This Programme of Purposes is unitary, in harmony with itself; and also consistent with the Programme of Principles in the Declaration.

2. The Seven Articles are a PROGRAMME OF MEANS for the attainment of the Purposes and the carrying out of the Principles mentioned before. These are not unitary. Some of them conflict with each other, some with the Principles and Purposes: but, in the great majority of cases, the means are in harmony with the ends proposed before. The others were exceptional-some of them were felt to be so at the time of making or adopting the Constitution, and hence the opposition to it in both the national and the State Conventions. But, to make clear that the natural and essential Rights of Man are to be carefully respected, to guard the rights of all men, the Constitution, in one most important particular, secures to the United States a right and a duty to watch over the nstitutions of the individual States, and guarantees a Republican Form of Government." What do these words mean, in this place? Certainly they guarantee to each State such a Government as will accomplish the Purpose for which the People made the Constitution; and, of course, one which embodies and carries out the Principles that the Revolution was fought to secure. It must be a Government which tends to form 'a more perfect Union' amongst all the People; to 'establish Justice' for each person; to 'insure domestic Tranquillity' every where in the land; to 'provide for the common defence' of the natural rights of all men therein; to ' promote the general welfare ' of all, the enjoyment ' of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' and 'secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.' It is clear the People contemplate the establishment of such a Government, and nothing less. Words cannot make it more clear.

III. Now, compare Slavery and a Republican Form

of Government. Slavery denies the slave all his natural rights; it is the abnegation of the self-evident Truths of the Programme of Principles; it is the nullication of the Ends proposed in the Programme of Purposes :- it tends to destroy Union among the People; to establish Injustice; to prevent domestic Tranquillity ; to hinder the common Defence ; to disturb the General Welfare, and to annihilate the Blessings of Liberty, just so far as it extends. Not only is Slavery inconsistent with a Republican Form of Government, in the constitutional sense of the word, t is so utterly hostile thereto that the two cannot live ogether, but one must destroy the other.

Yet when the Constitution was adopted, almost all he States had slavery within their borders; some of the men who set their names to the paper were themselves slaveholders. But these facts do not alter the meaning of the words, or their power; for we are not oncerned with the opinions, or even the intentions of those men, but only with the opinions and intentions of the People of the United States, as expressed in the words of that document. The delegates in the Pederal Convention which drafted the Constitution were simply the scriveners of the People, to draw up this Power of Attorney; the delegates to the State Conventions were but the agents to examine it, and give the People's assent thereto, or withhold it therefrom. The ultimate authority is the people of the United States. I know no act of theirs, at that time, which intimates an intention to keep slavery, or that they thought it consistent with the Principles of the Declaration, with the Purposes of the Constitution, or which wreets the words 'Republican form of Government ' from their plain and natural sense in the Consti-Some years ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts

nade a law forbidding lotteries in the State. Many of the delegates who supported the measure had lottery tickets in their pockets at the moment of voting. Does that fact alter the meaning of the statute? A Massachusetts Legislature prohibited the sale of liquos in the State except for certain specified purposes, and in a manner provided for. Some of the men who voted for the liquor law daily used intoxicating drinks; others rented their shops for the sale their vote made illegal; the law has never been enforced in Bo nay, the traffic has been more open and more exten-sive ever since; but do these facts alter the intention of the Legislature, and control the words of the stat

It is now well known that many of the leading men in the Conventions, Federal as well as State, were hostile to slavery. I need only mention Franklin, Washington, Madison, Samuel Adams and John Hancock. What is still more important, it was the general opinion of the People, that Slavery would soon end if let alone, and that it would be better not to kill it violently at once by direct blows, but to let it die of the incurable disease then supposed to be esting its vitals out. So they let it remain in the States, though the Principles of the Declaration, the Purposes of the Constitution, and the guarantee of a Repubsic

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But it is the words of the document we are to cor sider, not the opinions of contemporaries, or the conduct of individuals, parties, States, or the nation itself. It often happens that a false interpretation of a statute prevails for a long time. James I. knew this, and said, 'Let me make the judges, and I care not who makes the laws.' The South knows it as well, and as wickedly acts thereon. In 1628, the British Parliament enacted the great Petition of Right to deprive the King of the power of imprisoning men without due process of law. Charles I. asked the Judges if that would prevent him from clapping in jail whom he would, without showing cause for it. Judge Hyde answered- Every law . . . hath its exposition, which is to be left to the courts of justice to determine'; 'there is no fear of such a conclusion as is implied in the question.' But would that false interpretation by wicked Judges alter the plain meaning of the 'great Petition of Right'?

The common law of England did not change; under if inen were held as slaves for centuries,-no questions asked; but in the Somerset case, Lord Mansfield fell back on the Principles of English Law, on the Purpose of English Law, and declared that slaves could not breathe in England-it had been said in the time of Queen Elizabeth. He knew what a change his judgment would make; that it overturned the decision of many judges, the practice of centuries; but he said, ' Fiat justitia, ruat calum.' Justice was done, and the sky has not fallen yet.

[Conclusion next week.]

#### LETTER FROM CHARLES SUMNER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

To the People of Massachusetts :-

Two years have now passed since, while in the enjoyment of perfect health, I was suddenly made an invalid. Throughout this protracted period, amidst various vicissitudes of debility, I seemed to be slowly regaining the health that had been taken from me, until I was encouraged to believe myself on the verge of perfect recovery.

But injuries so great as those originally received

by me are not readily repaired, and a recent relapso painfully admonishes me that, although enjoying many of the conditions of a presperous convale-cence, I am not yet beyond the necessity of caution. This has been confirmed by the physicians in Boton and Philadelphia, most familiar with my case, who, in concurrence with my counsels previous given by medical authorities in Europe, have enjoined travel as best calculated to promote my restoration.

Anxious to spare no effort for this end, so long deferred, I to-day sail for France.

To the generous people of Massachusetts, who have honored me with an important trust, and

the the by so much sympathy, I wish to express the thanks which now palpitate in my bosom, while I say to them all collectively, as I would say to a

friend, Farewell!

But these valedictory words would be imperfect, if I did not seize this occasion to declare what 1 have often said less publicly, that, had I originally seen the duration of my disability, I should at once have resigned my seat in the Senate, making way for a servant more fortunate than myself in the precious advantages of health. I did not do so, because, like other invalids, I lived in the belief that I was soon to be well, and was reluctant to renounce the op-portunity of again exposing the hideous barbarism of slavery, now more than ever transfused into the national government, infecting its whole policy, and degrading its whole character. Besides, I was often encouraged to feel that, to every sincere lover of civilization, my vacant chair was a perpetual speech.

Charles Sumer.

On board Steamer Vanderbilt, New York Harbor, 22nd May, 1858.

# THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

This Society has now decided that, so far as its issues are concerned, the moral and religious evils incident to slavery, or inherent therein, shall not be considered and rebuked; and this clearly on the ground either that these evils are popular and able in certain sections of the country, and with certain powerful classes, or that slavery has a po-litical aspect as well as a religious, and ought there-fore not to be interfered with by an Association devoted exclusively to moral and religious objects.

It is easy to denounce unpopular crimes, and it is no virtue in a Society that it is bold in that direc-

tion. It does not require a superabundance of sanctity or manliness in the Tract Society to issue pamphlets against blasphemy and profanity, lying and drunk-enness. Nobody defends these vices; at least, noenness. Nobody defends these vices; at least, no-body who has much commercial patronage or politi-cal influence to dispose of. Only 'lewd fellows of the baser sort,' as Paul appropriately calls them, justify such practices, and they seldom outside of the dens and holes in which they burrow in conge-nial darkness. It is fushionable and profitable to rebuke such sins and sinners; but when genteel and lucrative vices are to be reprimanded, then downright manliness of character is required. A great many professed ministers are so obsequious and ten-der when popular crimes and criminals are to be handled by them, that they never give offence, and never effect a reformation. The Tract Society goes a degree beyond such ministers. It resolves that it will not utter a word against the most God-insulting and man-degrading crime of the age, and for no other reason that because it is sustained by wealth, elegance, education and political power. If piracy should happen to acquire equally potential and accomplished advocates, the Tract Society would intend the property of the state of the s stantly become as deferential towards it.

With right-minded men, the fact that slavery has

a political aspect does not justify the Tract Society in refusing to expose and condemn the moral and religious offences which flow from it. Polygamy has its political aspect in Utah, and in nearly half Does the Tract Society in conse the world beside: the world beside. Does the Tract Society in consequence feel itself debarred from rebuking polygamy and the vices engendered thereby? In Maryland and Georgia, lottery gambling has a political sanction. Does the Tract Society feel constrained to silence in reference to that vice? In all States of the Union, except perhaps one, the traffic in intoxicat-ing drinks is licensed, and so the means and faciliing drinks is licensed, and so the means and facili-ties to drunkenness have a political aspect. Does the Tract Society feel it to be incumbent on it to handle Alcohol gingerly, or to mention its name or substance only to commend? In much more than three-quarters of the globe, the doctrines known as 'evangelical' are condemned by law. Does the Tract Society therefore feel debarred from appropriating moneys to print and circulate pamphlets and books, advocating those doctrines in countries where the laws denounce them? If it should be decreed by Congress, as it once was by the French National Assembly, that there is no God, and that death is eternal sleep, would the Tract Society cease to assert the existence of the Almighty and the im-mortality of the soul? Surely the more violent and

mortality of the soul? Surely the more violent and formidable the opposition to Truth, as a whole or in special, the greater should be the persistency and clearness of those set for the defence thereof.

The Tract Society, so far as its action in this particular is concerned, is unblushingly atheistic. It practically asserts that the civil law and the behests of political cancusses, are the ultimate standard of Right and Wrong. It does not say this as bluntly as Hobbs did, but it says it more effectually. No iniquity is to be rebuked which finds shelter under the forms of laws, or in the conventions of politicians. The Romans deified their dead Cassars. The Tract Society in effect deifies Bachanan, Toombs, and the like. Such an Association does not deserve and the like. Such an Association does not deserve the countenance and contributions of true patriots and Christians.—Honesdale (Pa.) Democrat.

#### Liberator The

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, JUNE 4, 1858.

THE NEW ENGLAND

ANTI-BLAVERY CONVENTION. Slavery Convention assembled in Boston on Wednesday morning, May 26th, at 10 o'clock, A. M. At the all available standing room, being occupied, and it was estimated that one thousand persons left, unable suers; and that no person shall be put on trial, be eager a crowd, at the opening of the Convention, had the property of another. not been seen for many years. Undoubtedly the cor- Resolved, That to secure this humane and Christian good during the past winter, has been powerless to legalizing the awful crime of making man the proper injure, or even to weaken, the anti-slavery faith and ty of man. conscience of the true and tried Abolitionists of New unadulterated, bold, faithful and genuine Christianity. her borders.

The Convention was called to order, soon after 10 sachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and it was unanimously agreed to proceed at once to organization.

Mr. Jackson said that he would submit to the meeting a list of officers prepared (in order to save time) fresh insult to the people of Massachusetts on account by the Committee of Arrangements. The list was as of their growing love of liberty, but deepens the dis follows:

For President. EDMUND QUINCY, of Massachusetts.

Vice Presidents. Francis Jackson, of Boston, Peter Libbey, of Maine. Peleg Clarke, of Rhode Island. Peleg Clarke, of Rhode Island.
Benjamin F. Hutchinson, of New Hampshire.
Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford, Mass.
Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester, Mass.
Joshua Perry, of Hanson, Mass.
Prince S. Crowell, of Dennis, Mass.
Josiah Henshaw, of West Brookfield, Mass.
William Ashby, of Newburyport, Mass.
Joseph Carpenter, of New Rochelle, N. Y. Secretaries of Convention.

Samuel May, Joseph Howland, Charles K. Whippl Business Committee,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Maria W. Chapman, Charles L. Remond, Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Andrew T. Foss, William Wells Brown.

Finance Committee. Elbridge Sprague, Abington, Reuben H. Ober, Boston, Sarah P. Remond, Salem, Samuel Dyer, Abington, Sallie Holley, Rochester, N. Y., Lucy Coleman, New York.

The unanimous assent of the Convention was give to the organization thus reported.

A. T. Foss, of New Hampshire, was introduced to through the land, and said we must judge of its charthe audience, and spoke of the Revival that has spread acter, not by its professions, its outside aspects, but by its fruits. Now what are its fruits? The first fruit that has dropped from the tree, is the retrograde action of the American Tract Society at New York week the vital and animating spirit of the national governbefore last. Mr. Foss then went on in detail to state the past and present position of the Tract Society, and said, the tree and fruit are alike; both are corrupt; the fruit of course, because the tree is so. The religion of the country is altogether corrupt in all its branches and ramifications. You may want to hear me make some exception, but I can make none: all are in harmony, and all are working together in this tains 'three chief original compromises as essential revival; even the liberal sects are involved with the rest in working the machinery of the American Slaveholding religion. In Ohio there are some small comeouter sects, that have attempted to separate themselves | Congress ; - which, according to William Ellery from this spurious religion; but at the outset of this Channing, makes 'the free States the guardians and revival, they have rushed back, and joined with the other sects in reviving the American religion.

I repudiate this slaveholding religion. I loathe slaveholding Christ, and all revivals of his religion.

