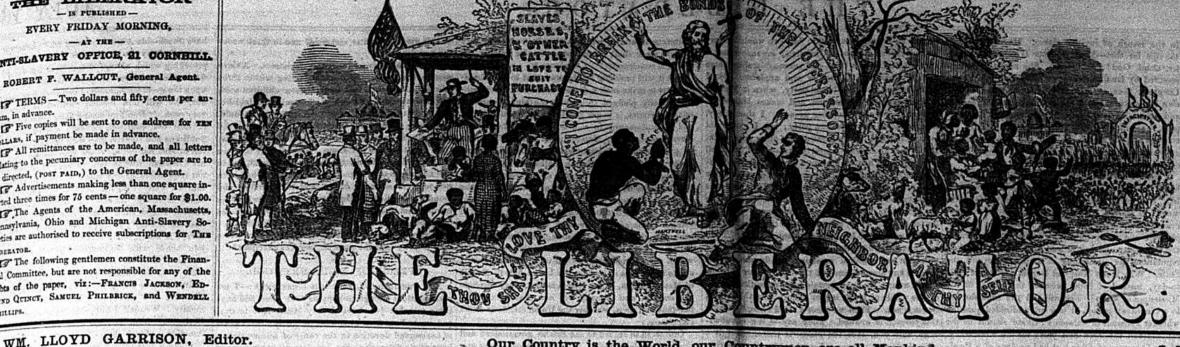
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Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

stables of the institution. . . There is some excus for communities, when, under a generous impulse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States and by force restore their rights; but they are without

necess in aiding other States in binding on men amenighteous yoke. On this subject, our PATHERS, IN

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving

of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

PRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED PROM RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a

nited States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

ent with hell."

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 29.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 16, 1858. WHOLE NUMBER, 1439.

- WILLIAM RILERY CHANNING.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

THE DEMAGOGUE CALEB CUSHING. Extracts from an harangue delivered before the Satanic Democracy of New York, in Tammany Hall,the head-quarters of 'patriotic' ruffianism and filibustering scoundrelism, by CALES CUSHING, of Mas-I do, indeed, sometimes hear men talk of the dis-

Venus miles, and serious of full tor of term term term of the serious of the seri

solution of the Union. A set of noisy and half crary agitators here in the North tells us that the Union ought to be dissolved, because, they say, the Constitution of the United States is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell; and thereupon the echo of their outcries occasionally returns to us in a declaration from the South that the Union must dissolved, because of the fact that so many of these wild theorists of Negrophilism, and Free Love, and Woman's Rights, and Irreligion, and Socialism, and pine-table Spiritualism are allowed to go at large in the North.

Such persons, it is true, do exist among us; de-naturalized women, unhappy that they are not men, and denationalized men, unworthy even to be women. They, also, will assemble somewhere to-day, not as Americans, but as libellers and vituperators of Americans-to desecrate some venerable church, or defile some sylvan shade—to say how much they love all black men, and how much they detest all white ones and in the profaned name of Liberty, to proclaim their unappeasable enmity to the Union, to the Constitution, to the Bible, to their Country.

Well, be it so. What then? Are there not Americans enough—in heart as well as name—to preserve the integrity of the Union, in spite of all these ravings of unloosed Bediam? Aye, ten, twenty, thirty millions of such—Americans devoted to the Union, and who, if need were, could and would, occasion requiring, devour and swallow up this handful of negrophilist Union-haters, as the boiling whirlpool of Niagara overwhelms the slight skiff of some intoxicated Indian. Yes, we are strong enough, in the light of our freedom and in the vigor of our country, to tolerate and to pity all such impotent fees of the Union. I say, to tolerate and to pity them : for, when I witness their ebullitions of wild wrath as they speak of the American Union, I become sure that their souls are writhing with dis-Spirit. Each one of them, as he gazes at the day-star of the Union, seems with desperate passion to

O thou, that with surpassing glory crowned Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God Of this New World • • to thee I call, But with no friendly voice, and add thy name, O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams.

Is it not so? Is not that a true picture ? Well, let them hate and tave. They are, indeed, to us in the North, where they hold their annual conventionorgies, the drunken Helats of the commonwealth— useful to show forth the ugliness of infidelity and of treason, for the edification and admonition of the ngenuous youth of our Lacedamon North.
Dissolution of the Union by such influences? I seern the very idea.

Alluding to that class of which Senator Wilson is leader, those who shrick for ' freedom,' Mr. Cush-

Their incessant cry is of the 'Slave-power.' If, perchance, new realms are to be added to the magnihent domain of the Union, though such addition be for the desire and superior benefit of the population and commerce of the North, they cry out on the Slave-power. If the revenue of the Union is to be modified, though it be done with their own hands, and for the advantage of the manufacturer of the North, again they cry out on the Slave-power. If new Territorial Governments of the Union are to be organized in the West, though such organization be in the interest and to the gain of the North, still they cry out on the Slave-power. If the dignity and honor of the Union are to be vindicated by war, though the grievances to be redressed, and the secu-tities to be conquered, are at the North, always they cry out on the Slave-power. Shame on the parrot cry! Never, in the worst days of the worst factions bece or Rome, of England or France, was there a more gross effort to inflame the popular passions by false appeals to prejudices—never a more wanton abuse of the freedom of republican speech—never a more abominable attempt to gratify personal ambi-tion at the expense of a country's welfare and peace. Slave-power! It is the cry of 'stop thief' on the Save-power! It is the cry of 'stop thief' on the part of the burglar fleeing from the pursuit of the

heers of justice.

We at the North have been addicted, more or less. now for the space of some twenty years, to persistent attacks on the constitutional rights of the South. Busy mischief-makers, the 'cankers of a calm world's peace,' have set up newspapers, formed societies, thrust themselves on the public attention, subscribed agitation funds, perverted legislation in the several States, and usurped, as far as they might the voice of Congress, in order, if possible, to imthe sister States; laboring to destroy their property, and to exclude them from their common share of the eritance, and of the public rights of the Union These acts of aggression, on the part of some Northern States as against those of the South, have been perpetrated under the shelter of our common Government, when they would have been just cause of war as between foreign Governments; and occa-sionally reach to such a point that some States and states men of the North, in the extremity of their blind zeal, apply to their fellow-citizens of the South language of political and personal denunciation, fit only for the case of declared national enemies. And then, if goaded by the sense of wrong, a State or a statesman of the South recurs to defensive acts or words, there is another outery of the Slave-power.

Meantime, all these aggressive acts of the North are undertaken, we are continually told, in order to repel the aggression and overthrow the domination of the Ct. be Slave-power.

Accursed be he, that American, if such there be, whose torpid bosom the emotions of patriotism do not well spontaneously up, this day, as from the bosom of a perennial fountain! Accursed be he, to be driven out like a recreant knight from the lists, with the brand of nidering stamped upon his brow, no more to know the transport of a woman's love, or to walk erect in the estimation of men! We at least, here within the walls of Tammany Hall, and now while the roar of cannon and the ringing of bells and the harrabs of our countrymen are soundbels and the hurrahs of our countrymen are sound-ing over earth and sea, here and now, we exultingly raise our voices to join the choral anthem of a nation's joy, and to swell the dispason of a nation's coclamation of praise to God, that he gave to our fathers this fair land for their inheritance, that He nd for their inheritance, that He inspired into them the spirit of nationality and inde-pendence, that He lifted up the thirteen colonies into sovereign States, that He made of us one peo-ple; and that, as by His creative hand He reared, so by His almighty will He preserves the superb work of this ever glorious Constitutional Union.

lants; springing from that diversity of climate, business, institutions, accomplishment and morality, which comes of our greatness, and compels and should constitute our order and our agreement, but which only makes their difficulty and their merit; from that self-love and self-preference which are their own standard, exclusive, intolerant, and censorious of what is wise and holy; from the fear of ignorance, the jealousy of ignorance, the narrowness of ignorance; from incapacity to abstract, combine, and grasp a complex and various object, and thus rise to the dignity of concession and forbearance and complife, it circumscribes it within our casacigrasp a complex and various object, and thus rise to the dignity of concession and forbearance and compromise; from the frame of our civil polity, the necessities of our public life, and the nature of our ambition, which forces all men not great men,—the minister in his parish, the politician on the stump on election day, the editor of the party newspaper—to take his rise or his patronage from an intense local opinion, and therefore to do his best to create or reinforce it; from our federative government; from our good traits, bad traits, and foolish traits; from that vain and vulgar bankering for European opinion, which for substitution, and respect for European opinion, which for gets that one may know Aristophanes, and Geogragets that one may know Aristophanes, and Geography, and the Cosmical Unity and Telluric influences, and the smaller morals of life, and all the sounding pretensions of philanthrepy, and yet not know America; from that philosophy, falsely so called, which boasts emptily of progress, renounces traditions, denies God, and worships itself; from an arrogant and flashy literature, which mistakes a new phrase for a line is of national life. We see our morality working in itself clearer and clearer one historical and nies God, and worships itself; from an arrogant and flashy literature, which mistakes a new phrase for a new thought, and old nonsense for new truth, and is glad to exchange for the fame of drawing-rooms and parlor windows, and the side-lights of a car in motion, the approval of time and the world; from philanthropy which is short-sighted, impatient and spasmodic, and cannot be made to appreciate that its grandest and surest agent, in His eye whose lifetime is Eternity, and whose periods are ages, is a nation, and a sober public opinion, and a safe and silent advancement, reforming by time; from that spirit which would rule or ruin, and would reign in hell rather than serve in heaven; springing from these causes and stimulated thus, there is an element of recause of the strend of the short of the spirit and surest agent. rather than serve in heaven; springing from these causes and stimulated thus, there is an element of recauses and stimulated thus, there is an element of regions antagonistic to nationality. Always, I have
said, there was one; always there will be. It lifted
it shricks sometimes even above the silver clarion
tops that called millions to units of independence. It resisted the nomination of Washington to command our armies; made his new levies hate one another; assisted the caballings of Gates and Coning cloud for a moment over his exceeding glory; opposed the adoption of any Constitution; and perverted by construction and denounced as a covenant with hell the actual Constitution when it was adoptabout Government is found in the increasing desire lantic and Western; which the grave warnings of the farewell address expose and rebuke; transformed the floor of Congress into a battle-field of controlled. local policy; convened its convention at Abbeville and Hartford; rent asunder conferences and synods; turned stated assemblies of grave clergymen and grave laymen into shows of gladiators or of the beasts of gladiators, checked the holy effort of miscertain amelioration and ultimate probable emanci-

graphical policy. · Take any shape but that, and thou art welcome !

But there is another condition of our nationality,

day,—only by compromise.

There is a cant of shallowness and fanaticism which misunderstands and denies this. There is a which misunderstands and defines which says civ-distempered and ambitious morality which says civ-il prudence is no virtue. There is a philanthropy, -so it calls itself—pedantry, arrogance, folly, cru-elty, impiousness, I call it—fit enough for a pulpit, totally unfit for a people; fit enough for a preacher, totally unfit for a statesman;—which, confounding large things with little things, ends with means, subordinate ends with chief ends, one-gnan's sphere of responsibility with another means, subordinate ends with chief ends, one-gnan's sphere large things with little things, ends with means, subordinate ends with chief ends, one-man's sphere of responsibility with another man's sphere of responsibility, seed-time with harvest, one science with another science, one truth with another truth, one jurisdiction with another jurisdiction, the span long day or life with the duration of States, generals with universals, the principle with the practice, the Anglo-Celtic-Saxon of America with the pavers of Paris, cutting down the half-grown tree to snatch the is, cutting down the half-grown tree to snatch the unripe fruit—there is a philanthropy which scolds

at this even, and calls it names.

To such a spirit I have nothing to say, but I have something to say to you. It is remarked by a very leading writer of our times, Lord Macaulay—ennobled less by title than by genius and fame—'that compromise is the essence of politics.' That which every man of sense admits to be so true, as to have become a common-place of all politics, is peculiarly true of our national politics. Our history is a record of compromise; and this freedom and this glory attest their wisdom and bear their fruits.

When they press us with the common places of

Extracts from the Oration delivered by Joun S. HOLMES, Esq. before the City Authorities and Citizens of Boston, July 5th, 1858 :-

singular happy thought—rather, it was a sagacious prophecy of future danger—which led to the three-fold separation of the power of Government into the Executive, Representative and Judicial brancheseach as distinct as hand, and eye, and will, yet all agreeing in a common purpose—to keep and protect the liberty of the State and of all the States. This grand distinction among the powers and duties of Government has been lost in the partisan discussion certain amelioration and ultimate probable emancipation, many degrees. Some might say it culminated later in an enterprise even more daring still; but revered Bay State—ever the last to lend herself to others might deny it. The ashes upon that fire are that which did not concern the common good—been not yet cold, and we will not tread upon them. The attempted that our judges should be elected by the But all will unite in prayer to Almighty God that we may never see, nor our children, nor their children to the thousandth generation may ever see it for a hundred years. Who of all the honored men dren to the thousandth generation may ever see it for a hundred years. Who of all the honored men culminate in a geographical party, banded to elect that have borne the title of Judge in this State, a geographical President, and inaugurate a geo- from the eldest till now, but has kept his intellifrom the eldest till now, but has kept his intelli-gence and integrity pure and strong for the common benefit of all? Who has degraded himself and stained with dishonor the lofty seat he has filled? But there is another condition of our nationality, of which I must say something, and that is, that it rests on compromise. America, the Constitution, practicable policy, all of it, are a compromise. Our public life is possible,—it can draw its breath for a day,—only by compromise.

There is a can't of shallowness and fanaticism.

There is a can't of shallowness and fanaticism. And yet those who have the greatest fear of the law, none existed, and offices confounded and places given to fools that had before been filled by honored wis-dom. If we surrender this, the chief—I may say, the only-conservative part of Government to the who are seeking for selfish ends to pervert Govern-ment to their own uses and the prosperity of party, let us know—let us ever remember—that we are parting the strongest bower-anchor of the Constituweep in sorrow over them; but a nation—the world—feels the touch of that profanity. You may burn your own little handful of books; but fire not the ibrary of the Wisdom of the World.

Already this sectional temper is so strong that men have estimated—so far as their weak reason could compass it—the value of the union of the American States, and have considered how well the North could thrive if separated from the South, and the East if divided from the West; and have affixed a market price upon institutions and laws, and re-solved the glorious memories of the past into coin and merchandize. Already men have talked of 'let-ting the Union slide.' Letting the Union slide!—a When they press us with the common places of anti-slavery, be these words of wisdom our answer. Say to them, 'Yes, I thank God I keep no slaves. I am sorry there is one on earth; I am sorry even that there is need of law, of subordination, of order, of government, of the discipline of the schools, of prisons, of the gallows; I would reform it; but beneath that same system, I am an American citizen; beneath that system, I am an American citizen; beneath that system, I am an American citizen; beneath that system, this country it is my post to keep; while I keep her, there is hope for all men, for the evil man, for the intemperate man, for slaves, for free, for all; that hope your rash and lasty hand would prostrate; that hope my patience would advance.' Have they done? Are they answered? ree, for all: that hope your rash and lasty hand walls, to be crushed with all the sad or joyous memorance. Have they done? Are they answered?

That something to say more directly still on the last of the great memorials of the great memorials of the last of the last of the great memorials of the last of the

Cart and the party of the party of the

RUFUS CHOATE AND HIS VERBOSITY.

Extracts from the Oration delivered by Hon. Ruvry.

Extracts from the Oration delivered by Hon. Ruvry.

Choara before the Stanic, Border-Ruffian 'Demosited and the stand of the properties of the Stanic, Border-Ruffian' Demosited and the shallowness and stupidity of the doctrine that the shallowness and studies which they need to fit them for eye precision, difficult and delicate a dominion; of bation, not for warning, not even for grief, but that we may know by contrast, nationality itself,—and that is, the element of sections. This, too, is old, older than the States, old as the colonies, old less as the careless burning of a bonfire. There are among us men who live upon alarm and terror; who fatten upon public tumult, and find no peace in the still movement of ordinary political life. Take away their power of disturbance, and they would die from want of means of a living, or come as their proper destiny is, to inhabit the madhouse or workhouse. There is no meaner animal than the professional state of the framework house. There is no meaner animal than the professed philanthropist, who, under the pretence of feeling for public and political wrong, gathers to himself a good living, and always leaves the objects of his charity as they were, and where they were, as the sentimental capital of his future harvest. And out of this sectional temper of the time, there has arisen a lasty crowd of such partisan philanthropists, who work like rats in the dark, and coadjutant with the selfish politician above ground, live and move to one end—to blindly, foolishly destroy the united, essential power of these broad States. Perhaps such vermin must exist, but let the heel of every honest vermin must exist, but let the heel of every honest American be upon their heads.

