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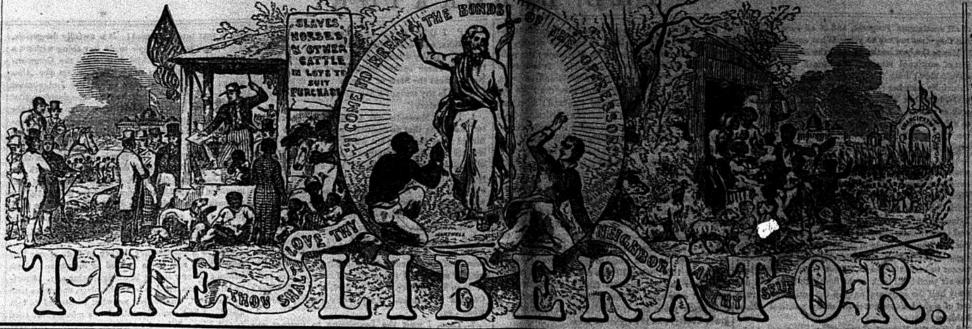
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The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the lebts of the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, Ep-OFF QUINCY, SANCEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL

wies are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 24.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1858. WHOLE NUMBER, 1434.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE METHODIST CHURCH SOUTH. The General Conference of the Methodist Episco d Church at its late session in Nashville, expung-from the Back of Discipline all reference to the

st from the bound and selling slaves. According to the subject of buying and selling slaves. According to the constitutional law of the Church, three-fourths the annual Conferences must concur in this ac-The vote stood, ayes 140, noes 8. The resotions thus almost unanimously adopted were as Whereas, The rule in the General Rule of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, forbidding

the buying and selling of men, women and chil-ren, with an intention to enslave them, is ambigugreen, with an according to the construed as antigonistic to the institution of slavery, in regard nich the church has no right to meddle, except enforcing the duties of masters and servants, as et forth in the Holy Scriptures; and whereas, a trong desire for the expunction of said rule has en expressed in nearly all parts of our coclesiastial connection; therefore, Resolved, I. By the delegates of the Annual Con-

renes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of General Conference assembled, that the rule for-iding the buying and selling of men, women and hildren, with an intention to enslave them,' be examped from the General Rule of the Methodist scapal Church, South.

Resided, 2. That in adopting the foregoing resotion, this Conference expresses no opinion in regard the African slave trade, to which the rule in gian has been ' understood ' to refer. Fire other resolutions follow, providing for the

ission of this action in due form to the Annual nferences for ratification, and requesting the a of the church on slavery, which is, that slavery a civil institution, with which the church has ing whatever to do. Let the adoption of these resolutions might be

inderstood as favoring a renewal of the slave trade, Bishop Pierce explained the matter thus:—

The whole philosophy of the proceeding seems to banded on the fact that it is not the province of church to decide any question with reference to lean slavery. The Church South maintains that ery is not a subject of ecclesiastical legislation. agle object was, that while we disclaimed the ht of legislation upon that subject, we wished to ke the Discipline conform to that profession. ate the Discipline conform to that profession, be Conference by its action this morning has not uted with its authority, or the authority of the isrch over its members in any respect. Every ember of the church claims to be a loyal citizen. declare here that African slavery is a purely ll institution, and there is no reason for alarm out losing church control. If we turn to the 23d cle of Religion, we shall find there that the harch retains its proper authority over its members, with reference to the subject. We therefore, by act, simply maintain our original positionat of having nothing to do with the subject of darry more than with any other civil matter over be brethren, therefore, to be easy. There is nothing of the laws of the United States in regard to African slave trade. There is no occasion for ness, nor for any legislation on the subject where else. No harm has been done to any body We have only set ourselves right on a vexed ion : and we may safely defy all the efforts of enemies, North and South, to damage the arch for taking a clear position upon this subject."

PRO-SLAVERY CATHOLICISM.

The Boston (Catholic) Pilot, in a characteristic artion the recent anniversaries in Boston, says :-

The proceedings of the American Tract Society, ice Society, and the New England Anti-Sla ry Society, possessed elements of temporary inter-t, while the actors in them very comfortably suc-aded in making themselves believe that they werectively laboring for the welfare of others. At the Anti-Slavery Convention—
The Rev. Caleb Stetson, a Unitarian, declared

at God has no right to do what man has no The ex-reverend Henry C. Wright id, To a God that sanctions slavery, I am an heist: to such a God, the American God, I say thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence Such were the blasphemies served up in the me of religion, as the authorised agents of the ati-slavery party understand it. A reverend Mr. ss and one C. L. Remond, a mulatto, denounced orge Washington as a thief and a robber, because presided over the convention which framed the titution providing for the rendition of fugitive aves, which had been the settled law of the land or a century before the Revolution. There was no are a century before the Revolution. Incre was no masure to the hatred which these orators expressed for such conservative Protestant clergymen as hesitated to adopt abolitionism and disunion as an article of religious faith. The Rev. Theodore Parker, the same who has so often ridiculed the scripture arracles as fables and frauds, made a long argument show that the clause in the Constitution whice parantees to every State 'a republican form of govmment; imposes upon Congress the abolition of larery in all the States in which it exists, as an imrative duty. This he maintained in the name of he Christian religion, as he understands it, notthat anding that the same Constitution commands restitution of runaway slaves, and bases the reresentation in the national house of representatives. and direct taxation in the slave States, upon the matter of slaves. Now all this is very shocking ; et it is only Protestantism logically carried out. What Protestant, upon his own principles, can fairlieall in question Mr. Parker's right to propound sach views? The Protestant who should do so would be very likely, in reference to some other temporal question, to exercise the same right to insist upon smoothing concludes a fundamental as a pon something equally absurd as a fundamental uticle of religious faith. A Mrs. Dall, who was resent, put forth her views on the subject of the ights of women to share with man in the affairs of ornment. She, too, spoke of her mission, as a sity which she owed to God, and to society; and as we have it, that the right of women to be men a religious doctrine; and this idea had the hearty turrynce of several of the leaders on the plat The managing spirit of the convention in previous years since the organization of the lety, William Lloyd Garrison—the same who is the right of society to execute the death penantly eulogised Orsini and his companions for empting to assassinate the Emperor, and actually log nine persons, who were within the range of grenades thrown under the Emperor's carriage. we have it all round from these wonderful ex-nders of Christianity. To defend the nation

a religious duty. To hang a murderer is a sin, at to kill one who resists red-Republicanism is a

IN FULL BLAST. The real Simon Pure Abolitionhave been in convention in New York. Time does not seem to temper their zeal with discretion. The sentiments expressed were a curious mixture of gate, and the reprobation of sin as in their view a rampant Anti-Slavery intolerance, a slight dash of common sense, with any amount of political crotchets and crudities, treasonable denunciations of the Union, which Wendell Phillips wished to send to the devil, and frothy ravings against the religious pit, and the American Board, and suffer no man to institutions of the country.—Milford (N. H.) Republican (Free Soil).

ET 'On Wednesday, the New England Anti-Slavery Society held their first meeting in Mcrcantile Hall, at which time several speeches (?) were made by divers and sundry noted fanatics, in which the Tract Society was 'pitched into' without gloves; the Union was dissolved several times; and the Republican party 'chawed up' unmercifully, for not coming to the scratch, in a manner very satisfactory to Abby Kelley Foster, Garrison & Co I had the Boston correspondent of the Milford Republican.

Barnes is an associate editor, says:

with much contention.'

This is painfully true, and the list of mischief nakers might be greatly extended .- New York Ob-

The Liberator.

REV. DR. CHEEVER'S ADDRESS. The Boston Transcript, speaking of the anniveraries in that city, says:

oughts in a mental framework of as much strength

The Boston Atlas and Bee, of the 3d inst., contains this powerful address of Dr. Cheever, revised expressly for that paper by the author. It is entitled. 'The P. Jewett & Co. The following is its concluding portion - we regret that we cannot find room for the whole of it in our columns :-

Within two years, the progress of the slave despotism has been appalling. For a while it was somewhat slow and doubtful; now it rushes, plunges, and sweeps all before it, like a groun driven by an earthquake. All the dykes of justice, all the tribunals connecting each with heaven, every enshrinement and entrenchment of righteousness and truth, all the barriers of constitutional humanity, are flung down and rolled into the catative before it. Just so the Constitution, being fettered to the slave-despotism, has dragged the whole train slowly and with difficulty up the inclined plane of compromises, conscience, and the people's unwillingness; but the moment it has reached the summit, which it has done, when the Supreme Tribunal of Justice, with the flag of the Drod Scott decision, steps on board; then there is no more difficulty or delay; then the train governs, crowds drive the Constitution before it, and it rushes down head. the Constitution before it, and it rushes down head-

that we can be saved from utter destruction by it and that power is the Word with the Spirit of God upon the individual and public conscience. The claim that the Constitution and laws, under inter-

religious duty, and entitles the slayer to an apotheosis. To restrict woman to the sphere of action for which the Creator designed and fashioned her is a sin; but to impart to her the functions of man in society is a religious duty. To the promulgation of such ideas was the 'Anniversary Week' in Boston devoted. As we have said above, the meetings which attracted any degree of public interest were which attracted any degree of public interest were those in which the ideas we have reprobated were advanced and approved, in the name of religion.

THE RELATION OF SLAVERY TO A BE-publican FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

SPECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER,

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Wednesday Morning, May 26, 1858.

[CONCLUDED.]

Look a moment more at this constitutional guarantee. It is often said, 'The People of the United.

There are quarter of a million Foreigners: the Demofor the defence of slavery, and denounce as fanatic those who in God's name call it sin. They bend

The fact that good men are involved in this conspir acy of silence, is what makes it so fearful, so powerful. If they were openly bad men, or had not gained the respect and confidence of the community, this con-nivance at this sin and their defence of it would not be endured at all. It is thus that they are guilty of double treason against God, in using the reputation which he has given them, to give currency to wick-edness and lying. Under such examples, the sophis-try of the apologists for slavery prevails with perprivilege, or rather opportunity of attending the meeting on Thursday, and am happy in saying that it is a blessed thing to the Republican party, that such a set of human beings, as were there assembled, do not claim to be denominated Republicans.'—

Boston correspondent of the Millard Republicans.'—

Boston correspondent of the Boston correspondent of the Milford Republican.

'Unreasonable Men.' The American Presbyterian, N. S., Anti-Slavery, of which Rev. Albert Barnes is an associate editor, says: way of safety, peace, and prudence, lose all their When moderate and reasonable men desire to do power as the conductors of heaven sfire, and become good, the Tappans, Cheevers, and this whole class like so many sticks of commercial scaling-wax. of impracticables, are ever present to hinder and retard the work of national reform. These are the from the Word of God, stops where it first touches; men that really prevent the truth from having free it is insulated, it cannot pass to others; there is no course, and render it necessary to preach the Gospel spontaneous conducting power. Transitorily, peraps, it melts the stick at one end, but their capacity for being melted serves only for sealing up and keeping close; and thus the whole ministry be-come, in regard to this tremendous, remorseless, come, in regard to this tremendous, remorseless, all-devouring iniquity, no better than the devil's sealing wax. Such is their uprightness, such is their conservatism. Its very law and principle are the wisdom of the god of this world, to keep God's ight from the conscience. Instead of a munifestation of the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God, their method is concealment, and under it iniquity and falsehood run riot.

The crisis to which we have come makes it imper ative upon every church, minister, and Missionary Institution to speak out. Even the South-returned The American Missionary Association listened to an address from Rev. Dr. Cheever, which for power of a certain kind has seldom been equalled. He made the church and ministry out colossal sinners, and in the North is silent? No voice is raised at the anniversaries of our Missionary Boards, though we hear, as great need of repentance as the most confirmed deversaries of our Missionary Boards, though we hear votces of the world. Few speakers, clerical or lay, by letters from our missionary brethren abroad, how accustom themselves to the use of such freedom of their hearts are filled with anguish at the drendful utterance, or possess the ability to embody their prevalence of this sin, and how this stumblingblock of our iniquity lies in the path of the Gospe and yet, the moment they step on these shores, and pass through the ordeal of our conservatism, it is a perfect dephlogistication of their souls; the spirit, the anguish, the fire of indignation dies out; the ly for that paper by the author. It is entitled, 'The Commission from God, of the Missionary Enterprise, against the Sin of Slavery; and the Responsibility of the Church and Ministry for its fulfillment.' It has of imprudence, insubordination, and fanatical zeal also been published in a neat and cheap tract by John without knowledge, the only condition on which P. Jewett & Co. The following is its concluding portion—we record that we cannot find room for the

and enjoy their confidence, is that of profound si-lence in the presence of that hideous crime which is the Dagon of our nation's worship.

Other men speak out. Dr. Livingstone is a wit-ness in print, and there being other presses besides that of the Tract House, we get his testimony with-out mutilation, concerning the atrocities which we at home are fostering. But the moment a missionary sets his foot upon the soil of that republic where slavery is the law of the land, although, like Mr. Duff, he may have come from a country where they freely denounce this abomination, and where he himself has spoken against it, the spell of silence ract. Every defence of liberty and right has been is upon him; he is bitten by that pastoral hydrotorn away, and with a clean sweep the tide of this phobia described in Isaiah; under which men become wickedness pours down like an avalanche from the dumb dogs that cannot bark. Even such men of top of the Jungfrau Alps. The Constitution itself, powerful eloquence visit our shores at the most solin spite of the Declaration of Independence, imin spite of the Declaration of Independence, impressed into the terrible service, goes crashing over our consciences, liberties, and rights, instead of protecting and defending them. The Constitution is which yet they tell us from abroad is the greatest our consciences, liberties, and rights, instead of pro-tecting and defending them. The Constitution is like a strong locomotive that has been used to drag a heavily loaded train up an inclined plane; but the summit being reached, the obstacles conquered, the train itself takes the supremacy on the other quarantine at the Missionary Rooms, and are they tive before it. Just so the Constitution, being fettered to the slave-despotism, has dragged the whole train slowly and with difficulty.

I think, until we can show some faces of flint in the Constitution before it, and it rushes down headlong. The Judges themselves remove the brakes,
and sit enthroned upon the Constitution, governing,
and sit enthroned upon the Constitution, governing,
it, not governed by it, at the whistle of the President, whose sole magnificent business, as Chief
Magistrate of the United States, has dwindled down
to that of engineering for the slaveocracy.

Now there is but one power under heaven that
can stop this iniquity, or do the least thing against
its stay or hindrance, or hold out the least hope
that we can be saved from utter destruction by it.

But the Church, the ministry, and our Tract and Missonary Societies, it becomes us to be modest in
speaking of the dough-faces in political life. Every
where the power of bribery and debauchery in bemanifered the church, the ministry, and our Tract and Misspeaking of the dough-faces in political life. Every
where the power of bribery and debauchery in bemanifered the power

Boards ought to cut themselves free from such double-dealing, to come forth entirely from all enupon the individual and public conscience. The claim that the Constitution and laws, under interpretation of the Supreme Court, are to be obeyed, whether God's Word sanctions them or not, is so monstrous, so blasphemous against God, so destructive of his authority in human affairs, that it seems incredible that such an idea could have been broached in any Christian community. Yet, professedly Christian men do not hesitate to set the Constitution thus perverted, and the Dred Scott decision with it, and the doctrines of devils growing out of that decision, in the place of the throne of God, and the individual conscience is ordered, at all hazards, to bow down to it. So, as of old, 'equity is perverted, and judgment springeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field, and oppression becometh the law, and the statutes of Omri are kept, and all this works of the house of Ahab, and ye walk in their counsels.'

It does not need that a man should be an acknowledged villain to do this, or a pirate, or an apostate from Christianity, or a United States Marshal, or hangman, or Slave Commissioner and Judge of Probate, whose living depends on the support of an abhorrence of such boundless implety and crime. tanglement with such iniquity, and all shadow of

tee. It is often said, 'The People of the United States, as a whole, have no right to meddle with the local institutions of any special State; that each is absolutely sovereign.' But, then, what does this constitutional guarantee mean? Are these mere words of ceremony? Nobody can believe it. 'They are plain, without scruple; absolute, without any saving.' Other constitutional provisions also trench upon the local sovereignty of individual States, and were wisely objected to at the time of framing that instrument. The Federal Authority has no right to interfere and establish a Monarchical or an Aristocratic Form of Government, but it is its constitutional duty to interfere and establish a Republican form of Government. The People wisely contemplated this contingency-that some State shall fail to establish sucl institutions, or carry out the Principles of the Declaration, and the Purposes of the Constitution; and se they enacted this very clause, to meet the emergency when it should happen. The words are no more ceremony than those (Art. L, sec. viii., 74,) which declare that Congress shall have power to establish bankrupt law; or, (Art. HI., sec. iii., ¶2,) to punsh treason. Nay, this article goes further-for imperatively enjoins the duty, while they only confer the power: it says - The United States shall guaran tee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government.' It is not can, or may, but shall; not the word of permission, but of COMMAND!