The remarks of Mr. Foss were often interrupted by the vain attempts of the crowded audience to attain comfortable positions, and the attempts of constantly increasing numbers to find standing room in the densely packed Hall, one man in the audience remarking that in 1833 it was difficult to get a Hall to get into, but now it was difficult to get into the Hall.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Com nittee, read the following Resolutions:

Whereas, the American Tract Society, at its recen annual meeting in New York, by an overwhelming of suppressing all slave insurrections, through the majority reversed its action of last year, and declared national government, in every case of emergencyits purpose never to issue a single tract in condemna- allows a three-fifths slave representation in Congresss, tion of slavery as a system, or of slaveholding as an thus constituting a slave oligarchy-and gives the act—not even of any evils or abuses arising therefrom slaveholder the right to make every inch of Northern -but virtually sanctioned, as compatible with sound soil slavehunting ground-is a Constitution not fit morality' and evangelical religion, the enslavement to have been made' or to be supported, but deserves of four millions of those for whose redemption Christ to be execrated for its inherent cruelty and tyranny; laid down his life-thus leaving them without God therefore, and without hope in their chains, and remorselessly consigning them, as far as in their power, to the doom of the damned in the life to come; therefore,

Resolved. That while the American Tract Society exhibits a spirit so satanic, and retains a position so mpious, it must be sorely displeasing to a just God, living God. and an act of exceeding criminality, to contribute to its treasury on the part of any church or any individual, or to give it any countenance; but the strong- sane attempt to reconcile elements and interests eterest testimony should be borne against it as false to nally antagonistical to each other-and, therefore Christianity, and as an organized conspiracy to shield the first duty of every true friend of freedom is to and uphold 'the sum of all villanies.'

condition and imperative claims of one-seventh por- ERS! tion of all the inhabitants in this land, and deliberately leaving them to be driven like cattle to an unrequited toil, and to perish miserably in the Southern prison-house, nothing can surpass the impudence, hypoerisy and wickedness of the American Tract Seciety in pretending to be concerned for the souls of men, the propagation of a pure gospel, and the triumph of Christ and his cause over Belial and his confederates : for the brand of Anti-Christ is upon it, the spirit of Belial control its operations, it carries damnation and not salvation in its train, and is less deserving of respect than a band of highwaymen.

Whereas, the Boston branch of the American Tract Society, at its annual meeting yesterday, passed no condemnation upon the recent iniquitous and horrible decision of the Society at New York, and voted to among the thirteen or fourteen men who were about postpone for one year a proposition for withdrawal to launch the anti-slavery enterprise in that small from the same : therefore,

are born free and equal, and have certain natural, be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their question whether he should ever be President of the lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing and United States; yet they were.

protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and ob

taining their safety and happiness'; and
Whereas, in direct and flagrant violation of thi declaration, for seventy years they have allowed fugitive slaves to be hunted on their soil, seized, and returned to bondage, in willing confederation with Southern men-stealers; and

Whereas, this is to involve themselves in all the guilt and shame of kidnspping-to stain their Christian profession, sully their character, evince the ba The Annual Meeting of the New England Anti- perfidy, violate all the commands of God, and disce gard the claims of our common humanity; therefore

Resolved, That their first duty is to repent of this hour named for the meeting to commence, the hall great iniquity, and to decree that, henceforth, every (Mercantile Hall) was entirely filled,—every seat, and fugitive from alavery shall, on coming into this Commonwealth, be free, against all claimants and pur to get inside the hall. It was unfortunate that a any magistrate, commissioner, or other tribunal, b larger place had not been provided. So great and decide whether he has a right to his own person, or is

rupt pro-slavery action of the American Tract Society object, a memorial to the next Legislature should be and of its Boston branch had much to do in stirring a circulated for signatures in every city, town and vilfeeling of popular disgust and indignation, of which lage throughout the Commonwealth, asking that this unusual throng was one manifestation. And it body to make the decree aforesaid; and thus to delivwas most cheering to find that the hot-bed revival of er the people from blood-guiltiness, and enable then a spurious religion, which has consumed so much consistently and effectively to rebuke the South for

Resolved. That having, in the removal of Slaw England, but has even proved the occasion of awaking | Commissioner Edward Greeley Loring from the office in many hearts a new devotion to that great cause of of Judge of Probate, testified her abhorrence of the Freedom and Humanity—the Anti-Slavery Cause— Fugitive Slave Law, Massachusetts is bound by con which is seen more clearly than ever to combine and sistency to pronounce that law inoperative in all cases, concentrate in itself the essential elements of a pure, by allowing no Slave Commissioner to exist within

Resolved, That the bestowal of the office of Judge o'clock, by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Mas- of Claims, at Washington, upon the aforesaid Edward Greeley Loring, by President Buchanan, as a reward for his infamous pro-slavery subserviency to the South in the illegal rendition of Anthony Burns, and as grace which attaches to his character, and makes him a still more conspicuous object of righteous scorn and

Whereas, the cause of the oppressed millions in our land has lost one of its earliest, most respected, and for many years most conspicuous advocates, in the sudden death of our honored friend and coadjutor. ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq., of this city; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention proffersits heart felt sympathy to his afflicted family, in view of this great bereavement; and would record the expression of its high regard for his character, his valuable services in the arduous struggle with the Slave Power, his moral intrepidity exhibited at a time when the Anti-Slavery cause had few to stand by it, and his philanthropic and charitable disposition alike toward the bond and free, without regard to complexion or

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, this Convention will adjourn its session, this afternoon, in season to enable all who desire to do so to attend the funeral services at the Church of the Disciples in Indiana Place, at 4 o'cleck. Whereas, a Constitution which, according to James

Madison, contains a clause that was 'expressly inserted to enable masters to reclaim their fugitive slaves' ;-which, according to Daniel Webster, 'gives solemn guarantees to slavery'; -which, secording to Alexander Hamilton, could not have been adopted without its pro-slavery stipulations; -which, according to John Quincy Adams, contains three special ers' dominion over their slaves,' and is 'saturated with the infection of slavery,' and that 'makes the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery ment'; -which, according to Judge Story, 'makes a necessary sacrifice to the prejudices and interests of portion of the Southern States'; -which, according to Joshua R. Giddings, 'secures to the master the same right to pursue and capture his slave in a free State, that he possesses to pursue and capture his horse or mule';—which, according to Charles Sumner, conconditions of the Union, one of them providing for the continuance of the piratical slave trade for twenssential supports of slavery,' and the people of the North 'the jailers and constables of the institution'; -which, according to Stephen C. Phillips, 'while it lasts, will make the free States, as well as the slave, sustain a relation to slavery indispensable to its security and continuance': - which, according to Josiah Quincy, senior, 'makes it incumbent upon the free States to deliver up fugitive slaves, and is the slaveholder's main strength'; -which, according to Horace Mann, 'provides for the recapture of fugitive slaves,' and is the impregnable bulwark of the slave system ;-and which, according to its universal and uniform interpretation ever since its adoption to the present time, on the part of all legislative and judicial bodies, binds the people of the North to the duty

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States cannot be more truly described than by applying to it the language of Scripture :- it is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell,' and it ought to be instantly annulled, in the name of the

Resolved, That the union existing between the free and the slave States is unnatural and wicked-an inaccept for his rallying-cry the motto of the American Resolved, That, after refusing to consider the awful Anti-Slavery Society, 'No Union with SLAVEHOLD-

> The President then introduced Rev. Theodore Parker. [Mr. Parker's speeck from his own manucript appears in another place.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS was next introduced, and spoke riefly as follows:

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS. Mr. CHAIRMAN,-The clock warns me that the

nour of adjournment approaches; I will not detain the audience. The resolution on the table referring to our friend

ELLIS GRAY LORING, -one of the earliest Abolitionists in Massachusetts,-reminds me that nigh thirty years ago, when the question was discussed, and when that noble friend whose loss we deplore stood chamber, the question was whether the word Immedi-Resolved. That the Boston branch reveals itself to ate Emancipation should be inscribed on our banner. be equally undeserving of respect, countenance, or Nobody knew that in that word 'immediate' was pecuniary aid, with the main body; and that its wrapped up the fate of Democratic parties and Tract wretched policy and shuffling morality are worthy of Societies. Men called it an 'abstraction.' They will the most unprincipled political tricksters, rather than know what 'abstraction' means, when, some day, not of those who profess to be the disciples of Him who far off, that 'abstract' Garrison abstracts New Engcame to open the prison-doors and to set the captives land from the American Tract Society. (Applause, They will know it when he rends asunder the Demo Whereas, the people of Massachusetts declare, in cratic party, and sets down Douglas the defeated exthe first article of their Constitution, that all men pectant of Presidential honor. Little thought that young man, then just coming into life, that a dozen ssential and inalienable rights; among which may men in an upper chamber at Boston were settling the

Our friend Mr. Parker has been analyzing for us to-day the meaning of the word 'Republican' in the United States Constitution. I must confess, for one, of the Committee. that I do not say 'Amen' to all his argument; but I do not care for that. If he will only persuade the people of the United States to say 'Amen,' and exeriss the power, God speed him! I do not care whether a scamp is kicked out of the window, or out

of the door. (Loud applause.)

MR. PARKER. It is easier to kick him out of the

Mr. Puntips. Doubtless. Well, I'do not care sekich door he goes out of—the door of Revolution or the door of Republicanism; only, in God's name, get journed.

him out! (Applause.)

Mr. Parker said we could hem in with a band of fire the slave States at present in the Union. True; but if he can only get his doctrine accorded to, we can do more than that; for if Congress is authorised to guarantee to the States a Republican form of government, in his sense, then Congress is authorised to clean Republic, and I vote that it be done! (Applause.) MR. PARKER. That is my doctrine.

MR. PHILLIPS. We are advancing very fast. There are two governments in this country—Civil and Religious. The Civil government is James Buchanan. rises the great Religious organization of the country; ganized church establishments. They obey public offered and refused for a beautiful female slave. opinion like the weathercock, in a moment. Now, this public opinion which we have started reaches the religious organizations first. We have worked here many a day. One friend has called the slaveholder a gogue of Satan; and you did not see exactly the rea-Cheever will lock his door in the face of the American Tract Society, and say, 'No connection with the firm to make him honest ! on the opposite side of the street! No money taken supplies, you bankrupt that government. Now, the our most active exertions in the Anti-Slavery cause. American Tract Society halts in its Boston branch. They have the bliss to know that they must turn out laid him on the altar, they have turned him out of office, and let him run into the desert, for the sin of cumbers, which says you must take the oil, and the salt, and the mustard, stir it and mix it, cut the cucumbers into thin slices, mix the whole carefully together, and then,-throw it all out of the window. That is just what we are going to do with the American Tract Society ! (Applause.)

The hour approaches one. If there is any man here who assents, -as doubtless many of you do,-to the philosophical analysis of the constitutional argument to which we have listened, go to the polls with it. Demand of Henry Wilson, your representative, that he shall promulgate and stand by it. The Constitution, practically, has long since ceased to be. We are governed by the majority. The South clutches power on all hands, and uses it. Perhaps the North will advance to triumph in the same way. Clutch the power! I believe the people are ready to use it. That is the door; open it, that we may topple the slave system out! Judge Marshal used to say to Judge Story, on the bench at Washington, ple are ready to say, 'We want to get rid of slavery by the action of the government; be kind enough, of a hundred will say 'Amen,' and use it!

A Voice-'Amen!' (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Phillips moved the adoption of the Resolution relating to the adjournment of the Convention, for the of the Union. The Union makes such men, and purpose of attending the funeral of the late ELLIS tends still more to make them, worse and worse. GRAY LORING, Esq. and it was unanimously adopted. Mr. Foster said the audience would perhaps sup-

Meeting called to order by the President, Edmund Quincy, at 24 o'clock.

ANDREW T. Foss said. I have a respect for true religion, as much as any man ought to have. I have a respect for truth, justice, right, honesty. We supposed the religion of America to be the true religion until the baseness of its character was revealed by the Anti-Slavery cause. I might have been where I was, in the horrible pit and among the miry clay of the American church, had not the Anti-Slavery cause invited their neighbor Tompkins's boys to help them opened my eyes. All the great national societies follow in the train of this church, looking to a distant heaven only for their Jesus, and expecting to find him upon a throne there, instead of down here upon the earth, on the Slave plantation and on the auction block. Therefore I do not rejoice in the revival of a religion like this, but I abominate it as evil, and evil only.

HENRY C. WRIGHT said, Where is our friend Theodore Parker, practically, in relation to the slave? as they please. The preamble of the Constitution says it is formed to establish liberty and secure justice. What absurdity! To form a compact with sheeper to catablish justice and secure liberty.

There is a resolution in the series recommen the people of Massachusetts to demand of their official reasons for it-to my mind, potent reasons. servants in the next Legislature to pass a law forbidding trial of a claim to a slave. I rejoice in this applibe subjected to such a trial.

In passing such a law as the resolution contemplates, why should we look at, or care for, what the Constius, except the central Federal Government.

And this Revival of religion ! What has it done to

Mr. Wright concluded with saying that he hoped

ments in specially inviting to the platform of this Con- ism are the sword, the revolver, the cannon,

At 4 o'clock the President announced the Conven tion adjourned, in accordance with the morning Resolution, for the purpose of attending the funeral services of the late ELLIS GRAY LORING.