> THE IRISH RENEGADE JOHN MITCHEL. Southwestern States, and has published his notes of ing their time in eulogies of our history and institutravels in a series of letters printed in the Southers tions, and exalting the name and fame of the United sions of the South and Southern society in the follow- tension of its territory, in the growth of its populaing characteristic paragraphs :-

it not from sentimentality, but because they then had slaves enough for the strip of land they occupied, and never dreamed of the boundless capabilities of and never dreamed of the boundless capabilities of the Mississippi valley. Since then, a great influx of white immigrants, and none of negro slaves, have dence. Just consider that a sixth portion of the American people are this day clanking the chains of alaves, but the high price of the slaves and this, with the high price of the slaves are desired as a sixth portion of the American people are this day clanking the chains of alaves.

'Third. I noted, during my tour,—and, indeed, attributable to the institution of slavery. It is be-The established custom is to speak gently to servants; and so much of the intercourse of the people is with their servants, that this has created throughout society a softness of manner and tone, which, in

lying and stealing are negro tricks. To be a coward

'Of course, it is not meant to deny that there is plenty of meanness, lying, and scoundrelism, in the Southern States, as elsewhere. The devil shall not earth. But I attempt to describe the favorable ten-dency of the slavery system, in forming individual and national character, were that system once untrammelled and fairly developed.

With this admirable institution in full bloom

other advantages too numerous to mention, what does the South want? A higher standard of educaand equitable separation from the North: for—

'Fifth. Many of the most intelligent Southerners
I met, said to me distinctly, that the Union is really and actually now dissolved—that the two sections are two rations, standing together not by cobesion, but by vis inertie; because there has yet been no shock sufficiently violent to shake them

At the Framingham Grove, July 5, 1858.

est purpose for which the people of the United States can assemble on the Fourth of July. This is a National Anniversary. There are many meetings gathered together for the purpose of celebrating the JOHN MITCHEL has been making a tour through the national birth-day; there are speakers mostly spend-Citizen. The worthless renegade sums up his impres- States. This country has been prosperous, in the extion, and the enlargement of its commerce; and if we First, then, Southern society, wherever its elements are in equilibrio, or nearly—that is, where the slaves are numerous enough to occupy the field of toil, or nearly—is the most perfect form of social polity now existing anywhere in the world. Those conditions are attained only in some extensive rural relations are attained only in some extensive rural relations are attained only in some extensive rural relations. We look, on the one hand, to the growth of the relations are attained only in some extensive rural relations are attained only in some extensive rural relations. conditions are attained only in some extensive rural planting districts, and among States, only in South Carolina, where the negroes are much more numerous than the whites. When these States concurred very; and no one can address an audience to-day, prohibiting the slave trade from Africa, they did and do himself justice, or the cause of freedom jus-

of the people in the actual working of the system, though they all, in fact, derive all their means of support from that system. The tendency, however, nons and drums is heard, in commemoration of Amerof this want of equilibrium, is to accumulate great ican liberty; on the other hand are heard the greater of this want of equilibrium, is to accumulate great ican liberty; on the other hand are heard the groam estates in few hands, and to leave on the outskirts of millions bound in the chains of slavery. Husbands of society a considerable rural population, not arti-sans, not traders, and hardly farmers, who are of no use to themselves or to the State. This once recti-from the arms of their agonized mothers; men, wofied, or put in progress of rectification, and of all men and children herded together to-day in the South-Republics and Monarchies on the earth, ancient or modern, I shall choose the Southern States. the far South, to be worked up in five or seven years upon the cotton, sugar, or rice plantation. This is had often noted it before,—a peculiar gentleness of demeanor and quiet courtesy, which, as I said, was Union, while all around, modern Democrats are talkactivistable to the institution of slavery. It is because the unquestioned possession of great power, involving great responsibilities—which responsibilities are fully recognized by public opinion—trains a man to habits of self-restraint. If a man be a brute, when has a strong interest in habitable controlling. yet be has a strong interest in habitually controlling his violent passions; if he be a gentleman, he will and glory of America, is only another word for cusome- logizing oppression in this country. The growth of control them because he is a gentleman; if some-thing intermediate, he will find himself acted upon by the public opinion of his neighbors and equals. of slavery, the growth of the Slave Power, which presides over every thing in this land.

I say, this is a glorious opportunity for us to bring before the people the wrongs and atrocities committee ducated people, being united with dignity and self- in this country upon humanity. Think of four milossession, gives me the ideal of a well-bred person. lions of people to-day in the degradation of slave-have seen the effect of this upon boys. You know ry!—for the highest idea of slavery is to degrade its have seen the enect of this apon toys.

t is a favorite saying of the Northern people and victims; to keep them ignorant, to keep their minds the English, that one evil of slavery is to make boys and their souls in darkness, and not allow them to ry !- for the highest idea of slavery is to degrade its mperious and cruel. The opposite is true. Recol-ect, we are in a land of rational and accountable know that they have a God to whom they are respon lect, we are in a land of rational and accountable beings—a Christian land, if you like, where certain maxims of kindness, and brotherly love, and charity, and mercy, have not failed to penetrate—and if a boy has a young negro or two of his own to govern, he does it under the eye of parents and neighbors. Over and above the appeal which a sense of his power over the young niggers must make to the heart of every generous boy, he, too, finds himself amenable to the force of public opinion, and will defy it at his peril. While he is training and governing his young negro, he is also training and governing himself. Be the theory correct or no, take it for a fact, that the sons of Southern slave holders are quiet and courteous in their manners, holders are quiet and courteous in their manners, putting him in prison, without his having committed both toward slaves and every one else. Of course, some crime, he should suffer the penalty of death. however, severe measures are sometimes needful in however, severe measures are sometimes needful in subduing a young negro. What then? Is a colt not to be broken because he is vicious?

'Fourth. You have heard it said—Northern wri-Fourth. You have heard it said—Northern writers admit—that the true Southerner, who is come of a race of Southerners, stands in the very front ruth and honor, candid, loyal, and courteous. It is true. The high-souled nobility of Europe, while there was a true pobility (which there is not now). there was a true nobility (which there is not now), grew from a subsoil of feudal serfdom and villenage, from the prison of slavery, as the German young man and could not have grown without it. Slavery is was rescued, what will they do with him? Think of the could not have grown without it. that subsoil here. Do you apprehend how it feeds Capt. Baylies, who, in his little schooner, attempt-the roots and radicals of the virtues? Why thus—ed to bring off four or five men from Petersburg, Va. These slaves had labored for their masters, and, while so laboring, they had spent a little time at night in working for themselves, and had accumulated little money. They came down to the vessel e left without a man to witness for him upon the and asked that they might be brought away; the offered to pay their passage like other people, and the aptain accepted them. They came on board, and the vessel started. But she was overtaken and carried back, and this benevolent and philanthropic man, who with this admirable institution in run order was the owner of the vessel, was at once arrested, tawith the boundless resources, agricultural and minwas the owner of the vessel, was at once arrested, taeral, in her possession, well worked by about twenty
ken before the court—termed a court of justice (!)—

ken before the court—termed a court of justice (!)—

and the possession was tried and sentenced. and, in less than fifty hours, was tried and senten to forty years imprisonment, because he attempted to rescue a few men from slavery, and give them those rights which God had granted to them at their birth.

We are told that the slave is satisfied and contented with the life of slavery; and yet the attempt to bring away these three or four men aroused the city of Petersburg and the whole State of Virginia, and four or five thousand men, armed with muskets and cudgels, went down to the wharf to meet the vessel when it was brought back, and it was as much as the city police could do to keep the captain and his men from being torn in pieces by the slaveholders, because they attempted to carry off three or four of these men, whom these very slaveholders had declared happy and contented, who would not leave their masters under

Mr. Brown then contrasted the working of slavery

in this country with the working of the free institu-tions of Great Britain, declaring that, with all her old institutions and aristocratic opinions, England has taken one step after another in favor of reform, until, to-day, to speak of monarchical England was almost to speak of a Republican government, under the name of a monarchy, for it was more a representative government to-day than the government of the United States. England occupies a proud position compared with the United States, with all our professions, with all our talk about freedom. He often thought of that eulogium pronounced by the eloquent Curran, in the British House of Commons, when he said—'I speak in the spirit of British law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from the British soil; which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his feet upon Brit-ish earth, that the ground upon which he stands is holy, and consecrated by the genius of universal emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an African or an Indian sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberties may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of alavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, and he stands redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation.' That was indeed. said Mr. Brown, a truthful sulogium upon liberty in Great Britain. That spirit is spreading all over Europe, while there are only a few who advocate it here in the United States. In conclusion, let me saythere is

· A voice on every wave, A sound on every sea, The watchword of the brave, The anthem of the free. From steep to steep it rings, Through Europe's many climes,
A knell to despot kings,
A sentence on their crimes.

Where'er a wind is rushing,
Where'er a stream is gushing,
The swelling sounds are heard
Of man to freeman calling,
Of broken fetters falling,
And, like the carol of a cageless bird,
The bursting shout of Freedom's rallying word.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN-I listmed to the resolutions which have been read [see last week's Liberator] with a great deal of interest I assent to them heartily. At the same time, in regard to one portion of the series, I am not very confident in respect to the necessity of their passage. I refer to those which relate to the tone of the discussion in regard to British aggression-in regard to the right of our navy, and our mercantile marine, as against British cruisers. I agree, as an American, with the doctrine on the right of search, as laid down by Mr. Cass. I think he has not claimed too much, and that the British government, in allowing that claim, did not allow too much. 'I believe both governments are wholly lacking in any sincere desire to arrest the African slave trade, and both of them only play with the subject of the right of search as a party question, -- as a mere football of national honor, -with no real interest or design so to interpret it as to hinder the slave trade. I do not believe that, substantially, there is any difference of opinion between the two governments about this matter.

I think that, within the last two years, a great change has come over the politics of our States. are, in one sense, 'running for luck.' Kansas has inaugurated a new system of politics. There is, practically, no such thing as constitutional law. Every thing is right that any party can make right, and every party triumphs that has the ingenuity to cheat itself into a triumph. (Laughter.) I think that the era of cheating has come. I believe that the next Presidential election will be decided by cheating, not by votes. If I thought that it would be decided by a fair majority, I should have no doubt that the North would put its President into the chair. The last trial shows it. But Southern men have learned a new lesson within the last few years. They have learned in Kansas that they can stuff ballot-boxes, and create voters that do not exist, count votes that were never thrown, and carry elections by schedules, sworn to by perjured officers, and with no real mon beneath them. Do you think a government like ours learns that lesson, and does not mean to practise it? No!
Whenever a State is wanted, it will be cheated into
the Democratic party, and the next President will be a President of cheats, and not a President of the American States.

I think it is important to recollect this.

believe we are to have any help from the English government. It is, practically, a pro-slavery government. Their mercantile interest is for peace. They do not mean to hazard any thing for the sake of the slave.

mean to hazard any thing for the sake of the slave.

Another thing. We have settled it, that that is law which the people are willing to submit to. Listen to the recent discussions in Congress; there is no appeal but to the acquiescence of the country. Nobody goes back to the Constitution. We have reached a new cra. What I sak of the Abolitionists is, to avail themselves of that position. You that are in politics, you that live under the law, take with you into your politics the principle upon which the South governs. I am averse to politics, in the chains of a constitutional conscience, while the South is armed and equipped with no scruples, to do any thing that

she lists and wants. I believe, therefore, in the duty make its own constitutional law; and that is the reason why I want Massachusetts at home to lay down the principle, that the moment a slave touches her soil, she has made a law for herself, that that simple arrival under the free trees of Massachusetts is charter of liberty and emancipation. (Loud cheers.) This is one part of my programme. You know we have got a petition for it. I do not propose to sign that petition; I do not ask or expect any non-voter, who has refused to vote under the Constitution, because it contains a slave clause, to sign that petition-I will not ask another man to do what I will not do myself. But we are surrounded by a set of politicians, who, when we ask them how they can remain connected with this government, say, with Gerrit Smith, like John Pierpont, if there is a slave clause there, it is worth nothing; it is not binding; it is a clause binding us to sin, and therefore null and void. I say, therefore, to the Liberty party man, who follows Gerrit Smith, and thinks there is no slave clause in the Constitution, or who follows John Pierpont, and says if it is there, it is null and void, 'If you believe what you say, prove it by going up to Boston next winter, and passing a law, that as there is no clause binding Massachusetts to return slaves, Massachusetts hereby aunounces by statute that she has a cell in the State Prison ready for the Judge or Commissioner-no matter what commission James Buchanan has given himwho presumes to return a man from the soil of Mass and prolonged applause.) If Free-Soil means anything, it means this. The man who comes into our meetings, and when we charge him with being connected with a pro-slavery and slave-returning government, flings it back into our teeth, and says he is not; that Charles Sumner does not believe in it, that Henry Wilson does not believe in it, that N. P. Banks repudiates it, that this, that, and the other celebrity denounces it, we have the right to say to that man and that party, Stereotype your individual protests into statutes; and if Massachusetts politics does not believe in returning slaves, say so by the voice of the State, and pledge the government to the protection of every man who once sets foot within her limits. If you will do that,-once let an old, conservative, weighty, original State like Massachusetts fling herself out of the Constitution by this construction, and you have set up a barrier against the Slave Power by your construction of the Constitution, such as no other

I am in earnest. I do not believe in the United States government. I believe the Slave Power has got it, and will keep it. If she cannot keep it by fair means, she will keep it by foul. There is but one way by which we shall ever get control of this Union. It is not by the ballot-box; it is either by blood, or it is by such checkmate of the Slave Power as shall show her a North resolved to submit no

This is home policy. I insist upon it. I will call every Free Soiler a liar and a hypocrite who refuses to sign that petition, or, in yonder State House, refuses to vote for such a law. No man can stand onder the United States Constitution without being a kidnapper, who is not willing to vote for that law. If you, Lysander Spooner followers, believe in no slaveclause, vote for that law! If you, John Pierpont men, believe that the clause is there, but not binding, show your faith by your works! We want no paper discussion. Give me a Massachusetts that is able to elect a fugitive slave for Governor; we could not have a better. Flare him in the face of the Union, and defy the government. I would like to put the very man who preceded me on this platform WM. WELLS BROWN | into the Governor's chair of Massachusetts. (Applause.) When you come to principles, when you come to being understood, these are the kind of acts that are needed. When the House of Commons turned John Wilkes out of their own body, really because he was a radical, but under the pretence that he was illegally elected, the voters said- We will send him back until doomsday; because, if you prove him an infidel, if you prove him dissolute, if you prove him rapacious, if you prove him dishonest if you prove him fit for the Penitentiary, no matter ! We have a right to elect him as our representative, and it is not for you to say that we shall not.' So I would say to the Union, if I believed what these Libfor a hint, now and then, from Charles Sumner, on the floor of the Senate, that there is no slave clause? What care they for a speech from Gerrit Smith, demonstrating that there is no such clause? What they cannot swallow is the port of Boston open to every fugitive slave that can conceal himself on board ship. Then, again, if you Free-Soilers believe slavery to

be the sin you say it is, go to Washington prepared to refuse a dollar to the government. I know you will say I am tedious from insisting upon these two points. so often and so much. I believe in concentration. I believe Kansas is gone-a slave State. I believe Douglas is rotten; you will see him a Democrat within two years. I do not believe in any political resist ance to slavery, except that which the common people, the rank and file, bully into their representatives (Applause.) I do not believe in any competent resistance to slavery, except State resistance. I know what men do at Washington,-do honestly, do bravely there ;-- they can do nothing efficiently there. You men whom I am addressing to-day, and thousands who are met in other towns to-day like us, you are the men who can abolish slavery in South Carolina, and not your Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled. It is your position, it is the action which you we demand of your Representatives, that is to do the work. We have labored years enough-been at boys play years enough. I addressed an audience of five hundred men last Fast Day at Leominster. Som two or three of us made Disunion speeches. the exception of some score of men, they asserted their right to vote; they did not believe in the slaveclauses. I said to them, as I say to you, 'I have not much quarrel with the way in which men interpret the Constitution, provided always they will show works equivalent to their theories. If you will go up to the ballot-box in November, send men to Boston who will make it the law of Massachusetts, that no alaye shall ever be sent back, and imprison every Massachusetts Judge who endeavors to check that law, and send to the State Prison every United States Judge who opposes it, do you suppose we should have a Union five years hence? Never! One thing at a time. Block this government with the State of Massachusetts! (Applause.) Take possession of her Supreme Bench, remove it, if necessary, in order to reach the will of the people on this question, if you are Abolitionists. There is nothing more vital than this slave question; there is nothing more important in the future than the slave question. Already, this government is a government of cheats and ruffians, Who can say that 1860 may not show us Massachu setts the victim of a government confessedly fixed on the Union by the cheats of the dominant party, and that government in possession of power? In such a state of things—for I am talking to Abolitionists the first duty is, to save the State; save it from all complicity and compromise. I know CHARLES FRAN-CIS ADAMS is a good man. They say he is to be sent to the House. I hope so; for we shall then have one man there, at least, and it is doubtful whether we have had any in the Massachusetts delegation. We have lived only by our delegation in the Senate. have sent little or nothing of timber worth naming to the House. But to send Adams there would be to send a man, and one who showed his appreciation of the Anti-Slavery question before it became a political

hobby. Still, he is not the man to send there, after all. He is the idolater of the United States Consti-

tution; he believes in the slave-clauses; he believes

State action so largely. That is the reason why a of the Constitution. judiciary, and a statute-book, and a State Executive Now I say, that the man who goes to an an It shall be the figure of the first fugitive slave who that would carry it into execution. lands in Massachusetts, and puts on record in the Su- One moment, now, in regard to my friend Mr. Fostake him. (Applause.) We will educate him at the great deal more. I want them to go to Washington expense of the State; he shall be its guest; and when and never vote one single dollar to the government for one year, and then, if the Senate of the United Well or ill, Massachusetts should record her distinct the State, in this age of cheating, trickery, political well,-who meant to say, he made the tour of Midcorruption, and party degradation !