'A Republican Form of Government,' says anoth er, 'is any Form of Government which a sovereign State sees fit to adopt.' Let us suppose, then, that few rich and educated men in the State of Delawar should have their Coup d' Etat, destroy their present institutions, and establish a theocratic despotism, with an absolute Pope, the monarchy hereditary in his family, his children, numerous as those of a Roma Celibate) Pontiff: that he should be the sofe law giver in the little State, appointing all the local offiers, and likewise the one Representative and the two Senators in Congress !- would that be a 'Republican Form of Government'? Would Congress allow the creatures of this Napoleon the Little to sit in the Capitol, as equals of the Democrats of Wisconsin, New York, Ohio, New England? Not a day! Nay, the People of the United States would soon take this Delaware Pope and his one horse concern of a monar chy, and pitch them into the sea, and establish a Republican Form of Government with a rough hand ! But which, think you, is most at variance with the shall secure their safety and happiness. But neither Principles of the Declaration and the Purposes of the in that paper nor yet in the Constitution do the Peo-Constitution-a despotic Papacy, which deprives men ple say that ethnologic origin or cutaneous color afonly of political and ecclesiastical rights, or Slavery, feets the self-evident rights of themselves and their which deprives men of all rights-ecclesiastical, polit- posterity. Now, in South Carolina there are 395,000

ical, social, domestic, individual? Make the case still more plain. There are four million slaves in the United States. Suppose they oppressed. Suppose this majority should make were all gathered into one State, Virginia,—it would special application of this Principle of the Declanot be so densely populated as the State of New York ration, and should put the Blacks where the is now; it would have only about a third as many to Whites are now-making them chattels perthe square mile as Massachusetts. Suppose there sonal to all intents, uses and purposes whatsoev were only free men enough in the State to rule the er, and claim the additional number of Representaslaves, say forty thousand; suppose they all belonged tives in Congress on that account: would the Demoo one man, Hon, Mr. First Family, and he owned all the real property in the State, made all the laws, lican Form of Government' when such a majority enand appointed his two Senators and pack of Representatives to Congress : would Virginia have a Re- the goose is sauce for the gander, then what is a publican Form of Government? Would the rest of the nation tolerate that state of things, and allow one nority to enslave the Black majority withal, must be man to own four million men, and claim a proporionate power in Congress? The absurdity is evident-self-evident. I make no words on that matter.

Suppose those four millions slaves, condensed into that one State, are owned by two men, does that alter the case? Certainly not : the difference is only quantitative-not in kind, but degree. Suppose they are the Constitution, and the Declaration, which is it all owned by 2000 men, 20,000, 350,000 the actual number of slaveholders-does that alter the case? Not at all; the diffusion of ownership makes no odd in the essence of ownership. Certainly, that State could not have a Republican Form of Government when there were 4,000,000 slaves owned by 350,000

thus owned by 350,000 are spread over fifteen States : cident of the master—it is plain that slavery is utterly loes that make any difference in the Principle? Not he smallest in the world. If it be not consistent with the Declaration of Independence and of the Consti- Government; that there are fifteen States in the tution for one man to own 4,000,000 men in a single State, and in virtue of that ownership to appoint all the Constitutional duty which it is solemnly bound the delegates therefrom to Congress; then it is not to perform. Any slave in the Union has a Constitu consistent for 350,000 men to own 4,000,000 in fifteen States, and in virtue of that ownership to have a pro- set him free, and secure his natural, unalienable and portionate share in ruling the nation. It is no more esistent for the \$50,000 to own one man, and debar im from those natural rights which Governments are estituted to secure, which the Revolution was fought o protect, and the Constitution framed to establish, than it is for one man to own 4,000,000.

thers made a great mistake in setting up a Democracy with equal rights and universal suffrage: they ought to have founded a limited monarchy, with an stablished church, a hereditary Peerage, and its appropriate garnish. This famous man is just now alike the champion of Slavery and the Democratic party. Let us suppose he should preserve his historical continuity of deceit, and betray his new conditions as he has all his former helpers and friends—Whig, as Free Soil and Republican; that he, with other men to aid him, should subdue all the unterrined Democrats of Massachusetts, including the new converts which the late revival of administrative Democracy has brought in at the eleventh hour, or only five minutes before twelve—hoping likewise to get, every man his penny of national plunder; suppose he abould emilare them all, and likewise all the Know Nothing alike the champion of Slavery and the Democratic

personal to all intents, uses and purposes whatsoever.'
There are quarter of a million Foreigners: the Democrats, with their families, are at least as numerous and, according to the census of the Know Nothings made by their late Governor, whose reputation for veracity is beyond all question-there are in the State at least 400,000, to a mathematical certainty.' Suppose the figures are correct, and this conqueror, by his Coup d' Etat, gains him 900,000 slaves-all o them white men, which he distributes among 1000 of his fellows. Massachusetts has then a population of 900,000 slaves, and 300,000 or 400,000 freemen. Suppose further, that the 1000 slaveholders of Massachusetts, following the example of Virginia, desist from commerce and manufactures, let the fisheries alide, and pay little heed even to agriculture; but make it their chief business to breed white slaves for sale. And as by the action of England and other powers of Christendom, the African trade declines, suppose Massachusetts acquires the monopoly of the business, has no competitor in the Atlantic, and sells her white chattels into bondage at Cubs and Brazil, as Virginia sends the particolored descendants of her first families to Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and a market. Suppose our Democrat, old in apostatizing, becomes the King of Massachusetts-absolute monarch-'crushes out' all Freedom of the Press, the Pulpit, the Pen, the Lips or the Handappoints his servants to the local and the national offices-and sends appropriate men to represent him in the Capitol-some of the present ones would do well enough-would Congress admit them there?-would they consider that Massachusetts had a Republican Form of Government? We all know what the decision would be. But, is it more anti-Republican to reduce men to bondage than to keep them in it? Is it conformable to the self-evident truths of the Declaration to enslave a black man, and not a white man? Is it consistent with the purposes of the Constitution to raise Africans for market in Virginia, and inconsistent therewith to raise Irishmen, Democrats Know Nothings for sale in Massachusetts? If the Constitution allows Virginia to deprive a single inn black man of his natural right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, then it must equally allow Massachusetts also to rob white men of what the Revolution was fought to secure to both white and black

Take another case. The Declaration of Independence sets forth the People's right to destroy an oppressive Government, and establish a new one which Black men, and 274,000 White ones. The Africans crats acknowledge that South Carolina had a 'Repub slaved such a minority? But, if 'what is sauce for Republican Form of Government for the White miat least equally ' Republican' for the majority to enslave the minority by.

Extreme cases make shipwreck of false interpretation They are the roadstead where just principles can ride secure to embark their cargo or unload their freight. If we define a Republican Form of Government by prevenient Cause-then it is evident it must conform to the Revolutionary Programme of Principles, and the Constitutional Programme of Purposes. It must be Government which secures all men in their natural, unalienable and equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness : such and such only ! Now, as slavery is the denial of all these rights to the enslav-But, suppose the slaves are diffused, and the 4,000,000 ed-as it makes the substance of the bondman an acincompatible with a Republican Form of Govern nent-that no slave State has a Republican Form of Union to which the Federal Power has not performed tional claim that Congress shall fulfil this obligation equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happi-But there is one argument more against this defi

nition of Republican Form of Government—viz. ed slavery—therefore it is not inconsistent with a Re-But, if the matter is not yet quite clear, take one public now—nay, it is indispensably necessary; there illustration more. In New England, we have a can be no Republic without slavery. But these ancelebrated Democrat, who has held high offices, civil cient governments had no such Declaration of Princi-and military, under all the parties which have been ples and of Purposes as our fathers started with; they in power since my boyhood. He declares that our laid down no great platform of natural Rights for, all laid down no great platform of natural Rights for all men. The argument for alavery derived from the constitution of these ancient governments is of no more value than the similar argument from their rapacity, their cruelty, or the oppression of the Plebelana at Rome, who were yet not alaves. The degradation of man in the aheient republics is no more to be copied as essential to that form of Government than the degradation of woman. A constitutional representative democracy did not exist in the old times, Abuses in Greece, in Italy, in Gernamy, Switzerland, Holland, are no universal warrant for wickedness in America. I know these are men in Virginia and South Carolina, who quote Aristotle and Cicero in lavor of American slavery; they seem to have read the translations of these authors only to get arguments.

bondage; and to have read the New only to find di vine inspiration in the words of Paul, which they wrest into this: 'Slaves, obey your masters!' If they have the Christian religion and the Spirit of Humanity against them, they have the Hon. Edward Everett on their side.

Besides, in a progressive People there must be progressive interpretation of many institutions and statutes. Thus the laws of England did not change, but ship-money became illegal; and slavery perished by an interpretation. No number of decisions by earned Judges, no royal usage, no popular acquies cence for centuries, could withstand the demand for natural Justice made by the increased knowledge, virtue and humanity of the progressive People. At London, Mr. Bernard has just been tried under laws which have put the halter round a hundred necks; no doubt he did the deed charged on him, but a London Jury righteously acquits the man. The Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who presided at the trial, in another post, has done much to promote this moralization of the law, by expounding it to suit the humane spirit of an enlightened age, and the moral purpose of Law itself, which, as Hooker says, has its seat in the bosom of God.'

But I need not cross the seas for examples of this progressive moralization of institutions and of statntes. In the Amendments to the Constitution, Art. VIII., it is provided that cruel and unusual punishments' shall not be inflicted.' If Congress should decree the punishment of crucifixion against all who aid a fugitive slave, could that torture be justified as neither cruel nor yet 'unnatural,' because it had been common in the Roman 'Republic,' or because Alexder-the pupil of Aristotle, the most thinking man in the most democratic of ancient 'Republics'-for no offence at all, once crucified two thousand captive Tyrians in a single day! In the time when the People made the Constitution, some of the States punished certain offences by branding with a hot iron, by cropping the ears, and other mutilations even more atrocious. Suppose Congress should pass a law inflicting the most odious of those tortures on defaulters, on members of Congress whom the President openly bribes to vote against the well-known principles of justice, is there any man who would justify that punishment by declaring that once it was 'usual,' and would not now be considered 'cruel'? No doubt there are such men in New York. I know there are in Boston—but the People do not go to the cess-pools of society to find a test of right and wrong.

I think the form of indenture for apprentices to the business of the goldsmith in England, as far back as the 14th century, provided that the youth should receive 'sufficient instruction.' Suppose a lad is apprenticed now by the same form of indenture, and the master gives him just that amount of 'instruction' which was 'sufficient' for a goldsmith's apprentice then, and no more, is there a jury in America that would justify the master's neglect on the technical plea that he had done all the worshipful company of Goldsmiths in London' would require, five hundred venrs ago ?

If, in Boston, a surgeon should amputate a lady's arm at the elbow, and plunge the stump in boiling pitch to stanch the blood, and she should die of the operation, and he were indicted for manslaughter, could be justify his malpractice by showing that such was the common method before the time of Hippocrates, and was recommended by that great master of the ancient art?

In Article I, of the Amendments to the Constitu tion, it is provided that Congress shall not prohibit the free exercise of religion. The District of Columbia is under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress There are Catholics in it. Suppose a company Catholics should burn a heretic alive, as they have done many a thousand times, and as some of their writers declare they will again, as soon as they have the power, could they justify themselves on the ground that it was a part of their religion to do so; quote the old English statute de Harctico comburendo and adduce a long list of precedents, running back to the fifth century, and appeal to this clause of the Constitution? Suppose the present revival of religion should work southward, and by some special miracle' should incline the heart of one of the great Southern Senators who are champions of slavery to a particular act of his new zeal. Suppose he should sacrifice his son as a burnt-offering; let us suppose it was not his only son, not even the son of his wife, of a bond-woman—the Patriarch is imitated in more particulars than one. When brought to trial for the wilful murder, could he justify it by appealing to this clause of the Constitution, declaring it was in the free exercise of his religion that he did the deed, following the example of the mythical Patriarch, to whom the mere intention was 'imputed for righteou ness'; and declaring that he who had done the deed was as much more 'righteous' than Abraham as Works are better than Faith, which cannot be seen without them? I doubt that a jury would acquire him on that constitutional defence, for there has been some little progress in the idea of Religion since days when it was thought that God delighted in her

days when it was thought that God dengates at man excride?

Our own institutions are continually medified by the spirit of the sige, his, even by the party that other trols the nation for the time. Need I mention the constituting judgments of Bripounders of the Constitution in fegard to a Bank, a Protective Thrift, Internal Improvements, and the like. To Contemporary expension, says the maxim, in the terongest of all. It Improvement, and the like. Consequence appears thing, says the instant, is this strongest of all. It is only a rope of sand, which binds no mail. Jeffer, and a reposition was old enough to be tentemporary in law, he thought the Constitution the not passify the acquisition of new territory, and recommended in a michiment to stry the purchase of Louisians. Who believes it now. It has been the actied practice as well as the constitute the best of the American Government, to regard colored themen as extraors of the United States. All at once the Supreme Course repela the contemporary exposition, and overtheen the progressive demonstration of the Constitution, and no wonder men should cry out against a plain application of one of the most valuable provision in

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a Republican form of Government applies merely to the liberation of slaves: one day, the humanity and knowledge of the age will decide that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself are ade quate to secure the natural rights of women not less than men. But let us take one step at a time: so shall we be ready for the next.

It is not only unconstitutional, it is also most dan gerous to admit that Slavery is consistent with a Republican form of Government. The South claims constitutional right to that anti-republican institution. In her own affairs, the North decides agains it, and casts it away with scorn and loathing : but she forgets the sacred obligation of the Constitution its solemn guarantees-and allows the minority of the South to have their wicked way at home. See the pernicious consequences. In each Southern State there has grown up a hateful Oligarchy, a Few-menpower; it is not an Aristocracy-the rule of the bestbut a Kakistocracy-the rule of the worst,-of the worst rules of conduct, if not the worst conducters. There is a privileged class, with the odious monoply of making property of men.

The few slaveholders rule the majority in all the Southern States ;-they own the blacks, they overpower the poor whites. While enriching themselves, they yet impoverish the community and the State; they hinder education; they debauch and demoralize the People. They control the nation. It is their creatures who hold the Federal offices, and rule the North. They invade the local rights of the Northern States - in the examples I have already given, and many more. If the North makes the law, the South appoints the judges, who can unmake it by their exposition. The Supreme Court is a judicial revolve in the Southern hand-or is it, rather, only a Bludgeon?

It is painful to see the increase of central power and the decay of local self-government. Northern State rights are trod down to the dust beneath the boof of the Federal power. Slavery is the cause of this vicious centralization. Since the Alien and Se dition laws were made, intended to gag men, I think of no advance towards despotism, except what has been made by the Slave Power to defend its pe culiar institution. The guarantee of a Republican form of Government is a security against centraliza tion of power. It is the People's command to estab lish local self-government in every State by the Princi ples of the Declaration, and for the Purposes of the

Northern men are strangely unfaithful. They de not attack slavery itself. I think there is now no po litical party in the United States which declares itself hostile to slavery. It is only the incidents or the accidents of slavery which the Republican party opposes They cry out against 'extension of slavery,' not against the existence of slavery itself. So they have measures without a Principle. Commissioner Loring. while Judge of Probate for Suffolk County, kidnapped a man, and sent him back to slavery; he put off the widows and orphans who came to his Court, thinking the sacrifice of a man was more to be desired than mercy, or even justice. The State was moved with indignation, and sought to hurl the unjust Judge from the office he disgraced. After many delays, shufflings and dodgings, the matter was brought before a Republican Governor, who removed him, but took pains to declare that he did not do this because her Loring had kidnapped a man- no official opinion of his entering into my consideration of the question, and no official act constituting an element in the judgment I have formed. Thus the Republican party fails to satisfy the moral

sense of the People, and to command the respect of the merely thoughtful, who, if they do not feel justly or love mercy, can yet see inconsistency, and despise measures which are bottomed on no principle, and scorn the men who are false alike to their convictions and their opportunities. Thus in the late Presidential campaign the party nominated for its champion a man never before identified with its principles, or even devoted to its measures. Hence, fortunate for itself, is was defeated. No Political Party has yet a platform high enough to command a full view of the field, or lift its representatives up to such a moral elevation as shall draw the eyes of all good men.