Peleg Clarke of R. L., one of the Vice President was called to the chair, and Mr. Foster, who wa speaking at the adjournment, continued to address the large audience who remained, for an hour longer

C. C. Buntaron then spoke in review of Mr. Fos-ter's remarks till 6 o'clock, when the meeting ad-

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN was the first speaker. We talk of the degrading influences of slavery

upon the slave; and they are many and great; there is a premium upon ignorance in the slave; but the out South Carolina of every thing now. It is not a slaveholder is also ignorant and degraded. The young child of the slaveholder finds his youthful companions among the ignorant and degraded young slaves. He commands them, tyrannizes over them, and forms habits of self-will and self-indulgence which last all his life. We have all read of the col-It lives at Washington. It is removed three or four lege students of Charleston, S. C., who held the steps from the people. It holds the army in one hand and the treasury in the other. It is strong enough to under such tuition cannot be chaste, honest and just. defy public opinion for a while. Outside of that The Northern girl who marries a Southern slave holder knows not the horrible state of things in which its large benevolent institutions, its extended and or. she is called to live. Five thousand dollars have been

The slave, black or white, cannot expect justice a

the bands of the slaveholder. On my master's plantation was an old man name Jim; he worked by night, bought a calf, and by and pirate, and another has called the church the syna- by owned a cow. The master proposed to Jim to trade, and gave him two caives for his cow! What son why. Go into the American Tract Society, and could Jim do? I knew a case of a free white woman look at our first class, and see if they do not get on kidnapped, who asked to be locked in jail to protect well! They are not quite ready to graduate yet, but her from the villain who had stolen her. I knew they bear a very good examination. (Laughter and case of a white slave who ran away in company with applause.) When they are fit to graduate, I will tell two black ones, personating their master; the white you the exercises they will be put through. Dr. one actually claimed the others as his property, and sold them. He had not black blood enough in him I would that every one here shoul feel that our

here for their till!' And the moment you stop the rights, our liberties, our duty, our God, all require

Mr. THEODORE PARKER said-I understand that my friend Mr. Poster, this afternoon, made some Bliss. (Laughter and applause.) They have laid one charges against this excellent Society, under whose lamb on the altar, a scapegoat, -no, they have not pleasing auspices we are assembled to-night, as a many times before. It is reported to me that he charged them with asking me to give a speech in the not saying- We have nothing to do with a Society Representatives' chamber last winter, and in this hall that lieks the feet of the slaveholder.' But if they do this morning, both of which he maintains, I think, not do it this year, they will do it next. Wait! are somewhat at variance with his own opinions, and You know that elaborate prescription for dressing cu- those of the Society itself. I only wish to say, in this matter, that the Society is not at all responsible either for my speaking, or for the opinions of the speech; for it was not they that invited me, but I volunteered last winter, and volunteered again to-day. So I answered before I was called, and ran when I was not sent.' (Applause.) SAMUEL MAY, Jr., made an appeal to the Conven

tion for contributions to the Anti-Slavery treasury; and the Finance Committee proceeded to make col-WENDELL PHILLIPS then addressed the Conven

tion. [This speech will be published hereafter.]

CHARLES L. REMOND said-We have heard to-day, and heretofore, much of the

superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, but I deny that their superiority is one suited for mention on an Anti-Slavery platform. We have heard that the colored people can afford to wait for better times; that improvement is coming; but I think it does not become any colored man, in view of existing facts, to indulge 'That is the law; do you go prove it!' So, if the peo- in these pleasing fancies. We have heard of the great progress hade by anti-slavery; but, while Parker and Phillips are speaking, I am declared an out-Mr. The dore Parker, to prove that we can, -God law in my native State, by the highest judicial aubless him in his argument! I hope ninety-nine out thority in the country. I am tolerated as a man here, but only tolerated. The high position which Edward Everett holds in this country, with such a character as his, is by itself a sufficient reason for a dissolution

a contradiction between his (Mr. P's) statement, and his own, in the afternoon, but such was not the fact. The truth was, both statements were correct. Mr. Parker was undoubtetly right when he said he colunteered to speak, and he (Mr. F.) had it from a member of the Executive Committee that he was invited to speak also. Mr. F. repeated his objections to inviting speakers to that platform who did not agree with the distinctive principles of the Society.

Mr. PARKER replied, and illustrated his position by telling a story of farmer Jenkins's boys, who, having split some chesnut logs into rails and posts, complained that, while they used their wedges, they would not touch their heetles, but used their own. . Well. asked the old man, 'didn't they split the logs? 'Yes.' 'Wasn't that what you invited them to do? (Here Mr. Parker paused, and the loud laughter and applause of the audience showed that they had made he application.)

Mr. GARRISON-I do not rise to give 'railing for railing.' (Laughter.) I have been deeply interested His principle is that the majority, when they have got in this discussion, and before we part, I feel that I the control of the government, may carry it out just would like to throw myself on your indulgence for a few moments. I cannot take so sombre a view, as I think it is

the condition of the anti-slavery cause in New Engstealers to prevent theft, and allow them important land and the North as my friend Mr. Poster has taken special privileges as sheep-stealers, would be no more on this occasion; yet, if power be going out of us-if absurd or monstrous. By joining with alaveholders we are less energetic than formerly—if we do not inin a common union, you acknowledge it to be in their crease as we should in numbers and strength-if, on the whole, we seem to be standing still, rather than going iding to forward-I am inclined to think that there are two When the Anti-Slavery cause was launched, it was

bantized in the spirit of peace. We proclaimed to the cation of law to liberty; for all personal liberty bills country and the world, that the weapons of our warhitherto assume that men may, in some circumstances, fare were not carnal, but spiritual, and we believed them to be mighty through God to the pulling down even of the stronghold of slavery; and for several years, great moral power accompanied our cause tution of the United States says! Let us make such wherever presented. Alas! in the course of the fearful a law as our State Constitution warrants, and let the developments of the Slave Power, and its continued Federal Government attempt to reverse it, or to inter- aggressions on the rights of the people of the North, fere with it, if it dare. This will bring up the State in my judgment a sad change has come over the spirit Rights question, as it has never yet been brought up. of anti-slavery men, generally speaking. We are The present course of things is tending directly and growing more and more warlike, more and more dissurely to the destruction of all government amongst posed to repudiate the principles of peace, more and nore disposed to talk about 'finding a joint in the neck of the tyrant, and breaking that neck, 'cleaving help us in the vindication of the rights of man? Who tyrants down from the crown to the groin, with the sword which is carnal, and so inflaming one another with the spirit of violence, and for a bloody work. no slave would ever again be sent from Massachusetts Just in proportion as this spirit prevails, I feel that to Canada, or anywhere else, in order to possess and our moral power is departing, and will depart. I say enjoy freedom. Keep them here, and defend them. this not so much as an Abolitionist as a man. I believe I will fight for them, said he, in my way. Do in the spirit of peace, and in sole and absolute reliance you, who believe in fighting, fight for them in your on truth, and the application of it to the hearts and consciences of the people. I do not believe that the STEPHEN S. FOSTER addressed the Convention. He weapons of liberty ever have been, or ever can be, the objected to the course of the Committee of Arrange- weapons of despotism. I know that those of despotvention a speaker who, like Theodore Parker this bomb-shell; and, therefore, the weapons to which tymorning, would use the time and opportunity to over- rants cling, and upon which they depend, are not the throw the distinctive positions of the American Anti- weapons for me, as a friend of liberty. I will not Slavery Society, and undo the work of their agents, trust the war-spirit any where in the universe of God, Mr. Foster did not at all object to Mr. Parker's coming to this platform,—he welcomed him here,—rejoic. it not to be at all reliable in such a struggle as ours. rying out this idea would turn the world into acciety of missionary benevolence. In this God is acciety of missionary benevolence.

In proportion as we allow the spirit of violence or p. In proportion to take possession of our minds, and make ourselves familiar with the idea of killing staveholden ourselves familiat and the Divine Spirit will go ou of us, and we shall not have that power over men minds that we should have, if animated by a different

spirit. So much for the principle of peace and the principle ple of war. I am for going on as we have hither done—proclaiming the truth, applying the truth, a lying upon the truth, conquering by the truth, as

not attempting to use the sword.

not attempting to use more and more disposed to re-Then I think we have gone back, or an into politics; so that if we have gone back, or an standing still, as my friend Mr. Foster seems incline standing still, as my thank he has a good deal to answer form to believe, I think he has a good dear to answer by a that ground, for he is for setting aside our old method and considers our work now to be the organization of a new political party, as our great instrumentalty is a new political party in the state of the st as this mania for politics shall grow upon us, we all be less and less potent in the moral field. Our way is with the conscience; and the only weapon the God puts into our hands, rightfully to use, is to otruth, which does not kill the body, but which competent to overthrow the strongholds of iniquity and ultimately to emancipate every slave in the lad I pray you, Abolitionists, still to adhere to the

truth. Do not get impatient; do not become enperated; do not attempt any new political organia tion; do not makes yourselves familiar with the ite that blood must flow. Perhaps blood will for-God knows, I do not; but it shall not flow through any counsel of mine. Much as I detest the proper sion exercised by the Southern slaveholder, he is a man, sacred before me. He is a man, not to be here. ed by my hand, nor with my consent. He is and who is grievously and wickedly trampling upon the rights of his fellow-man; but, all I have to do vel him is to rebuke his sin, to call him to repentance, h leave him without excuse for his tyranny. He in sinner before God-a great sinner; yet, while I vi not cease reprobating his hourible injustice, I willing him see that in my heart there is no desire to do he harm .- that I wish to bless him here, and bless his everlastingly, and that I have no other weapont wield aginst him but the simple truth of 6st which is the great instrument for the overthrow of a iniquity, and the salvation of the world. (Loud to plause.)

The Convention then adjourned.

THURSDAY.

Peleg Clarke, one of the Vice Presidents, called the Convention to order at 10 1-4 o'clock. The resolutions before the Convention were rest be the Secretary.

C. L. REMOND said-What I object to in Mr. Par. ker's position is his constant statements respective those differences between the races of men which to put to a pro-slavery use by the mass of the communication ty. Washington, Jefferson and Madison lived ad died slaveholders, and supported the first inhung Fugitive Slave Law. Charles Sumner did not spen the spirit of New England when he disclaimed is support of the Fugitive Slave Law. Wendell Phillips rightly said that the American people were a very to reliable people. This tells the whole story. I six sympathy or favor. I stand with Mr. Phillips at Mr. Garrison on the rights of man, irrespective of country or color. Now, some time ago, I voted in Stephen C. Phillips for Governor, and was rebuied in it, and justly. But if I am not authorized to rote m other man is, and Wendell Phillips, who rebuked me should not now tolerate the followers of Theoder Parker in a similar act, as he said last night he would C. C. BURLEION said-

This is the key-note of our movement-the recept tion of man, irrespective of color or country. When er the several races are equal or unequal has noting to do with human rights. Men do not reason right on this matter, mainly because they do not feel not ly. If one seventh of the people of this countries to be reduced to slavery, let the people of Massachsetts pass under the same rule, and be imparish selected from all classes, whether they work vi hands, brain, or with the stomach only. But, if the were done, would Massachusetts pass a Personal Lib erty Bill? Would she wait to summon a jury to iscide the case when the children of her Governor, and Doctors of Divinity, and wealthiest and proudest eszens are made slaves? No! The radical, revolutingtory, they tell us. They have carried every thing is their own way, and decided-what? Why, that the will publish tracts on the moral duties growing out of slavery, and the moral evils commonly connected viz it! Alas! if this is to be accounted a triumph, when professed Christian men recognize a system of timitigated fraud, and discourse on the duties be

longing to such a relation! But suppose we should have a tract upon the meri duties growing out of the relation of the highwayan to the traveller whom he plunders. Will you say the this would be a libel upon the Tract Society? Nat all! No crime, at this moment, is working so mad mischief to body and soul, in this land, as slaver. Looking at the legitimate tendencies and effects of its various crimes, not one other is to be compared #2 it in magnitude. Yet, the Tract Society in New Yet having refused to speak against slavery, the Bount Society refuses to separate from them, and then the umphs in having taken a 'bold, uncompromiting at discriminating ' position !! Bold as a sheep' is the Boston branch of the American Tract Society.

Mr. Burleigh spoke of the surrender of Burns, some call that act. There may perhaps be some alvantage in using rather the direct old term, kidny ping, as best describing the deed. But when we say this, they cry out that the Constitution requires What of that? Right was not made by the Consideration tion, and cannot be unmade by it. The time assigned for the taking up of donation

and pledges to the Anti-Slavery treasury having a rived, the Finance Committee proceeded to business

H. C. WRIGHT moved that speakers be requested to limit themselves to fifteen minutes. Carried. H. C. WRIGHT then read the resolution on the Ired

Society, and said-For myself, I endorse this resolution entirely. Is Tract Society, instead of representing the spirit of le sus, represents that of Belial; instead of wishing if the triumph of Christ, the brand of Anti-Christ

The American conception of God is that entered ed by the Tract Society-a being who approved very. To such a being I say-Get thee behind

Rev. Calen Sterson, of South Scituate-I am vited to stand here, and bear testimony this dist. do not acknowledge that God or that Christ who say tions slavery. I disown such a God and such

The Rev. Dr. Barnes of Scituate was a shrewd st witty man, and of true liberality and freedom thought and speech. He replied to a pragmation parishioner who defended, election and reprobates as follows: 'Suppose you could make a man, a livis man, and that you did make him for the purpose damning him; how long would the humanity of community allow you to go on, without pulling Jo shop about your ears?"