borrow its law from natural right. There is no trusting an Administration at Washington, nor the government of England, nor of any foreign State. Eng- have such anti-slavery sent to Congress as we hear land has already, in the House of Commons, distinct- for good Republicanism here at home, Hammond y avowed, that if Spain continues in her present state and his associates would be shot right out of the Senf mind, she shall not oppose the United States in the ate chamber;—they would shoot themselves out. acquisition of Cuba. John Bull 'caves in'! He If you would only let Massachusetts talk by her Repsubmits. Ashamed to avow it or not, South Carolina resentatives as she talks by her voters, they would has conquered him. He backs out of the Gulf; he believe she is a State full of isms. I will call the pulls down his banner before the stars and stripes; Republican party an honest party the moment it ne gives up the fame of Wilberforce and Clarkson, the proud fame of the first nation to set the stigma of | Mark you! I am not saving, in this, that Charles piracy on slavery itself. He gives up to the young Sumner and Henry Wilson do not speak their minds. bully of the West. If any checkmate is given, it is What I am saying is, that the rank and file of the to come from the Democracy of the North-I mean the true Democracy, the people. It is a serious hour: themselves from us, take a position and avow princi-Kansas conquered on the one hand, the government of St. James's conquered on the other. The Administration at Washington walks the sea to-day a conqueror, and puts the fame of fifty anti-slavery years State House the very representative of the principles under its feet. If it is to be conquered, it must be by the virtue of the North, rescuing its own soil day, in its discussion with us. What I want is, the

from the degradation of a slave hunt. I end as I began : there is no faith in politics, national or not national, and there is no faith in the first up for the Senate, I met Mr. Parley, of Groton, anti-slavery of politics, that contents itself with argu- the witty lawyer of Middlesex. I asked him who he ments and protests. We want action! Hereafter, I was going to vote for. 'Why,' said he, 'I shall vote shall call every American voter a kidnapper. If he for Sumner, but he is not the man to go there, bereplies that he does not believe in the slave clause, I cause he is a gentleman. Now, said he, if I could shall ask him, 'Did you sign the petition?' If he get some negro, six foot high, who knew only how to says 'Yes,' I shall still say, 'Kidnapper!' and ask kick, and send him there, that would be my ides him if he voted for a representative who voted for the of the argument that Massachusetts should address. bill. If he did, then I take back the epithet; but if They do not need argument, they deserve to be in he did not, if his representative skulked, or opposed sulted.' I do not agree, altogether, with Mr. Farley the action of Massachusetts in this matter, he is a kid-he is a fanatic, and you know I am not (laughter) napper :- a communion kidnapper, if he is a minister, but I agree to his principle, which is, that if Massa religious kidnapper, if he is a church member, a chusetts wants to be felt in Congress, she should send worldly kidnapper, if he is outside the church, but a men there who represent the uttermost fanaticism of kidnapper; and if he pretends to be an Abolitionist, her home anti-slavery. I will tell you what I mean. he is a hypocrite! (Loud applause.) Until he has At the time that indictment was hanging over the placed on record his vote for the petition, until he has head of Wentworth Higginson, for having broken in recorded his vote at the ballot-box for men who will the door of the Boston court-house, I would have take Massachusetts out of the category of slave-hunt- had Massachusetts send him to Congress as her reping States, he is a kidnapper. If he sits in the Sen- rescutative. (Applause.) I would take the man that ate of the United States, and does not endorse that the United States thinks fit for a jail, and I would say action, he is a kidnapper; if he goes to the House of to her, 'Your jail is my Senate-House at Washing. Representatives, and does not endorse that action, he ton. The man who has obeyed the Sermon on the is a kidnapper. If he has the brains of Ward Beech- Mount so thoroughly that he ought to be in the Unier and the heart of Harriet Stowe, he is a kidnapper, ted States prison, is the man to represent the piety of until he justifies his political existence by doing his Massachusetts.' (Loud applause.) utmost to make Massachusetts a shelter for the fugitive. He is a kidnapper-judged by his acts, not his words. He has no right to find fault.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER. Will Mr. Phillips allow m ank him a question before he sits down?

lican party of this Commonwealth should take the this point. For one, I intend to sign the petition, and position pointed out by Mr. Phillips, namely, make to get as many signatures to it as I can; and I. also. Massachusetts a shelter for every fugitive slave, would am a non-voter. It is true, what we cannot do our he then be satisfied to recognize it as a genuine anti- selves, we cannot do by another; but I can, and do, slavery political party, worthy the confidence and as an individual, make the decree that I wish the support of earnest Abolitionists, who believe in the Legislature to make respecting every fugitive slave

ics, thank God! (Applause.) She ought to be rep-resented by fanatics; (renewed applause;) if not in than a Christian. (Laughter and applause.) So I Congress, then at least at home:—at home, in her should say of the Republican party, when it justifies own Legislature, where she can make the soil sacred, its theory of the Constitution, and makes Massachuown Legislature, where she can make the soil sacred, and where, when she has once announced that purpose, she will give her Congressional delegates the courage and the motive to stop the very wheels of government by refusing to hold up the moneyed hands of the nation every time they have the power.

I know I am not making a Fourth of July speech, but I am making a speech that becomes an Abolitionebut I am makin ist. It is over a quarter of a century since this move- Constitution is a pro-slavery instrument, which order ment was started. In every possible issue, the gov- the return of fugitive slaves; we cannot touch it ernment has beaten us. Why? Not because the peo- So far, good. They act outside of the Constitution, ple were not ready for bolder measures, but because and by word and life, advocate anti-slavery. Then the men who undertook to lead them were saving their we meet a second class; men who say, 'We reputations for something of ambition beyond the give up our political position; we do not believ State. Why is not Margaret Garner a citizen of Ohio there is any slave-clause; if there is, it can be con to-day, instead of being beneath the waters of the strued away; we know certain legal rules that get rid Mississippi or Ohio? Because, all the time she lay of the whole of it; it is not there; you think it is, in a Cincinnati prison, it was an undecided question but it is not.' Then we meet a third class, by whom whether Fremont or Salmon P. Chase should be the this position is avowed. They say—' We acknowlandidate of the Free Soil party for the Presidency. edge, with you, that the clause is there, but it is If the Governor of Ohio had had no hope of a Presi- wicked clause; no man is bound to obey it; swearing dential nomination, he would have been ready then, to obey it does not bind you to obey it; it is just as he would be ready to-day, to fling the State of Ohio much null and void as if it were not written there. in the face of the Union, and make himself a greater Very well. Now, I say to these two classes of men man than the President,—that is, the equal and the I do not know whether to believe in your honesty or defier of the President of the United States. But no not; that is a very good excuse to get away from my man too tall for a State office was ever named for the argument. If you are honest, then you will be wil-Presidency that he was not ruined. I will give you a receipt to destroy the most prominent and promising statesmanship. Get some out-of-the-way newspaper for, according to you, he has committed the most to print the man's name as a possible candidate for heinous crime in the world, without any authority for the Presidency, and after that, he has neither heart nor it; and if he has, why don't you put him in the State brains. (Laughter and applause.) He cannot calcu- Prison? And the men of whom I speak, when we late his own chances, and he has no courage to do any ask them that question, put on their hats and walk thing, or say any thing, for fear of injuring them. It out of the meeting, and that is the last we ever hear is this delusive ambition of the leaders that destroys all of them. But when you go up to the State House in the efficiency of the political anti-slavery sentiment, winter, and ask the Representatives which these men of the country. It never can be beaten out of nation- have elected what they think, they tell you-very al parties. That is the reason why we should rely on many of them—that they believe in the slave clauses

determined to protect every fugitive, against the slavery meeting, and stops a speaker, as we are Constitution, are the very corner-stone of success. I stopped, with the allegation that he does not bewill believe in politics the moment politics will show lieve in returning fugitive slaves, and then goes and me a State redeemed from the United States Consti- votes for a man that does, and by his representative tution, and devoted as the refuge of fugitive slaves. I refuses to pass such a law as we ask for, is a hypocrite came here to-day solely for the purpose of demanding and a kidnapper, for he does not believe what he says. of every politician that he take that petition of ours, I want that petition for two reasons. First, I want it and get the name of every voter upon it, and that he to test the sincerity of Massachusetts politics; and, sees to it that no representative goes from his town secondly, I want it because I believe that the rank who is not pledged to make Massachusetts a shelter and file in Massachusetts are ready for that law, if for slaves. That is the work of this year. I cannot their leaders would only let them have it (Applause.) allow any other State to clutch it. Bunker Hill, Lex- I believe that if the question were to be put to vote ington and Concord must live with us in this Revoluto-day in Massachusetts, we should have a majority tion. We must be the pioneer State. I want to place of men who would be willing that just such a law as a monument at the base of the Bunker Hill granite. that should be passed, and a bench of judges provided

preme Court that he is a freeman here by the decision ter. Having done that, the Republican party would of the Chief Justice, and defies Carolina to come and be, so far, an honest party; but I want them to do a he has reached a fit age, we will make him Governor I want them to declare, when they take the oath, 'I come from a State that does not believe in slave States exists, we will replace Charles Sumner's vacant clauses, neither do I; and if there is an United States seat with him. (Applause.) Up to that time, I go Judge or Marshal who has ever in his life helped refor keeping Charles Sumner in it. (Loud applause.) turn a fugitive slave, and pocketed a dollar for it, I want to impeach him, instead of paying him.' I want refusal to have any body else in the Senate. Shame them to say to the United States government, 'You on the State, if she ever fills that chair, while even shall not have a soldier or a dollar until you pass a the shadow of Sumner, from Europe, can reach it, as statute abolishing slavery in Carolina." Large numhe walks from capital to capital! (Great cheering.) bers of the Republican party tell us, as Theodore Par-Never fill it, till God takes him to himself; and when ker did the other day in Boston, that they believe that day comes, fill it, -the only worthy successor, - that Congress has a right to abolish slavery in the with a South Carolina fugitive slave, from Brooks's States; but when did any one of them make a propplantation, if possible, received into Massachusetts, osition for Congress to pass such a law? When did and passed through the Governor's chair, as the disci- the Republicans ever ask the House of Representapline to fit him for the Senatorship of the State. tives whether they agreed to the existence of such a (Loud applause.) And in order to that, we will power? I will believe the Republican party an honhave a law, and in order to that, a bench, that shall est party, when it acts up to its light; when it does declare that Massachusetts knows no slave-clause, that at Washington what it talks about at home. If I Massachusetts knows no slave, that she knows only could only hear such anti-slavery at Washington as I men, and has no tribunal to try whether a man is a do in district school-houses here in Massachusetts man. Record it! Avow it! Make it the glory of I had a friend once,-he did not pronounce very dlesex county, and was shut out of every church of every church. (Laughter.) I think, if we could chooses from among its own members, the fanatics. party, in Abington, in Leominster, in order to justify ples, which they know their leading men do not take and do not avow; and they would not themselves choose for their Representatives in Congress and the or the position on which the party plumes itself toright side uppermost; that is, I want the fanatics. I remember, as long ago as when Charles Sumner was

MR. GARRISON. I am at a loss to know what our friend Mr. Phillips meant when he said that, being a non-voter, he could not sign the petition, asking th Legislature of Massachusetts to decree the freedom of Mr. PHILLIPS. Certainly.

Mr. FOSTRE. My question is this: If the Republike to hear from him somewhat more definitely on every fugitive slave coming into this State. I should ecessity of a government of force?

Mr. Phillips. No, I do not know that I should.

Mr. Posten. What would you ask?

We alth shall add their velocity of this Commonwealth shall add their velocity. Mr. Fosten. What would you ask?

Wealth shall add their voices to mine, their decree will

Mr. Phillips. Suppose you should see a man who be potential. Now, to their shame, they are in covwas a candidate for church-membership, and he enant with Southern slaveholders not to allow the should prove to you conclusively that he never stole trembling fugitive to find safety and freedom among any of his neighbor's chickens; you would say that them! It is a wicked covenant, and I ask them to

in the return of fugitive slaves. Massachusetts is he was an honest man, so far; but you would not say too ripe for that—Massachusetts is a State of fanat- he had proved he was a Christian; because many a fugitive slave shall be free as soon as he touches the she was dead.

But it will probably be objected, that to ask Massa-chusetts to make such a decree, while she stands con-stitutionally pledged to permit the alave-hunter to the sun,' to convict her, out of her own mouth, of learned that they too had been taken from her, the being a kidnapping State, and willing to continue to such, for the sake of remaining in a slaveholding Union. If she tells me she can pass the decree for which we petition, and go out of the Union, then I say to her, 'Pass it, and let the Union slide!' People of Massachusetts, before God it is your duty to 'hide the outcast, and bewray not him that wandereth." See that you do it, whether the Union stands or falls ! thing to what you have already heard here to-day,

the foreign slave trade. I do not think I have any have made themselves the benefactors, not merely of higher opinion of the government of Great Britain, one race and one age, but of every race and all timeper se, than my friend Mr. Phillips. I no more ex- men whose mere presence is an Anti-Slavery oration pect to find disinterested philanthropy in any existing and whose eloquence, as many of you know full well, government on the face of the earth, than I expect to is the admiration of all who hear them, and the deextract sunbeams from cucumbers. (Laughter.) spair of all who follow them. I say I cannot hope to All these governments are selfish, and, of course, have give anything of interest to this vast audience, drawn no abiding virtue in them; and yet I should be unwilling to say, that, relatively and comparatively, But, sir, as you have honored me with an invitation to there is no difference between the British Governmen and our own, in regard to an earnest purpose to abol- declare my sympathy with the cause and the occasion ish the foreign slave trade. Our Government is but I will not long deprive these upturned, hungry coun the echo of the Slave Power; and therefore it does tenances of the feast which awaits them. Having nothing to suppress, but covertly much to facilitate that accursed traffic. The British Government is the months, I can only give you my 'experience,' and my pends millions of pounds annually, and sacrifices thousands of lives of its officers and samen, on the high Abolition ground in this reform-for I come not coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave traffic. to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. It responds, and must respond, to the popular senti- (Laughter and applause.) ment of England on this subject. Surely, there is a wide difference between the two governments in this respect, and they ought not to be represented as equally heartless and hypocritical.