It is clear what we ought to do-the North mus declare SLAVERY NOT TO BE TOLERATED IN A REPUB-TACAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT. NO PROPERTY IN MAN. IMMEDIATE ABOLITION. NO SLAVE STATE IN THE UNION.' We shall come to that by and by, not all at once-little by little-step by step, not by a jump. Nihil saltatim, gradatim omne, is good Lat-Already the People look that way. What they want is a LEADER, who is not only intellectually sharp, but also morally just. Mere intellect, looking only after what is profitable for to-day, can never see Justice, God's idea of what is profitable to all men, and forever; while yet a conscientious woman will know it at once, and can give the counsel which would save a State. The nice ear, laid to the ground, hears the siry footstep of the thunder, when a great ways off; yet it never sees the Rainbow, close at hand, which yet every clear-eyed boy in the farmer's barnyard looks on with wonder, delighted at that handsome angel who tells him the storm is over and gone ! Each faculty has its function; those of cunning and

conscience are not the same.

In 1787, the People of the United States tolerated slavery as a Measure-all the States had it then, save Massachusetts alone, as I think-though Mr. Hale adds also New Hampshire, and I wish he may be as correct here as he is commonly right elsewhere But the People of the United States never admitted slavery as a Principle. So, not only in the Declaration do they lay down maxims, the norm of Institutions, and in the Constitution, the norm of Statutes and Customs, do they also propose purposes utterly destructive of Property in man, but in the Constitution they would not tolerate the word Slave or Bondman, lest they should be thought to admit, as a permanent principle of Politics, what they only tolerated for the moment as a measure of neces

But, after the People, in their weakness or wick edness, allowed slavery as a measure, then the Southern States got possession of the Government claimed that slavery was a Principle, a Constitutions Principle, a necessary Principle, and developed it into numerous measures hostile to the self-evident Truth our fathers fought for, and subversive of all the great Purposes for which they built the Union up. Slavery is a Principle—the special Principle of the Southern States-the distinctive Shibboleth thereof. But Freedom is also a Principle—the distinctive Principle of our Revolutionary and our Constructive Purpose The two cannot long continue in the same Government. The People cannot go backwards to Slavery, and the despotic ruin which that abuts on; and at the same time go forward to Freedom, and the manifold welfare it leads to. America cannot have Regress and Progress at the same time.

There is one great Political question before the American People- Is Slavery consistent with the Republican form of Government which the Revolution was fought to secure, and the Union established to found?' Parties represent the tendencies o the People. They are experiments, guide-boards, to point this way or that. There is no political party whose finger indicates the road to that true Republica Government which shall realize the Principles and Purposes of those great documents of the People. It is only on this platform that these gravest of all matters can be now discussed; no where else are they looked fairly in the face. But still the question forces itself into the Politics of the nation, of every State, of each derable town, nay, into all the theological sects The slaveholders and their vessals, North and South loudly declare, Slavery is essential to the Republim of Government.' The rest of the nation feel that IFreedom is the essential of a Republic, yes, tropy aid that mayout they aid I see

of all continuous Progress, and of all sure Welfare; if the British People must cestainly succumb to the but they dare not say so yet. What cowards we sre! Roman Pope, for in his hand he had the armies, the Hence the best institutions of the North are an ob ject of continual attack. The South (I mean the slaveholders) hate the North, hate her Republican Principles, hate her Democratic Purposes, hate her Progress, hate her Welfare, hate her best men! They seek to ruin us. Forty years ago, they made a tariff to ruin the commerce of the North; then they un- was the question of the 16th century in England, an made it, to ruin our manufactures. The Senatori executive repeals the Bounty paid to the Northern fisheries; Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, proposes abolish all custom-houses, and collect the nat enue by a direct tax. I also wish the plan might succeed, and will do all in my little power to help the work. But while I would recommend this as a great Principle of Democracy, which will deprive the Federal Government of the means of corruption, the Hon. Senator from the State of Bully Brooks and Keitt designs it only as an oligarchic Measure of Revenge, meant to harm the North. That stone thrown into the air would fall back on the Southern head, and destroy half the army and navy of the nation, and crush out of sight I know not how many political office-

I say the Federal Government greatens at the expense of the Northern States. Every increase of that central power enlarges the courage, the strength, and the malignant insolence of your Southern So, while this question was getting settled, the Ame masters. Listen to Senator Hammond: the New England men are slaves; you and I are slaves; but, They grew up under the shadow of the American alas! we have no masters bound to take care of us when sick and old! Compare the last four Administrations-that of Polk, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan; see with what accelerated velocity they descend towards slavery.

holders.

What efforts have been made by the Slave Power to prevent the people of Kansas from establishing a Republican form of Government! what mon strous money has been spent to enslave Kansas! what efforts are making still! The battle between Freedom and Slavery is now waging there. The question is now before her people, 'Will you make a Republican form of Government, or take the anti-Republican which the Slave Power seeks to force on portance, the Principle of yet more. There are two plans of action for the people there to choose between.

1. The wicked plan-to accept the Lecompton Constitution, take the bribe of English's Bill, come into the Union as a slave State; then repudiate that Constitution, and make a new one prohibiting slavery. This course will be recommended by political jobbers, land-speculators, and many men, who have axes to grind: but it is wrong, it is impracticable, and liable to defeat at every step; it is not likely to succeed, and is disgraceful if it prosper.

II. The just plan-to vote down the Lecompton Constitution, repudiate English's Bill, organize under the new Leavenworth Constitution, and appeal to the freemen of the North. There will be no viglence ofof Representatives to Congress takes place next autumn. Then the Northern men who voted for Mr. English's Bill to force the Lecompton Constitution on elections. The new House of Representatives will come together in December, 1859, fresh from the people. Some advantageous changes will have taken place in the Senate; Unitary New England will count twelve in a column of Freedom! Kansas will apply for admission as a free State; Mr. Buchanan, unpopular, going out of power, will not be able to scare men, coax, or even to buy them as now. The House of Representatives will accept the new State, and offer her a richer dowry than the Slave Power now tries to the next year, and so will gladly admit her. Kansas a gain to the Anti-Slavery party of the North. Within a few days, Minnesota has become a State

While territories, they are necessarily kept tied to century. the politics of the administration party; but when independent States, their individual character will straitway appear. Soon there will be a majority of Senators hostile to Slavery. I think we shall never see another slave State added to the Union, nor another slavery-President defiling the Capitol. After long waiting for 'something to turn up,' Mr. Everett, it seems, has now nominated himself for the highest can office, and put himself on the country Guided by the 'Southern matron'-a woman from the Bludgeon State, who had never a husband nor even a child-this professional rhetorician has gone down to the electioneering deep to do (fishing) business in the great waters. With the cold lead of his charity sermon for sinker, and a small piece of General Washington's dead body as bait, he casts his line upon all waters, bobbing for the Presidency ! But, alas! I think he will toil all the night of his old age, and catch nothing, for the South has just repealed the bounty on Northern fishery ! Instead of the spoils of that deep, he will take only an 'anodyne,' and serve but to 'point a moral and adorn a tale.' No. Mr. Chairman, I think we shall never have another slavery-President. That creature has been weighed in the balance, and found wanting; his days are numbered, and will be finished soon. No victory of the Slave Power enures to the advantage of that Power. The Mexican War, the Fugitive Slave Bill, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the English Bill, they are four jumps of the frog in the well-each time he went up a foot. but slid down three more before he leaped again! Slave-President Pierce came into power with a vast majority-he went out with more; slave-President Buchanan could not get the People's vote-he is a minority President! But what power he had last December, a majority of twenty-two in the House of Representatives! What is it now? Where will it be in December, 1859?—where will he and his party be in and that the People could find it. In the 18th cen December, 1860?

Slavery is immoral; it is also unconstitutional. It must be put down by the social action of the Peopleif not by Local Self-government in the Southern States, then by the Federal Arm of the whole nation-peaceably if they will, forcibly if we must. The work of Abolition is moral in its substance; it is likewise political in its form. While from the stand-point of individual conscience, slavery is a Whong-what ministers call a SIN-from that of American Politics, it is the denial of a Republican form of Government, a repudiation of the Principles and Purposes of the American People, solemnly set forth in both the Rev- tune in America, and which at the same time have olutionary and the Constructive Programme—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of ideas, Massachusetts ideas. There was something in the United States. All Federal officers hold office the blood of those Puritans who planted themselves under the Power of Attorney which the People swear on these shores which gave their descendants a power them on; by that, Congress has no authority to of ideas, and a power of action, such as no people before establish slavery in any territory, to protect it in our time has ever had. It was Massachusetts that any territory, or to allow it in any State; the Presi- took the initiative in the great strife of the 18th cen dent has none, the Supreme Court has none. Not a tury; it is Massachusetts that has taken the initiative man in the United States is Constitutionally a slave; in the greater strife of the 19th century. Whereve for the language of that Power of Attorney is imperative-the People command : 'the United States SHALL land men, Massachusetts med who stand up thereo guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government.

Now, I often hear it asserted, by wise and good men, that the American people never will abolish land's voice that speaks. Here, too, this great wor slavery. They do not mean, I take it, the 'never' of began, here let the first decisive step be taken. eternity, but the never of a very long period, say a thousand, or five hundred years. Now, look at this. Within the last 340 years, three great questions have in the Senate because he had sworn to support the

come up before the Anglo-Saxon People.

I. The first was the question of the 16th century. It was this-Shall the Pope of Rome rule the British Church, after his own sort, or shall the British People of the United States.' They then asked him, 'would rule that Church,-determine its doctrines, define its you do this thing? 'Yes.' Would you do that form, and control its practice? At first, it seemed as thing? 'Yes.'

treasure, the learning, the talent of Europe; the pub-lic opinion of the world was on his side. It took more than half a century, well-nigh a whole hundred years to settle that great question, and then the Pope wa cast out from the four seas of England : from that day to this, he has been a heretic in Britain. That thus did our fathers meet, and answer it the

II. In the 17th century, there came another qu ion, equally terrible. It was this-Shall the S kings control the British State, or shall it be amen-ble to the British People,—King, Lords and Common with a Constitution bottomed on the People's con Here, too, there was an immense power opp the People, for the Stuarts had possession throne; they had the armies, the institutions, the talent, the treasure. The quarrel began in 1603, when James the First, came to the crown; it did not end until 1688, when Britain cast James the Second clear over the sea, and his family have been 'Pretenders' ever since. That strife lasted more than four score years, and it was decided in favor of progress, liberty, and the rights of man.

But to settle that question, some of the ablest and most spiritual families of England must flee from their native land, and here find a home in the wilderness. rican Colonies were at the same time getting planted. forest, wherein they started with nothing but their manhood in them, and the wilderness about them.

III. In the 18th century, they had grown a great and powerful people, then esteemed some two or three millions strong. Then came the third great question,-that of the 18th century,-namely-Shall the American People be controlled by the British King and Parliament, or shall they make their own laws and found their own institutions, such as suit alike the instinct and consciousness of the People

Here, too, it seemed as if the power was all on one side, and only all the right on the other; for the British King had the navy and the army, he had the offices, the institutions, the church and you with the bayonet?' The Measure is of great im- the treasure, and of course he had the means to buy up young ambition, and control much energetic talent. That quarrel began in 1758, and it was not settled until 1783. But here, too, the same spirit prevailed, and the American People answered that question as all the three others had been settled, in favor of progress and the rights of man.

IV. Now, in the 19th century, with the same race of men, there comes up this terrible question, likewise to be passed on by the same People,-Shall the American Republic be a Democracy, guaranteeing to ever man his 'natural, essential, inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or shall it degenerate down into a despotism, where property in man is recognized as sacred, and that despotism fered by the Pederal Government. A new election spreads itself until every footstep of Democracy is wiped clean out of the continent? Now, as before, the chances seem to be against us; for the Slave Power has got possession of the Government, it con-Kansas, will go where they who voted for Douglas's trols the Church likewise, it has the army and na-Kansas-Nebraska Bill were driven at the subsequent vy, it holds the mighty treasure of this continent; and it has the means to buy up young ambition and take aspiring thent in its hand. But the Anglo-Saxon blood is still the same as it was in the 18th century, in the 17th, in the 16th, and it will decide this question as each of those others, -in favor of progress and the rights of man. A nation, a great tribe of men, does not lose its historic continuity of action unless it grows feeble either by natural or premature decay, or mingles an excess of other ethnological elements in its veins, and so corrupts its blood, and tempt her with. The Senate will seek to settle the perishes. The American people has done neither the Kansas difficulty before the Presidential election of one nor the other. It is not old enough either maturely or prematurely to perish by decay, and it has not will lose nothing but a little time, and that loss will be yet filtered bad blood enough into its veins to change its character. Depend upon it, we shall do as our great grandfathers did in Britain in the 16th century ; as our grandfathers in Britain did in the 17th cen long be kept out. All these will be Anti-Slavery States. tury; and as our fathers in America did in the 18th Oregon will soon come within the ring : Kansas cannot

> But, alas ! each of these three great questions wa settled by war. Yet, it seemed at first the evil might be abolished by peaceful arbitrament. Surely, there were historical precedents and theological doctrines enough in the 16th century to have given the People of Britain control over their own church ; in the 17th century, there was law enough to secure Britain a constitutional and limited government; and in the 18th century, our fathers had enough charters, statutes, customs on their side, and still more, enough to enable them to settle the question, we should suppose, peacefully, and without drawing the sword. But the party that was to be overcome, the party that must yield, in the 16th century, in the 17th in the 18th, was the same that held the purse in its left hand, and the sword in its right hand; and when did such a party ever yield until that purse was clutched back, and that sword was taken to cleave the tyrant down from crown to groin? Never yet.

The time, I think, has passed by when the great American question of the 19th century could have been settled without bloodshed. In 1850, it was possible. It may be that in 1854, when the Kansas-Nebraska question was before Congress, there was still a chance for a peaceful settlement of the matter. But as that opportunity has been lost, I think now this terrible question must be settled, as all the preceding ones, by violence and the sword. I deplore it exceed ingly. I hate war, but injustice worse than war. Had I lived in the sixteenth century, I would have entreated the Pope; and when he would not be supplicated with words, I would have persuaded him with the battle-axe. In the 17th cen tury, I would have argued, and quoted Magna Charts customs, statutes; and when the Tyrant would no yield, I would have shown him, what Cromwell also taught, that kings, too, had a joint in their necks, tury, I would have petitioned, and remonstrated, and cast "myself at the foot of the throne," as our father did ; but when spurned from that throne, I would have done as they did, cast my pewter spoons and platter into bullets, sold my last load of hay to buy a musket beaten my ploughshare into a sword, and said . Liberty first, ploughing afterwards.' So, in the 19th century, sad as it is, I think we must come at last to tha

New England, Massachusetts-I do not know wha there is in her blood, but there is this in her history that all the great ideas which have made their for also made America's fortune, they are New England the Platform of Freedom is laid down, it is New Eng-It may be in New York, in Washington, in Cincin nati, in Philadelphia, in California,-no matter wher it is New England blood that is there: it is New Eng There are two things I want Massachusett

do. A few years ago, Charles Sumner was railed Constitution of the United States, and was asked ho he could do that. He said, 'I support the Constitution of the United States as I understand the Con Would you return a fugitive

slave? I think it was Mr. Mason, or some of his rier is very much alarmed! It is awfully dang coadjutors, who asked that question,—and Mr. Sumit is illegal for the people to do any thing with ner said, 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this warrant! It is the Chief Justice of the Comthing?' There spoke the spirit of Massachusetts!
Now, I want the State of Massachusetts to say to the Union, . Is thy servant a dog, that she should return a fugitive slave?

1. I want Massachusetts to pass a law, next win ter, declaring that no fugitive slave shall ever be re-turned from her soil; but whatsoever fugitive slave sets his foothere, that fugitive slave is free, and the arm of Massachusetts, which holds the sword, shall be stretched out over that man, and strike down whoever strikes at him. There is a resolution before this body which looks to that very purpose, and next autumn there will be a petition circulated before the People of Massachusetts, asking the Legislature to do that thing. I hope every man of you will put your name to it : I know every woman will, for the con science of woman outruns the prudence and the cunning of man, and I would follow her conscience rath er than his cunning. Let us declare a Kidnapper's Court a 'Nuisance.' I say that solemnly, knowing what I say.