It is no abuse of slavery to sell a slave. If a me owns him, he has a right to sell him. Slavery out be abused. It is itself one enormous abuse. yet there is something worse than slavery-rit. defence of it by Dr. Lord.

God made mankind to dwell together; and the rying out this idea would turn the world into a reDo you not believe have no with me ends. I God, and I believe God. I God is t names, the nam Names and whecharacter for him, Jesus a God; manity, of a dei hate th and if LYSA believed tian du he belie were b wrongfact of thing though religion of peo charact

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did, never could make one. Mr. GARRISON and Mr. PHILLIPS then spoke to the Mr. Garage to the recent death of ELLIS GRAY

Louiso.

[Their eloquent and admirable tributes to Mr. Loring's character appear in another place.] The resolutions on Mr. Loring were then adopted The resolution adopted by a unanimous vete. And the Convention adjourned

APTERNOON.

Vice President CLARKE in the chair. HENRY C. WRIGHT took the platform, and spoke in farther elucidation of the remarks he had made in in fartner can which had been approved by Rev. Mr. the morning.

Stetson. He said the question often came to him. No, said he, 'I do not believe in a God. I know there is a God, and I not belief or faith in the matter. It is knowledge have no search where knowledge commences, faith with me, and water a God, but he is not a slaveholding God, and I despise such a God. When you ask me if God, and I despressed in Your God, I want to know who is your God. It may be that the being that you reverence as God is the one I hate as a Devil. I care not for god is the one a names. I have no respect for the name of God, more than the name of Devil. Names are nothing. Character is every thing-allnames are not have clothed your deity with the the therecteristics of the American God, a slaveholding. characteristics of the American God, a savenoining for him,-I repudiate him.

Jesus of Nazareth gave us no such representation of a God; but in all his teachings shows us love, humanity, justice and benevolence as his highest ideal of a deity. I love the God of Jesus of Nazareth, and hate the God and the Christ of the American Church and if I am not now understood, then I cannot be.

LYSANDER SPOONER here inquired if Mr. Wright believed, that any body believed it to be their Christian duty to hold slaves. Mr. Wright replied that he believed multitudes held that God authorizes and sanctions slaveholding, and that therefore they were better satisfied to continue the practice of wrong-doing than without this sanction.

Mr. Spooner said that he did not believe that the fact of any body's being a church member had any thing to do with his being a slaveholder. Sthought that all this talk about the Church and religion was waste time. The Church membership of people has little or nothing to do with their character or their practices.

J. N. Burrun, of Lynn, stated that he had this forenoon heard Dr. Cheever pour out a strain of concentrated thunderbolts against the American Church. You may take Mr. Garrison, Pillsbury, Poster, and throw in all the rest of the fanatics, and boil them all down, and you cannot make one Dr. Cheever, for fery denunciation of a corrupt Church; and I think he knows better than friend Spooner the agency and guilt of the Church, in the matter of Slavery.

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Mss. Lucy N. Colman, of New York, said that, slthough a Woman's Rights woman, she thought her sex had been too much eulogised on this platform. Woman was not morally so much superior to man as she had been here represented to be. There was, alas, too much equality in wickedness and error. The mothers, even of New England, are too much in fault, in their instructions to their children : too often they frighten their little ones with the dread of the 'black man.' They need reforming as well as

Dr. J. M. HAWKES, of Manchester, N. H., then ddressed the Convention. [A full report of his remarks will appear hereafter in our columns.]

C.V. REMOND said that Mr. Spooner would be better qualified to judge of the position and practice of the Church and Clergy upon this question, if he should travel awhile in the capacity of an Anti-Slavery Colporteur or Lecturer.

His own experience showed him clearly that the

strongholds of American Slavery were in the American Church, and the schools of American theology. Mr. Remond went on at length, and in detail, to demonstrate this position; and concluded by reading from a Western paper a prayer to the Devil, being paredy upon our ordinary church prayers, and which many men now in pulpits might use more consistently than those they now hypocritically put

LYSANDER SPOONER said : I don't believe there is one in 10,000 who considers it a religious duty to hold slaves. Instead of being the bulwark of slavety, the clergy are mere-drift wood; not a bulwark of anything, and not worth regarding. It is ridiculous to suppose that the people of this country look to the church or the clergy for religion, or morals, or meanness, or anything.

PARKER PILLSBURY spoke as follows: I do not wonder at the intense emotion of our friend Mr. Remond. Having travelled with him and his sister, I have seen manifestations of the spirit of American prejudice against the people of color, such as few of us realize to exist. If Mr. Spooner will make such a journey with us, we will soon convince him of the power and extensive influence of the Church.

Beecher and Cheever were once denouncing us Now we are told that Dr. Cheever surpasses the concentrated power of us all in his rebukes of pro-slavery. It was positively declared by the American Board of Commissioners, that no missionaries had been employed by them who held slaves. A few years after, they admitted it. For speaking the truth respecting the American Tract Society, the Independent opened its latteries upon me; now the Independent itself is publishing the same things. It is not too much to say that the strongest expressions that have been used by the American Anti-Slavery Society have been proved by the practice of the American church.

New we have religion revived, and the power of the church manifested as it never was before.

In 1830 to 40, we had numerous and powerful revivals, so that the church fancied the hour of her supremacy had come. In all the converts to that mighty erival, I never knew a slave emancipated, although the market value of many was increased by their piety. But Mexico emancipated her slaves, and then we massacred and butchered the Mexicans, and re-established

If, during those revivals, I had predicted these things, would not every minister in the land have pronounced me a slanderer? Yet those things are

We have just had new revivals over the whole equitry. Have any of you thought,-What new manifestation of diabolism is now impending?

The business men's prayer meetings seem to me dapted to produce the sort of religion, which has rell been called Commercial Christianity. We have een the leading public journals teeming with adverisements of negro minstrels, of men who had contrived turn themselves inside out, and bring the darker art outward; and mixed with them were advertisecents of the different entertainment offered in the thurches, and both were thronged. The advertisenents must have been a profitable item in the business of the secular press-and it seemed half converted tself; at least on the anxious seat, and it spoke in most subdued, if not solemn tone-from the surly mastiff growl of the Courier, down to the innocent relping of the unbaptised poodle of the Evening Transcript. (Laughter.)

In our anniversary meetings in New York, the

slave. No meeting but that of the Anti-Slavery So- will not only be easy, but popular, to be an Aboliciety gave the least help to his cause.

And in the anniversaries of this week in this city,

from which, except from this, will any help arise for the slave? We who are abolitionists must try to walk worth;

of our vocation. Some great calamity must be impending over this guilty land, in view of this sad revival of an oppressive and heartless religion. WENDELL PRILLIPS called upon the Conve

and friends of freedom to provide the means to sus tain and carry forward this work. He contrasted i with the position of the Republican party, of the approbation. Tract Society, &c., and showed its higher democratic and Christian character and mission.

S. S. FOSTER said that all this criticism upon the Church, in the matter of its short-coming and wrong- pediency of organizing a New England Anti-Slavery doing through its collateral organizations and acciden-tal relations, fell short of the testimony that we ought were present. After a very full and free interchang doing through its collateral organizations and accidento bear against its deep criminality and guilt in its or- of sentiment, we found ourselves divided in opinion by its own confessions and statements; reading from an article in the Methodist Quarterly Review, in ed the doctrine of immediate emancipation, as the one support of his position, that the Church held the to be set forth and proclaimed in the hearing of the laves and hunted the fugitives.

Rev. Mr. CILLEY, of New Hampshire, of the Fre Will Baptist Church, in a few remarks moved that was our lamented friend; not, as I remember, that he this Convention advise and request the Committee of the Boston branch, of the American Tract Society to thought, if it were omitted, we could go on quite as publish Dr. Cheever's address made before the Amer- efficiently, and induce many more to join our standcan Missionary Association to-day. He claimed ex- ard than we should otherwise be able to secure; so emption for the Free Will Baptist Church from the that, on that occasion, he was not prepared to become charges brought against the American Church, as it a member of the Society, without further deliberation

American and Foreign Bible Society. By this ecexempt, but must by all means be charged with complicity in slaveholding, as well as other denomina-

Mr. SMITH, of Boston, also a Free Will Baptist, claimed his Church the character of an Anti-Slavery Slavery Society. I shall do no injustice to any other Church.

Mr. Foster made a few remarks, and the Conven tion adjourned. EVENING.

The President in the Chair. The Convention at attentive auditory,-was addressed by Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Rev. S. S. themselves, will appear in a future paper.

was taken separately. They were adopted, with but two dissenting voices. The remaining resolutions, not already acted on, without a dissent. The entire amount received by the Finance might.

Committee, and subsequently by the Secretaries, for the expenses of the Convention and for the promotio of the cause, was \$536 33. Amount pledged, and payable during the year, \$1090.

The Convention, at 10 P. M., adjourned sine die. EDMUND QUINCY, President. SAMUEL MAY, Jr. SAMUEL MAY, Jr.
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Secretaries. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF ELLIS GRAY LORING, ESO.

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, May 27, 1858.

REMARKS OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

MR. PRESIDENT: I rise, at this time, to discharge a sad, yet pleasurable duty.

Yesterday afternoon, in company with a large numany in the audience who desired to say anything the liberty of speech for ourselves, and for those who more, to do so. There were many present whose may come after us. hearts were overflowing with emotion, and who would There are many who will feel his loss very deeply; have found no lack of words to give expression to but, in such a case, I always think of the bereavement their feelings; but, after the additional tribute paid experienced by the millions in bondage. Of course, to the character of our departed brother by Hon. they did not know him personally,-except in the JOSIAH QUINCY, Jr.,-a tribute full of pathos and case of fugitives coming to Boston, many of whom beauty, as well as eminently just, -nothing more found in him a warm friend to succor and to aid; seemed called for; and so, for one, I was silent. Yet but if they could know, as we do, where he stood here, on the platform of the New England Anti- and what he did, and how his heart beat high with Slavery Convention, where our friend, at the earliest sympathy in their behalf, there would be four millions period, was wont to take his stand, it seems not only of wailing mourners around his bier to-day, bathing desirable, but a duty, that we should say at least a it with their tears. Surely, the memory of the just few words, by way of giving him our parting tribute is blessed'; and if we have ever had a just man in of respect, love and gratitude.

In the first place, if it were in my power, by any thing I could say, I would like to lighten the load of Mr. President, we are all mortal-all steadily or beloved wife and only child who have been so sudvine power, which makes their strength equal to their ing the noblest cause that can challenge human sym day; that, through the gloom which surrounds them, pathy and effort, and thus be instrumental, under they catch glimpses of the heavenly light; and hence nothing is needed, on the part of any of us, to make of oppression the world has ever known. them feel that God has done all things well.

-bade me God-speed in the movement for the eman- ily together. cipation of those in bondage; and from that hour full of temptation to induce him to Ignore so unpohighly respectable position in society. Moreover, he was constitutionally fitted rather for retirement than for any public controversy; a man of extreme modesty, always unnecessarily distrusting his own powers as a public speaker, instinctively shrinking was ready for public exposure and popular contumel from conspicuity, and wishing to do what he could, in his own quiet way, without attracting to himself any special attention. He was made up of the finest elements of character—full of womanly tenderness, delicacy, and refinement of soul. Yet, under all these circumstances, with so much at hazard, he dared, with rare moral heroism, to stand in his lot, when the boldest were afraid, and publicly to declare, I am for immediate and unconditional emancipation, -and was ready to take the consequences of the de-

friendship like his at that time. Fifty new friends, sketch of the character of our beloved friend; still, now, would be as dust in the balance in comparison; I cannot let the resolution pass in silence. With my for now, our cause spreads over the whole North; whole heart, I second every word Mr. Garrison has In our anniversary meetings in New York, the we count its friends and advocates by tens of thouscity was clouded with the revival darkness that had ands; every where it is marching on, conquering and from an early acquaintance and an early personal integration of the conquer; by and by, and at no distant day, it timecy with Mr. Loring. I only wish that I had the

claration.

tionist; and then there will be no special virtue o

moral heroism in such a profession.

Mr. Loring was an early subscriber to the Liberato and helped to insure its continuance-allowing his name, up to the last number, to appear, from week to week, as one of its Financial Committee—and thus never abrinking from public identification with it, though doubtless finding occasionally in its columns some things objectionable as a matter of taste or sound judgment. But its fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause ever commanded his respect, and secured his warmes

He was one of the little band who ass the evening of January 1st, 1831, in the vestry of the colored Church in Belknap Street, to consider the exganic action and direct character. He then went on alas! too few to be divided, for we were but a hando show the actual position of the Church, as proved ful-yet our house was divided against itself. The Constitution that was submitted for adoption contain nation. Among those who deemed it at least unwise to insert the word ' immediate' before 'emancipation, objected to it on principle, but rather because he had no fellowship or complicity with slaveholding.