To-day, therefore, we ask the people of England to renew their old testimonies, to awake from their apparent apathy, to buckle on again their armor for a fresh conflict with the traffickers in human flesh. For if, as Mr. Phillips says, England's flag trails in tutions, with the exception of the 'peculiar institution,' the dust before the bullying of South Carolina, and at the demands of the Slave Power, then let the peo- emphatic pronoun, I. All men are born free and ple of England look after their government! I believe they will; that their flag will be seen once more lips of the Republic. Time was, when the English unfurled to the breeze; and that they will not basely race was ignored by its rulers; when the world waaccede to any and every demand this country may looked upon only as so much pasture ground for a few make upon them in this matter. England has not princes; when Christianity was deemed merely an exfeared South Carolina in the matter of seizing her colored seamen, and putting them in prison while her But the Barons bearded king John, and extorted from ships are in the port of Charleston. By a law of that him a Magna Charts of civil rights; the Puritans State, any vessel, from any part of the world, bringing bearded political and religious tyranny, and showed a colored man into any of its ports, was compelled to in the human soul a Magna Charta of divine deliver him up, to be imprisoned until her departure. rights, in which the Deity has traced, as with a sun-England said, My flag protects British colored subjects beam, the irrevocable title of every man to himself. throughout the world-imprison them if you dare!" And Carolina, finding that Englandswas in earnest, force, this triumphant assertion of the right of every amended her law, so as to exempt British vessels, have man to question the power which restricts him, is ing British colored subjects on board, from its opera- what has turned the dark realms of the American tions; while no New England vessel is allowed to savage into a constellation of powerful States. But bring any free colored man into any of her ports, with- this independence of the individual exists among us out suffering the penalty!

There is, then, a wide difference between the people and governments of England and America, as per- The crowd has come to be King, public opinion Pope. taining to slavery and the slave trade; and the object The man disappears in the mass, and the mass disapof my resolutions was simply to say a stimulating word to the friends of freedom in the old world; to assure them that we are strengthened by their testi- hands than brains, and less heart than either. The mony and their co-operation; and that we desire them to look closely at the action of their government at channels. But manhood is the most important prothis crisis, and make it consistent with the just and duct that can be raised upon our soil. All our matehum ane principles they themselves have laid down. rial and spiritual resources are valuable, only in so far

REMARKS OF REV. MR. BASSETT.

hodox Society at Washington, D. C., briefly addressed which the 'Our Father' of the Lord's Prayer links he should comply with the polite request extended to him to occupy the platform, except that which would arise from the singularity, amounting almost to oddity, of an Orthodox minister, from slave territory, pretending to speak in a gathering of national heretics. (Laughter.) He went to Washington last fall, on what he knew to be a forlorn hope, and for no other reason than because no one else would occupy the position. He had struggled through the winter, endeavoring, if possible, to revive a perfectly depressed enterprise from the odium that rested upon it from five years of unwise and abortive attempts to start a Christian church. He introduced into it, as the only vital element, in his apprehension, the great principle of justice, naturally developing itself in the form of anti-slavery; and his expectations had been more than Greek, Barbarian and Seythian, bond and free, black realized in regard to the position they occupied in the confidence of the community. He had as perfectly free and untrammelled a pulpit as any in the world, and he challenged any man to deny his right to speak on that subject which God knew lay nearest his heart,

Some three or four weeks ago, he started on a journey to New England, thinking that perhaps he might of human faith. Men touch each other only at sectariar find some sympathy here for his enterprise, and ob- points. Go out into the community, and put your tain some help for it in its infancy. He came to knuckle to this one, and you will get a Baptist spark, Boston, and after having seen several of the ministers, to that one a Methodist spark, to another an Episcohe inquired, with some little irritation, he confessed, palian spark. You have heard of that Baptist, for a heretic. (Laughter.) He was told that he was asked Mr. Phillips after Burns was sent back to slave close to the chief seat and head-quarters of heresy, at ry by the descendants of John Hancock and Sam 21 Cornhill. He went thither, and there he found Adams, 'Was Burns a Baptist minister?' 'Well, yes the great Heresiarch himself. (Laughter and applause.) he was a licensed exhorter in that church.' 'I heard But he did not find any heresy there. He found hereso; when he was carried off, I did not think much manify there, which he did not look upon as heresy. about it, but when I found he was a Baptist, I could The rankest heresy, in his opinion, was the repudia- not sleep." (Laughter.) tion of humanity.

her limits, and was guilty of crime if she did not do scope to this point and that point, and sighting again it, and became a participator in the sin of American and again without finding the star of which he was in

distress was so great, that the slave-driver took the fire, after having been wet from top to toe. Loyalty child from its mother's arms, and gave it to the to truth and the right is the only reliable test of a grand-mother. She thought it was hers-for she knew man-this is what divides the masses :nothing of a bill of sale—and she brought it up until
the child became a somewhat interesting girl of fourteen years. Then the legal owner came and claimed

Though one go up to the judgment seat with it. When the terrible fact was made known to her, the thirty-nine articles of Episcopacy inscribed upon she ran and clasped her old arms around the neck of his brow, and the five points of Calvinism graven in the child, and screamed as if her heart was breaking, both hands, and not the love of Jesus in his heart, he But the slaveholders tore the child away from her must 'depart.' (Loud applause.) The devil cares

soman, the property of a widow living within three niles of Alexandria, had had thirteen children sold,

me after another. At length, her mistress told her seize his victim, is to ask her to be guilty of perfidy; and is tantamount to a dissolution of the Union. Nevertheless, I say, Massachusetts is morally bound to protect every fugitive slave coming within her limits; and if the Legislature shall avow to the world that she cannot do this, because of her constitutional stipulation to do just the reverse of it, that is just the confession I desire to be made before all Israel and found consolation in these two sons, and when she there is to be made before all Israel and found consolation in these two sons, and when she legrand that they too hed been taken from her, the blood burst from her mouth, and God took her.

In view of such facts as these, would any American dare to deny that the slave mother has affections?

SPEECH OF E. H. HEYWOOD.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:-I am ot ambitious enough to suppose that I can add anyand are to hear from men who, by many hearty years of unreserved devotion to the cause of human rights, together by the irresistible attraction of such names come upon the platform, I may be allowed at least to been a subject of Anti-Slavery grace hardly nine echo of British sentiment, and that sentiment is anti- imperfect idea of 'the doctrines.' Perhaps it is not slavery. Hence, in good faith, that Government ex- too much for me to hope, that I may be favored with the attention of those here who have not taken the

If I rightly apprehend this Abolition movement, it simply re-asserts the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, and calls this nation to repentance of its greatest sin, and to the obedience of the Golden Rule. It does not advance any new ideas, any new principles. The leading fact of the present age is the prominence of the individual. The entire history of the origin and progress of American instimay be expressed in a single letter, and that a very equal,' was the first sentence that fell from the baby pensive luxury, on which a few prelates might fatten. This rising up of the individual against the yoke of now in theory, rather than in practice. It is an independence of parchments, rather than of principles. pears in the man-when one leans the fence, the whole flock follows. (Applause.) America has more national energies flow in material rather than spiritual as they promote the growth of superior men. Now Abolitionism simply asserts the superiority of individualism over institutionalism, the inviolable sacredness Rev. Mr. Basserr, pastor of the Anti-Slavery Or- of man. It proclaims the universal brotherhood into he human race. Nothing being 'radical,' 'fanatical,' 'infidel,' it is the most truly conservative, considerate, and religiously faith-

ful enterprise of the age. (Loud applause.) The French missionaries touchingly said, When we have taught the Monguls to say, 'Our Father who art in heaven,' slavery will fall to the ground in Tartary.' No man can be a Christian, and not be an Abolitionist. The great distinctive doctrine of the Christian religion is Philanthropy. The Old Testament teaches love to God plainly enough, but the New Testament teaches love to man,-adds and thy neighbor as thyself' to the Law and the Prophets. Condescension and charity are further lessons. Moses went up after the Law, Jesus came down to bring the Gospel. I do not love Jesus so much because he loved me, as because he loved everybody-Jew and and white. (Applause.) But, unfortunately, religion as now taught does not secure large intercourse of generous minds; on the contrary, alienation of sect from sect, church from church, man from man. The single beam of Christian truth that comes from the Father of Light, is dissected and split up into many

We have a religion of abstractions, which seldon Mr. B. continued to speak in regard to the present touches the practical life. If a man will assent to the condition of the country, declaring that there never creed, he may have free course and be glorified in all was a time when selfishness was so universal and respectable iniquity, -war, slavery, political corrupdeep-scated in the American heart as now. But God, tion, social antagonism, &c., to suit the now sainted is at the helm, said he, and his providence is resist- sinner. No wonder we have lean Christians-Pharless. He will deliver the slave out of the hand of the son's insatiable kine. (Laughter.) Our venerable He wished to respond to the first resolution. Mas- versity was accustomed occasionally to take us out and magnanimous Professor in Astronomy at the Unisachusetts ought to protect every human being within 'star-gazing.' Sometimes, after adjusting the teleslavery.

search, he would resume his usual erect position with

Mr. B. said he had been asked the question, since he a look of dignified despair, and say, 'Young gentlecame to New England, if slaves had the same natural men, I think this is a very barren region of the heaaffections that other people have; and in reply to this vens.' It is pretty much so with this kind of preachquestion, he would mention some facts that had come ing. If the ministers give their congregations all the ander his own observation. A slave-driver at Wash- truth they raise, they must cultivate a very barren ington had a woman in his gang, with an infant child region of the heavens. (Laughter and applause.) in her arms. When he was about to leave Washing- We want character more than creed, piety more ton, the mother of the woman, who was free, in the than parchment, Christianity more than churchianity. agony of her heart, went to bid her farewell. Her Men must be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with

have South-side Adams's among us. (Laughler cheers.) I say the devil cares very little about preaching which always shoots over the world he when the preacher brings the Gospel gun to be when the presence orange the Graper gun by a upon the great strongholds of evil in society, then is upon the great strong himself 'settled on borels ont,—he will find minnell settled on honeled; wery soon. *Don't go among those infidels, then of that old Garrison, he hath a devil, eated will publicans and sinners, goes with the rag-tag and be publicans and state thus those who esteen these my Christian friends talk to me. Now, which my Christian Irienus tala opinions—I sheel a not responsible for any man's opinions—I sheel to him if I were—I do not mean to be outrun in the him if I were—I no not mean to be outrus in the cause even by 'infidels' or 'sinners.' (Applea as our friend from Washington (Rev. Mr. B. has said, it is my privilege to recognize goodness. ever it is found, or by whatever name it is called join hands with benevolence wherever I nee join hanus with the loved as a woman, for her her more than her head. (Applause.) A maying delity may be the greatest proof of his Christian The test of a given faith is what it can do fee manity. Wendell Phillips is doing more to ma Orthodoxy from infamy, than any other an America. (Loud cheers.) There is very little if any conscience in the charl

in regard to human rights, far less than then; forty years ago. In 1818, slavery was condense a sin in the strongest terms by the united rise Southern representatives in the General Asserts Presbyterians. In 1858, the New England Minin at the Tract meeting in Boston did not dare to al at the trace incessing in the state of the state of a sin, retained the slaveholder in fall fellowing only proposed to discuss the moral duties that the out of slavery. What would you think of discussion the moral duties that grow out of stealing perm (Laughter.) Is it not solemnly ridiculous to proto discuss the moral duties that grow out of manage ing? Mr. James, of Worcester, who spoke will be hand upon the ' heart of the Commonwealth,' mail its pulsations, boasted that the Tract Society had a been abolitionized,' had not agreed to obey the Gibs Rule! There is less conscience to-day on the nim of slavery in the New England churches than the was in South Carolina forty years ago! The facts a astounding as it is incontrovertible. That Langue four million slaves a few weeks ago stood at the rea of the Tract Society in New York, begging 1 to crumbs of the Bread of Life-only to be refused h American Board, the American Sunday School Cta the American Bible Society, all the great national a ganizations of the Church, while compassing sa me and to make one proselyte, receive men-stealers to bosoms, and remorselessly consign four million in an tal souls over to a temporal and eternal hell! Doya suppose that thinking, conscientious men can rece such a church as that? Never. Some years sa an old blacksmith up in Worcester county, who is experienced various annoyances in his church come tions, was complaining one day of his brethren. they don't mind, I'll leave them, said be. Apr drunken specimen of human nature, sitting on a birt near by, looked up out of his rags, with unfind simplicity, and said, 'Oh, sir, don't come bain the world. (Loud laughter and applause.) his illustrates the righteous contempt which all send men must feel for the popular religion. I do note how two ministers, as Cicero said of the augus, look in each other's faces without laughing. Omi a schite man's church. 'The Jews have no deline with the Samaritans ' is far more fearfully treums us than it was in Palestine. -

he mas all the distorter or the Charles by sad the bost chere try. I consist of 1820 of 1830 Hoar of 1820 of

No civil or religious institution based upon with ness can endure. Wherever civilization, as in lain has been founded upon the pride of race, wait Greece, upon the pride of knowledge, or min less upon the pride of power, it has passed avn. is ours, if it continues to repeat the example dian will follow in their wake. Christian civilization in recognizing the great doctrine of universal leds hood which Jesus came to teach, and based main principles of universal charity, this alone can alone to the empire of the world. If there is any sugar in the wide armory of Justice which will denum these colossal sins, the Church is bound to wit The only way that she can regain her hold up to conscience of the masses is by identifying here! at all the great moral issues before the people, is most among which is the momentous struggleist equal brotherhood of the race. (Loud chem)

This infidelity to human rights is quite as appear mising moral principle in public life. Go out in society, and catch-if he is not too slippery-theis politician you stumble upon. Extract politis = him, and you will have nothing but Gen. Tem That left. Ask him what he can do for humanit, all will give him the locked jaw, as quickly as it wat a woman to ask her her age. (Laughter.) Our ticians are mostly non-conductors of anti-slaver timent. There is Burlingame. He said in 1854, 12 he learned his anti-slavery of Wendell Phillips & well might Alcibiades have boasted of virtue less from Socrates! I should think Mr. Phillips wal feel like that farmer with two sons, only one of what took after him, and he took after him with a did (Loud laughter and cheers.) Burlingame ha mi has had no real anti-slavery. What brave worl is the slave has he uttered on the floor of Congres None. He talks much about the honor of Massib setts, feels her heart beating closely to his own-of cially when there is an election approaching. though standing in the very mouth of that labor sounding den, he had no word of sympathy for the poor writhing slave. Just now, they are talking new nominations. Whom can we trust? You les heard of that Tuscan proverb, . If you are chosing horse or a wife, close your eyes, and commend you self to God.' So now, in selecting your next mp sentatives to Congress, 'close your eyes, and comme yourself to God.' (Applause.) Senator Toomband the roll of his slaves under the shadow of Busine Hill monument to-day-Choate, Everett, Winter Banks. They are stopping up the muzzle of Vestis with a tuft of cotton ; Choate is the ramrod! Balk them beware! The dust of Sam Adams three all indignation beneath their feet. The giant is turned under Ætna. The earthquake tread of reform sirely shakes the Athens of America. (Enthusiasticther

When this Abo Archima ing press America whole I ubject—of Churr parties dashing country slavery—what Ill over-ru was alm tripling against. I find all of the separate the seat of the burdens ing and my dut stood in from the burdens ing and my dut stood in from the burdens ing and in the burdens in the cau is an o Aboliticalled as an o Aboliticalled services in the called a saled a saled in the cau is an o Aboliticalled a saled in the cau is an o Aboliticalled a saled in the cau in the cau is an o Aboliticalled a saled in the cau in the cau is an o Aboliticalled a saled in the cau in the cau in the cau is an o Aboliticalled a saled in the cau i

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Invited hot combat his migh of the liveson time of the liveson time of the liveson time of the cambar and the liveson the liv

Politics is the grave of Anti-Slavery senting The indignant heart-throb of a single child does and to abolish slavery, than the double-dealing of a price political leader. A zirl up in Rutland, last yest, " asked to represent South Carolina, in the celebrate of the Fourth. 'No,' said she, 'I'll not go for a size State. Put that beside the declaration of Gorers Banks, in 1856, that 'he would trust the institute and liberties of the country in the hands of a Paint to man. Tell me where is the most manhors most true patriotism? Our Representatives at ington, generally more than destroy the Anti-Sant sentiment that creates them. The oath to support of slavery. 'There's the rub,' the heel of delication unbaptized in the Styx of Anti-Slavery, the vilas ble point that has given so many their dest In every concession to slavery, liberty suffers dement. The wooden horse of compromise once this in, is always found full of armed men. A pressie vantage may seem to be gained, but there is any ression, a back stroke, a kick in the gun which be felt at last. The adamant of justice is the only is

Wrong ever builds on quicksands, but the right. To the firm centre lays its moveless base.