2. Then, I want the Legislature to instruct our can form of Government to every State in the Union."

see presently the other New England States follow. New York, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, even Illinois and Indiana, will presently take the same ground; and if we go on in this way, it will not be long before slavery is abolished in this nation, and when the Declaration of Independence is read on the Fourth of July, 1876, there will not be slave in the United States.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT,-I have listened, for one, with the most hearty delight to the announcement that Mr. Parker has made, of what he thinks should be the main purpose in the labor of the coming year, especially that which relates to an enactment, on the part of Massachusetts, that she ignores the existence of the Fugitive Slave Clause, and takes her neak out of the yoke, at any rate. I am exceedingly glad to have his assent and concurrence in that resolution. Although that resolution stands, I believe, for the first time, here, and a fortnight ago in New York, in the list of our principles and measures, it is some three or four years since our friend Henry C. Wright has been accustomed to urge it upon us. We have at last come up to him. I remember, at college, when our Natural Philosophy Professor used to put down a morsel of granite, or some minute atom of diamond, and then bring to bear upon it the positive and negative poles of the electric battery, it disappeared in the blaze. Now, my friend Henry C. Wright stands outside of the Constitution,-the negative pole,-and sends in upon us this message- Let Massachusetts enact that nobody shall be tried on her soil as a fugitive slave.' Mr. Parker stands with his theory, inside of the Constitution,-he is the positive pole. They are brought together; and I expect to see that clause vanish, as the diamond did, in the shock of the concurrence between these elements that have hitherto stood apart on this measure. I expect,-yes, I say i seriously, for I believe in the triumph of ideas, -I expect, that in the shock of that mutual labor, the time will yet come when Massachusetts will tear it out of her records, either by force or by construction,-I do not care which. We have never yet asked any thing of the Legislature which they have not granted usnothing! In the long list of our petitions, we can write ' Granted' against every one. We cannot sit idle. You know

· Satan finds some mischief still, For idle hands to do,

and so we turn our endeavors towards a new point They have granted us the schools-they have granted us the railroad cars-they have granted us intermarriage-they have granted us the welcome absence of Judge Loring from the Commonwealth. (Loud Applause.) And now, having nothing else to do, and of the 'crotchets' of Henry C. Wright, and mean to atereotype it into a statute. (Applause.) Some people think it will never come. We mus

carn to labor and to wait. It is astonishing how many evidences there are that it is coming, and comually taunting the Legislature that they were making themselves a mere bob to the kite of Garrisonianism and yesterday, if you had been at the meeting of the Tract Society, you would have found an eloquent it was, that the Congregationalists were trying to tie him, an Episcopalian, to the tail of the kite of Garrisonianism! You cannot go anywhere but you find one man charging another with becoming the tool of the Abolitionists. It is just like the poor lunatic in the Scotch hospital, who thought he had dined off of roast beef and turkey, fruit and jelly and preserves, but said, after all, it tasted wonderfully like gruel, the whole of it. (Laughter.) So, whether you go to a meeting of the Tract Society, or to the Legislature, or to a private gathering in New York or Boston, the cry is still the same. You cannot go anywhere but somebody is charged with trying to pull the whole body into an anti-slavery agitation. Well, this is the instinctive, unconscious, unpremeditated, involuntary expression of the feeling which every body has, that they are gravitating toward radical anti-slavery, and cannot keep out of it. It is a very welcome proof.

I sometimes think I will buy an old book of fables, learn them by heart, and then come to the conclusion that I know everything; for it seems to me as if old ages, left nothing to be learned. Do you remember the story, old as the grayest and brownest-papered plain,' said the lawyer; 'you must pay me damages.' was your bull that gored my ox.' Ah, said the other, 'that is a different matter, and I will consult the books : call again to-morrow. It is hard to say how the rule stands.' (Laughter.) Well, in 1835. the Boston Courier was in about the same state of mind that it is now. (Laughter and applause.) It has not grown any. It has been bought and sold a great many times since, publicly as well as privately, out it stands just where it did. But, mark ! in 1835. it was the farmer's bull that had done the mischief. and so the Courier defended the gentlemen of property and standing, 'in broadcloth and broad daylight,' in State street, who undertook to put down a legal meeting of certain women in behalf of the aboboot was on that leg, you see. It has got on the other now. Chief Justice Shaw has decided that anybody

wealth now that lays down the law, not the Atlan office; but still the Courier thinks the Judge must on that have been 'jocular' when he made the decision he could not have intended it to be taken as law; the consequences are such as no law-abiding man can con template! You see, it is the other bull that has don the mischief. (Laughter.) The moderate people, the sensible people, the people with dust on their shoes, that do not tread on the pavement with the Chief Justice on their side, proceed to abate, not legal meetings, but public nuisances, and the lawyer has go to consult his books to see whether damages are to be paid. 'Call again in a day or two; this is a very rious matter, says the Courier. (Laughter and

Here is another-they thicken so fast. Some half dozen years ago, I was invited to deliver an address before a literary society in a neighboring city. Shortly after, I happened to be in the place, and met a mar in the street, who asked me what I intended to talk about. I had some dim idea in my mind, and I tried to tell him. When I had done, he said, 'You may Senators and request our Representatives in Congress speak of any thing you please, for Rufus Choate came to use all their influence to fulfil the guarantee in the here, and gave us a defence of the Fugitive Slave 4th article of the Constitution, and secure 'a Republi- Law, as a literary exercise!" I came down to Boston, and met graduates of Harvard, who had just come Let Massachusetts do these two things, and you will from the first meeting of the Alumni of that institu tion, met to celebrate the literary anniversary of the college, steeped in Greek and Latin, and not one of them with an idea less than two thousand years old, except a very few perhaps, deemed dangerously s fast men.' because just waked up to the admiration of Addison, and young enough to believe Pope a poet. Rufus Choate was called on to address them, and he delivered another eulogy on the Fugitive Slave Law and Daniel Webster. Now see where he has got. A party of young men address him a letter, asking him deliver a Fourth of July oration, in which they

> 'Although this committee acts at the appointment of an association partly political, it is proper that we should say to you that, by its express direction, we are instructed to avoid with care whatever might give to the festivities of our national holiday any color f partizan character.
>
> The great mass of our citizens have a hearty aver

sion for the localism and partizanship which hav become the established features for the celebration of our 'independence day,' and hunger and thirst fo some taste of the boundless patriotism of earlier days It is our desire to minister to this taste, and not our elves commit the offence we reprobate in others.'

To which Mr. Choate, having many a sin like thos two on his conscience, replies-

'I appreciate very sensibly the courtesy of this notice, and with your opinions I perfectly concur. Whatever our public may choose, or of whatever they are fatigued or desirous, or whatever may be afforded to them, of one thing I am sure, that this ought to be a day for the whole of our America, not a part of it: for the country, not for faction; for the creation, and memory, and diffusion of a comprehensive national feeling, not for the advocacy of a party.'

Once ten thousand youthful orators, on the sunny Fourth of July, argued lustily that Liberty meant permission to buy and sell slaves; and Union signified the South everywhere-the North nowhere. But the boot has got on the other leg, you perceive! The channel has shifted clean over, and the thoroughly, roused public have taken possession of every occasion and every platform to thunder forth Anti-Slavery truth. Call a meeting for what you will, it turns into an Anti-Slavery Debate. The prophet now cannot curse if he will-no praise of slave-hunting will issue from his lips; spite of himself his lips break into blessings, and say, 'Down with the bill-Liberty for the bondman!' Old Concord bells refuse to ring in a pro-slavery Fourth of July, and from Bangor as far west as there was a Fremont voter, the glorious old day swells and sings, roars and thunders, 'Break every yoke'-' Liberty first, Union afterwards !'-Hunkerdom in vain crying out for refuge and quarter, now at last bothinks itself how wrong to use such a day for party purposes!!

statutes, says Mr. Choate. It used to be, 'Hang out your banner on the outer wall,'- We are Unionists, looking round for employment, we have accepted one Daniel Webster men, Fugitive Slave Law advocates. Our castle's strength can laugh a siege to scorn.' It is the white flag now! Gentlemen, let us not minister to party! Let us be very general-no biting allusion to individuals.' 'Don't mention the gallows in the house of a man whose brother has been hanged ! ing very fast. You can hardly turn anywhere with- (Loud laughter and applause.) Amomentous change out finding evidence that it is coming. Up in the They cry quarter. They go back to justice. They state House last winter, Caleb Cushing was continued to say, 'Let us get all we can, and let the losers talk in vain of rights.' They are the losers now, and they begin to talk of rights, and proprieties, and national courtesies. It is a sign that the balance has kicked the beam. It is a pregnant sign, when Rufus merchant, making his maiden speech, and the gist of Choate takes refuge from Fugitive Slave Law advocacy in the 'boundless patriotism,' in the 'specious and glittering generalities of an earlier period. Well we do not mean they shall have any such luxury. The fact is, every body has good principles, bu

nobody applies them. The only difficulty is when

a man comes along, and does what he says he will,means what he says. We are not a sincere people Our friend, Mr. Parker, told us, after he had given u his programme for Massachusetts, that he wanted party that would say a Republican Government mean an Anti-Slavery one. Good! Let us anchor there If there is a man here who believes it, don't let him dare to vote for any body who does not agree with him. ('Hear, hear.') Do not go to your hearth stone at home, and there profess the constitutions theory of my friend Mr. Parker, and maintain that the clause, guaranteeing a Republican Government t the States, gives the power to abolish slavery, and then vote for Henry Wilson in November, until h writes over his banner, I go for the power and the duty of Congress to abolish slavery in South Carolina That is, if you accept the theory, mate it with an act proverbs and old stories, the concentrated wisdom of (Applause.) Stereotype it ! If there is a man who thinks the American Tract Society in New Yorl placed itself under the shoe leather of the slaveholder school-book, of the farmer in the lawyer's office, and let him see to it that he never gives it the color undertaking to state a case? He said that his bull a red cent. (Applause.) Acrs, as well as words had gored the lawyer's ox. 'Very well, it is very (Renewed applause.) Men do not trust you for you plain, said the lawyer; 'you must pay me damages.' theory and principles, they trust you for your acts 'Stop,' said the farmer, 'I have made a mistake. It The great difficulty, in a country and in a time like ours, is to be understood. You are not understoo when you lay down principles; you are understoo when you drag them down into daily life, and infer from them into each hour's conduct. I remember story of one of our laborers at Portsmouth,-the woman whose voice, of all now left us, was first heard or the Anti-Slavery platform. She had had a slave holder, a relative, attend a week's course of her le tures. Address after address he listened to, and h could coolly criticise, object, and explain. The words of the speaker played round his head, but never touch ed his heart. But the sixth or seventh day, in the course of conversation, he said, 'That fact you stat cannot be true,-I pledge you my honor. lition of American Slavery; and it thought,—the honor!' said she; 'why, I know you would steal press of Boston generally thought,—that it was an what reliance could I place on your honor?' He pu exceedingly republican, and safe, and excellent prin- on his hat, and was not seen at a lecture afterwar ciple, that 'citizens of eminent gravity,' meeting in He understood her! (Applause.) He had though the vicinity of the Atlas office, or on the sidewalk of she was arguing, theoretically, abstractly, on prince State Street, should undertake to settle for themselves ples; that she did not come down to actual life. The whether legal meetings of other people were for the public benefit or not! They saw no danger in the principle; they defended it. It was not a moë that ter, notwithstanding all his eloquent, sublime, prowent there, and made a fool of Mayor Lyman; it was phetic, glorious rebukes, that might claim him kindred the gentlemen of property and standing, it was the with Isaiah,—they will understand him infinitely better when they come up to his church door for a con tribution, and find it locked. But this is an act. If candidate for office hears you say that you think the Constitution of the United States authorizes Congress may go into a liquor shop, where rum is sold without Constitution of the United States authorizes Congress a warrant, take out the bottles and demijohns, and to abolish slavery, he may think well or ill of it, or break them on the curb-stone,—and this same Continue to the curb-stone, and this same Continue to the United States authorizes Congress to abolish slavery, he may think well or ill of it, or think nothing of it; but suppose, when he comes to

you in November for a vote, you say, 'It depends you in November you think Congress has the power to abolish slavery, and whether, if you think so, yo abolish stavery, and who will study the question in mean to exercise to a distinct impression ber an hour, and come to a distinct impression her morning. I remember, some seventeen years and Abbott Lawrence wrote a letter to Prancis Jacks, asying that he did not have any opinion upon a que tion which Mr. Jackson had asked in regard to center alleged powers of Congress. Every man who goes to alleged powers of congress are definite opinion, and is rather anxious to have an opportunity to answer a anti-slavery letter inquiring what his opinions are What we want, then, are acts following these these

What we want, then down into daily life. That dies,

sion in the Tract Society yesterday amounts to zet.

ing, if the same amount of money continues to got New York. You may argue for ever, Massachusch may resolve for ever, her speakers may be eloque for ever, she may exhaust the dictionary in epithets; describe James Buchanan; but the moment pa check-mate the government, by refusing to vote the appropriations, that moment the dictionary may be ropriations, may be seed,—you have reached something better that the closed, you have to add to that excellent pagramme which Mr. Parker started to-day is, that the men who do vote, who undertake to carry the ideas into politics, are not to shelter themselve from our criticism or our rebuke by going into a Anti-Slavery meeting, and covering themselves on with these theories. No! No matter what ping men of the Republican party think-we care in: no matter what is the theory of the hearth-side; we want the theory avowed in its platform, the purpose declared in its methods announced to the public, as reduced to practice at the ballot-box. You may that I am talking twenty years before the age, -no, ast a all. I am talking on the very eve of the age, W are rushing toward the cataract, nobody can tell by fast. The rank and file, the people, are infant. nearer the consummation of this purpose than you in agine. All we want is the courage to own it. Ma. sachusetts might be led out of the Union in five year If, when Kansas takes her seat, by pro-slavery n resentatives, as I believe she will, in the Senate of the United States, the people of the Commonwealth Massachusetts could have the vote put to them when er they would remain in the Union under such a peversion of the Constitution or repudiate it, except in commercial, you might say, the coined heart of Reton, the vote, there is every fair probability, well be, 'No! Come out!' Anti-Slavery has done and far more thoroughly, than we suppose; m if not here, then at least in the far West. Is the new States, where the weight of conservation is Church and State is less marked, there, where the popular voice is closer and warmer to the government itself, you would find a readiness to adopt and b meet this question of separation. But, what I don of politicians, what I claim of the Church, is simply consistency ;-that they shall act on the principle that they avow. What care I for the elequent & nunciations even of that Giant at Brooklyn? He may exhaust the genius which he has inherited has the largest brain in the Orthodox doctorate of draity, in denouncing the American Church as the refer of slavery, and when he goes into the churched the city of New York to build up, with both but a revival which is to strengthen that refuge of the slaveholder, he more than und es the rebuke of the ten previous years; for every atom of strength that he is contributing to the already tottering battlemen of that Church is laid on the heart of the bening (applause)-and he knows it, or he ought to know it In an age like ours, the eloquence of the paint s little or nothing, if there be not behind it the beng eloquence, the louder protest of the Live. With the surroundings of Henry Ward Beecher, girt shet with a family of clergymen, his reputation for entidoxy yet unsullied, his standing as an evergini Christian yet unattacked, if he were to sun is church door against the American Bible, Trat at Missionary Societies, it would be like the first rus Lexington, 'heard round the world.' (Apples) It is your bull, you see. 'I will look into the There would be no more pro-slavery refugees a is European continent, robing themselves in anti-sing professions, and trying to explain their siless & home on the ground that Garrison was an infdel, at Theodore Parker did not fancy John Calvin. The would be met with the admitted fact that the so f Lyman Beecher, the brother of Harriet B. Stm. had shut his church against the benevolent instrtions of the Northern States, and that fact, that hat -facts have giant boots, and travel forty legent graphic wires would be attached to the steeple of is Brooklyn church, and the other end would be my Christian heart on the continent of Europe. Weshall need no explanations, no buts, no apologie. Is Christianity of Europe would overwhelm the tradling, the faltering, the evasive, the ambiguous (ha tianity of these thirty-two hypocritical States. The American religion, the American Tract Serty, (both sides,) the resolutions of the protestat

and the resolutions of the Southerners, remind at ways of that nonsense of Maria Edgeworth-I into the garden, and cut a cabbage leaf to mile s apple pie,-and gunpowder run out of the head her boots.' (Laughter.) It means nothing; then no cohesion in it. There stands Leonard Bass,able, far-sighted, intelligent, determined, a sou die Puritans, with the New England Review for his aps. and Yale College for his certificate of orthodoxy-si they gagged him on the floor of the Tract Societies and about all he had opportunity to say was, to ha to the very man who was fastening on the gag, it Bethune, and call him this worthy Christian beder'l How much do you suppose Dr. Bethune ces for any vote, any protest of the man who select ledged his Christian character, at the very most that, for a so-called Christian, but really infant

So Inn

purpose, he was trampling him under his feet? This Society said, eighteen years ago, that no she holder in the American States, in this age of eligib enment, could be a Christian. The world cried b naticism'! That was one end of the wire. The of indignant anti-slavery instinct, never retreet never explained, never compromised, never school ringing through the clear air to-day, denying the Christian character of every man that holds him on the heart of the slave,—men said, 'It is hear The bayonent is always harsh; but it was the size points of Percy and Pitcairn, it was the sword's post of Abercrombie, Howe and Rawdon, that formed reluctant British soldiers up Bunker Hill the time, and carried the rampart against Prescotts Putnam. It is the bayonet of Heary C. Wright Theodore Parker, and William Lloyd Garrison, is has forced Leonard Bacon and Ward Bacher, in it third time, against these ramparts of a prosing Christianity, and almost carried them. (Enthus applause.) Just before 1831, when the Duke of To ington feared that the British people meant to the Reform Bill by numbers over the House of Lan he sent word down to Lancashire, to some serest eight thousand trusty guards, to 'grind their sees All I have to say to the people who call this elavery denunciation harsh is this—I hope it will be the series of tharsh as truth, and uncompromising as justice and if the bayonets are not sharp enough, Head, Wright,—if the swords are not keen enough, Wiss. Lloyd Garrison, - 'grind' them! Force the luctant Christians up to the rampart between the and the false Christianity which they are bound

unmask!