But, almost immediately, his good sense, and great
A. T. Foss hereupon declared that the Free Will conscientiousness, and sympathy for the slave, came Baptist Church was directly and closely connected to the rescue, and he saw that immediateism was the with slaveholders, through their connexion with the very sheet-anchor of the cause, and that without it nothing could be done towards bringing this nation clesiastical connection, and by political support of to repentance, or emancipating those in bondage this slaveholding Government, they are, said he, not and from that hour he became one of the most conspicuous and most valuable members of the Society.

member of the Board when I say, that, in all cases of doubt and difficulty, when we wanted the sound est judgment and the most reliable counsel, we all of us turned instinctively to Mr. Loring, regarding him almost as an oracle, to determine the very best thing this its closing session, -which was attended as all to be done. I never met a man in council who so im the preceding ones had been by a crowded and most pressed me with his qualifications for such a position. Our friend risked, it will be remembered, his professional success in thus early espousing the Anti HUNTING of Brookfield, and WENDELL PHILLIPS of Slavery cause; he risked his social standing, which Boston. The substance of their addresses, which was one of great importance to himself; but he was were in every respect worthy of the cause and of willing to risk every thing - fortune, professional fame, success, reputation, life itself. He was emi-.By request, the question on resolutions 10 and 11 nently conscientious, and that made him morally courageous and independent; and wherever he felt that duty required him to stand, he had it in his nature to plant his feet, let the consequences be what they

It is known to very many of you, that, for a long

series of years, Mr. Loring was an honored member

of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-

Mr. Loring set a noble example, as a lawyer, in op position to the proscriptive and hateful spirit of color-phobia, which still prevails so extensively in our and. I believe he was the first lawyer who ever took a colored boy into his office, in order to train him up to the profession of the law. He did so, and with a resolute purpose, though there were many to laugh and sneer; and we have now, among the lawyers of Boston, that same colored boy, grown to full nanhood, occupying a respectable position, and pursuing daily his professional avocation in the courts in the person of Robert Morris, Esq.

Mr. Loring also distinguished himself by his legal

ability in the celebrated case of the slave girl, Mrn, which came up in the Supreme Court of this State many years ago, before Judge Shaw, whereby we obtained the decision that a slave, having been brough into Massachusetts by his or her pretended owner, thereby became free.

At the time when an effort was made in the Legis ber of sympathizing friends, I attended the funeral lature of this State, by an equivocal recommendation obsequies of our departed friend and brother, ELLIS on the part of Governor Everett, to secure the pas-GRAY LORING, in the Church of the Disciples in this sage of a law in effect declaring that there should be city. The services were highly appropriate and im- no freedom of speech or of the press on the subpressive. After every thing had been said, by Rev. ject of slavery in this Commonwealth, Mr. Loring JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, that needed to be said, in was one of the number who went before the Commit merited praise of the deceased, whose remains were tee of the Legislature, to utter his solemn protest before us, ready to be conveyed to the sheltering against any such action; and by his efforts helped to tomb, an invitation was kindly extended by him to secure to us the liberty we are enjoying here to-day-

Boston, it is the cherished friend who has been called from his labor to his reward.

sorrow which must be resting upon the hearts of the the march to the spirit-world. Our days are numbered, and short at the longest. 'The line is forming denly bereft of the one nearest and dearest in all the on the other side.' How much work remains to be world to them. I rejoice to hear, however, that they done! Let us who are left behind endeavor to be are sustained under this great bereavement by a Di- all the more zealous, active, determined, in prosecut-God, in putting an end to the most dreadful system

I stand here to bless the memory of ELLIS GRAY It may savor something of personal egotism, if I LORINO-to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to refer to my early acquaintance with Mr. LORING; him for his early kindness, efficient co-operation, and but I do so on his account, not on my own. Twenty- lasting friendship. I stand here, also, to express my seven years ago, I became acquainted with him,- heart-felt sympathy for his beloved wife and almost then standing, as I did, solitary and friendless, in my idolized daughter, whose sorrow I would share and advocacy of the cause of 'the suffering and the dumb,' alleviate. Let me say, in justice to Mrs. Loring, and -scarcely knowing where to find a friendly hand, or as an act of grateful remembrance, that she was at hearing, in any direction, a friendly voice. In that least as early in the field in behalf of the oppressed hour, my departed friend, till then a stranger to me, as her lamented husband. In this cause, from the came forward, and gave me his hand, and his heart start, the twain were one-with but one heart, one in his hand,—gave me his warm and cordial support, pulsation, ever seeing eye to eye, and working stead

Let no one infer from the fact that, for a few year until the day of his death, was a fast, firm, and at- past, he has been comparatively out of sight, that Mr tached friend. His position, at that time, was one Loring had lost his interest in the Anti-Slavery cause for that he never lost. But, after the cheering expular and despised an enterprise. Like myself, he tension of the cause, and its friends had become mulwas a young man, but full of promise, looking to titudinous, he followed his natural bent, which was nal life for success and fame, and occupying always for retirement, and not for publicity. Enough that when there were few to plead for those in hand age, -in spite of his taste and temperament, his socia position and professional respectability,-in the dark est and stormiest period of our terrible struggle, he -for self-denying labor and heroic enterprise-grace fully withdrawing himself from observation only others advanced, yet keeping the flame of his philan

thropy as pure and bright as in the beginning.

Mr. President, I leave it to others, who will be be ter able to do justice to his memory, to speak further but I could do no less than to pay this poor, unpre meditated, but heart-felt tribute.

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Mr. CHAIRMAN-Mr. Garrison has spoken so truly and so fully as to leave nothing to be added to his

proud satisfaction of having been present, and aiding in those hours to which he has referred. I never think of those early days, and of that little band of which Mr. Loring was one, without, as a Massachusetts man, thanking them, that when you and I were dumb, edless, indifferent or hostile, he, and a few other young men like him, rising above temptation, clear-sighted, fearless, saved the statute-book of Massachuetts from that law which Governor Everett, with as usual effort to face both ways, builf hinted the Legislature ought to put there, making it a penal of-

fence to hold such a meeting as this.

I thank him for another thing. This cause taught him, as it does every man, something more than his duty to the slave; it taught him, as it teaches all o us, his duty to freedom every where; and I remem-ber that the first knowldge I had of him was when an obsolete statute, dug up from oblivion by religious prejudice, was beating down freedom of speech in the person of Abner Kneeland,—tyranny always chooses a hated man when it aims a blow at a dear right,—to meet that attack on freedom of speech, it was ELLIS GRAY LORING who drafted the petition, and circulated it, that opened that prison door. (Ap-I never think of these things, without remer

the letter of Henry the Great, from the battle-field of

victory: 'We have conquered Crillon, et tu n'y etais

par'- and you were not there! You and I, young

friends, were not then in this field. It was this half-

score of carnest, devoted, self-sacrificing, fearless souls that saved us free lips, our own freedom. awakened us to thought, built us this free platform and welcomed us to it. And although Mr. Garrison has referred to the latter years of Mr. Loring's life when, the ranks full and the laborers many, he yielded to his peculiar taste, dislike of controversy, love of private life, and withdrew from the more conspicuous service of the cause, still, even then, it was under his roof that Ellen Craft found refuge when the United States officers, hounds of an infamous slave hunt sought to lay hands on her as a fugitive. (Applause. To ELLE GRAY LORING belongs the honor, on which history will never forget, of having argued the Med case-the Somersett case of our struggle. Shrink ing from jury practice, with no taste for the struggles of courts, he threw aside his dislike, and, opposed by al most the whole Bar, led the way in settling for Massachusetts and the North the principle that a slave brought here is free. Friends, he leaves us to-day the legacy of seeing that no corrupt Judge of any Bench makes vain that glorious and hard-won decision. If 1836 could infuse so much justice into law, learn of so bright an example, and see if 1858 cannot lift it up still higher, and make Massachusetts safe shelter for

The great merit of Mr. Loring's Anti-Slavery life was, it seems to me, that he laid on the altar of the slave's need all his peculiar tastes. Refined, domestic, retiring, contemplative, loving literature, art, the culture and the grace of literary intellectual ease, he saw there was no one else to speak, therefore he was found in the van. It was the uttermost instance of self-sacrifice,-more than money, more than reputation,-though he gave both.

the fugitive also. To be like our noble predecessors

we must do not only what they did, but what they

would have done.

He is gone! The second, third or fourth. I can now recall which of that little band, who met to lay the corner-stone of this enterprise. They say the circle is small. 'The narrower it becomes, let us draw the closer together.' It was my privilege to know him in days when we were so few, we seemed but one family, and called each other by our first names,-when persecution had driven us so close together that there was no point of division between us. We have grown larger, and some have passed ownard, but no one dies. A man who links his name with the wealth, the material growth of a country, we may forget him when his body ceases to hold our sight; but one who comes to us always when we think of some great and living principle, is with us after his body is gone, as really as when it is present. He lives, as he always did, in lovalty to truth. Call not his life short. 'His life is long that answers life's great end '; and who, in fifty years, has done more than this man to redeem the community in which he lives? Whoever writes its history must place his name high on its pages as having labored earnestly, devotedly, successfully to keep its life, its soul-life, bright, vital, fresh. The man who lifts up his age belongs to the few that are not born to die.

I stand here, as my friend Garrison did, to thank ed the first anti-slavery message that called me into anti-slavery being. It was from his hand, marked with his now so familiar writing, that I received the first anti-slavery pamphlet, in the record of his appearance before the Senate to protest against the attempt to punish meetings like these with the State Prison. I thank him for his good service the proposed meeting, are thus sufficiently guarantied, and the assurance well-grounded, that every theme will be frankly and fairly treated at the hands of the Convention, and thus the interests of the first anti-slavery pamphlet, in the record of his apin the Thermopylæ of 1835 and 1840-thank him for his example, always the more devoted, the greater the need. I rejoice, as his near friend, in the worthy distinction he has of having been among the very first to raily round the banner of the noblest moral movement of our day. Ours may be a scanty eulogy, but coming time will confirm and enlarge it. Ours is but a feeble, though hearty blessing, but the gratitude of the poor and the hunted whom he has helped and pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion, and the only pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion, and the only pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion, and the only pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion, and the only pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion, and the only pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion, and the only pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion, and the only pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion, and the only pledge we make it is that of fearless discussion. distinction he has of having been among the very first sheltered will make all other blessing needless.

The community was much startled vesterday The community was much startled yesterday at hearing of the death of Mr. Ellis Gray Loring, after an illness so short that most persons did not hear of it at all till they learned at the same time its fatal termination. Mr. Loring was about fifty-five years old, and has been for some thirty years engaged in the old, and has been for some thirty years engaged in the practice of the law. He was an accurate and excellent man of business. He rarely appeared before the courts, but as a chamber counsel he enjoyed in a high degree the confidence of his clients. He was a man of much general cultivation, and had a keen and just perception of what was beautiful and good in literature and art. Formerly, his name was much before the public as a realous friend of the anti-slavery cause; but of late years, though his convictions and sentiments remained unchanged, he has rarely sought occasion for public expression and manifestation. He has never taken any part in politics. He was a most amable man in all the relations of life; and his loss will be irreparable to his family, and severely felt by will be irreparable to his family, and severely felt by a large circle of attached friends. — Boston Courier.

In a private letter from our esteemed friend Jonn G. Whittier, he says-'Congressional Border-ruffianism pales before that

of the Tract Society. But if it calls out a few such speeches as Dr. Cheever's, it will only hasten the day of deliverance."

We are under the necessity of postponing to next week an article on the 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' which was not held in Park Street Church on Wednesday, May 26th, at half-past 7, P. M., and therefore was not addressed by Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. Dr. Storrs, Rev. Dr. Ide, and Rev. Horace James, a WORCESTER, May 31, 1858.

Mr. GARRISON-I wish to call the attention of thos interested in Reform lectures and Sunday meetings to the very excellent address on ' Woman as Mother, by Mrs. Frances D. Gage, of St. Louis. She spoke on that subject before our Free Church yesterday, and every body was interested and delighted. It was simple, practical, sensible, and full of valuable suggestions. I do not think one sermon in a thousand is calculated to make such an impression, or do so much good; and I wish she could repeat it everywhere.

T. W. HIGGINSON. What with the proceedings of the Ame Anti-Slavery Society at New York, and the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in this city, &c., our columns are crowded to overflowing, to the exclusion of much other matter.

GREAT EXCITEMENT AT PETERSBURG.

Perenseuro, Va., Monday, May 31, 1858.

The schooner Keziah, of Wilmington, Del., Capt. Bayliss, cleared from this port on Saturday night. Since then, several slaves have been found to be missing, and a steamer was sent to overhaul the Keziah, which she did below the City Point. Five slaves were brought back, and lodged in jail. The excitement hero is immense. Two thousand people were at the wharf when the steamer landed, and were with great difficulty restrained from violence. The vessel was also towed back. PETERSBURO, Va., Monday, May 31, 1858.

SLAVE RESCUE IN SANDUSKY CITY. A Kentucky slaveholder, accompanied by the U. S. Marshal of Cincinnati, yesterday morning made a descent upon a colored waiter at the St. Lawrence Hotel, Sandusky, and captured him while in bed, and took him to the depot of the Little Miami Railroad, preparatory to leaving for the South. But this was not so easily to be done. At the depot, a vast crowd of citizens collected, and rescued the victim, who took his flight to parts unknown. In the melec, the Marshal was knocked down, and otherwise severely handled. He fired a pistol at the crowd, and the ball passed through a man's hat, for which act he was arrested, and gave ball for trial. John M. Brown, P. M., is his bondsman.—Milan Free Press. man .- Milan Free Press.