There are but two horns to this dilemma ate emancipation or continued slavery. Bares and civilization cannot live together. Freeds a slavery can never constitute one State. Liberts arms, and carried it off. The poor grandmother, who very little about this continual firing at a future hell justice alone are ultimate in this reform.

-though there is need enough of it, as long as we man wishes to upset a colossal system of with

he must take a universal principle, one that underlies all the ages, not maimed by constitutional limits, not distorted by sectarian restrictions; he must take such spinciple for his lever, and faith in God as his fulsprinciple on the may turn the world upside down, For the Puritans to behead that august perjurer, For the Stuart, was a bold act. But they had learned charies by sad experience, that no bonds would hold him but by sad experience, and no prison but the grave, and the bonus of the put him. Death is the only cure for slavery. Liberty first, and Union afterwards! What has the Union done for you? It has given you a Prothe Union Constitution, the Fugitive Slave Bill of '93, Louisiana, the Florida war, Florida, the Compromise of 1820, Texas, the war with Mexico, the Compromise of 1850, the Nebraska Bill, Lecompton—it mobs Judge of 1800, the New York House out of Charleston, Mr. Hubbard out of New Orleans—sells Massachusetts citizens in Texas for their jail fees sends Senator Mason up to Boston, to flare the Fugitive Slave Bill in the faces of the sons of Bunthe Fugure Care il Hall—imprisons women for teaching children to read the letters that spell God-keeps four millions of our fellow-citizens in a bondage, one hour of which, said Jefferson, 'is fraught with more misery than whole ages of that which we rose in rebillion to oppose '-that is what the Union does. Will you longer sacrifice freedom and humanity to it! Drop the bundle of infamy! touch not the accursed thing ! (Applause.)
As Mr. Phillips said, the work of this year is to

make Massachusetts a free State. She is a slave

Freedom lives hence, and banishment is here. This emigration north must be stopped. We are los ing all our noblest men and women. The underground rail-road must terminate here. Massachusetts must be Canada. Let no man be tried for his liberty ereafter, above the graves of Hancock and Adams Tell the slave-hunter, as Judge Harrington of Vermont did, in 1807, ' Show me a bill of sale from God Almighty, and you shall have him. [A voice—He ought to have said then, 'It is a forgery.'] Massahusetts does not deserve so good a law as this. Solon sid, he gave the Athenians as good laws as they would eccive. There are thousands of our citizens, pretending to be Anti-Slavery, who would not receive a law. making Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, free soil. Now is the time to test such. Let every one who will not sign that petition be pilleried before the community as a kidnapper, and anathematized as infidel to the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule. The spirit of the age is with us. The world stoops forward to catch each noble word, in behalf of the slave. Every blow upon the American Bastile is heard round the globe. The times demand not so much ideas as action. But I am holding you too long. ('Go on.') There are some people whose tongues are longer than their heads. I am one of those

Mere speculation never disturbed the peace of the world. Those abstract disquisitions of the temperance moralists did not trouble the evil at its sources. But when Neal Dow reached up from Portland, and wrote Prohibition' on our Statute books, then the rum party of Boston gnashed their teeth, and gave Mr. Cheate large sums of money to prove the law unconstitutional-lay it out a dead corpse. And he did it Any dog will 'speak,' if you but hold up a crust. Now, as I said at first, we have simply to apply prin-

ciples already recognized in American institutions But to do as much as our fathers, we must do more We want agitation, the only staff of the world's progress. This must be done by the people themselves. No pious church member of ' property and standing will pay for having his sins rebuked. No prudent minister would preach such a man out of his congregation. In the present state of political and ecclesiastical organizations, little or nothing is gained to the cause of disinterested reform. The pulpit does what is right when the pews tell it how. The press doffs its hat to public opinion. One 'milks the barren heifer,' the other tholds the sieve.' (Laughter and applause.) A few brave Abolitionists may whip both pulpit and press into the traces. The women may evolutionize the State. Some years ago, many young men in my little town, who drank freely, could hoose their associates. The young women came together, and told those presumptuous fellows that if would have liquor, they should not have ladies. Well, it became a temperance town very shortly. Applause.) Let woman put the stamp of her exeer tion upon Pro-Slavery sentiment, and it will soon disappear. Thank Heaven that she has dragged me out of the slough of expediency, up to a position of some decent moral elevation in this reform. (Applause.)

When a few months since: I first saw how much this Abolition movement has accomplished-how that Archimedes, first resting his lever over a little printing press, in an obscure garret in Boston, has turned American society upside down, and transformed the whole Union into one great debating club, on a single subject-how this little knot of men, standing outside of Church and State, have driven those great political parties and ecclesiastical organizations before them, dashing one after another asunder, until the whole country is brought to a single alternative, freedom or slavery-I felt, if I may be allowed the simile, somewhat like Alexander, when he saw his father, Philip, over-running the whole world with his conquests-I was almost afraid there would be nothing left for the striplings, just let loose from school, to wrestle against. But from a pearer view and deeper insight. I find slavery intrenched and fortressed in every part of the social organism. It has either partial or entire possession of all the strongholds that command the public mind-the pulpit, the press, the senate, and the seats of learning. And, oh! the pains and anguish of the slave! Every breeze from the South comes burdened with the sighs of four millions of the suffering and the dumb.' Whatever others may say or do, my duty is determined. When, four weeks ago, I stood in the presence of an aged woman, a fugitive from the house of bondage, who now stoops beneath the burden of eighty-six years, and heard her sad story-what she had suffered, even under the milder forms of slavery, how she had dragged a weary existthree through eighty-two years of hopeless servitude, how nineteen of her children and relatives were sold South, in a single day, and the fountain of her feelings welled up into her eyes as she spoke-I say, when I witnessed that scene, and remembered it was but the fly-leaf of the book of horrors which I have just begun to read, then and there I vowed that what little there is or is to be of myself should be given to the cause of the slave. Hereafter, I wish to be known as an out-and-out, through-and-through, Garrisonian Abolitionist. And I shall regard it an insult to be called anything less. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

REMARKS OF REV. MR. BOWLES.

Rev. Mr. Bowles, of Natick, said that when he was lavited to speak there, he replied that the people had not come there to hear him; but the answer was that his testimony might be worth something, and so it might, for it was conceded that the testimony even of the humblest man was worth something. For this reason he was willing to stand up, and give his testimony to the fact that there are some rights which are inalienable, which cannot be denied, nor set aside, nor diminished, nor increased, by any word or act of

man-rights secured by God when he made man. The thought that was uppermost in his mind when came there was, that that was a dangerous place for a man to find himself in, because, if he came there edded to any thing, his union was in danger. He repembered an anecdote of a certain old and rich er, who had arronly son, on whom he was wont to day he had set his life; but the fact was, he had

should not have the farm; but if he married a girl fences! You say that government derives its just with as large a farm as that, he might have it. By powers from the consent of the government derives and there and by, a country school-mistress came to board with the old farmer, and, like a great many other country does not even condescend to ask the consent of four school-mistresses, she brought brains in her skull, a millions of the government, but is treating this immense good work; and she set about converting that son to old man kept his eve on him, and very soon discovfarm-in fact, that he was loving the girl, brains and Wife! wife!' said he, 'that school-marm must into communion with great, loving hearts and en- that which is crushing the rights of man. lightened minds, and if their hearts were cold, they would be warmed up, and if they came there wedded to any thing that was not in harmony with those about them, that thing was in danger. He believed that the great difficulty with people

was, that they forgot the great fundamental princi- those voices. I feel, with my friend Poss, almost as ple of liberty, that there are inalienable rights. If if I could say, like the old saint, Now lettest thou evidence of this was wanted, they could find it in thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen polities, in the church, every where. For one, he the beginning of thy salvation.' I think, however, exalted and courageous life; and he no where found Jesus saying, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,'-if the creed you signed fifty years or fifty days ago will sanction it, if the Constitution you have sworn to obey will sanctio it. He says, 'Do it!' He (Mr. B.) accepted the principle, at all hazards, that the soil of Massachusetts must be made free to every foot that treads upon it; and if we cannot live upon that, said he, let us die; and it will be beautiful to die so.

REMARKS OF A. T. FOSS.

Rev. Andrew T. Foss, of New Hampshire. was asked, only the other day, what to me was a serious question. It was said. Mr. Garrison will not live, Mr. Poster and Mr. Pillsbury must pass away; and where are the young men to take their places? I could not answer then. To-day I have seen them, and I have been rejoiced to have the opportunity of seeing those who are to take the places of the men whose lives have been devoted to this great and holy cause, when they shall have gone to their reward.

I desire only to say, Mr. President, that I mos heartily and fully endorse your resolutions. You intimated that they might not be endorsed by the meeting. Allow me to say, sir, that you have fully expressed the deepest sentiments of my heart. There might be, perhaps, some little modification of the resolution in regard to the action of the British people in the matter of slavery ; but with all the rest, word for word, letter for letter, comma for comma, I agree; for I believe that they express, as I have not heard them before expressed, exactly the facts in the case. And you are not standing alone in this country either, Mr. President. You have fallen into exceedingly bad company; for Senator Toombs himself uttered exactly the same sentiments in the Senate of the United States when he said that this present American government was the most corrupt on the face of the earth; and I believe that our friend Mr. Wilson assented to the statement; certainly Mr. Hale did.

Mr. Foss said he very much admired the statement in the resolutions of the true character of this government, and proceeded to speak, briefly, on that point, showing that our fathers did not intend to establish a free government, but one that should afford protection and support to slavery, and that they carried out their intention.

REMARKS OF CHARLES C. BURLEIGH. Charles C. Burleigh said there was one word which he wished to say, because it seemed to him it ought to be said before they separated. All over the country to-day, by all manner of jubilant demonstrations, the people were giving expression to their joy in the possession of the independence which their fathers achieved for them, and their gratitude and admiration towards the fathers who won this independence. But how large a portion of the people who were about? How many of them believed in t very doctrines they were unconsciously endorsing? How many of them were ready to do to-day the very same deeds which they half deify their forefathers for having done? Nay, how many of them, with a thousand fold more reason for doing these deeds, were ready even to approve the doing of them to-day? The men who were ready to embody in action the principles and purposes of the framers of the Declaration were the men who did not join in these loudmouthed jubilations; were the men who, instead of following blind leaders of the blind into the ditch. where they would wallow together in the mire, stunned into unconsciousness of their degradation by the very thunder of rejoicing that is going on about al politicians, and, if possible, paralyze all their inthem, were gathering in such places as this grove, and giving utterance to their sorrow of heart that the nation has consented to stand so long among the nations of the earth with a lie in its right hand. The that the sentiment was received with very much apword he wished to say was, that the very purposes which called together the so-called radical, fanatical abolitionists, were the purposes announced in the Dec- I do not believe Massachusetts has a man in Congress laration of Independence; their principles, their ob- who is ready for it. When I was in Ohio last year, jects, their measures, were there all pointed out. But while there were multitudes who were willing to ac- to him that I thought the people were ahead of their cept the doctrine that all men have a right to be free, political leaders. He said, 'Oh no; we have to take and that government derives its just powers from the people as we find them. Well, I went into Mr. the consent of the governed,' and that those govern- Giddings's district, and spoke to the people on the ments which do not ask the consent of the governed subject. They said, 'We are ready for more extreme are to that extent unjust and anti-republican, how measures; but we have to take our leaders as we find many were there who were ready to take the next them." (Laughter and applause.) I think it would step, and adopt the necessary logical inference from be well for the people and the politicians to come tothese premises, which necessary logical inference the gether and compare notes, and see who really is ahead fathers, upon a thousand times less provocation, in this battle, and who in the rear. The people seem adopted? The abolitionists only asked the people of to be waiting for the politicians, and the politicians the country to carry out, on behalf of the slaves, the are waiting for the people; and I rather think, if the same principles which their revolutionary fathers actual state of the case were known, so far as the great

carried out on their own behalf. man in ten thousand of those who were celebrating swiftly the race. And I think this, also, that if you that day, who ever dreamed that they were celebrat- wish to make the soil of Massachusetts free, you will ing the triumphant dissolution of a Union, a trium- have to do it through different instrumentalities than phant abrogation of a Constitution, a sundering of those you have now in the Congress of the United political ties which were as sacred in the estimation of States, or at the head of the Republican party here in the people of that time as the ties that bind the North the Commonwealth; and I say to every body where to the slaveholding South in the estimation of the I go, Demand of your Senators and Representatives people of this day. He did not know how many both in the Federal and State governments, whether bells would be rung, how many orations would be they are ready for that measure, and will sustain it delivered, how many toasts would be drunk, how No matter what it may cost, -Union, or Constitution much powder would be wasted, if all the people, or Government, or life, or death, or principalities, or from the borders of Virginia up to the Northern lakes, powers, are you ready for that measure? And if they and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, understood clearly that, in celebrating the 4th of July, they were will discard the great majority of those who represent eulogizing the dissolvers of a Union, the overturners the interests of Massachusetts, both in the State and of a Constitution, and the champions of a 'Higher Federal governments. Law' than the statutes of men. Just the very thing which Democrats and Republicans now join together in pronouncing treason, the people of this country were eulogizing in their fathers, when they came together to celebrate the 4th of July.

What, inquired Mr. B., is there in the Declaration of Independence that is not concentrated in the motto, 'No Union with Slaveholders'? You have affirthed the right of man to be free, as the natural and inalienable right of all men; therefore we say, ! No Union with those who trample upon that self-evident and inslienable right!' You say, the proper object of government is to protect the rights of the governed; therefore we say, 'No allegiance to a governset his farm on him, for he made it a law in his house-hold, that if ever his son married a poor girl, he ing human rights, and all their safeguards and de-

large share front of her ears, and a large heart in her bosom, ever stimulating that brain to action in every their being, as partakers in our common humanity! You say, that if a government fails to answer its ends, a love of something more than the farm. Well, the _the protection of the rights of the governed, the recognition of the claim of the governed to act as sovered that he was loving something better than the ereign over what is called the government,—then i farm—in fact, that he was loving the girl, brains and becomes the right, then it becomes (mark the word!) all. (Laughter.) And what did the old man do? the pure of the governed to throw off that govern-He gave his wife a 'curtain lecture' that night. ment, and institute new safeguards for their rights-We say, therefore, that in accordance with this docleave." 'Why?' asked his wife. 'Why, the farm is trine and principle, we are addressing ourselves to the in danger! I want him to have the farm, but he doing of this nurr; not, perhaps, just in the same is wedded to the girl already, and we must break it manner in which our fathers did it, because we think off.' Just so he felt when he came there. When we have a more excellent way, but the thing to be they came into such a meeting as this, they came done is the same,-we are determined to overturn

REMARKS OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

PARKER PILLSBURY. I have been delighted at the new voices which I have heard this afternoon, and chiefly because I saw that you also were interested in accepted Jesus as a beautiful model of a pure, holy, few words from us, powder-blackened and battlescarred veterans, may not be out of place; for though there may be more honeyed music in the words of these young disciples than in ours, still, our voices may be of some service yet.