For me, the argument is simple. If this is risk and I put chalk into it, there will be a storm; as I am certain it is chalk, and when I drop it that no agitation, then it is not vineger. So when it could be a storm in the country of the Christian Church, so-called, with forty thousand isters, and an unmistakable, impecable decision drop the awful sin of American slavery, if erry

ing member does not rise up and seize it by the ing means. it is no Church of Christ. Perhaps there are some who need a longer argument, a more detailed explanation; but Pitcairne and Howe, Percy and Rawdon did not stop to argue; they forced their men up to the onset. We mean to do the same.

Every thing encourages us, -every thing! This Anti-Slavery movement commenced nigh thirty Anti-State, an upper chamber, with twelve or fifteen men to launch it. It was like a whisper at the cenmen to launch the carth beneath Vesuvius. It gained strength and force and vigor, until the mountain sides began and force and the people fly. The mountain smokes, Yaples is alarmed. If you watch at midnight, you see Napics is a cushing thinks the State House is floating sparks. Cushing the Anti-Slavery office, and Wm. B. Reynolds fears that the Tract Society is to be crushed in befears that the Liberator press. Those are the sparks of Vesuvius. Beware! The first cruption that comes will leave a chasm at Mason and Dixon's line that no cheat of James Buchanan can bridge over; the first explosion that comes will leave a rent in the Tract Society that no compromise can solder up.

· Abstractions' - words'!-Yes, but they grind granite, Capitol and iron army to dust in the end. Come and see us a year hence, three years hence, five years hence, and we shall then have forgotten this question of the Fugitive Slave Law in Massachusetts, and gone forward to a new one. You doubt us to-day. Help us with your countenance, help us by your means, help us by fidelity to your own convictions, help'us by doing yourselves justice at the ballot-box. and when your Legislature has met, the public opinion of Massachusetts will compel it to stereotype these applauding hearts into statutes. It will be a glori-

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Charles Remond told us, a few months ago, that he met a man in Salem who was afraid to write Boston after his name in South Carolina. I am not afraid, but I have not the same pride now in writing Boston after my name that I once had. I want these pavements purged and cleansed. I want to see a lustration. I want a Mayor, and a Marshal, and a Major General, that shall make me forget those that have been. I want Boston to atone for having given back two fugitives within ten years, by writing it on the forehead of her public life, that the moment a fugitive touches her soil, no arm in the empire, or out of it. shall ever reduce him to slavery again. (Prolonged applause.) The South makes a Constitution to suit herself; she has triumphed while we sit 'constitutionally idle. Despotism does great things illegally, liberty does nothing at all 'according to law.' But let us amend this. Clutch the same power the South usurps; flare it in her face. Show her her own maxims carried into practice. Give us a fulcrum, if it be no larger than Massachusetts,-a State consistent, determined, construing the Constitution for herself-and then, when that hour comes, when no slave that once reaches her soil shall ever return. the proudest jewels that the sons could add to the galaxy of brightness the labors of the fathers have grouped above us, redceming the Commonwealth from the great mistake of our predecessors, would be to dig up from the two centuries of oblivion that glorious statute of 1646,-there is not a nobler on the record of any Christian State,-that one which said-We welcome the fugitives from the oppression and tyranny of all governments, and promise them protection and support at the public expense.' When Massachusetts goes back to that, we will cover up the blackness of Webster with the first Winthrop, he with whom the line went out, leaving no successor, (applause)-we will cover it with the Carvers and Bradfords, with the old Puritans, the men who made Massachusetts worthy of the eulogy that Mr. Parker gave her- the brain of the Union.' They say we are full of 'isms.' Thank God, we are! Virginia raises tobacco, Ohio pork, Louisiana sugar, Pennsylvania iron; but Massachusetts exports Ideas. (Applause.) She has always been 'the brain of the Union.' Extend her, if you please, and cover New England-we will take them all in. Full of isms !- yes, isms in every thing; isms in Government, isms in the Church, isms in Reform. The State is full of them; let us thank God. While the others have been gathering into rich laps the harvests of the material world, the brain of New England has gone sounding on and on in the pathless voyage of discovery, and working out for the empire its noblest title to lead the van of progress in the nineteeth century.

enough to defeat New England, she had to lay hold of some of her exported product in a Douglas. It was a feather from the eagle's wing that killed him! It was a recreant son that was alone able to grapple with New England in the great contest of ideas; and if the schools and pulpits of New England had been true to their trade, the men that we send out to the South-West would not be purchaseable as the Douglases and the Hammonds, who throw filth on their mothers, and do it but weakly, after all. If instead of a church that does not know what it means nor what it wants, we had a church such as this anti-slavry enterprise is destined to give to New England, there would have been no Douglases, who, when they get to the end of their tether at Chicago, will turn back and pick at the breast that gave them blood. It is a proof that New England has never done her duty in the education of her sons. We have no right to find fault with the traitor Douglas, nor with the coward Everett,-the man who woke up one morning, and found he had unfortunately signed a document without reading it, and suspected that, under the influence of medicine, he had done, unconsciously, a generous act ! Ah! I blush for the blood of Massachusetts, that he should have been born among us! (Enthusiastic cheering.) Her soil is mostly granite, there is but little surface loam, and it does seem, after that letter of his, as if he could not dig a place deep enough to get into. (Applause.) The frightened spaniel tells us, under his own signature, that he sent a note to the editors of the Daily Advertiser, to put them on their guard, and to have it placed on record, in case any body should allude to his indiscretion ;-he sent two letters to friends in the Senate, to inform them of his mistake, in case reference should be made to it there,-wrote half a dozen letters to friends in the South West, in case the press there should touch upon it,-and how many other copies of his ! dying speech and confession' he deposited in different places to make certain that posterity should not suspect him, even under an opiate, of having sympathized with justice, I cannot tell. (Loud applause.) Did ever a whipped hound show more trembling anxiety to run no risk of ever being suspected of having peeped or muttered against the dictates of the great Slaveocracy! Why does he not place on record, in our registry of deeds, an apology for a long, free breath? And yet he was a Massachusetts Governor, a Massachusetts Senator, and he is truly the representative man, the mould into which the Professors at yonder University run all the young genius that they can catch. (Applause.) The shape which he originally impresse upon the purpose of Harvard is not yet broken; and you may travel a thousand miles West, and when you hear that balanced period, see that quivering finger, and hear that heartless self-abasement, you may know you have caught a Cambridge man, fresh from the Everett mint. (Loud applause.) But the old graves of Plymouth have a richer soil, Bunker Hill has a greener sod, the loam of the Connecticut Valley has a tronger life, and Massachusetts shall yet echo back the vigorous and hearty patriotism of Sam Adams, and John Adams, and Paul Revere, and the patriots of that age, who thought they had a country worth dying for, and dared to die for it. It will come. sachusetts will yet catch up the world-renowned

answer of Sam Adams, when he went home one ere-

of the glorious principle, and put it on the statute book : 'Sam Adams's door-sill is no more sacred than he had been. than the limits of the Commonwealth. We extend his parlor to Berkshire.' (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, JUNE 11, 1858.

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF IN-DEPENDENCE DAY.

The Anniversary of American Indeper be celebrated this year as usual, (under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Scavent Society,) on MONDAY, July 5th, by a MASS past twenty-five years. MEETING of the friends of Universal Emancipation, at the beautiful Grove in FRAMINGHAM The numerous advantages of this spot, both as to location and convenience of access, are well-known, and it is hoped that the gatherings of all past years may be eclipsed by the multitude which shall throng thither this year to testify against the National Hypocrisy and Corruption, and to renew their purposes and vows of devotion to the sacred cause of Freedom.

SPECIAL TRAINS for the Grove, on the Boston and Worcester Rail Road and its Branches,

i be run	us torioms:	AY 1616	15 125 125	The state of	HILL BUT AND IN
Leave	Boston	at	9 0	clock,	A. M.
	Worcester	••	9	**	
	Millbury/	**	8.30	••	
	Milford	"	9.30	"	- 44
44	Northborn'	**	9.30	**	44

RETURNING, leave the Grove at or near 54 o'clock. P. M.

FARES as follows :-

Grafton, to Grove and back, Sixty and thirty cents. The Fares, it will be seen, are a trifle higher than last year : this is on account of a charge made which we thankfully acknowledged in the Liberator by the Proprietors of the Grove, for the use of the following-a man most efficient of all the speakers,

The Grove will be open without charge as heretofore, to persons coming otherwise than by rail-

road: The House at the Grove will be open for re-

CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING. In the lists of meetings for anniversary week, pubsomewhat remarkable notice-

"AVednesday. CHRISTIAN ANTI-SLAVERY MEET-In Park street Church, 74 P. M.

Transcript an indefinite postponement of the meeting | Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting of 1857 ! thus named and notified, with a 'reason annexed' (as the catechism hath it) as follows :-

'The Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting advertised to be held in Park street Church this (Wednesday) evening, will not be held this evening, in consequence of the fact that the anniversary of the American Tract Society—which several of the speakers relied upon for the Anti-Slavery meeting have been official-

This is all that has been seen of the Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting. Anniversary week has passed away, and left no further trace of it. The finite postponement of the meeting in question, (or two foot-prints above copied are all that remain of this visit of the very peculiar animal thus named. it altogether, as nothing has since been heard of it,) The name itself is only a year old, the first and only is that several of the speakers relied upon to give that specimen of the genus and species so denominated meeting a character at once 'Christian' and 'Antihaving suddenly and mysteriously appeared in Boston Slavery' had been 'officially' requested to address a a year ago; after quietly sitting, at the eastern angle meeting of the Tract Society on the same evening. of the Common, in the presence of numerous observ- Of course, these officially invited persons, who considers, during a whole evening, it as suddenly disappear- ered the Tract Meeting more important than the ed, and has never since been seen. Since, then, this . Christian Anti-Slavery meeting, are the very percreature is of a fugitive, transient, uncertain, and (as sons (some or all of them) who were advertised to Yes, she has done more than that. When the its later vestiges have shown) somewhat deceptive address the Tract Meeting-namely, Rev. Dr. Bacon outh wanted a leader, sagacious, strong and able character, it may be well without delay to note the of New Haven, Rev. Dr. two signs above mentioned, the spoor of the 'Chris- Dr. Ide of Medway, and Rev. Horace James of Wortian Anti-Slavery Meeting,' and, comparing these with the characteristics of the creature made manifest a year ago, to put on record what we can thus

> It may here be explained that, though the tautological term which we have placed at the head of this their old Secretary thrust out of office (with a certifiarticle—as preposterous in its repetition as Christian cate of his 'faithful labors,' and a presentation to Temperance Society, or Christian Orphan Asylum. things which never existed before Christianity, and and 'sincere prayers' instead of a salary,) and their which have grown out of it, and belong to it as plainly as a branch to a tree—though this tautological term was invented only a year ago, Anti-Slavery meetings have been held in Boston twice or more every year for more than a quarter of a century past, and have been as well known and as widely commented on as any institution of the city. Nay, the report thereof has even been spread throughout that heathen country known as 'The South,' so that travellers from bence in that region, finding the Anti-Slavery reputhem-and their purses, and persons, and lives thus question-have been fain to deny their native city, New York Society. and to record their names in carayansaries as having had their birth and education elsewhere.

> Anti-Slavery meetings then, (however discountenanced by people of the Park street Church, who they have spoken of Anti-Slavery, either at the robbed a black man of his pew, for no other reason Tract Jubilee on Wednesday evening, or on other than because he was black, and have never made him restitution, nor even been called on by their minister to make him restitution,) are well known in Boston. They were commented, and have ever since been periodically held, by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and their constitutional distinction and most marked characteristic is, the representation of slaveholding as A SIN-in the language which they have frequently used, 'A HEINOUS SIN AGAINST GOD. Taking their stand thus upon the sinfulness of slave holding, the founders and agents of this Society have ever since been teaching the duty of immediate repentance for the sin, and immediate and unconditiona. abandonment of the practice, and calling upon the State and National Governments, and upon the people at large, and especially upon the clergy and the

These things being so, and having been so for twenty-seven years, there suddenly appeared, a year ago, a notice that a 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting would be held, and held (of all places in the world) in Park street Church, May 28th, 1857.

The pastor of that church had been announ (in the advertisement) as the first speaker. This, of course, was suited to awaken the idea that penitence was to be officially expressed by the church, for the sin in which they had so long persevered, and restitution made to the plundered black man, as the fitting inauguration of a Park street Anti-Slavery Societyin case they proposed to carry their faith so far to-

wards works as to form. a Society.

But when there appeared, as the first speaker, (after the meeting had been 'opened with prayer,') instead of him who had been announced, a brother of the man who had been paster of the church at the time it committed the robbery in question, and who had neither then nor since with reference to the sins inherent in, and growing out of slavery, on the other—we think will be, and ought to be, satisfied with this result.' ning, and found a slave girl sitting by his hearth, and who had neither then nor since made any protest A result, namely, which decides not to separate at prewas told by his wife she was the gift of a neighbor, against that wickedness, it seemed likely that he has ent from the pro-slavery New York Society.

Wife, when she crossed that door-sill, she was been commissioned to make public confession for his free! Massachusetts, I say, will catch up the echoes of the glorious principle, and put it on the stat- more of a Christian, and more faithful as a minister,

> In fact, however, no such penitence was expre and no such restitution hinted at, either by this brother of the absent delinquent, or by the existing pastor of the church. Church and minister were silent, upon that subject, and interest is still accumulating, in heaven and on earth, upon the property forcibly plundered, by Park street Church, from Mr. Freder-

We have now to inquire, what was the character of the proceedings of the meeting thus inauspiciously commenced, before a very large and deeply attentive audience.

Its single merit was that the speakers, (all of them Orthodox clergymen in ecclesiastical fraternity with slaveholders and defenders of slavery,) said some of the same things in opposition to slavery which have been said at Anti-Slavery meetings in this city for the

Its counterbalancing (and preponderating) defects -besides the failure in confession and restitution above-mentioned, which would have been so appropriate for a meeting called together under such a title, and assembled in the house, and composed, to a large extent, of the members, and addressed, by the pastor, of the guilty church-were the following :-

1. Every one of the speeches contained expression more or less at variance with the good ones already alluded to, implying that the clergymen who used them had been, all along, and still were, in a right position in regard to the slaveholder and the slave.

2. Although these clergymen are well aware of (and heedful to use, in cases where they really desire vigorous movement,) the benefits of organized action, they made no attempt to direct that throng of earnest, willing souls to any method of systematic opposition to the slave power, either through a new organization, or by co-operation with the existing one. Holding this first meeting with the pretence of a Boston, to the Grove and back, Worcester, " " adults: thirty-five astically responded to by their people, they did not Millbury, " " " cents for children. desire to revive anti-slavery, and finding it entinusiantly responded to by their people, they did not even attempt or suggest the use of those methods desire to revive anti-slavery, and finding it enthusi-Millbury, " " " Scents for children.
Millford and Milford branch:
Northboro' and Marlboro';
Natick, Needham, Ashland, twenty-five cents for Cordaville, Southboro', and Cordaville, Cordaville sheep without a shepherd.

3. The ablest and best of the speakers at this meeting-a man who said many admirable things, alike in attracting the vast audience to that place and in arousing their intensest sympathy and interest when there-a man who had assumed to take his stand upon conscience, right, justice, the commander of the most high God, and who thundered and lightened against reservation and compromise-Rev. Geo. B. Cheever gave such evil counsel as to say, that the voting that all children of slaves should be born free after forty years would be 'THE SIMPLEST REMEDY OF lished in the daily papers of this city, appeared the THE WHOLE INIQUITY THAT COULD BE CON-CRIVED OF.' A statement so false in fact, so dilatory and compromising in method, and so deficient in justice and righteousness as this, was yet the thing near-On Wednesday afternoon, there appeared in the est to action against slavery recommended in the

It remains for us to inquire-What new character istics of this Park street 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' have been brought to light by its transacy requested to address—will occur at the same hour which, being added to the record of 1857, will complete the stock of possible knowledge on that subject up to the present time?