ABOLITIONISTS CAUGHT .- A week or two ago, two ABOLITIONISTS CAUGHT.—A week or two ago, two men were arrested in Warren county, charged with siding in the escape of a slave from his master, in that county. One of them was pursued, captured in St. Charles, and the negro with him. Facts afterwards disclosed, led to the arrest of Lee as an accomplice in this business, and he was arrested and put in prison. Of his guilt, no doubt exists. On Tuesday last he attempted to commit suicide, by opening the veins of both his arms, and at the last accounts there was very little hope of his recovery.—Southern paper.

DEATH OF GEN. PETER SKEN SMITH, Peter Sk Smith, who was well known in this city, died in Springfield, Massachusetts, on the 6th instant, of a complication of brain and heart disease. He was at one time a prominent leader in the Native American party in this city, and a warm friend of Zachary Taylor, with whom he served in the Florida war. He was a brother of Gerrit Smith, of Poterboro', N. Y.—

Hon, Charles Sumner has been elected an hon Let Hon. Charles Sumner has been elected an honorary member of the Scottish Literary Institute, in common with the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Shaftsbury, Lord Campbell, Lord Brougham, and Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Sumner sailed from New York for Europe, on the 22d ultimo, for the restoration of his health, which is still very precarious. [For his farewell Letter to the People of Massachusetts, see another column.l

SAD ACCIDENT. Mr. J. W. Pillsbury, of Milford, N. H., brother of Parker Pillsbury, and a devoted friend of the slave, was thrown from his carriage on Monday night, 17th ult., causing the dislocation of his shoulder, and severe bruises on the head. He was taken to the house of Joshua Hutchinson, where he remained insensible until the following morning. But we are glad to learn that his injuries are not so seri-ous as were at first apprehended. He is now doing as well as could be expected.

#### FREE CONVENTION. TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

To THE FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

The disenthralment of humanity from all such influences as fetter its natural and vital growth, is too evidently the condition of all Progress, and, therefore, the duty of Philanthropy, to need enforcement in this Call. The history of the past is beautiful only at the points where it records the encroachments of human freedom on the natural limitations or artificial tyrannies imposed upon thought and action. And the future is hopeful only in such proportion as it points towards a wise and well-grounded emancipation of the race from the spiritual despotisms that, on the one hand, now control thought, and the civil and social disabilities that, on the other, restrain action, into that free and pure life which both are yet destined to attain. Every Philanthropist, therefore, welcomes the increasingly manifest tendencies of the present the increasingly manifest tendencies of the present age, to challenge the institutions that claim control over humanity, and to insist that those claims shall be appealed to the tribunal of demonstrable facts and rigid inductions, rather than to the traditions of the

The signers of this call desire to aid in carrying up this appeal. They believe the time has come when the friends of Free Thought in Vermont will find it both pleasant and profitable to take counsel together, and have a mutual interchange of sentiment on the great topics of Reform. That there would be entire harmony of doctrine and symbol among us, is not to be expected, but it is believed that in purpose, we should 'see eye to eye,' and it is purposes, not creeds, that vitalize and harmonize effort.

With these convictions, we, whose names are appended to this call, do most cordially and carnestly

pended to this call, do most cordially and carnestly invite all Philanthropists and Reformers in and out of the State, to meet in PREE CONVENTION, at Rutand, Vt., on the 25th, 26th and 27th of June next, to discuss the various topics of Reform that are now engaging the attention and effort of Progressive minds.

By a reference to the names appended to this call, it will be evident that it is not the project of any

special branch or division of Reformers—having some Shibboleth of its own to be mouthed with provincial accent—but the unanimous movement of those who hail from every section of the great Army of Reform, and who have no watchword but Humanity. The largest philanthropy secured.

Come then, friends of Free Thought. Come one,

come all. Men of all religious creeds, and men of no creed, shall find equal welcome. And woman too, let pledge we make is to bring a rational investigation to the solution of every problem involving the social or religious duty and destiny of the race. In this faith we hall all as brethren and co-laborers.

Further notice of the Convention, with a programme of its exercises, so far as can be previously arranged will be published in the newspapers. [Signed by John Landon, Newman Whees, AL

BERT LANDON, W. W. RUSSELL, of Rutland, and one hundred and fifty others, belonging to various towns in Vermont.]

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.'-Th Tenth Yearly Meeting of the 'Friends of Human Progress' will convene at Friends Meeting house, Waterloo, Seneca Co., N. Y., on the 6th of sixth mo., (June, 1858,) at 11 o'clock, A. M., and continue its

(June, 1858,) at 11 o'clock, A. M., sessions three or four days.

The meeting-house being three miles from Water-loo, strangers inquiring for James Truman in the village, will receive all necessary directions.

GILES B. STEBBINS, AMY POST, JAMES TRUMAN, SARAH A. BURTIS, SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

To SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings in Vermont, &c., as follows:

Bellows Falls, Claremont, N. H., Windsor, Woodstock, W. Randolph, Tuesday, " 8. Thursday, " 10. Sunday,

EF C. L. REMOND will speak at Greenwe (South Reading,) on Sunday afternoon next. PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture in

Weare, N. H., on Saturday evening next, June 5— and on Sunday afternoon and evening, June 5, in Weare Centre, at the hours of meetings in the town. WORCESTER COUNTY NORTH.-

Quarterly meeting of the Worester County (North)
Anti-Slavery Society will be held in ATHOL, on Sunday evening, June 13th.

All who desire the triumph of Freedom and Justice will be welcomed to our meeting, and our opponents are invited, as usual.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Rev. Mr. O'DANIELS, SANURI, MAY, Jr., and other speakers, are expected to be present.

JOEL SMITH, President.

ESSEX COUNTY.—The annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at NEWBURYPORT, on Sunday, June 20th, morning, afternoon and evening, to which all friends of Freedom, Humanity, and a pure Religion are cordially invited.

Among the speakers expected to be present are,

ally invited.

Among the speakers expected to be present are, PARKER PILLSBURY, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and SABAH P. REMOND.

MOSES WRIGHT, Secretary.

# Atlantic Monthly

FOR JUNE. IS NOW READY.

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read these masterly productions. Published by JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., 20 Washington street, Boston.

# INFORMATION WANTED.

PREVIOUS to saying 'Farewell,' after a sojourn of nearly eight months in America—A LADY, who lived with the philanthropic, the talented and the affluent as a teacher in England, but who thought she would like to reside some time in America, and who would like to reside some time in America, and who would still remain in it on the event of her meeting with suitable encouragement, will be obliged to any ladies or gentlemen who will supply her with authentic information regarding good localities for PRI-VATE TEACHING, exclusive of the slave States. She teaches English, French, Music, Drawing, and sometimes other branches of education. Her testimonials are from the Principal of the Normal Institution, Edinburgh, Scotland, and from English, French, and American gentlemen. The desired information will be gladly received by MISS DICKSON,

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18 and 20 La Grange Place, Boston.

May 28.

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
Theodork Parker. Price, 17 cents. Just published, and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 14 Brom-

Also, for sale as above, all of Mr. Parker's works, either in pamphlet form, or bound in cloth.

Mch26 tf

# DANIEL MANN, M. D.

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ing them six weeks, my extremely gray heir is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it

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lobalsamum. I have tried various other render

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H. BATON, Pres. Union Univ., Tenn. I hay used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restore

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withstanding, its influence was distinctly visible

The falling off of hair ceased, and my locks, this

were quite gray, restored to their original black.

REV. H. V. DEGAN, Ed. Guide to Holiness, ha

ton, Mass. 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hie

Restorer and Zylobalsamum promotes the grown

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N. F. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylo

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bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Ma

S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylat.

samum, and also to acknowledge its curing my grap-

REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Agt. Bap. Penn. Pul. Se.

World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.

REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, Washington, N. E. Please inform Mrs. — where Mrs. S. A. A. lelen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum can be ha

We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen

in Boston. You may say in my name that I kee

REV. MOSES THACHER (60 years of age,) Pitcle,

N. Y. Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's

Restorer and Zylobalsamum, my hair ceases to fil.

and is restored to its natural color. I am satisfie

REV. D. T. WOOD, Middletown, N. Y. 'Myle

has greatly thickened. The same is true of snels

of my family, whose head we thought would been

almost bare. Her hair has handsomely thicked

and has a handsome appearance since using Ma.

Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamun'

REV. S. B. MORLEY, Attleboro', Mass, 'The de

feet of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and

Zylobalsamum has been to change the 'crowne'

glory' belonging to old men, to the original hard

REV. J. P. TUSTIN, Ed. ' South Baptist,' be., Charles

ton, S. C. 'The white hair is becoming obrind

by new and better hair forming, by the use of Ma. &

A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobis-

REV. C. A. BUCKBEE, Treas. Am. Bible Union, S.

Y. 'I cheerfully add my testimony to that of m-

merous other friends, to Mrs. S. A. Allen's Werlis

Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The latter

have found superior to anything I ever used."

REV. JOS. McKEE, N.Y. City. Recommends the.

REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, Ct. 'We

The same is true of others of my acqu

they are what they purport to be.'

'tis nothing like a dye.'

now have the evidence of our own eyes.'

ural glossy and beautiful black.'

ness and baldness."

not a dye.'

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REF

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THE WOMEN AT THE TOMB. Heroines! though not of the battle-field, Ye had heard Christ's words of love and power Ye felt their truth, and ye scorned to yield Your trust in him, at his dying hour.

" Undaunted by dread of sneers or blame, Round his fainting steps ye bravely prest; Putting the trembling boasters to shame, Who forsook the Lord when foes opprest. Ye might not stand where his judges meet,

Pleading the cause of truth and right; But near his tomb was your lonely seat, The long, long hours of that awful night. Oh, strong is Fear! but the grateful love That filled your hearts had cast out fear :

Courageous women! is raised ye above All timid dread of the soldier's spear. And ye came again at dawn of day, Pale, and with tear-dimmed eyes at your loss

The last sad rites of the dead to pay-Bravely ye dared the shame of the Cross. Ye did what ye could-your power was small; Free was your service, rich your reward;

Ye heard his voice, ye turned at his call; Ye knelt at the feet of your Risen Lord! Tenterden, (England.)

THE ORPHANS: AN OLD ENGLISH BALLAD. My chaise the village inn did gain, Just as the sun's last setting ray Tipped with refulgent gold the vane

Across the way I silent sped, The time till supper to beguile, " In moralizing o'er the dead That mouldered round that ancient pile.

Of the old church across the way.

There many a flatt'ring stone I viewed, O'er those who once had wealth posses And many a humble green grave showed Where want, and toil, and pain did rest.

A faded beech its shadow brown Threw o'er a grave where sorrow slept; On which, though scarce with grass o'ergrown Two ragged children sat, and wept.

A piece of bread between them lay, Which neither seemed inclined to take; And yet, to want seemed such a prey, It made my swelling heart to ache.

'My little children, let me know Why you in such distress appear, And why you wasteful from you throw That bread, which many a heart would cheer

The little boy, in accents sweet, Replied, whilst tears each other chased, Lady, we've not enough to eat, And, if we had, we would not waste. But sister Mary's naughty grown,

And will not cat, whate'er I say, Though sure I am this bread's her own, For she has tasted none to-day.' 'Indeed,' the wan, starved Mary said,

'Till Henry eats, I'll eat no more; For yesterday I had some bread, While he's had none since day before.' My heart did swell, my bosom heave,

I felt as though deprived of speech; I silent sat upon the grave, And pressed a clay-cold hand of each. With looks that told a tale of wo. And voice that spoke a grateful heart,

The shiv ring boy did near me draw, And thus their tale of woe impart : Before our father went away, Enticed by bad men o'er the sca, Sister and I did nought but play-

We lived beside you old ash tree. But then poor mother did so cry, And looked so changed, I cannot tell; And bade us love each other well.

She said that when the wars were o'er, Perchance our father we might see; But, if we never saw him more, That God our father then would be

She kissed us both, and then she died, And we no more a mother have : Here many a day we've sat and cried Together on poor mother's grave.

But when our father came not here, We thought if we could find the sea, We should be sure to meet him there, And once again should happy be.

We, hand in hand, went many a mile, And asked our way of all we met, And some did sigh, and some did smile, And we of some did victuals get.

But when we reached the sea, and found "Twas one wide water round us spread. We said that father sure was drowned, And cried, and wished we both were dead.

So we came back to mother's grave. And only long with her to be; For Goody, when this bread she gave, Said father died beyond the sea.

Then since no parents have we here, We'll go and search for God around: Say, lady, can you tell us where This God, our father, may be found?

He lives in heaven, mother said, And Goody says that mother's there; Then if she knows we need his aid, I think perhaps she'll send him here.' I clasped the prattlers to my breast,

Saying, ' Come both, and live with me: I'll feed you, clothe you, give you rest, And will your second mother be.

And God will be your Father still; Twas He, in mercy, sent me here, To teach you to obey His will; Your steps to guide, your hearts to cheer.

GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

Strike, bold reformer ! strike again !

For victory echoes in the blow, And each brave word unlinks a chain, And every sentence slave a foe. Now, while a bleeding nation calls, In tones that make the angels weep, The watchmen upon Zion's walls Are drugged to dreams and silent sleep. The Tract Society is dumb, No heart to feel, no tongue to speak; Wake with thy fire and thunder-drum, Lift thy broad claymore in the light

The dozing Church, and blanch her cheek! Of an advancing age, and shame The dreaming drones, and put to flight Pale tyrants with thy lips of flame! G. W. BUNGAY.