What I fear in the anti-slavery movement, and

what I have long feared, is, that we shall mistake the genius of the movement, and allow ourselves to be captivated by fair appearances, by specious promises, nd by outside indications of a better tone of anti-slavery than actually exists. We have stood on this platform many years to denounce a spurious Democracy and a still more spurious Religion, and the ears of the people have become accustomed to these denunciations; and it costs nothing now of reputation to lenounce either Democracy on the one hand, or the popular Religion on the other. But still the work of anti-slavery has to be done, and it has to be done in the face and eyes of a fiery opposition, and that opposition will manifest itself in proportion as we are faithful. It would be easy for us now to cry 'Peace,' and to 'prophesy smooth things,' but the result would be fatal to our enterprise; and never would uch words be more fatal than at the present hour. I have heard names spoken on this platform with repect and reverence,-such as Beecher, and Cheever, and Sumner, and Hale, and Chase,—that I regard as altogether the most dangerous names that can be uttered on this platform. Our friend Mr. Phillips inquired why Salmon P. Chase did not take up Ohio, and hurl it into the face and eyes of the Administration, and rescue Margaret Garner, at the point of Ohio bayonets, from the clutch of the kidnapper. If Salmon P. Chase had been any better than James Buchanan, he would have done it; but he is not better, and is tenfold more dangerous to the cause of freedom. Salmon P. Chase, with his principles, hould have sent the waters of the Ohio river dyed with Ohio blood down to the Mississippi, rather than that its fair waters should have borne of Margaret Garner and her child. But there was an election just before him, and he knew, and every body knew, that Ohio was not quite prepared for so bold a stand. Just so in the State of Massachusetts. The best names we have, -and I do not think you honor the name of Sumner, or Wilson, or Banks, too much, -are altogether the most dangerous names. There is no danger now in Edward Everett; he is as harmless as any of the beasts in the apocalyptic vision, not more unclean than himself, after their stings had been extracted, and their power therefore to harm taken away. Daniel Webster is harmless: he never made greater mistake than when he said (I still live ' and then expired, for who is deader than Daniel Webster. I ask you? But you have these other men,-good men according to their standard, but the better they are, the more unfit they are to be sent to Congress. I inquired to-day if those two men who murdered two State Prison wardens last year were still alive; but I heard, unfortunately for my purpose, that they were were engaged in those demonstrations knew what they dead. I was going to have them nominated as the two Senators from Massachusetts to Congress, as the best men to be sent to that den of robbers and assassins. (Applause.) I do not want your Sumners and Wilsons there: there is no work for them to do of which they are capable. I do not wish to have good men sent from Massachusetts, if Massachusetts has

these virtues have not been represented in Congress. and I have no expectation that they will be represented there. I think what we have to do this year, in order to accomplish the object proposed at the late New England Convention, Is to lay our hands on these nationfluence, because they are not ready for any such movement. I noticed this morning, when Mr. Phillips proposed to make the soil of Massachusetts free, plause. I have no doubt that the majority of the people of Massachusetts are ready for that measure, but in conversation with Joshua R. Giddings, I remarked multitude go, there is not much difference between Mr. B. said he did not suppose that there was one them, and that neither is very zealous to run too say no, let them be discarded, -and I apprehend it

the virtue, and the patriotism, and the love of liberty

which are accorded to her, because I am certain that

Mr. Pillsbury then referred to the late revival, and to the corruption of the churches, and at the conclusion of his remarks alluded to the indifference which was manifested by the people, in regard to the support of radical anti-slavery newspapers. In this connection he said :- 'The New York Tribune of last Saturday contains a caricature of the late Rutland Con vention, which would have done honor to the New York Herald, in the palmiest days of its depravity and diabolism. And yet, the Tribune is the pet of the political papers among the abolitionists of the country. That was a Convention, three days in session larger in number than any of our anniversaries in Boston, and a gathering of more earnest, honest, de voted, liberty-loving, man-loving and God-honoring men and women, it has not been my happiness to

meet in the last twenty years I have been connected ANNIVERSARY OF WEST INDIA EMANwith the anti-slavery movement. There has been a settled purpose, on the part of the New York Tri-bune, to blast the reputation of that Convention, as if buss, to blast the reputation of that Convention, as if tion, (the most remarkable, beneficent and sublime it were a conclave of libertines and demons incarnate, achievement in the history of England,) will be apwho ought to be scouted from the ranks of humanity.

And you will let Mr. Wallcut go home, perhaps, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, by a MASS without a single new subscriber for the Liberator, and MEETING of the friends of Freedom and Humanity. without a single new subscriber for the Liberator, and MRETING of the friends of Freedom and Humanuty, Mr. Howland without an additional name for the Standard, and pour out your money like water for the Support of papers that, like the Tribune, caricature and ridicule the earnest efforts of devoted souls to that has ever yet assembled on such an occasion, and lift up humanity, and restore the God-given right of let the aged and the young be there to rejoice with liberty to those who have been so long deprived of the emancipated abroad, and to sympathize with the that high boon.

The earnest, highly creditable and well-delivered speech of William C. Mantyn, of Worcester, a promising young advocate of Freedom's cause, we hope (in substance at least) to be able to print in a future number of the Liberator.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT ABINGTON. The friends of the slave, in connection with the annual meeting of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, assembled in the Town Hall in Abington, or Sunday, July 4th.

The meeting was called to order by Elbridge Sprague, who stated that the principal object of the meeting was the raising of \$150, pledged to the Massachusetts A. S. Society, at the New England A. S. Convention in May last. Reuben Loud was called t the chair, and Briggs Arnold officiated as Secretary. After some preliminary remarks by the Chairman, Mr. A. T. Foss addressed the meeting on the blighting and degrading influence of slavery on the institutions of our country, both civil and religious. Mr. Pillsbury spoke at some length, showing up, in his own immitable style, the corruptions of this govern-

ment, and urging that the only true and consistent loctrine for abolitionists to take is, No Union with The time having arrived for the adjournment of the norning session, the chair was taken by the President of the Old Colony A. S. Society, Bourne Spooner. A committee, consisting of Edward Y. Perry, Nathl. B.

Spooner and Elbridge Sprague, were chosen to prepare a list of officers of the above Society for the present year; after which, the meeting took a recess of one

AFTERNOON SESSION. At the opening of the meeting, our numbers having increased by many friends from neighboring towns, it cas unanimously voted that we proceed to the Grove near by,-the proprietors having generously offered the free use of the same for our meeting. The speaking was resumed in this beautiful 'free temple,' by remarks from Messrs. Nathl. H. Whiting, A. T. Foss, P. Pillsbury, Lewis MacLauthlin, and Mrs. Lucy N. Colman. Mr. Pillsbury having, at the morning session, made some remarks relative to the corrupt proslavery character of the Constitution and Government of the United States, Mr. Whiting took exceptions, and characterised Mr. P's views as bosh and humbug. He gloried in having voted for N. P. Banks for Governor, and hoped history would bear record to the fact. Mr. Pillsbury replied in an able manner, fully (to our mind) sustaining his assertion, and closed with an earnest appeal to the abolitionists to stand fast in the faith, and continue to labor for the right; having in view, as regards all pro-slavery organizations, the injunction, ' Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins.' Mr. Foss and Mrs. Lucy N. Colman also did good service by their rell-timed and appropriate remarks.

Mr. Sprague passed through the audience, calling only on the friends in Abington, and obtained pledges to the cause to nearly the amount promised. The committee on nomination of officers reported

the following list, and the same was adopted : President-Bourne Spooner.

Vice Presidents - Joshua Perry, Henry Clapp, Jr., ohn Cushing, Charlotte Bradford, Nathl. H. Whiting, William Perkins, Thomas Bicknell, Johnson Davee, Lewis Holmes, Jacob Leonard, Edwd. E. Benett, Thomas J. Hunt, Lewis MacLauthlin, Nathl. B. Spooner, Philander Shaw, Edward Y. Perry. Secretary and Treasurer-Samuel Dyer.

Managers-Bourne Spooner, Samuel Dyer, Elbridge Sprague, Gridley Beal, Briggs Arnold.

The Treasurer, S. Dyer, made the following stateent of the financial affairs of the year ending July 4th, 1858, and the same was accepted :-

received of it. II. Biorenead 3 00	,,,
H. H. Brigham 2 00	1
" B. K. Burgess 1 00	1
" H. Brown 4 00	
" B. Spooner 3 00	11
" H. Dyer 1 00	
Collected by Lewis Ford, as Agent of the Society, over expenses of halls, as follows:	
	1
South Scituate)
West Duxbury 1 00	1
L'embroke 3 25	1
Hanson 0 50	1
North Bridgewater 0 44	
West Bridgewater 0 91 East Bridgewater 0 66	il.
East Bridgewater 0 69	
Bridgewater 1 09	
Hanover	1
Kingston	1
Kingston 0 65	5
Amounting to	23146
DISBURSEMENTS.	1
Paid C. G. Easterbrook, for 75 posters for an- nual meeting	1
Paid for Town Hall for annual meeting at	50 M

Plympton. 1 00
Paid Wm. L. Garrison for services attending

Leaving balance in Treasury of \$7 55 At the request of many of the friends of Lewis Ford, the following resolution was offered by Mr.

Pillsbury, and adopted unanimously: Resolved, That this Society entertains a most grateful and lively remembrance of the faithful and untiring labors in its behalf, and for the cause of Humanity, of Mr. Lewis Ford, during his residence among us; and now that he has removed to a distant part of the country, we would follow him with our best wishes, hopes and prayers for the happiness and prosperity of himself and family. And, ever assured as we are that he will never abandon the great work to which he has consecrated his powers and his property, we also pledge ourselves to greater zeal and devo tion, that so the Old Colony Society may not swerve from its hitherto undeviating course, nor abate in any degree the interest and energy with which it has

moved forward in the prosecution of its objects. Voted, That a copy of the above resolution, signed by the President and Secretary, be forwarded to Mr. Ford.

A collection was taken to defray the expenses the meeting; after which, it was adjourned, sine die. S. DYER, Sec'y Old Colony A. S. Society.

The communications of 'VERULUM' and 'B R. P. criticising a pro-slavery editorial article in the last number of the Banner of Light (t)-are unavoidably deferred till next week. All our correspondents must possess their souls in patience.

The Anniversary of British West India Eme millions in bondage in our own dishonored and guilty country, who are yet pining for the same great deliv

The Old Colony Railroad Company will convey assengers, on that day, to and from the Grove, as

Leave Boston quarter before 9, A. M. " Plymouth, 9.20, A. M., topping at way stations. RETURNING-Leave for Plymouth, at 6 o'clock

" Boston, at 64 " FARES as follows :--Boston, to the Grove and back, FIFTY CENTS for

Adults, TWENTY-FIVE CENTS for Children. The same, for passengers from Savin Hill. borchester, Port Norfolk, and Quincy.

Plymouth, to the Grove and back, and all way ations, not named above, at half the usual fore for adults or children. The Excursion tickets will also be good on the

ther trains of the Old Colony Railroad that day; although such trains will not stop at the Grove, but must be left (or taken) at the Centre Abington Station, near by.

In case of rain, the meeting will be held at Abingon Town Hall, adjacent to the Grove. Further particulars, in future papers.

FRANCIS JACKSON, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, BOURNE SPOONER, SAMUEL MAY, Jr., ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, MICAR H. POOL. PHILANDER SHAW. THOMAS J. HUNT. SAMUEL DYER,

Committee of Arrangements. We understand that our Milford and Hopedale

riends will celebrate, in mass meeting, the anniversary of British West India Emancipation, at Milford, on Monday, August 2d. [Particulars next week.]

Several errors having occurred in printing the Fugitive Slave's Song, by Charles C. Burleigh,' in our last number, we shall reprint it next week.

Six Persons Dashed to Pieces .- A terrible accident occurred at the Thomastown Colliery of the Schuy-kill County (Pa.) Mines, on the 29th ult. Four men and two boys were hoisted up the shaft in a car, but on reaching the surface, some difficulty was experienced in detaching the car from the 'cage' on which it was placed, and a signal was given the engineer to hoist the cage a little. Unfortunately, it was hoisted too far, the car tilted, was freed entirely from the cage, and the next instant, with its freight of precious lives, was dashed down the shaft, a perpendicular lepth of two hundred and forty feet. The remains of the unfortunate men and boys were removed to the them were married, and leave families.

A Singular Way of Punishing a Murderer.—We copy the following from the Paris (Ky.) Flag of the 0th inst.:

'Mr. Redman's negro man Daniel, convicted of the ourder of Mr. Curran's negro George, who was to have been hung near this place on Saturday next, has been reprieved. He will be sold out of the State.

The Boston correspondent of the Econing Post says: 'Hon. J. R. Giddings of Ohio, G. A. Grow of Pa., and J. P. Hale of N. H., with other Congress-men of this State, are expected to make a fishing excursion down our harbor and along the shores of Mas-sachusetts Bay. Governor Banks is expected to join the party.

Rev. Theodore Parker will deliver the oration before the literary societies of Union College, at Schenectady, on the 27th of July. Among those who are advertised to take part in the exercises of Commencement-week, are Rev. F. D. Huntington, of Cambridge, Mass., Rev. Dr. Wayland, of Providence, and Senators Seward and King.

To Rev. Theodore Parker and Hon. Anson Burlingame are advertised to speak, the one before the United Literary Societies, and the other before Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity' of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, Aug. 3d and 4th.

By cash received of Treasurer for 1856-7....\$49 13 Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, D. D., will address the Collection at annual meeting at Plympton 7 06 Theological Society at the Dartmouth College Com-Received of R. H. Morehead...... 3 00 mencement, July 27. Hon. Rufus Choate will ad-

> Hon. Robert T. Conrad, ex-Mayor of Philadelphia, died recently at his residence in West Phila-delphia. Judge Conrad has been widely known for many years, both as editor and a jurist, and possessed in a remarkable degree a brilliancy, fertility and raci-ness of intellect and a full-hearted generosity that made him the centre of a host of attached friends.

The Charleston (S. C.) News says that John Mitchel's ability and boldness seem to surpass his dis-cretion and modesty, and he now vapors and struts as if the whole South belonged to him. The renegade

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Donation. Samuel May, Jr., Leicester, Mass., to redeem pledge..... \$20 00 Collections. By C. L. Remond : In Natick, Mass., 11 48 In Manchester, Mass..... 8 10 By Joseph A. Howland:

CAPE COD.-WM. WELLS BROWN WILL pend the month of July on the Cape, and will speal the following places :

the following places:

At North Dennis,

Sunday, July 18,

at 2 o'clock.

" East " July 18,

at 5 o'clock.

" Harwich, " July 25. WORCESTER (SOUTH) ANTI-SLAVERY

SOCIETY.—A quarterly meeting of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Stavery Society will be held on Sunday, July 18, at the customary hours of meeting, at BLACKSTONE.

The meeting will be at Blackstone Town Hall in the morning and afternoon; and on Sunday evening, at MILLVILLE.

PARKER PILLSBURY, ANDREW T. FOSS, SAMURI MAY, Jr., and other speakers, are expected to be present. EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, President.

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

Barnet, McIndoes Falls, Tuesday, July 20. Thursday, " 22. Sunday, " 25. Lower Waterford, Sunday, "25. Tuesday, "27. Wednesday, "28.

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

GIVE HIM A CHANCE!-Situation want ed for a colored lad, 17 years of age, of good family either to learn the trade of Shoemaker or Tailor. His parents are willing and able to arrange terms accommodating to his employer. Address WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

MARRIED-In Newton, July 5, by Rev. Theodor Parker, Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem, to Mis Lizzie Mades, of Virginia. DIED-In this city, July 7, Miss Hannier Cansan, aged 18 years.

IT IS NOT A DYE! MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

WORLD'S HATR RESTORER

> WORLD'S Hair Dressing.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE A EUROPEAN REPUTATION!!

THE Restorer, used with the Zylobalsamum or Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scalp, and RESTORES GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL COLORI

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

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

REV. W. B. THORNELO, Prescot, Lancashire, says- Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are perfect marvels. After using them six weeks, my extremely gray hair is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it is not a dve. HAYTI

REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, for many years Missionary to Hayti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y. The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp says, 'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. I have tried various other remedies for my hair, but never anything that so materially 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 Restorer and Zylobalsamum but very irregularly, but, notwithstanding, its influence was distinctly visible. 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 Holiness,' Boston, Mass. 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum promotes the growth of the hair where baldness has commenced, we now have the evidence of our own eyes."

REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, Cor. Sec. B'd Educ'n N. Y. City. 'I procured Mrs. S. A. Allen's World'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 natural glossy and beautiful black.

REV. JNO. E. ROBIE, Ed. ' Chr. Adv.,' Buffalo, N. Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum are the best hair preparations I have ever known. They have restored my hair to its original

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 Zylobalsamum, and also to acknowledge its curing my grayness and baldness."

REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Agt. Bap. Penn. Pub. Son We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum."

REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, Washington, N. H. 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,) Pitcher, N. Y. 'Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer and Zylobalsamum, my hair ceases to fall, and is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied 'tis nothing like a dye.'

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

REV. S. B. MORLEY, Attleboro', Mass. . The efect 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 hue of

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

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

Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum 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 Restorer and Zylobalsamum. REV. E. EVANS, Delhi, O. 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa-

mum. 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. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum has starped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new owth.

We might quote from others of the numerous letters we have and are constantly receiving, but we deem the above sufficient to convince the most skeptical that we have at least the best preparations in the world for the hair of the young or old. We manufacture no other preparations. Occupying the large building, corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets, exclusively for office, salesroom and manufactory, we have no time or inclination to engage in other manufactures.

These are the only preparations exported in any

These are the only preparations exported in any quantity to Europe.

We also would call attention to the fact that we have always avoided all charlatanism. Our preparations are the highest priced, but the cheapest, because it lasts longer, and does more good: the expense, in the end, less than others. We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of Restorer will last nearly a year. \$1.50 per bottle. Balsam, 37½ cents per bottle.

GENUINE

GENUINE has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles. Restcrer bottles are of dark purple glass, with the words, Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, 355 Broome Nreet, 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. None other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offence. Some dealers try to sell other preparations on which they make more profit, instead of these; insist on these.

Sold by nearly every drug and fancy goods dealer Address all letters for information to MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer Depot.

NO. 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y. ly

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For the Liberator.
TO THE GANYMEDE.

THOUGHTS uggested by the ascension, from Boston Common, of the beautiful balloon 'GANYMEDE,' on the afternoon of July 6, 1858, bearing with it accounts of the celebration of American Independence the day previous, with other interesting documents, unaccompanied by any one to guide it on its aeri-

Voyager o'er land and sea, Haste, and bear to distant lands Tidings from the boasted free, Who erst did burst a tyrant's bands.

Tell them, while our banner waves, Covered with the 'stripes' and 'stars,' We've a host of human slaves, Who grosn smidst our loud huzzar

Tell them, while our steeples point To that world where Freedom reigns, Men as 'teachers' we anoint. Who forge for human limbs the chains.

Tell them Boston, whence thou came, City famed for light and love, While she seeks an honored name, Recreant to her trust doth prove.

Tell to all whom thou shalt meet, Though is heard the voice of prayer Often both in lane and street, God listens not-no heart is there.

And, if ever thou return, Bringing words from darker clime, May they in our conscience burn A sense of our dear country's crime. Boston, July 7, 1858.

For the Liberator.

AN EVENING SCENE ON MOUNT OLIVET. *Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of my brethren, ye have not done it unto me.

The Savior of the word has left the Temple, Left the doomed, recreant city, and retired, With his disciples, to the quiet scenes Of Olivet; where, on the cool fresh air Of the spring eve, rises a murmuring sound From thronged Jerusalem, lying at its feet. To these, his friends, Christ dedicates the hour, One of the few remaining, ere he close A brief, eventful life, by willing death. He shows the listeners whom in his home He will receive as honored friends and inmates. And who shall be excluded, as unfit To enter those abodes of pure delight. Most awful words ! awful in their clear truth; Uttered by one who needed not to learn The secrets of men's hearts; for his keen sight Read every latent motive, good or evil, And marked each varying form of self-deceit. He knew that those who would not step aside To cheer the wretched in their misery, Lest such an act incur expense, or trouble, Or give offence to their own little world, Would shrink even from him, were such his need. Oh, our great Elder Brother, who didst deign,

All honored as thou wast by God's own voice, To call the poor, the wretched, and the outcast Thy brethren; thou, in heaven, dost not forget Thy noble, generous words, uttered that eve, When, after silencing the casuistry Of priests and Sadducees, thou didst prepare By gentle talk, the minds of thy disciples For thy approaching death and resurrection, And left them a rich legacy indeed Of holy warnings, counsels, joyful hopes And yet, how many, boasting their own freedom And the high dignity that freedom gives, In proud America's proud Northern States, Forget those awful words, or heed them not ! They will not aid the slaves, nor break their chains; Nay, worse ; they help to forge and rivet them. Ah, poor, poor slaves, in their own land denied Not only civil rights, but even the name Of human beings! When thou, righteous Judge! Shall hold thy great assize, and both shall stand, Slave and enslaver, at thy judgment seat, Of cruel men, who, in their wilfulness, Hear not the warning words thy mercy spoke. But turn with careless ear from thy just sentence On such as look with closed and cold hard heart On thy afflicted, or thy injured brethren!

Where are the Northern preachers, who shall stand Like Israel's brave prophets, and rebuke Their people for this deadly sin? Mute, mute! Like priest and Levite, when the traveller lay Naked and wounded on th' unsheltered path. They fear to risk their ease, or salaries, By what concerns them not. Perhaps they fear Robbers of human souls may take offence, (Vide the Southern States' own newspapers,) And tar and feather them, or burn their goods. Courage! ye pulpit preachers, North or South! Fear God; then need ye have no other fear. A dread responsibility upon ye lies; The prophet calls ye 'Watchmen,' and declare The lives lost by your negligence will be, With strictest justice, at your hands required. If to your flocks ye prophesy alone Smooth things,' and, careless shepherds! let them

stray In the wide desert; when the master comes, And calls ye to account, what will ye plead?

America's rich sons and daughters, who Are eloquent in praises of the works Of Europe's artists, when their skill portrays The infant Jesus, in his mother's arms; Are there no weeping mothers in your land, Sisters of Mary, as her son would call them, Mourning for infants sold from their embrace? Babes, children, brethren of the infant Jesus, Children and mothers, that ye can protect? And can ye sell, or suffer men to sell, The infant from its God-appointed home, The sheltering sanctuary of its mother's arms, Yet dare to call him . Lord !' him, whose voice said Suffer the children to come unto me'? Wealth may buy luxuries and man's applause It will not buy a conscience, calm and pure; Nor will it buy Christ's welcome to his friends. But ye, heroic ones, friends of the slave-The slave, Christ's brother, and the child of God As is the proudest white-oh, ye who dare. Though scorn and danger may beset ye round, Be true and loyal to your sense of right; Ye are Christ's honored friends, his faithful brethren And him ye succor when ye free the slave. Tenterden, (England.)

HEAVENLY TREASURE. Why should we lay up treasures here below, Where moth and rust corrupt? Why fix our heart On that from which so quickly we must part? Why on an ocean where such tempests blow, Embark so rich a freight? Why, midst the snow Of so unkind a winter, plant a flower So fragrant, yet so frail? Why build Hope's towe Where lightnings flash and whelming torrents flow? But, if our highest energies are bent In God and heaven a portion to insure, Midst every change our wealth will be secure : When the destroying angels forth are sent,
When melts away the starry firmament,
Our bliss, unharmed, shall, e'en like God, endure

N. M. CORRES REGORD NEWSON HALL

The Liberator.

THE EXECUTION OF McGEE.

Though every feeling of my nature rebels against the gallows, and all its heathenish appendages, I consented to see 'Christian' men deliberately kill poor McGee. In allowing myself to witness that terrible McGee, as they obviously did not, (for they asked elf with new arguments against this most hideo relic of a most savage barbarism, reserted to by the then they offered the grossest insult to the Most Christians' of enlightened Massachusetts as a most High, who has said, 'Whatsoever is not of faith is appropriate finale to one of the greatest religious re-

Without inflicting upon your readers the sickening details of the scene, which so overwhelmed me by the fell, passed to a state of freedom from ain and sufentire absence of every Christian principle and humane impulse, that characterized the chief actors in for him doubtless believe, he passed into a state of it. I desire to notice a few of the most remarkable greater suffering than he experienced here, then the features in the revolting transaction.

1st. I wish to invite attention to the peculiar manner of admitting persons to the jail. The following righteous, to which God ever listens with favor. is a transcript of the cards of 'Admission,' (not of 'Invitation,') of which, I am informed, about four hundred were issued :-

Mr. A. B. to the Cambridge Street Jail, on Friday, June 25th. JNO. M. CLARK, Sheriff.

It particularly deserves notice, that there is nothing upon the Card to indicate the purpose for which persons were to be admitted to the jail. Now, we respectfully submit, that there is something in this omission which looks like evidence of a consciousness, on the part of those who got up these Cards, that they were not performing a very commendable act, or one which would be likely to benefit the community; pends on his conduct. In the rice-swamp, he is conhence they sought to do every thing as covertly as sidered better; for he is less liable to get sick, and he the law would allow. If they had truthfully and in- can do the most work. Socially,-if he does his part telligibly announced their object upon the Cards, as brother, child, husband, and parent, as well, he is which is the course sanctioned by almost universal as good. Politically,-if he performs his duties as usage, especially when men propose to engage in any citizen as well, and obeys the laws, he is as good. Inrespectable business or pursuit, what could they have tellectually, he is as good, if he knows as much, and indicated as the purpose for which the holders of these is as learned. Religiously,-if he does to others as Cards were to be admitted to the jail?

obedience to a clearly-expressed command of God, ly in the negro-pew at church, he is about as good as why did they not announce on the Cards that there a white man. Viewing the important question anawas to be a solemn religious meeting in the jail, (for logically, we reach the same conclusion. A black what meeting should be more solemn than such an horse, ox, sheep, hog, dog, or chicken, is always conone, or what service could be more strictly religious, sidered as good as a white one. Not one of these anif it was required by God?) and invite, -yea, urge imals claims any superiority over the others, because all to attend, and strangers even, (as they have done he is white. It takes a man to be fool enough to ask the past few months at the Old South Chapel, Park the question, or to consider it, when another fool asks Street Church, and other places where they have it. If a negro is not as good as a white man, what do gathered for religious worship,) asking them to stop you hang and imprison white men for, and let the five, ten or twenty minutes, if they could not stop negroes run at large? Does not God consider a negro longer. Why, if God had demanded such a sacrifice as good as a white man? Is he prejudiced? Do you of human life as they were preparing to make, should think if he finds him in heaven, he will give him an they be unwilling to have such an act of filial obedi- Irish hoist, and order him into the negro pew, because ence witnessed by those who most needed to feel the of his color? If a negro-driver or doughface were influence of such exemplary fidelity? We must con- stuck in the mud, would he not think a negro as good fess that the course of procedure adopted by those as a white man to help him out? Who has not seen who aided in procuring the death of James McGee is a brutal, drunken, idle, ignorant white man? Who involved in the profoundest mystery, except upon the has not seen a kind, sober, industrious, moral and inassumption that they knew not what they did.

toment, or with the Old, when properly interpreted, is a negro not as good as a white man? Every man of we know they cannot. We dare them to make the common sense, who is not strongly tinctured with the attempt. Will they enlighten us? In putting to knave, knows that the color of the skin does not give death such criminals as McGee, as a punishment for color to the character. They have no connexion with violations of human law, in what do such Christians each other. A white man may be as bad as a man differ from the ungodly world? Do not even sinners can be, and a black man may be a very good man. the same? Do not both equally act under the influ- Each mortal must stand or fall on his own conduct ence of an unforgiving spirit? Is not the motive the and character. The color of his skin will not save same which impels both to lay violent hands on their him. Neither his color, nor the character of his na-

a wicked spirit of revenge, and not as an act of Chris-

To have been consistent, those who prepared the Cards of which we have spoken should have indicated fools, and make confusion. for what the bearers were to be admitted to the jail, thus :- 'To witness an exhibition of Christian re- ly on terms of perfect equality i' 'Are you willing venge, exercised to its utmost limit."

cates of the gallows no injustice, by asserting that questions, Mr. Slave-Driver. It does not follow beany command of God, but only to gratify a spirit of be willing to marry his daughter. When you marry revenge, I need only to say, -which I do without any a black woman, do you not meet her on terms of fear that even they will attempt to contradict me,- equality? When you compel your helpless, unprothat if five-eights of the voters of Massachusetts tected female slave to submit to your lecherous emshould rise up against it, and abolish it, making it a brace, do you not meet her on terms of 'perfect penal offence to put a man to death for any crime, equality'? Is not the child, the fruit of that interthey would deem discretion the better part of valor, course, 'equally' the child of both? Are you willing and would not dare to lay the hand of violence even your daughter, thus begotten, should marry a negro upon the murderer, though a command of God to do There is a fitness in asking you the question, for you so were written in his word, in characters as legible must answer it. Since your apologists, the doughas those in which JOHN HANCOCK affixed his name to faces, and the Doctors, such as Adams, Bethune, the Declaration of American Independence.

admitting sinners to see sinners strangle a sinner to whites, and bleach the black races, I retort their interdeath, which was employed by sinners, in the city of rogatory, and ask you whether 'a black woman is not Boston, on the 25th of June ult.

2d. I ask attention to the prayer offered upon the apologists answer? gallows by the officiating clergyman. This was a simple repetition of the Lord's prayer, in which those present appeared to join.

Now, dear reader, imagine, if you can, any thing half so absurd as such a prayer under such circumstances. Listen for a moment, while, amidst the stances. Listen for a moment, while, amidst the Robert C. Winthrop, George S. Hillard, meet cheek solemn silence of that hour, Christians (are they?) cry with their voice unto God— Forgive us our tres- Woodbury and Isaac Davis at a 4th of July dinner,

forgive, poor McGee? If so, how could they inflict ren of political and party character, is the sheerest the punishment which they say his crime deserved? pretext in the world. Look ever the names of the Is that God's method of pardoning the guilty? If persons who figured in it, they have been politicians

am unable to see how this gives us a right to send them there.

Perhaps we cannot better show the perfect absurdity of the reasoning by which they attempt to justify themselves in the infliction of the death penalty, than by presenting the following syllogism. They say : McGee, by crime, had forfeited his right to live:

therefore, we had a right to kill him. They (who put him to death) have forfeited, by sin, their right to live, (which they acknowledge in all their prayers,) hence, we say, we have a right to kill

If this reasoning is logical in its application to such criminals as McGee, it is equally so as we have applied

Will they pronounce this method of argument sophistical and fallscious? Let them attempt to show it, and we will listen to them with profoundest interest and attention.

vor. by sending him at once to heaven, to which happy state all are admitted whose ains are par-dened.

Him to forgive him as THEY FORGAVE MIN, -and they did not forgive him at all, nor intend to do so,) sin.' If God 'heareth the righteous when they cry unto him,' and 'the prayer of a righteous man avail eth much, then poor McGee, when the fatal dror conclusion is irresistible, that their prayers for him availed nothing, and therefore were not those of the

By this mode of reasoning, which we challen them to attempt to prove unfair or unsound, they are brought into this dilemma, viz. : Either McGee was forgiven, in answer to their prayer, and went directly to heaven when he died, or their prayer for him availed nothing, and they are not the righteous. They can take which horn of this dilemma they please, and we shall feel much gratified if they will inform us which they prefer.

Boston, July 2d, 1858. (To be continued.)

IS A NEGRO AS GOOD AS A WHITE MAN To be sure he is, if he behaves as well. It all dehe would be done by, if he deals justly, loves mercy If, as they say, they put to death poor McGee in and walks humbly, pays his priest, and sits contented.

telligent negro? Which is the best? Who would To reconcile it with the teachings of the New Tes- prefer the former for a neighbor to the latter? Then, tion, will save him. No nation can be wholly approv-

We are constrained to believe, and impelled to say ed, nor condemned. Wholesale judgments are never it, that when Christian men inflict upon a fellow-sin- meted in justice. To do justice, each individual must ner the terrible penalty of death, they do it to gratify be tried alone, -yea, his every act must be separately considered. His color will whitewash none of his sins. No man, who had any character, would dare ask so absurdly foolish a question. It is done to blind

· But would you take the black man into your famiyour daughter should marry a negro? I have several To show that we have done the Christian advo- very pertinent answers to these very impertment Cox and others, will ask, if a black man is as good This must suffice as a criticism upon the method of as a white one, -in view of your efforts to darken the as good as a white one'? Will our good slavery

St. Louis, June 27, 1858.

THE DINNER AT THE REVERE HOUSE. 'THE NATIONAL MEN.

When such men as Rufus Choate, Edward Everett. passes, as we forgive those who trespass against and make speeches or write letters or send toasis to us.