The 'reason annexed' in explanation of the indemore correctly speaking, the decision to dispense with cester. And let it be noticed-the coming of these between the business of the Tract Society and the gather-all, alas! that is now known-respecting work of ' Christian Anti-Slavery' (so called.) The business meetings of the Tract Society were finished on Tuesday afternoon; their officers were chosen him, for the coming year, of their 'kindly wishes' plan of action (if the little they proposed to do may properly be called action) laid out for the coming year. The Tract meeting then, for which the ' Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' was displaced and sacrificed, was a show meeting, to display and triumph in the work already accomplished, and to rejoice over (what they called) a victory, though why so called it would be hard to say, since the party claiming this victory (represented by Rev. Mr. Dexter of the Congregationalist) had deliberately given up to their tation of Boston imputed (however erroneously) to pro-slavery opponents the strongest item in their printed programme of Resolutions-that, namely imperilled among the barbarous pro-slavery people in which proposed a separation from the pro-slavery

How much Anti-Slavery these four persons would have contributed to the sacrificed meeting, had it been held, may be judged by the manner in which previous occasions, or both.

Dr. Bacon, (in the business meeting of the Traci Society, Tuesday, P. M.) advised the meetings not to separate from the pro-slavery New York Society; and in its show meeting, Wednesday evening, he called Bishop Meade (the Bishop of Virginia, whose whole episcopal life has been spent in the defence of slavery) a 'venerable and most godly man.' Dr. Storrs did not speak.

Dr. Ide (in the business meeting of the Tract So ciety, Tuesday afternoon,) said he was annoyed at an unjust accusation which had been brought against the movement party. We are charged, said he, with wishing to make this an Anti-Slavery Society. It is false; we are wronged!

Rev. Horace James said, at the very Tract meeting churches, to cease from their guilty complicity with for which he had chosen to sacrifice the 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting '- 'Let it not be said that our action yesterday has abolitionized this Society. It is no such thing. I deprecate both the word and the reality implied in it. It is no such thing."

> All these persons sympathize with the declaration epeatedly made by members of the movement party in one or other of the Boston Tract meetings-tha they wished to avoid both slavery and anti-slavery and to take a course between; and all of them sym pathize with that which the leader of this movemen (Rev. Henry M. Dexter) has just said in the Congregationalist, in view of the Tract action in anniver-

wished to have their Park street meeting distinguish ed from the Anti-Slavery meetings which have been held twice a year for more than a quarter of a centu ry in Boston—and on account of which they thought proper to call it a 'Christian' Anti-Slavery meeting in distinction from those-was that, while the latter treats slaveholding as a sin against God, and therefore makes direct, and persistent, and uncompromis-ing war upon it, the former does neither.

Slavery stands on one side, Anti-Slavery on the other; Christian Anti-Slavery shrinks from the latter much more unequivocally than from the former, adheres to the pro-slavery New York Tract Society. gives up its own meeting as less important than that of the pro-slavery Boston Tract Society, and yet, without blushing, continues to call itself both Anti-Slavery and Christian!

gives up its own meeting as less important than that of the pro-slavery Boston Tract Society, and yet, without blushing, continues to call itself both Anti-Slavery and Christian law 1 Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy beart, and with all thy beart, and with all thy man with all the soul of the continues of an Anti-Slavery meeting excluting in the fact that they do not oppose alevery so strongly as some others of an Anti-Slavery meeting excluting in the fact that they do not oppose alevery so strongly as some others are some of a continue and the soul of the sum (\$3000) raised last year.

To our Southern friends, we present this prespect with increased hope of their co-operation in conservation of the sum (\$3000) raised last year.

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To our Southern friends, we present this prespect with increased hope of their co-operation in conservation of the sum of southern friends, but at home and abroad, who have been wont to co-operate with us, to do the sum of the s

that it may be often repeated? Hers is eloquence which reaches both the head and the heart. Could I always listen to such preaching, I should spend few Sundays at home. S. S. FOSTER

A slight error occurred in the notice, last week, of the Worcester North meeting at Athol. It will be found corrected this week, and it is hoped that the friends of the Society and of the Anti-Slavery cause, in that section of the State, will not fail to throng the Athol meeting next Sunday .- M.

Levitt of Cincinnati, for protecting and aiding two fellow-creatures in their escape from the hell of American Slavery. He acted simply the part of the Christian and Good Samaritan. He betrayed not the wandcrers. He delivered not unto the master the servanta which had escaped from the master unto him. He took them to his home and heart, 'bound up their wounds, pouring in oil and wine.' For obeying this plain command of God—this natural impulse of human nature, he is put on trial, in a Free State, before a United States Court! Judge Leavittis a prominent Presbyterian of Cincinnati. But the public know his infamous antocedents. He is a pious, blood-stained wretch. Neither his Presbyterianism nor the influence of the 'powerful religious rovival' in Cincinnati, will save poor Connelly from the rigors of Christian American Law, 'made and provided' for those loving and Christ-like ones who 'remember those in ing and Christ-like ones who 'remember those in bonds as bound with them'—who find their brother 'an hungered and feed him, naked and clothe him, thirsty and give him drink, sick and minister

The U.S. House of Representatives have givcen the seat for the third representative district of Ohio, to Mr. Vallandingham, Democrat, ousting Mr. Lewis D. Campbell, Republican. The ground on which the seat was contested, was that several negroes' voted for Mr. Campbell, and that he owed

In Congress on Saturday, the death of Senator Henderson of Texas was announced, and both houses at once adjourned. Mr. Henderson was elected for the term which expires in 1861. It is mentioned as a remarkable circumstance, that his colleague, Senator Houston, who announced his death and pronounced his culogy, has not spoken to him for ten years.

Frightful Tornado. A terrible tornado passed over the village of Ellison, Illinois, May 31st. Every house in the place was blown down, and 10 persons killed, and several fatally injured. Hurricane. The parish of St. Annes des Plaines Terrebonne, Canada, was visited by a destructive, hur-ricane on the 16th ult. In a district two miles long by one broad, forty buildings, including eleven dwell-ings, were destroyed. Fortunately there was no loss

of human life. The damage done is estimated at A recapitulation of the damages done by the recent hall storm in the vicinity of Fredericksburg, Va., estimates the loss to be \$150,000. Over 500,000 bushels of wheat were destroyed within a length of ten, and a breadth of three miles.

DISTRESSING CASUALTY. Eight children of Rev. Horatio Ilsley, of Boston, Ill., were drowned on the 5th inst., in a flood caused by the destruction of a dam which swept away his house. It has been since ascertained that the mother of the children was also

A party of thirty-six, from Needham, went down Boston Bay on Thursday, and were nearly all hall from every section of the great Army of Reform, violently sea-sick. Among them was Eben R. Jones, Cashier of the Worcester Railroad, who took chloroform to overcome the illness. But it had the melanteholy effect to bring on convulsions, which resulted in death before the boat could reach Rainsford Island, 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 largest philantheony assured.

The trial of General William Walker at New Orleans, for a violation of the neutrality laws, has re-sulted in a disagreement of the jury.

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

Woodstock, W. Randolph, Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, " 15. " 17. " 20 Randolph, Brookfield, Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, Williamstown, Northfield. East Montpelier, Sunday,

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture on Sun lay next, June 13, in Lowell, all day and evening Also, in Rutland, Vt., on Sunday, June 20.

NASHUA.—An Anti-Slavery Meeting will be held at Nashua, N. H., on Sunday next, June 13, afternoon and evening. Parker Pillsburt, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will attend the meeting.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN will lecture at Natick, on Sunday next, June 13, during the day and evening.

All letters for the undersigned should be sent until further notice, to Leicester, Mass. SAMUEL MAY, JR., General Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

MARRIED—In Wiscasset, Me., on the 3d inst., by Rev. David Cushman, Mr. John R. Bridgs, of Boston, to Miss Sarah C. Shartuck, of Wiscasset. In Cincinnati, 1st inst., Rev. M. D. Coxwar, pastor of the Unitarian Church in that city, to Miss Extended to Miss Extende

THE TWENTY-PIPTH NATIONAL ANTI-BLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL

The undersigned, who have for so many years done what they could to promote the Anti-Slavery Cause, financially and otherwise, through the medium of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will, as usual, hold their (twenty-fifth) anniversary at the close of the year, with the same purpose of still further strengthening the beneficial influences of that Society, moral, religious and political, for the extinction of alavery.

At the beginning, before the principles of the Cause were understood, we could not, with the alightest hope of success, ask of the public, whose affair it is no less than our own, direct contributions of money. We, therefore, devised an Annual Bazzar for the sale of contributions of articles, and it afforded an opportunity of great usefulness, both financial and social, to the Cause.

subscriptions, our good wishes, and our thanks, and to unite with us on an occasion which, as the end of one quarter of a century of labors and the beginning of another, will be of no ordinary commemorative interest and prospective significance to THE CAUSE. MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

MARY MAY, LOUISA LORING, LOUISA LORING,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
L. MARIA CHILD,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
CAROLINE WESTON,
MARY WILLEY. MARY WILLEY, SARAH BLAKE SHAW, SUSAN C. CABOT, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, ELIZA F. EDDY,
ABBY FRANCIS,
SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, AUGUSTA G. KING, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, ELIZABETH VON ARNIM, ANNA SHAW GREENE, ELIZA APTHORP, MATTIE GRIFFITH, MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, ANNE LANGDON ALGER.

FREE CONVENTION.

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 n on the natural limitations or artificial tyras nies 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 the free and pure life which both are yet destined to attain. Every Philanthropist, therefore, welcome the increasingly manifest tendencies of the presen-age, to challenge the institutions that claim contro 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 sid in carrying up this appeal. They believe the time has come when the friends of Free Thought in Vermont will find it 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 doctrins 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 invite all Philanthropists and Reformers in and out of the State, to meet in FREE CONVENTION, at Rutland, Vt., on the 25th, 26th and 27th of June next, to dam which swept away his house. It has been since gaging the attention and enort of Progressive minds ascertained that the mother of the children was also drowned. Mr. Ilsley formerly preached in Monson, Maine, and has a brother in this city.

By a reference to the names appended to this call it will be evident that it is not the project of an apecial branch or division of Reformers—having som Shibboleth of its own to be mouthed with provincia accent—but the unanimous movement of those who

hands of the Convention, and thus the interests of 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 her come, both to adorn by her presence, and strengthen by her thought, and give depth and carnestness to the action of this gathering in behalf of Humanity. Let her vindicate, by her own eloquence and zeal, the social position she is so nobly and rapidly winning for herself. The only common ground on which we seek to meet is, that of fearless discussion, and the only 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 hail all as brethren and co-laborers.

[Signed by Jone Lawron Newson Warran A.

[Signed by JOHN LANDON, NEWMAN WERES, AL-RERT LANDON, W. W. RUSSELL, of Rutland, and one hundred and fifty others, belonging to various towns

WORCESTER COUNTY NORTH. quarterly meeting of the Worcester County (North) Anti-Slavery Society will be held in ATHOL, in the Unitarian Meeting-house, on Sunday, day and evening, June 13th.
All who desire the triumph of Freedom and Justic will be welcomed to our meeting, and our opponent

we invited, as usual.

Wr. LLOYD GARRISON, Rev. Mr. O'DANIELS, SAM URL MAY, Jr., and other speakers, are expected to b present.

JOEL SMITH, President.

TESSEX COUNTY:—The annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at NEWBURYPORT, on Sunday, June 20th, morn-ing, afternoon and evening, to which all friends of Freedom, Humanity, and a pure Religion are cordi-

Atlantic Monthly

FOR JUNE. IS NOW READY.

THIS NUMBER BEGINS A NEW YOLUMR. Price, \$3.00 per annum, at 25 cents a number. For sale by all booksellers and periodical dealers.

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AT WROLESALE AND RETAIL. No. 118 WASHINGTON STREET.

E. H. HITCHINGS, JERE. A. DENNETT, BOSTON. May 21. 6m

WHAT SOUTHERN MEN HAVE SAID IN TIMES PAST.

THE SOUTHERN PLATFORM.

Manual of Southern Sentiment ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY

> COMPILED BY DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

A perfect magazine of Anti-Slavery sentiment, from the writings of Washington, Frankler, Jerreson, Chase, Adams, Wilson, Maddon, Eino, Morris, Randolph, Sherman, Mason, Patrick Herri, McDowall, Presion, and numerous others, and highly recommended by the newspaper press of the country, by distinguished living statesmen, Senators Sumner, Wilson and Hale, and Hon. Wm. Blair. Price, 25 cents.

JOHN P. JEWETT & CO. May 21.

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TRUTH STRANGER THAN FICTION! Father Henson's Story

HIS OWN LIFE. WITH AN INTRODUCTION

> the best transfer to be the second MRS. H. B. STOWE.

A N extraordinary story of an extraordinary man. His early and his later life—his trials, his sufferings, his stripes, his wonderful escapes, and his present position. Reader, would you know what American slavery is, purchase and read this book, more thrilling than a romance, more startling in its details than any work of fiction, and yet a true story of one colored man's experience, and that man THE ONE FROM INCIDENTS IN WHOSE LIFE MRS. STOWE DREW SOME OF THE MOST INTERSELY INTERESTING AND THRILLING SCENES IN HER WORLD-RENOWNED STORY OF 'UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.'

WE SHALL PUBLISH THIS Remarkable Book ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF MAY.

The First Edition will consist of

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MEN AND WOMEN, and at such a discount from the retail price as will make the business profitable to them.

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FATHER HENSON, Taken in his 68th Year. PRICE AT RETAIL, 75 CENTS.

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BOSTON. To whom all orders must be addressed.

May 14. 4wis BY R. F. WALLCUT, 21 CORNELL,

TOTTE MECAPE. OR, A LEAP POR PREEDOM: A Drama, in Five Acts.

BY WILLIAM WELLS BROWN. Price 20 cents REV. DR. CHEEVER AND HON. GERRIT

SMITH. TWO PAMPHLETS FOR THINKING MEN

AND WOMEN. No. I. Rov. Dr. Cheever's Great Speech before the Abolition Society of New York. No. II. Hon. Gerrit Smith's Discourse on Creeds and Ecclesiastical Machinery, delivered at Peterboro'. Price 5 cents each—\$3 per 100. Everybody should read these masterly productions.

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 still remain in it on the event of her meeting with auitable encouragement, will be obliged to any ladies or gentlemen who will supply her with authentic information regarding good localities for PRIVATE TEACHING, exclusive of the slave States. She teaches English, French, Music, Drawing, and 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,

2043 Chesnut street, Philadelphis.

May 28.

BREAD WITHOUT POWDERS OR YEAST. How to make light, delicious Bread with simple

FLOUR AND WATER ONLY. THIS Bread is prepared for the oven in a few min-utes, (with fine or coarse flour,) and may be eaten warm without injury. A little Hand-Book containing the above and 30 other receipts for Health-ful Cooking, &c., sent post free for 11 cents in stamps, by WM. HUNT, (Boston Water Cure,)

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-Slavezy Convention, on Friday night, January 29, 1858. By Thropons Parker. Price, 17 cents. Just published, and for sale by BELA MARSH, No. 14 Bromfield street. Also, for sale as above, all of Mr. Parker's works, ither in pamphlet form, or bound in cloth. Mch26 tf

DANIEL MANN, M. D. SURGEON DENTIST, And Manufacturer of Mineral Touth,

(Formerly Mann & Melbourne, Sammer St.) ()
Has an office in SUFFOLK PLACE, (two doors
Washington atreet.) and invites old friends and Washington street,) and invites old friends and ne ones to visit him. Invalids and others who dialike visit a Dentist's Office will be waited upon at the For the Liberator.
WHO ARE THE DEAD.

. They are not dead, but gone before." Who are not dead? The Good, the Great; The wisely great, the actively good, Who pampered not self in haughty state, Nor crept through life in indolent mood.

And they are not dead, the Tempted, the Tried. The champions and martyrs of Truth and Right, Who pleasure and pain alike defied— Their stendfast gaze fixed on eternal light.

Nor are they dead, the Patient, the Kind, Whose lives were gentle, and lovely, and pure; They were strength to the weak, were sight to the

They built on the Rock that shall ever endure. Are such departed to Sheol's gloom,

Where, with sword and shield, 'neath the haughty head. In half-conscious repose on each kingly tomb, Rest the armed forms of the mighty dead?