Oh for some spot of living green,-One little spot where leaves can grow,-To love unblamed, to walk uni To dream above, to aleep below

to speak of the State at all, I think I should rather say of it somewhat as the woman did who was so unfortunate as to have a rather unpleasant husband, who, however, was only about four feet high, and small in proportion; and she used to tell her friends that, however unpleasant he might be, there was one comfort—there was very little of him! (Laughter.)

darker than the minds or harder than the hearts of the great mass of her people. I do not believe much in the love of Pennsylvania for liberty or justice, as our friend ascribed it to her; and I was thinking, while he was speaking, that if it had been very dark, I should have been afraid that the spirit of Sydney Smith might appear, and claim that those words did not sound well coming from a Pennsylvanian, while the ghosts of his stock certificates still walked unavenged in the cities and towns of that State. I think we had better not glorify ourselves much in any part of this country. I do not believe there is any love of liberty on the one hand, or any appreciation of Christianity, justice or righteousness appreciation of Christianity, justice or righteousness on the other. On the contrary, if there be any spot claiming to be civilized, on the whole habitable globe, that is darker and more discouraging in its aspects and attitude than any other, that spot is aspects and attitude than any other, that spot is these United States of America; and I am tired of this twaddle about our love of liberty, our sense of justice, and our regard for right. I think we had better be honest men and women, and speak the rose. The churches increased among the wilds of Athens, when Paul first preached there, 'the gods better be honest men and women, and speak the rose numerous that it is easier to find a god in our city than a man,' so it might almost have been said better be honest men and women, and speak the simple truth in this matter. It is as easy to deceive ourselves as it is to deceive others; and I do not throw but the root is right when he says. know but the poet is right when he says,

· Doubtless, the pleasure is as great In being cheated as to cheat.'

And to cheat ourselves, one would think, is the very height of enjoyment!
There is nothing in any part of our country that can be called encouraging to the lovers of freedom. Our friend Mr. Phillips called attention yesterday to the fact that the most absolute despotism in Europe is loosening its grasp on the limbs and hearts of its victims. When, think you, will this be true of our despots and our despotsm? Do you see, in the signs of the times, any indications of it? I do not know of any. On the contrary, it seems to me our other friend from Philadelphia, Dr. Furness, has a clearer appreciation of what is before us than next of the wasted the fairest portion of her heritage the protestantism of the United States, the Millennium Protestantism of the United States, signalized its great and regard for the honor and glory of God by most of the speakers who have addressed us-certainly, of those who have spoken to-day. I remember that, not many months ago, my friend, Mr. Buffum, took me in his carriage to a town in his neighborhood, and we held an anti-slavery meeting. It was just after the first pulsation began to be felt in the cold heart of the Illinois Senator, Stephen Arnold Douglas; and such was the throbbing palpita-tion that began to be perceptible among the Repub-licans here at the North, that I ventured to predict that it would not be three months before Stephen Arnold Douglas would be named as the next candi Now, I never had much reputation, never claimed any, as a prophet, but it was at once said, that what little I had was forfeited by that rash prediction. The audience cried out, 'No! No!' and even my friend Buffum looked as if he thought I 'saw men as trees walking.' But, instead of being three as trees walking.' But, instead of being three by some special religious observances and celebrative in the same with regard to our country at large. I think you will find that almost every peculiarly diabolical deed has been preceded by some special religious observances and celebrative. as trees walking.' But, instead of being three months, it was not three weeks before Mr. Douglas was trumpeted from Mississippi to Maine as the next probable candidate for the Presidency of the United States by the party of freedom. Since that time, there has been some little modification of the sentiment or feeling; but in what direction? It is only to cross over the river, and fasten upon a slaveholder in the State of Kentucky—I refer, of course, the test that the State of Kentucky—I refer, of course, the could wish better evidence of it than the remarkable past winter. (Applause and hisses.) I do not to the Hon. Mr. Crittenden; and the highest that party now looks, in 1860, is for some slaveholder, or Northern man with slaveholding principles, to be their standard-bearer in the Presidential canvass. And as political parties always lower their standard, as men always grow worse when they enter the political arena, just as they do when they join the Church, it is perfectly safe to utter such a prediction—and that party has scarcely any lower deep into which it can fall. It seems to me that we can look now for no more from the Republican party than from the Democratic party, or any other party

Then, again, I think we deceive ourselves as to the character and position of individuals. Allusio has been made to the kindly event in the workings of Providence, the death of the Senator from South Carolina. But who made the most haste to pronounce eulogies upon that man? Why, the two if we except Mr. Seward, of the Empire State; I refer to Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, State; I refer to Senator Wilson of Massachusers, and Senator Hale of New Hampshire. Senator Wilsoh went so far as to tell, not the country only, but the Senate in particular, that they, even, did not know the merits, the peculiar gifts and graces, of that man. He said, 'You knew him only here in the Senate, and you who knew him here knew him only to esteem him. I knew him in the Committeeonly to esteem nim. I knew him in the Committeeroom, where we learn men still more intimately;
and the more I knew of him there, the more highly
did I respect, esteem and venerate him?! That
from a Massachusetts Senator, standing almost in
the yet undried blood of his colleague, CRARLES
SUMNER, streaming from the floor of the Senate
Chamber, and calling to God corrections Chamber, and calling to God, certainly unavenged! And Senator Hale's eulogy was in terms no less glowing. I regard these facts as significant indica-tions of the position and character of the Republi-

tions of the position and character of the Republican party at this time.

Then, again, we all of us fancy that we must speak well of Charles Sumner, however we may speak of the dead. I do not know, if Stephen A. Douglas is nominated for the Presidency, who is any more likely to be his firm supporter than Charles Sumner. He is yet a member of this Government the sworn and pledged ally of slavery. I sometimes fancy that Providence has permitted Charles Sumner to occupy a peculiar position in the Government ner to occupy a peculiar position in the Government He went to the United States Senate pledged to the support of the Union and the Constitution. Of course, that bound him to aid in putting down any insurrection that might occur, in whatever section of the South, among the slaves. Even Bully Brooks's own slaves might rise in rebellion, and then who was more firmly pledged than Charles Sumner to see to it that that insurrection was suppressed, if need be, by the strong arm of the Federal Government, himself one of the great

The Biber Hior.

SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY,
At the Meeting of the American Anti-Stavery Society, in New York, May 12th.

MR. Prisspext: It is more than three months since I have attempted any public speaking whatever. The first part of that time I was confined by severe indisposition myself; the latter part, I was an attendant at the bedside of a daughter, suffering under a more alarming illness; and I think you will all admit, especially those of you who are parents, that this is not the best preparation for public speaking. However, it is a rule with me to decline no service, in this cause, of which I am capable; and I have been feeling, this morning, particularly desirous to add the weight of my testimony, though it should be no more than the crying of a sparrow on the house-top, to the testimonies which have been given on the subject for the consideration of which this Convention has assembled.

I come from the State of New Hampshire. It is not the State of my birth, though of that I make but little control, and about which I was not consulted; (laughter;) nor can I speak of the greatments of the country. I know that in this city, on the house-top, to the testimonies which have been given on the subject for the consideration of which this Convention has assembled.

I come from the State of Pennsylvania. If I were going to speak of the State of Pennsylvania. If I were going to speak of the State at all, I think I should rather say of it somewhat as the woman did who was so unfortunate as to have a rather unpleasant husband, who, however, was only about four feet high, and small in proportion; and shout they free the surface and powerful, too—the whole was the point of the friends was a proper than the crying of a sparrow on the subject for the consideration of the country. I know that in this city, in particularly there was called from the West to perform above. Such a rush of converts to the communion had never been witnessed before, and the Church lifed up her voice in such songs of rejoicing as had not b quent revivals have not suppressed that more deadly and poisonous influence—and powerful, too—the New York Observer, so long published, to the dis-grace of this city and the dishonor of this country.

I was glad Mrs. Dall entered her protest in regard to some of the remarks of Mr. McKim. I do not think very highly of the State of Pennsylvania. I do not know what hidden merits she may possess, but, so far as I have seen hitherto, I think in her own Alleghanies there are no coal mines that are darker than the minds or harder than the hearts of the great mass of her people. I do not believe much the spirit of God,' in the most millennial manner All over the land, from east to west, there sprung of a man.' Thus the Church seemed to triumph,

and thus, for ten years, there were rained down from heaven, as though its very windows were opened, such refreshings from the presence of the Lord as had never been enjoyed before.

So sang the Church. Meantime, as I said, Roman Catholicism had abolished slavery in Mexico. But what were the fruits gathered from that golden harvest of revival? The seizure of Toyas and its anseizure of Texas, and its anvest of revival? The nexation to these United States, and the war-if you call such a massacre a war—the war with Mexico, that wasted the fairest portion of her heritage. Protestantism of the United States, the Millennium scal and regard for the honor and glory of God by seizing upon Texas, a revolted province of the Mexi-can Republic, and re-enacting slavery there, where Roman Catholicism had thrown down its reeking altars, as it fancied and hoped, forever and ever !

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have been wondering what been wondering what act our Government and our Church contemplated, of peculiar diabolism, whose way must thus be prepared by these remarkable religious outpourings. I remember 'John Brown, the Ferryman,' who used to write letters, I think, for the New York Post, said he always knew when date for the Presidency by the Republican party.

Daniel Webster contemplated some particularly diabolical act, by the remarkably religious unction

I remember reading somewhere that Rome was once saved by the hiss of a goose, and the Church may be saved by the same instrumentality. (Renewed laughter.) But I am speaking in all seriousness. I know my remarks to some may seem extravagant, but I will not retract them; I could not if I would. But sure I am, you will all agree in this-that from 1830 to 1840, we did have these remarkable revivals of religion; and I am equally sure that those of you who are conversant with the will agree with me that we had the annexation of Texas, and that was followed by what was called the Mexican war; and following thick and close and fast upon it came the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and then its execution, and then the re peal of the Missouri Compromise, and then the scenes enacted in Kansas—scenes of such a character that one might almost fancy the seven vials of Apocalyptic wrath had been poured out on that ill-fated Territory. So far, I am sure we are agreed. Well, if, at the close of the revival of 1840, some one had predicted all these events as likely to follow surely that would not have been considered as pay-ing a very high compliment to the power of the Church, or to the Christianity and religion of the people. But yet, all these events have come: and those three to which I have referred as likely to transpire within the three coming years are surely not more remarkable. You thought I was speaking extravagantly. I spoke just so at the close of the revival of 1840. I said, some deed of damning darkness is about to be committed—and were not such deeds close upon us? I claim to be no prophet, no son of a prophet, but I remember who it was that said, 'Can ye not observe the signs of the times?' Why, the Republican party at that time sprung into new life; it called itself the Free Soil party, into new life; it called itself the Free Soil party, and its motto was, 'No more slave territory—so help us, Heaven!' Do they say it now? Is there any such party now, or any such zeal in the cause

of freedom? One single word, Mr. Chairman, if you will inlulge me, to the Abolitionists. I am afraid we are a little too anxious for our own reputation. It was a glorious utterance of Wendell Phillips, three or four months since, in Boston, when he said, as long as we have a shred of reputation about us, we should distrust our position and ourselves. He said it, too, just at the moment when my friend Remond and myself returned to Boston from Vermont, blushing with the honors that had been s ered upon us during a little visit there; and, oh how quickly our laurels withered on our brows! But I agree with the remark. And how, think you, shall we sacrifice our reputation? Not by dewas suppressed, if need be, by the strong arm of the Federal Government, himself one of the great throbbing pulsations that put forth the terrible power? Now, it was written, not on Judean parchament alone, and more than eighteen hundred years ago, 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.' Charles Summer had sworn to be the ally of Bully Brooks, in maintaining order on his plantation; he had sworn to aid in inflicting whatever 'caning' his slaves might require, in order to preserve the peace of the plantation; and the terrible Nemesis, that avenges the outrages done, in the name of liberty, in behalf of slavery, hovering over his head, soon let fly the arrows of his wrath, and Bully Brooks was the instrument to avenge the wrong; and that slave measure which Charles Sumner meted out to others, was meted out to him.

I speak of this not as the enemy of Charles Summer. I know him well enough to believe that he would not have me false to my convictions and to myself, in glossing over his position, out of regard to his personal merits, or my particular friendship

ever are the faithful. What though we may be growing fewer still?—that also may be a part of the economy of God; for so it has been before. What though the heavens over our heads may seem brass, and the earth under our feet may seem iron, and no results seem to follow our labors?—to wait and watch may be part of our mission, as well as to work; and the word that is spoken on this platform to-day may be blossoming in beauty and in blessedness long after we have been gathered to our graves. The olives from the planting of Isaiah and or Mosea are not yet all gathered in, and the flower that blooms to-day on the banks of the Nile may have sprung from seed sown by Pharaoh's daughter. So, sprung from seed sown by Pharaoh's daughter. So, our work, in its grand results, may not be complete until that day when future Layards shall disinter the ruins of New York instead of Nineveh, and grave antiquarians from Australia come to search among the debris of the Mississippi for traces of a once flourishing civilization. I wish we could divest ourflourishing civilization. I wish we could divest our-selves of all desire to be popular, of all desire to be numerous, of all desire for reputation; for in the whole history of the past, whenever God has appear-ed for the recovery or rescue of his own cause, it has generally been not until the hour when man's ex-tremity drove him to despair, and he was ready and willing to ascribe all the glory of his salvation to the God of Heaven. (Loud applause.)

THE AFRICAN APPRENTICE SYSTEM. The Augusta (Ga.) Constitutionalist publishes a (who has spent six years in that country, and traveled extensively over the continent), which presents some facts relating to the African apprentice sys-tem, which demand the consideration of those who are disposed to regard the project with favor. The

Possibly the final result of the measure might be beneficial to us. But there is one objection to the importation of such apprentices, which seem to me insuperable. The Africans generally have a deep aversion to emigration from their native country. Slaves are the only apprentices to be obtained in Africa, and destructive wars are the only means by which the African chiefs can obtain slaves to supply the demand for emigrants. The opening of the French traffic in apprentices immediately reproduced French traine in apprentices named and stream and freedom, that is becoming larger and wider, the slave catching wars, which had almost ceased in and freedom, that is becoming larger and wider, the slave catching wars, which had almost ceased in and freedom, that is becoming larger and wider, every part of Western Africa. If the Southern and deeper and stronger, every day; and though the minions of slavery may rejoice for a little time

States should adopt the French policy, this evil would of course be augmented.

Having resided and traveled in different countries of Western Africa for six years, I can testify, what no one can deny, that the battles and sieges which supply Europeans with slaves, or apprentices, destroy from two to four persons for every laborer who reaches the plantations in America. In one journey of sixty miles, viz.: from Badagry to Abbeokuta, I counted the sites of no less than eighteen towns and villages which had been laid in ruins to supply slaves for the markets of Brazil and Caba. I found similar desolations in every country which I visited; on the waters of the St. Paul's River, a hundred miles interior from Monrovia, on the slave coast generally, and on the waters of the Niger. On the miles interior from Monrovia, on the slave coast generally, and on the waters of the Niger. On the 3d of March, 1851, I witnessed a battle between the slave catching army of Dahomey and the Egba people, in which the former were defeated, and left twelve hundred and nine of their number dead on the Salar The New Proved weak and false.—Newburyport Herald. the field. The carnage was probably equally as great on the following day, in a running fight of fif-teen miles, and a subsequent close conflict of two

ests of Georgia, as civilized men, and as Christians. we must feel a great repugnance to the obtaining of apprentices by means of battles, sieges, and confla-grations in Africa. If the free natives of the country were willing to emigrate, which they are not, the case would be very different.

eventually become a grand item in the commerce of the world. That the people are willing to labor when they have a profitable market, is well known In several districts large quantities of land have been brought into cultivation, and several whole tribes have made decided advances toward civilization. But the unfortunate policy of France has again aroused the demon of war, and some tribes who were foremost in the work of improvement have turned their attention from agriculture to kidnapping. These facts are not only asserted by me, but have been recently published again and again, both in England and America, in the letters of Missionaries and merchants residing in Africa.

In conclusion, I carnestly hope that the people of

In conclusion, I carnestly hope that the people of America will not consent to spread fire and sword throughout Guinea and Sudan for the sake of present advantage. The true policy of the civilized world is to develop the vast resources of that great continent by commerce and colonization, to cover its plains with tropical plantations and populous towns, and to make its numerous rivers so many highways of an active and valuable commerce.

T. J. BROWN.

The two following articles—the first from the Boston Courier, the second from the Boston Postare specimens of the manly dignity and gentlemanly spirit of those journals, from day to day :-

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

That half melancholy, half ludicrous spectacle, a Woman's Rights Convention, has recently claimed the attention of the New York journals. It began on Thursday, and terminated Friday night. Miss Anthony presided. The two days were occupied in the ordinary manner, and with the usual excess of clamor and paucity of common sense. A few ideas however, of a somewhat striking character, were presented. One man, on the first day, claimed for women the right to be unchaste, if they so desire, a right which we believe has never before been asserted and defended. The Convention expressed no disapprobation of his views. Mr. Garrison said that women were in no better condition than the slaves, which profound remark does unquestionably mean a great deal. A Quaker gentleman advised the women to rebel, and recommended the use of Sharpe's speat deal. A Quaker gentleman advised the women to rebel, and recommended the use of Sharpe's rifles, a suggestion which was received with immenes favor. Mr. Wendell Phillips repeated his ancient clap of thunder on the propriety of permitting wemen to vote. Mrs. Rose declared as her unalterable opinion that women had a right to win the same fame as Shakespeare and Newton—and so they have, we suppose, if they choose, but it is doubtful whether they can attain it by holding Conventions from now till doomsday, or whether Sharpe's rifles will assist them in seeking it. On the second day, Mr. Henry C. Wright ventilated his 'maternity' theory, and was called to order for indecency by the men present, but was permitted by the women to continue. Mrs. Farnham, being resolved to take a step higher than the rest of the sisterhood, advanced the theory that 'woman is superior to man;' and quoted Chinese authority to that effect. Mr. Powell suggested an immediate enlargement of the sphere of woman's duties, and wondered why he from the Union.'

as a member of the general court.

General Charles Fenton Mercer, formerly for many years a distinguished Representative in Consumy years a distinguished Representative from an years from the State of Virginia, died on the 4th ult, at Howard, Pairfax county, Virginia, aged 80 years.

For The Pittsfield Eagle says that three men lay dead in that town, a few days since, from intemperative in the processing the same years

Now, I honor these men, probably, as highly as they themselves would wish me to honor them; and yet, what does Dr. Cheever say of the great revival through which we have just passed? (I hope we have passed through it.) [A Voice—'Amen.'] Why, that, unless it reaches to the overthrow of slavery, wherever it is found, it is false and spurious. (Loud appleuse). Well, does it? Has a single slave been emancipated by the whirlwind and earthquake and fire that have passed over the land? On the contrary, will not the 'still small voice' of this anniversary be beard, louder than those thunders, all through the caverns of despair in the slaveholding States of the land? Nobody was ever more sure than the slaveholder that the Church is the balwark of alavery, and every revival of American religion adds new strength, new turrets and new towers to that terrible Bastile. Our meeting to-day, and this anniversary, will be heard, and felt, and feared, by the tyrants of the South; but when and where have they trembled at the rumbling of the revival, though they bave been told, and most of them believed, perhaps, that it was the chariot of salvation whose wheels they heard?

No, Mr. Chairman, we must judge trees by their fruit, and we must not be afraid to speak the truth of Sumner, or Beecher, or Cheever, or of religion revived, any more than of religion dead—as, haply for the slave, it almost always is in our land. It will make our number few—no matter for that.

Note that the reporters' tables. A gentleman undertook to reply to Mrs. Farnham's assertion of feminine superiority, stating that he had suffered severely in his own domestic relations, in conseive relations, in conseive relations, in conseivered in the feminine superiority, stating that he had suffered severely in his own domestic relations, in conseivered in the feminine superiority, stating that he had suffered severely in his own domestic relations, in conseivered in the feminine superiority, stating that he had suffered severely in his own domestic relations, in con perhaps, that it was the chariot of salvation whose wheels they heard?

No, Mr. Chairman, we must judge trees by their fruit, and we must not be afraid to speak the truth of Sumner, or Beecher, or Cheever, or of religion revived, any more than of religion dead—as, haply for the slave, it almost always is in our land. It will make our number few—no matter for that. What though we are few, now and always?—so ever are the faithful. What though we may be growing fewer still?—that also may be a part of CALLING NAMES.

It is the peculiar province of children, fools and fishwomen to exhibit their spite by calling names. It is the only resort of impotence when it grows malicious. Mr. George W. Curtis, at the late woman's convention in New York, feeling disposed to abuse the President of the United States, was obliged to call him a 'pimp.' This, says the Times reporter, elicited a storm of hisses, which were met ou the other hand by tumultuous applause. The hisses annoyed Mr. Curtis, and so he repeated the 'pimp.' The repetition of a dirty word by a dirty fellow more than doubles the force of the sarcasm. Every street blackguard knows that. Then came fellow more than doubles the force of the sarcasm. Every street blackguard knows that. Then came more hisses. Whereupon, the orator says 'pimp,' is third time, and Mr. Buchanan falls as thoroughly extinct as three such blows must inevitably make him. Mr. Curtis remarked, to heighten the effect of his elegant objurgation, 'I choose my words.' It is certain that he chooses very cheap and nasty ones, and such as no gentleman ever selected in making a public allusion to the President. Mr. Curtis will have to make a better choice of words in his future attempts at oratory, if he desires any in his future attempts at oratory, if he desires any nigher reputation than the unenviable notoriety of second rate Brownlow .- Boston Post.

THEY REJOICE. The Lecompton swindlers rejoice over the success of their fraud. In Washington, on the passage of the bill, they made a public demonstration, serenaded the President, and called out some of the leading Lecomptonites to speak. Let them rejoice! But they should remember that this question, whether Kansas accepts the constitution made by other hands or not, is not settled. There is no finality here. Congress has adjourned the agitation from Washington to Kansas, and from Kansas it will go to all the free States, and to the slave States also. The crisis has come; and unless the President and his party are blinded by their mad career, they must see the ominous gathering that will leave a barren scepter in their hands, and an ignominious remembrance to posterity. No candidate, hereafter, can present himself to the people, but his opinion upon the issue now made up will be taken down, and those who have proved false in this struggle will be swept to destruction. There is a great undercurrent in favor of justice, equality and freedom, that is becoming larger and wider,

arrogance and treachery that assails them, will rear the standard of freedom, and rescue at the ballot box the general government from the hands that

CONFESSING THE TRUTH. The Vicksburg Whig (Miss.) publishes a letter from a pro-slavery man who was a member of the late Lecompton Constituwere it certain that the importation of Africans Mississippi. Being asked why he did so, he replied:

'My reason for leaving it is, I think, a good one. I cannot stay any longer. I have been, as every one must be, identified with politics. I, unfortunately for my future prospects in Kansas, have taken an active and rather prominent part. And now, to confess the truth and shame the devil. we, the Prothe case would be very different.

The commerce of western Africa is now worth more than thirty millions per annum. If the civilized nations of Europe and America would refuse to depopulate that extensive and fertile country, and would endeavor to promote peace and civilization among the people, the varied productions of Africa eventually become a grand item in the commerce of when they have a profitable market, is well known to every one who has been acquainted with the country since the partial suppression of the slave eight or ten to one; for our men are leaving daily. eight or ten to one; for our men are leaving daily, and theirs are pouring in.'

> WRIPPING FREE NEGROES .- The St. Louis Rep. ican of the 4th states that by order of the Criminal Court, three negroes, imprisoned for being in the State without a license, and unable to pay their fines, received ten lashes each, and were discharged from jail!

> Two Citizens and Twenty Chattels Drowned. Two white men, and twenty slaves belonging to Judge Puck, in Washington county, Miss., were drowned while attempting to stop a break in the levee during the late Mississippi flood. The bank caved in, carrying the men and chattels with it.

A LIFE THOUGHT.' Henry Ward Beecher, in his Life Thoughts, says: 'The Bible Society is send-ing its Bibles all over the world—to Greenland and the Mores, to Arabia and Egypt; but it dares not send them to our own people. The colporteur who would leave a Bible in a slave's cabin, would go to heaven from the lowest limb of the first tree. Dick Hayward, a slave of H. H. Goldsborough

f Easton, Md., ran away last week, and when over-sken, deliberately cut off all the fingers of his left

The Chevalier Neukomm, well known as a musical composer, has just died at Paris, aged 80. He was a member of the Legion of Honor, and of several learned societies. IF Jules Gerard, the great lion killer, has just left

Paris on a lion hunting excursion, with a company of Russian noblemen. They are going to the mountains The senators from the Free States have circ

ated 680,000 copies of speeches during the present ession, and those from the Slave States but 130,000. Rev. Theodore Parker, of Boston, has been engaged to deliver the oration before one of the Societies at Bowdoin College Commencement; Oliver Wendall Holmes is expected to deliver the poem.

Jonathan Wales has given to the poor in Ran-dolph, Mass., \$303, the entire amount of per diem compensation and travelling fees which he received as a member of the general court.

The Pittsfield Eagle says that three men lay dead in that town, a few days since, from intemperance, and speaks of the deadly quality of the liquor illegally dispensed in the place.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE THE Restorer, used with the Zylobalsamun a Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scalp as RESTORES GRAY HAIR 10 ITS NATURAL The Zylobalsamum or Dressing alone is the base hair dressing extant for young or old.

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ance.

my hair to grow where it had failen.' REV. D. MORRIS, Cross River, N. Y. 'I know & a great many who have had their hair restored by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Heir lestorer and Zylobalsamum.'

REV. E. EVANS, Delhi, O. 'I have used Mr. & A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalis mum. They have changed my hair to its natural color, and stopped its falling off."

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we have and are constantly receiving, but we dem is above sufficient to convince the most skeptical than have at least the best preparations in the world for the hair of the young or old. We manufacture as the preparations. Occupying the large building, conformations of Broome and Elizabeth streets, exclusively for an allowed the streets. salesroom and manufactory, we have no time or selination to engage in other manufactures.

These are the only preparations exported in selections are the only preparations.

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