Do they stray among soft Elysian bowers, Pining for earthly joys or woes? Do their shadowy forms in Elysian flowers,

Rest from war and strife in listless repose? With haughty glance, and martial tread, Do they pace through Odin's echoing hall? Do they quaff at his board the sparkling mead,

And exult in their pride o'er foeman's fall? The Just, the Holy, the truly Great, The vrisen with Christ,' do they sit each one Alone in idle, monotonous state, Robed, sceptred and crowned on a gorgeous throne

No! the Christian's hope soars upward, and on, Beyond the bounds of time's limited span; Until Christ's 'fulness of stature 'be won ; Till he reach the ' height of the perfect man;'

Till, one with Christ, and his Father above. His faith and hope become certainty; Till 'fear be cast out by perfect love, And time be lost in eternity. Tenterden, (England.) JANE ASHBY.

> From the New York Tribune. GEORGE B. CHEEVER. Stand up ! true-hearted man ! Stand till thy work is done, The foremost soldier in the fight, The bondman's champion !

I hear thy burning words Ring manfully and lond : They thrill me like a trumpet's blast From out a battle-cloud.

They come with weight and power, In prophet utterance bold ; They mind me of the manly hearts And golden days of old.

In high and nervous strength Above the strife they peal, Like the crusader's battle-shout, The clashing of his steel.

I see them charge a-field. I see their blows all harmless glance From off thy red cross shield. I will not bid thee hope,

Nor bid thee not to fear; I'll not insult thee with advice, Nor greet thee with a cheer. I know thy purpose pure;

Thy path for thee is made; Thy work is for the souls of men. And what the Lord hath said. This, then, be thy reward, The task of duty done,

The love of man, the fear of God, And triumph of His Son. Great heart and stalwart arm. Strike home with all your might !

Spare not in trampled manhood's name: And God defend the right!

WHAT THE BELLS SAID. Sunday morning, bright and still-On the maple-crested hill, Here we wander at our will.

All of life revives to-day; Swell the buds on every spray; Sing the birds the song of May. Golden clouds float still and slow; Lies the lake like glass below; White the village churches show.

From their spires the calling bells Sound : the older tale they tell. Heard from childhood- Heaven or Hell!

At our feet, where sinks the land, Ridge-enclosed on either hand, By the score the marbles stand. Where are fled our kinsmen-they

Whom we laid but yesterday In this valley of decay? From the spire reply is given :

'Most to hell, though some to heaven; Hearts, submit! though anguish-riven!' Of Creator of our race! Leave us in this resting-place, In our mother earth's embrace ! Let us back to whence we came. Forced into Life's fatal game,

All unwitting of our blame! Could our petty tens of years, Hopes and sorrows, loves and tears, Bring us to this doom of fears?

All is over now; at rest, Sleeping on the green hill's breast, Leave us by thy kind behest !

From the heavy-swinging bell, Wavers still the sullen knell-*Some to heaven, but most to hell! Peace! harsh notes of brazen tongue!

We have borne your clamor long : Shall the Father do us wrong? From the blue, o'er-brooding sky,

From the waters calm that lie, From the clouds that gilded fly; From the green that clothes the hill. From the bird that sings its fill.

From our hearts-while all is still-Comes the voice that thrills the soul, *Toward one end the Ages roll,

All is under His control. * Friends have only gone before;

Thou shalt know when life is o'er; Trust, meanwhile, and fear no more. Sunday morning, 16th May, 1858.

ROSY JUNE. With thy gift of buds and bells. For the uplands and the dells, With the wild bird and the bee On the blossom and the tree, And my heart leaps forth to meet thee, With a joyous thrill to greet thee Rosy June.

SELECTIONS.

[Correspondence N. Y. Tribune.] THE MARAIS DES CYGNES MASSACRE

MONEKA, Linn Co., R. I., May 20.

Yesterday a party of Pro-Slavery men, from Missouri, came into the 'Trading Post,' situated on the military road leading from Fort Scott to Fort Leavenworth, where it crosses the Osage river, about three miles from the State line. They were not seen till they emerged from the timber, and rode up to the store. Here they took Mr. G. W. Andrews and John F. Campbell prisoners. They then started on the road towards Kansas City.— They overtook here a Mr. Stillwell, from Sogar Mound, who was going up to the river for a load of provisions. They took him prisoner, and ordered the others to get into his wagon and ride. In a half a mile further, they came to a missionary, by the name of Rev. Charles Read. They ordered him into the wagen, and dissisted Andrews. into the wagon, and dismissed Andrews. They con-tinued on for two miles and a half, when they had taken twelve men.

These men had been taken when at their work, without resistance, and unarmed, and had never been implicated in the troubles in Kansas. They

were conservative men.
On arriving at a deep ravine, in a skirt of timber, the comander called a halt. The prisoners were formed into line, about five yards in advance

were formed into line, about the yards in advance of the horsemen.

The command was given to 'Present Arms! Fire!' Every man dropped. Four were killed dead! All but one of the others were hadly wounded. The ruffians then wheeled their horses, and galloped off. In a few minutes, three of them returned, and searched their victims for money. They kicked the men, and rolled them over very roughly, to see if they were dead. Finding one only slightly wounded, a ruffian put a revolver to his ear and fired, remarking that he had always found that the most marking that he had always found that the most certain shot he could make. He took the key of the safe out of Mr. Campbell's pocket, saying there was money in that safe, and he would come back some night and get it.'

The names of the killed are-William Stillwell, of Sugar Mound, recently from Iowa. He is a young man, with a young and beautiful wife, and two young children. He felt perfectly safe, remarking to a companion that 'he was a Free Mason;' and it is said that a Free Mason, Dr. Hamilton, of Fort Scott, shot him. He was killed with a double-barreled shot gun, loaded with pistol balls, the charge entering his left breast. He was highly esteemed in the neighborhood, and

his death will be avenged.

Patrick Ross was an Irishman, and had been driven from his claim on the Little Osage by the same gang.

Mr. Colpetzer was a farmer from Penusylvania.

Michael Robinson the same, from Iowa.

John F. Campbell, a store keeper from Pennsylvania. He was a young man highly esteemed, and

rious for two years past. There were twenty-five in all, and they were well acquainted with the men whom they killed, excepting Stillwell. Eight of them lived in Kansas, and seventeen in Missouri. Most of these seventeen lived in and around Westport. This place was the Border-Ruffian head-quarter. The place was the Border-Ruffian head-quarter. port. This place was the Border-Ruffian head-quarters in 1856, having a blue lodge, and being the rendezvous of the Southern army of invasion under Gen. Clark, and the secret chamber of the 'Counwho decided the fate of prisoners and

of settlers during that gloomy year.

The murders were committed yesterday at one o'clock. The news spread like wildfire over the country, and before midnight, three hundred armed men had assembled at the trading post. Scouts were sent into Missouri, but no clue could be found of their retreat. Most of the people in the State condemned the act, and were willing we should take them if we could. It is supposed the ruffians are at Westport, and our men are marching on that place, with the intention of taking them—peace-ably if we can, and forcibly if we must. Captain Montgomery and his men are here. The other citizens generally are not organized. There are no arms in the country except sporting guns, and not half of the men have those. Brig. Gen. McDaniel is with the company, but having no military knowledge, he does not attempt any organization or discipline. The men, however, being determined to fight, will go on, whether they have officers or not

OSAWATOMIE, K. T., May 26, 1858. Accounts have reached your readers, ere this, of the recent atrocious massacre on the Osage, or Marais des Cygnes River. So frightfully horrible were the first details of the event, that I hesitated in giving credence to the report. A nearer approach to the scene has proved the awful and fatal tragedy but too true. It has certainly been one of the most hideous and cold-blooded atrocities of the age. The Sepoy horrors of India are no great r stain upon humanity.

It is but a week ago to-day since a party of Border-Ruffians, numbering twenty-three, crossed the Missouri border in Lynn County, near the Marais des Cygnes. They were mounted and well armed, and went to the trading-post, formerly a sort of Pro-Slavery head-quarters The visit was of a domiciliary character. Like the Denton and Hendricks murder, it was the evident purpose of those men to commit further outrages that should appal the free-State settlers. Their operations were not conducted against any person who had rendered himself obnoxious to them. The victims were squatters of the most peaceable class-men who d never been heard of previously in the mixed strife of politics and war; who were evidently picked up at random, and who were the victims of their own defenceless condition.

The invading party was not composed exclusively of Missourians. I learn positively that one-half nearly of the number were of the Fart Scott band.

It was commanded by Dr. Geo. P. Hamilton, formerly of Georgia. It will be remembered that under the simulated name of Capt Jennigen, he figured among Buford's braves in the wars of '56. He was a member of the Lecompton Constitutional

Missouri town to buy provisions. Another was a Baptist preacher, past middle life. The latter was of the wounded—the former killed.

There was no trial, or attempt at trial. No charge was preferred against them. The parties were claiefly strangers to each other. The poor men, unarmed, were led into a ravine. There they were drawn up in a line, and for the first time perceived the frightful nature of their situation, dark suspicions of which had been already suggesting themselves. The murderers ranged themselves immediately in front of their victims, and with fatal promptitude and coolness, at the command of their ing to-day succeeded, I take great pleasure in send-

leader, deliberately shot them. At the first fire all of the eleven prisoners fell. The murderers, to make sure work, loaded and fired several times. Monera, Linn Co., K. T., May 20.

make sure work, loaded and fired several times. Some of them used their revolvers. One of the survivors, who was severely wounded, and who was lying on the ground, had a pistol ball put in his head. He says that one of the party stooped down over him, and put a pistol to his car and fired. The ball ranged downward, and, glancing along the jawbone, came out near his mouth, without inflicting a fastal wound. Others were shot at thus on the ground. For some minutes the scene must have

ing a fatal wound. Others were shot at thus on the ground. For some minutes the scene must have been perfectly horrible—these twenty-three assassins loading and firing at the dead and wounded party of unarmed men. At last, when they believed that their bloody work was completely done, they turned from the scene of horrors, and fied to Missouri.

Although all of the prisoners fell when first fired at, they were not all killed. Five of them were killed on the spot, or died shortly after of their wounds. Five were wounded, all severely, and most of them with several wounds. Only one of them entirely escaped. Although not wounded, he had the presence of mind to drop when his companions fell, and so perfect was his simulation of death, that he escaped without a wound. I have seen a man who examined the wounds of the others. He says they were all shot in front. Some of them had they were all shot in front. Some of them had other wounds, received while lying on the ground. The five wounded men, although all severely burt, are all likely to recover. The five dead have left wid-

are all likely to recover. The five dead have left widows and orphans, and parents and brothers, to
mourn their fate.

A woman was the first person who saw the scene
of carnage. Living in the vicinity of the massacre,
and having seen the prisoners in the hands of their
captors, and heard the report of the firearms, she
sought out the party. When she first viewed the
horrible spectacle, the men were all lying quietly
on the ground, and seemed to be dead. She cried
aloud, and her woman's voice having inspired confidence, those who were not dead replied to her,
One or two of those who finally died, were yet able
to converse for some time. Assistance was obtained, and the wounded were conveyed to a house near the trading-post. The alarm was sounded, and Capt. Montgomery and Mr. McDaniels, Brigadier-General of the Territorial Militia, were soon on the spot. It is believed that the Ruffians have separated, and are skulking about.

From the Boston Transcript. THE LATE REV. DUDLEY A. TYNG. WASHINGTON, May 27, 1858.

Dear Transcript: On Sunday evening last, Rev. Geo. D. Cummins, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church in this city, preached a sermon to the young men of his congregation, on the Life and Character of the late Dudley A. Tyng, from the following text:
And devout men carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.' The discourse mainly consisted of quotations from the newspapers of the day, giving an account of the last moments of the lamented youthful champion of civil and relig-ious liberty, prefaced by a few personal reminiscenes

had no family.

The wounded are Wm. Hargrove and his brother, Asa Hargrove, formerly of Georgia, who came here to live in a free State. This is the head and front of their offending. Also Rev. Charles Read, a Baptist preacher, from Wisconsin, who moved into that place a week ago. He was badly wounded, and crept into the woods, and was not found till morning. Amos Hall, and his brother, Austin Hall, who was not hurt, but tell from prudential reasons. Charles Snyder slightly hurt in the leg and back.

The wounded are Wm. Hargrove and his brother, Assaling to this life.

Dr. Cummins was evidently a great admirer of Mr. Tyng, and spoke of him in such terms of praise as must have gratified every triend of the deceased who listened to him; but near the close of his sermon, when alluding to Mr. Tyng's celebrated discourse upon slavery, in which he so boldly denounced among other crimes growing out of and inseparably connected with the accursed institution, the murrederous assault upon Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber, he made use of language most insulting to the memory of the lamented subject of his discourse. reasons. Charles Snyder slightly hurt in the leg and back.

The ruffian band was led by Brockett, of Fort Scott, and accompanied by Dr. Hamilton and others of that place, who have made themselves notores of that place, who have made themselves notores of that place.

sketch of this portion of the sermon as I desire to do, and I must therefore confine myself to a single quotation from memory. After a glowing allusion to the purity, fidelity and self-denying spirit of Mr. Tyng, he added with emphasis:

'But he was not perfect-I know you what I am about to say—he was not perfect. He committed one error, one deep, grave, awful error. He introduced a political question into his pulpit. He did it but once, and although nearly three years of his ministry have elapsed since that time, it was never repeated, and I firmly believe that he carnestly and deeply repented of this error.

Where or how Dr. Cummins obtained his information, it is hard to imagine. The statement is utterly destitute of truth, and must have been ignorantly or maliciously uttered. That he has done great injustice to the fame of Mr. Tyng will be seen by the following correspondence. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Bailey for a printed slip con-taining these letters, in advance of their publication in the National Era:

WASHINGTON, May 24, 1858. My Dear Sir : I have not had the honor of your personal acquaintance, though I believe I have met you once; but my purpose in writing to you at the present time is such that I hope I shall be pardoned present time is such that I hope I shall be pardoned for the liberty I take. I heard, last evening, a sermon on the character of your late son, Rev. D. A.

Tyng, in which the speaker referred to the position
which he took on the Slavery question, and which
resulted in the separation of himself from the church to which he ministered, as the error, the great error of his life—one which he never repeated, and o which he always after repented.

It being the first time that I ever heard such a suggestion, and feeling fully confident that it is untrue, and does great injustice to the memory of your deceased son, and that it is due to the cause of truth, of justice, of humanity, and to the just fame of the honored dead, that this statement should be met at the outset by an authoritative statement from one authorized to speak, I request of you, if not inconsistent with your feelings and sense of propriety, that you will be pleased to inform me whether your late son either directly or indirectly manifested or expressed any regret for or repentance of the course he so manfully assumed, and, as his admirers have supposed, so firmly and faithfully sustained till

I trust that the great interest which I and the friends with whom I co-operate feel in everything relating to the great cause of civil, religious and personal liberty, will plead my excuse for what may seem a rude intrusion upon you in this time of your

grief. With much respect, yours, JOHN P. HALE. Rev. S. H. Tyng.

among Buford's bravos in the wars of '56. He was a member of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention from Bourbon County, or Fort Sott. Brocket was also with him. Hill, another prominet Ruffian of Fort Scott, was of the party. Then there were another Mr. Hamilton and his son, also Buford men, who have lived near the trading post on the Marais des Cygnes. Five others of the party were the disbanded soldiers of Captain Anderson's company of dragoons, who were drummed out of their company some time ago, at the instance of the fact, or designed to do so, his sclemn and well consciences to do, on his final action on the same ground of consideration, in July, 1857. I send by mail a copy of the 'statement,' published by his own consumption of the statement, published by his own cons

I am with much regard, your friend and servant Hon. John P. Hale, U. S. Senate.

ng it to you, just as it was delivered in the pulpit of the Epiphany, on the 29th of June last. I have just read it over, after nearly six months' interval, and find no word which I would retract, and feel more than ever thankful for having been enabled to discharge so solemn a duty. I doubt not that, in inture years, it will be regarded with somewhat of the interest which now attaches to the first attempts at the suppression of the slave trade.

Very respectfully and truly,

Dudley A. Tyno.

ada, and there was an apartment of the building appropriated to Canadian products. I therefore insisted that my boards should be removed from the American Department to the Canadian. But, said the American, 'You cannot do it. All these things are under my control. You can exhibit what belongs to you if you please, but not a thing here must be moved an inch without my con-

This was rather a damper to me. I thought his position was rather absurd, but how to move him or my boards seemed just then beyond my control. A happy thought, however, occurred to me.— Thought I, if this Yankee wants to retain my furniture, the world shall know whom it belongs to. I accordingly hired a painter to paint in good large white letters on the top of my boards: 'This is the product of the industry of a Fugitive Slave FROM THE UNITED STATES, WHOSE RESIDENCE IS DAWN, Canada.' This was done early in the morning. In due time the American superintendent came around, and found me at my post. The gaze of astonishment with which he read my inscription, was laughable to witness. His face was black as a thunder-cloud. 'Look here, sir,' said he; 'what under heaven have you got up there?'—'O, that is only a little information to let the people know who I am.'—'But don't you know better than that? Do you suppose I am going to have that insult up there?' The English gentlemen began to gather around, chuckling with half suppressed delight, to see the wrath of the Yankee. This only added fuel to the fire. 'Well. sir,' said he, 'do you suppose I am going to bring that stuff across This was done early in the morning. In added fuel to the fire. 'Well. sir,' said he, 'do you suppose I am going to bring that stuff across the Atlantic for nothing?'—'I have never asked you to bring it for nothing. I am ready to pay you, and have been from the beginning.'—'Well, sir, you may take it away, and carry it where you please.'—'O.' said I, 'I think, as you wanted it very much, I will not disturb it. You can have it now.'—'No sir, take it amon'.' pardon, sir,' said I, ' when I wanted to remove it, you would not allow it, and now, for all me, it shall remain.' In the meantime, the crowd enjoyed it, and so did I. The result was, that by the next day the boards were removed to their proper place at no expense to me, and no bill was ever presented against me for carrying the lumber across the At-

A FUGITIVE WHITE SLAVE.

About the first of January, there arrived at the depot of the Under Ground Rail Road in this city, depot of the Under Ground Rail Road in this city, a woman, quite handsome, and perfectly white, who came from Lexington, Ky. She told a story, the truth of which was subsequently ascertained by the agents of the U. G. R. R. Her father was her first master, and resided in the interior of Kentucky. As we have said, the negro element in her was completely bleached out. She was consequently treated like a free person, and was told by her father that in his will be had made provision for her manumission. Her father died, and in his will he made provision for her manumission of the manumission. umission. Her father died, and in his will he made provision for her manumission. His will was, it is supposed, destroyed by some of the heirs, as it contemplated a disposition of his property not acceptable to them. The girl was sold with the estate. She was bought by a man who treated her so badly

Her master became in some way acquainted with ber place of residence, and a few weeks since made an attempt to capture her. The son of her father, the son of her last owner, and one or two others, came to the city in pursuit. Hearing of her reli. Nile, in Iran, in China, was the work of colored the son of her last owner, and one or two others, came to the city in pursuit. Hearing of her religious propensities, these young men became devout, (would they had remained so!) attended prayer meetings, listened to sermons, &c., and attracted the notice of some zealous brethren, who thought they

saw in the young men the beginnings of the religious life.

So matters went on, till one Sanday night they saw the white slave at church. When she left for her home, in company with some two or three female friends, they followed them, and attempted to her home, in company with some two or three fe-male friends, they followed them, and attempted to arrest her. She acting on the Apostle's injunction, arrest her. She acting on the Apostle's injunction,
'If thou mayst be free, use it,' rather resisted the
attempt at a capture. She had pluck as well as religion, as the Kentuckians found. While they ligion, as the Kentuckians found. While they were squabbling, two policemen came up, and remonstrated with the young men 'for abusing the ladies.' The girl slipped off, leaving the police and the Kentuckians to settle the matter. The next day she started for Canada via the Under Ground Rail Road, and, as she says in a letter received here a day or two ago, 'arrived safely at hearing nothing of the pursuers on the way; she is well, and has met with kind friends.'

We regret to say that the young Kentucky gentemen have dropped church-going, and, if we may believe one of the girl's companions, on the night of the attempted arrest, made use of certain phrases which, although often heard in (Orthodox) churches, are decidedly improper when used by laymen.— Cincinnati Gazette.

PENITENTIARY STAMPEDE-SHARP PRACTICE!

The Stillwater Messenger records an escapade of four prisoners from the State Prison at that place on Sunday last—consisting of Thos. Dunn, a convict from Ramsey county; Peter Farrell, prisoner from Waseca county; Henry Stall and Henry Thease, prisoners from Winona county; They used their beds to deaden the sound, and with an iron bar prisoners from Winona county: They used their beds to deaden the sound, and with an iron bar picked their way through the miscrable stonework of the prison. It seems there were two other prisoners with them. One being a man upon whose evidence one of the fugitives had been convicted, and the other a *gemman ob color,* whom they could be resulted to strend; and, third, he believed in no such summary process as is sanctioned by the summary process as is sanctioned by the summary process. the other a 'gemman ob color,' whom they could not tolerate in their aristocratic company on account of complexion, the two were locked in their respective cells. The Messenger tells the rest of the story as follows:

When Sambo was reprimanded for not giving the alarm when he knew what was going on, he very gravely informed the Warden that he was not placed there on that kind of duty! When informed that the law would regard him as a particeps criminis to the transaction, by thus sanctioning or permitting the deed, and would probably punish him severely by extending his imprisonment, he very sarcastically replied—'Sir, you can't fool this nigger with any such logic! De higher court says "a nigger has no rights which white men are bound to repect," and such being the case, what right had dis nigger to say a word? None, nir—no right o blow on dem four white gemmen. Rather sharp practice, that!—Minnesota Republican.

"Nor should history forget to record that, as in the sarmy at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band, the free negroes of the colony had their representatives. For the right of free negroes to bear arms in the public defence was, at that day (1775.) as little disputed in New England as their other rights. They took their place not in the separate corps, but in the ranks with the white man, and their names may be read on the pension rolls of the country side by side with those of other soldiers of the Revolution.

**The Senators from the free States have circulated 680,000 copies of speeches during the present session, and those from the alave States but 130 000. That is about in proportion to the number and invaligence of their respective constituents. When Sambo was reprimanded for not giving the

Senator Sumnez, of Massachusetts, has found that another voyage to Europe is necessary to restore his health, and has accordingly again sailed for that purpose. We never doubted that Sumner got a pretty hard drubbing—perhaps much harder than/he deserved—from Brooks's hiskory stick; but after all, it has given him a re-election, and made him a very interesting specimen of Senatorial martyrdom, without in the least crippling his ability to cross the ocean, climb the Alps, and play the nabob before the crowned heads of Europe. Who would not run the risk of a few pretty dry knocks to become such a privileged invalid?—Newport (N. H.) Argus.

It has long since become a matter of history that

Much comment upon the above correspondence is nanocessary, and the many friends of Mr. Tyng now in this city will wait with some anxiety to see what course will be pursued by Dr. Cummins. There is but one thing for him to do as a 'Christian Gentleman,' and that is publicly to correct his erroneous statement. It is to be hoped he will take an early opportunity to set himself right on this matter.

One year ago this week, the eloquent voice of Mr. Tyng, now hushed in death, was heard in Park Street Church in Boston, in one of the most fervid and fearless denunciations of the sin of slavery ever uttered. Handreds of persons who will peruse this letter, will have a vivid recollection of the hour and the man.

A SLAVE AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.

[From 'Father Henson's Story of his own Life, published by John P. Jewett & Co.]

The history of my connection with the World's Fair is a little amusing. Because my boards happened to be carried over in the American Department, who was from Boston, (I think his name was Riddle, insisted that my lumber should be exhibited in the American Department. To this I objected. I was a citizen of Canada, and my boards were from Canada, and there was an apartment of the building appropriated to Canadian products. I there-

the next session of Congress on the first of December. He has taken his departure, with the ardent prayer of every man who has an honest New England heart throbbing in his bosom, that his hopes may be fully realized.—Northern Advocate.

The Brooklyn Eagle treats its renders to the collowing exhibition of brutality and ruffianism:

Senator Sumner has gone once more to Europe and has addressed a valedictory letter to his consti-tuents, in which he says he has not yet recovered from the caving he received; and that if he had thought he was to be so long under its influence, be would have resigned, but he wished to 'expose the hideous barbarism of Slavery,' and considered that his vacant chair would be a perpetual speech; or, in other words, that his sore head would be good Black Republican capital, and as such he would nurse it as long as possible. The fact that he drew his selary as Scnator without doing any of the du-ties, was, we suspect, the real motive. Although the author of the assault has been removed to a the author of the assault has been removed to a higher tribunal than public opinion, Sumner's howling has survived the event, and outlived public sympathy. A man with such an exceedingly tender cranium ought to have kept a decent tongue in his head. A Democrat would have had his head broken a dozen times without whining so much over it. Had Sumner graduated at Tammany Hall, he would have taken all he got as a friendly joke.

Mr. Sumner is doubtless thankful that he did no 'graduate' at any place where bludgeoning a man to death's door is regarded 'as a friendly joke.' The thickness of skuli that would have qualified him to 'graduate' at Tammany Hall would not have so well fitted him to stand as a memorial of the better days of the American Senate .- New York

SUMMER IN SEARCH OF HEALTH. The New York Evening Post publishes a letter which the Hon. Charles Summer has addressed to his constituents on the eve of departure for Europe, 'in search of health,' The honorable gentleman indulges in a touching allusion to his chastisement, and laments his inability to discharge the duties of his office. But, he generously forbears to tender his resignation. Wonderful self-sacrifice; for so long as he visits the Senate chamber, the spectre of the lamented Brooks will haunt his imagination and paralyze his energies. will haunt his imagination and paralyze his energies If he would have health, he must separate himsel from associations which oppress and overpower his feeble nature.—The South.

HUMBOLDT ON AMERICAN SLAVERY. We clip the following extract from a private letter of Mr. Julius Froebel, communicated to the Tribune by the Baron's consent. It is a green spot indeed to see this eminent man so strong in a point where so many young and old in this country have shown themselves so weak and unsound.

She was bought by a man who treated her so badly that she attempted to run away. She was caught, brought back, and beaten so that she still bears the marks of the whip upon her back. Her second attempt to escape was more successful. She reached Lexington, and there took the cars for Covington.

She was so Caucasian in appearance as to excite no suspicion, and reached Cincinnati safely. Hershe found friends, occupation and a home. Falling under revival influences, she became connected with one of the churches here, and was constant in her attendance at meetings.

Her master became in some way acquainted with her place of residence, and a few weeks since made

men, though not wooly haired.

I still work hard, mostly in the night, because am unmercifully tormented with a correspondence for the most part, of not the slightest interest.

I am ever your illegible AL. HIMBOLDT

Berlin, January 11, 1858.

SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PIO-NEER SETTLEMENT OF OHIO. Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

MARIETTA, Ohio, April 7, 1858.

• Another letter, written to Gen. R. Putnam, is somewhat pertinent to the present time, and is worthy of perusal by Chief Justice Taney:

'Head Quarters, Feb. 2, 1783.

Sir: Mr. Hobby having claimed as his property a negro man now serving in the Massachusetta Regiment, you will please to order a Court of Inquiry, consisting of five as respectable officers as can be found in your brigade, to examine the validity of the claim, the manner in which the person in question came into service, and the propriety of his being discharged or retained in service. Having inquired into the matter, with all the attending circumstances, they will report to you their opinion thereon, which you will report to me as soon as conveniently may be. · HEAD QUARTERS, Feb. 2, 1783. to me as soon as conveniently may be I am Sir, with great respect, Your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

P. S. All concerned should be notified to attend. Brig. Gen. Putnam.

This letter shows three things: First, that colore

BANGROFT OR TANEY? In his account of the Bat-tle of Bunker Hill, published since the announcement of the Dred Scott decision, Mr. Bancroft says:

IT IS NOT A DYE!

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR

RESTORER WORLD'S

Hair Dressing.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE A EUROPEAN REPUTATION! THE Restorer, used with the Zylobalsamum Dressing, cures diseases of the hair co-Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scale, and RESTORES GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL

COLORI The Zylobalsamum or Dressing alone is the best The Zylobalsamum or Dressing alone is the bet hair dressing extant for young or old.

We take pleasure in presenting the following and deniable proofs that these are the best preparation either in Evrope or America. They contain no deleterious ingredients—do not soil or stain anything.

GREAT BRITAIN. REV. W. B. THORNELO. Prescot, Lancaskin, EV. W. B. Holder's World's Hair Restore and Zylobalsamum are perfect marrels. After using them six weeks, my extremely gray heir is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it is not a dye."

REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, for many years Mit. sionary to Hayti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y., Te climate having seriously affected her hair and scale says, . I have derived much benefit from the used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zy. lobalsamum. I have tried various other remedia for my hair, but never anything that so material, and permanently benefitted me, as has Mrs. S. A. Al.

J. H. EATON, Pres. Union Univ., Tenn. 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restore and Zylobalsamum but very irregularly, but, ag. withstanding, its influence was distinctly vialle, The falling off of hair ceased, and my locks, which were quite gray, restored to their original black REV. H. V. DEGAN, Ed. Guide to Holines, Ro.

ton, Mass. 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Her Restorer and Zylobalsamum promotes the gravit of the hair where baldness has commented, ve now have the evidence of our own eyes." REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, Cor. Sec. B'd Edu'a N.

Y. City. 'I procured Mrs. S. A. Allen's Well's Hair Restorative and Zylobalsamum for a relative I am happy to say it prevented the falling off of the hair, and restored it, from being gray, to its not ural glossy and beautiful black. REV. JNO. E. ROBIE, Ed. ' Chr. Ade.,' Bufela

N. Y. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are the best hair preparations I have ere known. They have restored my hair to its criginal REV. J. WEST, Brooklyn, N. Y. 'I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Mrs.

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

samum, and also to acknowledge its curing my gray. ness and baldness." REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Agt. Bap. Penn. Pub. Sec. We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Aller's

World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, Washington, N. E. Please inform Mrs. — where Mrs. S. A. Al-len's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum can be had in Boston. You may say in my name that I know they are what they purport to be.'

REV. MOSES THACHER (60 years of age,) Fitcher, N. Y. Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer and Zylobalsamum, my hair ceases to bil, and is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied 'tis nothing like a dve.'

REV. D. T. WOOD, Middletown, N. Y. 'My his has greatly thickened. The same is true of another of my family, whose head we thought would become almost bare. Her hair has handsomely thickend and has a handsome appearance since using Ma. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamun.

REV. S. B. MORLEY, Attleboro', Mass. 'The d. feet of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum has been to change the 'crown of glory' belonging to old men, to the original hard youth. The same is true of others of my acquaint-

REV. J. P. TUSTIN, Ed. ' South Baptist,' &c., Charleston, S. C. 'The white hair is becoming obviated by new and better hair forming, by the use of Mrs. & A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobals. mum.

REV. C. A. BUCKBEE, Treas. Am. Bible Union, N. Y. 'I cheerfully add my testimony to that of remerous other friends, to Mrs. S. A. Allen's Worlds Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The latter I have found superior to anything I ever used." REV. JOS. McKEE, N.Y. City. . Recommends them.

REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, Ct. 'We think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. WM. PORTEUS, Stanwick, Ct. 'Mrs. S. L. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamra have met my most sanguine expectations in causing

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

storer and Zylobalsamum.' REV. E. EVANS, Delhi, O. 'I have used Mr. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalssmum. They have changed my hair to its natural color, and stopped its falling off.'

REV. WM. R. DOWNS, Howard, N.Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Dressing has no superior. It cleanses the hair and scalp, removes harshness and dryness, and always produces the softness, silkiness and natural gloss so requisite to the human hair. REV. C. M. KLINCK, Lewistown, Pa. 'Mrs. S. I.

Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused new growth.' -We might quote from others of the numerous letters we have and are constantly receiving, but we deem the have at least the best preparations in the world for the hair of the young or old. We manufacture no ether preparations. Occupying the large building, cond of Broome and Elizabeth streets, exclusively for client sales rooms and warmen and an experience of Broome and streets.

salesroom and manufactory, we have no time or is-clination to engage in other manufactures.

These are the only preparations exported in any We also would call attention to the fact that we have

always avoided all charlatanism. Our preparations as the highest priced, but the cheapest, because it is longer, and does more good; the expense, in the sail less than others. We aspire to have the best, so the lowest priced. One bottle of Restorer will list nearly a year. \$1.50 per bottle. Balsam, 373 cents nearly a year. \$1.50 per bottle. Balsam, 373 cents GENUINE has Mrs. S. A. Allen' signed in Red Ink to outside

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Broome Street, New York, blown on them. The Balsam
bottles are of green glass, with Mrs. S. A. Allen's
World's Balsam, 355 Broome Street, New York, blown
on them. Circulars around bottles copyrighted, long
other is genuine. Signing the name by other is lorge
ry, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offence.

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Sold by nearly every drug and fancy goods dealer address all letters for information to World's Hair Restorer Depot, NO. 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y.