Now, I ask, nay, I adjure, those who offered this Democratic Club, it is time to consider their case, Now, I ask, nay, I adjure, those who offered this prayer, to say if they had forgiven, or intended to Revere dinner had no political motive, and was bar-Is that God's method of pardoning the guilty? If so, then there is much cause for them to fear, that though they have a promise of entering into heaven, with a favored few, they will have administered to them an abundant entrance into the 'other place,' with a multitude of other sinners, where they will meet with a warm reception from 'the devil and his angels.'

But, it is pleaded, McGee deserved to die. What But, it is pleaded, McGee deserved to die. What then? Why, say they, we have the right to kill him. the day has a son just appointed to the lucrative of Is this a legitimate deduction from their premise? fice of Sub-Treasurer, who, we are told, if he ever We will see. Do not these very Christiaus acknowledge, in every prayer they make, that, if they had that feeds him. The great speech at the table was made by Mr. Everett, who commenced his political their deserts, they should have been in hell long life as an old Republican, then turned Anti-Mason, ago? That, if dealt with as they deserve, they should even go there now? Now, if they are as wicked as they avow themselves to be, (which we are not disposed to-deny.) and deserve to be sent to hell, (and who knows better than they what they deserve?) I eign Affairs because he was an Abolitionist, and was eign Affairs because he was an Abolitionist, and was only saved from rejection by the indomitable courage and overpowering eloquence of Henry Clay, a south-ern whig, and the noblest Roman of them all.

ern whig, and the noblest Roman of them all.

Whenever he was a candidate for office in Massachusetts, he was opposed by such 'National' organs as the Boston Post and the party leaders which it represents, and charged with being 'an Abolition; ist.' Has Mr. Everett changed his position? Was he an Abolitionist, or did the men, with whom he dined on Monday, lie when they made the charge?

The next speech was made by B. F. Hallett, long and familiarly known in the political vocabulary of Massachusetts as 'the Soldier of Fortune.' He began life as a Republican, then he turned Abolitionist, then anti-Mason, and finally he fell, naturally, into the arms of Democracy, which was then and is now the only really sectional party in the Union; for everybody knows that when it speaks of nationality, it means only the nationality of human bondage, as embodied in the Cincinnati Platform, (of which Mr. Hallett was the father.) in the wrongs of Free State

For doing which, the hounds of party and the holders of office everywhere have denounced them as a sectional men and Black Republicans, and read their old leaders out of the 'National' fold of the Democratic church. At this same ten-dollaraplate meeting, the name of Chief Justice Marshall was coupled with that of Roger B. Taney, the promalgator of the Dred Scott decision, which opens to human slavery every foot of free territory belonging to the Union, and it doubtless was in consequence of that decision which 'nationalized' slavery, that the two names were joined: for it is the creed of the Democratic party to add this infamous decision to its 'national' jewels, and to denounce every man as a sectionalist and a Black Republican who calls, or presumes to call, in question the correctness of that

an old campaigner in the fierce fight of 1840 for 'Tippecanoe and Tyler too,' and unlike most of his whigh brethren, he became a Tyler man after the death of Gen. Harrison. From that position he could easily 'slide' (no offence to Holmes) into the ranks of the sectional democratic party, and we have evidence that the 'slide' has been a profitable one, for he now holds the important office of Collector of the port of Boston, for which he receives a fat salary from the federal Treasury. Following in proper rotation, we have a speech from Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury, another federal office-holder, he having received from President Buchanan, much to the chagrin and disappointment of Mr. Hallett, from whom he 'rotated' the office of U. S. District Attorney. We believe Mr. Woodbury's democratic pedigree is untainted, that it has stood the test of half a century, though his father, the late Judge, began life as a federalist, and was elected Governor of New Hampshire by the federalists in opposition to the regularly nominated democratic candidate. Nevertheless, we will give the present District! Attorney the credit of having a very clean record. The Southerners were made any encroachment upon the rights of the Nicola state. He cannot misrepresent and calumniate that threaten the stability of the Union, and undertook to insinuate that all 'philanthropists' of our day were hostile to the Union. The oration was generally so tame and common-place as to excite no interest, except that portion of it in which he labored to vindicate 'the ancient name can publish this oration; and blue-light, yellow-lizard hunkerism and 'national democracy.' John S. Holmes, a moderate lawyer, but a gigantic flunkey, gave an oration upon the dangers that threaten the stability of the Union, and undertook to insinuate that all 'philanthropists' of our day were hostile to the Union. The oration was generally so tame and common-place as to excite no interest, except that portion of it in which he labored to vindicate 'the ancient name can publish t ers never made any encroachment upon the rights of the North that he would not join in, and there are the North that he would not join in, and affect are no demands in the Fugitive Slave law or the Dred Scott decision, that he will not fulfill when called the Northern people muzzle their mouths, fold their upon. The other speeches were made by Mayor arms, put chains upon their free thoughts, in order that the Southern nullifiers and slave propagandists might have every thing their own way. He evident-Shepard Carey of Arosetock, Maine, who signalized might have every thing their own way. He evident his brief career in Congress by making one speech, in ly thinks that to be national, you must own 'a nigwhich he announced to the House and the country, gor,' and have an interest in a piano. Now they that ' he was the representative of the yeomunary

from the President and heads of Departments, Gen.
Scott, Mr. Winthrop, G. S. Hillard. John H. Clifford, and other 'national' men of less degree.
They all keep step to one note, Nationality, noth-

State, and which cast a million and a half of intelligent free votes in the late Presidential election. It was right that it should be so. The Republicans are national for liberty, and sectional for slavery. The Custom House officials, who made the speeches and paid for the ten dollar plates, base their nationality first upon the nationalism of the Dred Scott decision, and second upon the offices which they hold. This eternal repetition of spasmodic, tinsellated rhetoric about nationalism, reminds one of a story which Albany Fonblangue tells in his 'England under Sevential states and part of the formal second upon the spasmodic, tinsellated rhetoric about nationalism, reminds one of a story which Albany Fonblangue tells in his 'England under Sevential servative element of our Union is to be found in the manly bearing and personal courage of the separate manly bearing and personal courage of the searth sections. A free people instinctively shrink from the manly Albany Fonblanque tells in his ' England under Seven Administrations,' of a cockney, who used to go down every season to a preserve of his to shoot. The only living thing besides himself on the property have another shot at it, and so on until the jack snipe dies or is blown away .- Boston Bee.

RUFUS CHOATE.

Mr. Choate, in his Fifth-of-July oration before the Boston Young Men's Tide-Waiters', Club, finds occasion to refer to certain persons as characterized by incapacity to combine ideas, and great capacity to overwork a single one. In this phrase, he has exceedingly well described himself and his oration. The contents of it are all summed up in one of its first entences: 'Our country, our whole country, and othing but our country.' Hurrah for the nation! nothing but our country. Hurrah for the nation! Let liberty, let justice, let philanthropy, let truth, shift for themselves. Hurrah for the nation! The only active duty incumbent upon Americans is, Mr. Choate tells us, to preserve the Union; and the only possible means of preserving the Union; and the only possible means of preserving the Union is, according to Mr. Choate, concession. Mr. Choate speaks, indeed, of compromise, but it is evident that between compromise and concession, he does not recognize any distinction or difference, at least none worth noticing. He adopts the motto of the Prince of Walls 1 of Wales-I serve. To render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's is, in his view of the mat-

Such being the doctrine and philosophy of this South for their assistance.

Mr. Holmes (and, by the way, who is John S. oration, it was a little ill-advised in the orator to to borrow one of his own phrases, of the Boston ing to lead a base to borrow one of his own phrases, of the Boston ing to lead a base to congregation of doughfaces—considering that every slavery.

He has a good deal to say about the Judiciary, all of which is intended to prop up the decision of dressed, as if he and they were the only wise men and true patriots in Boston, and everybody else narrow-patriots in Boston in the patriots in Boston, and everybody else narrow-patriots in Boston in the patriots in the patriots in Boston in the patriots in the patriots in the patriots in the patriots in the pat dressed, as if he and they were the only wise men and true patriots in Boston, and everybody else narrow-minded fanatics or pedantic fools—it was, we say, a little ill-advised in theorator, under these circumstances, in attempting to ridicule others, to point the finger of scorn at himself. If we are to judge by this oration, Mr. Choate is himself no more above the temptation of pleasing an assenting congregation, of falling in with the notions of the little circle about him, and of compounding for sins to which he and they incline by damning those he has no mind to, than the 'little ministers' and 'little editors,' whose musketo bites, stinging, as he confesses, if not deep, seem to have a little disturbed his equanimity and his judgment. In this respect, we think we perceive a tory striking resemblance between his own method of proceeding, and that which he charges on the 'little ministers' and 'little editors' in question. The coward out of danger'—such is Mr. Choate's own description, with the whole Boston Custom-House collected about him—is exceedingly brave—a great deal braver than he was face to face with Henry Clay, in the United States Senate; and a great deal braver than he was face to face with Theodore Parker before even a Bostace of savery, to he company and independent Judician princiant, which he question of saver probably expecting any she to select a doubt him—is exceedingly brave—a great deal braver than he was face to face with Henry Clay, in the United States Senate; and a great deal braver than he was face to face with Theodore Parker before even a Bostace to face with Theodore Parker before even a Bostace of lacer and orator of the degraded, when set up as a leader and orator of the degraded, when set up as a leader and orator of the degraded. represents, and charged with being 'an Abolition' ist.' Has Mr. Everett changed his position? Was he an Abolitionist, or did the men, with whom he dined on Monday, lie when they made the charge?

The next speech was made by B. F. Hallett, long and familiarly known in the political vocabulary of Massachusetts as 'the Soldier of Fortune.' He began life as a Republican, then he turned Abolitionist, then anti-Mason, and finally he fell, naturally, into the arms of Democracy, which was then and is now the only really sectional party in the Union; for everybody knows that when it speaks of nationality, it means only the nationality of human bondage, as embodied in the Cincinnati Platform, (of which Mr. Hallett was the father.) in the wrongs of Free Statemen in Kansas, in the repeal of the Missouri Com-

promise, in the Lecompton frauds and villainy, which were so gross and transparent that even Douglas, Broderick and Stuart, three Democratic Senators, shrunk from them with instinctive horror, and John Bell and Governor Crittenden, the glorious old Whig Senators from slaveholding States, ground them beneath their beels.

For doing which, the hounds of party and the holders of office everywhere have denounced them as 'sectional' men and Black Republicans, and read ways 'sound on the goose.'

human slavery every foot of free territory belonging to the Union, and it doubtless was in consequence of that decision which 'nationalized' slavery, that the two names were joined; for it is the creed of the Democratic party to add this infamous decision to its 'national' jewels, and to denounce every man as a sectionalist and a Black Republican who calls, or presumes to call, in question the correctness of that decision.

The next speaker was Fletcher Webster, Eq., who holds a five thousand dollar office in the Custom House, from that pre-eminently national man, James Bachanan. Mr. Webster is another old Whig. He was so sectional in 1845, that he would not support General Taylor for President of there he had been fairly nominated by a Whig 'national' Convention. He consulted with General Wilson, and other prominent free-soil Whigs, who thought as he did in regard to the Old Hero of Beena Vista, and got up the Worcester Convention, to send delegates to the Buffalo Convention, which nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams for President and Vice President of the United States.

The sentiment which called forth the remarks of Mr. Webster was offered by Major Berritt, who also holds an office in the Custom House. We ought to have stated that prior to Mr. Hallett's speech, before the value of the wester of his action, it must have failed of producing any great effect upon his hearers. As to its sentiments, they are but persuasions to submit to have stated that prior to Mr. Hallett's speech, before the value of the mouths of the very outrage upon constitutional freedom which have stated that prior to Mr. Hallett's speech, before the value of the mouths of the very outrage upon constitutional freedom which have stated that prior to Mr. Hallett's speech, before the production to which, seed, was made to the toast, 'The President of the United States.' Mr. Austin is another old whig; he was an old campaigner in the fierce fight of 1840 for 'Tippecance and Tyler too,' and unlike most of his voice and the in

ger,' and have an interest in a piano. Now they don't do things this way either in the South or the West; there they never act from fear. They never insult the manhood of their section by decrying the men who stand up for their supposed rights. There is no anodyne strong enough to make them do it.
Our Union savers would have us adopt the sentiments of the South, and follow the lead of the nullifiers and ing else; and what that means, we have already sectionalists, who have all their life treated us with stated. It was singular that at this no party ten stated. It was singular that at this no party ten dollar spread, not a man was invited or was present who belonged to the Republican party, a party which has twenty-five thousand majority in this State, and which cast a million and a half of intelli-

In Boston, the celebration passed off with eclat and spirit by the Democratic organization, and by the City authorities. Hon. Rufus Choate deliv-ered the oration before the former, and John S. Holmes, Esq., before the latter; and according to for sport. So when the shooting season came round, he would say, I am going down next week to shoot my snipe. Nationalism appears to be the jack snipe of the Custom House democracy, and we have no doubt when the next Fourth comes round, they will said the fly upon the wheel.—Taunton Republican. said the fly upon the wheel .- Taunton Republican

> The production of Mr. Holmes reads as curiously as those of the advocates of the divine right of kings in the days of James the Second, but chronologically they are still more out of date. He appears like some political Rip Van Winkle who has been asleep for three hundred years, and finding the world has got ahead of him, imagines everything is going to wreck and ruin.
> We are most happy the Hunkers have had their

> say. They have shown what spirit they are of, and given the people to see what is to be expected from them, and what sort of ideas they entertain. They are welcome to snarl and back-bite in their den, but like old giant Pope, they have lost their fangs and can only excite pity and contempt.—New Bedford Republicon.

> > BOSTON ORATORS.

We have gone through the tedious labor of read ing, from beginning to end, the two orations with which the Bostonians were amused on the 5th of July, and we find them splendid specimens of that insipid stuff which always flows out when an orator things which are Cæsar's is, in his view of the matter, to render unto God the things that are God's. As to the question—What is Cæsar's? his answer to assist 300,000 slaveholders to govern the nais prompt and ready: Whatever Cæsar chooses to confidence of the North shall be rewarded by the

put on the airs of one of those stanch champions who Holmes?) trots round and round in a bushel, and have the courage to speak the truth in the face of repeats hundreds of wise old sayings about the revoopposition. Considering the company to which he spoke, and the place where he spoke—considering fathers, a spirit the memory of which most escerely Mr. Choate's own position as the 'little minister,' rebukes the meanness of their sons, who are so will-to borrow one of his own phrases, of the Boston ing to lend a band in extending and perpetuating

among the sons of Liberty, to feel otherwise than degraded, when set up as a leader and orator of the northern minions of the slave power? One thing is certain—a thousand such Democratic orations would not be felt in their effect on the Republican cause not be felt in their effect on the Republican cause—they would not make one proselyte. Few will read, and fewer still will understand, his long drawn periods—one of which, in his second column, holds its breath through forty-six lines of fine print.

Alas! that Boston, who led the van in the cause of liberty in 1776, should now be tame as a whipped of liberty in 1776, wheeld now be tame as a whipped of liberty in 1776, and liberty in 1776.

of liberty in 1710, satural government is doing its spaniel when the national government is doing its utmost to rivet the iron chains of elavery upon the creat North-West—that Boston can furnish two orgreat North-West—that Boston can furnish two or-ators for the glorious Fourth of July, who have not one word of sympathy for four millions of their fel-

glorious sentiment which he ventures to uter in is oration—' All have held and felt that every max equal to every other man, and has a right to is liberty, and the pursuit of bappiness — in himmen means nothing; for his anatomality, teaches to stand by the Dred Scott decision, and assessed always over another. from the lips of Otis, and Hancock, and Adas thrilling through two continents, we now have he Boston the following inane twaddle:—We see so morality working itself clearer and clearer—we have torical right or wrong after another falling peach. Ly and still. We hear the chain breaking, but he

ly and still. We hear the chain breaking, but he is no blood on it—none of his whom it bond, but of his who put it on him. We hear the rechous of the free, but master and slave unite in he chorus—there is no discordant shrick above the he mony.' Can folly exceed this?

He has a great deal to say about expediency, as claims that his 'nationality' alone exercises that tue. All this we deny. We deem it expedient he arrest the extravagant claims of the Slave Power, it is present stage. We deem it expedient to make arrest the extravagant chains of the Slave Pore, a its present stage. We deem it expedient to make that government has some duties to perform, being extending slavery. We deem it expedient to vistered and seed a draw our confidence from Mr. Choate, and seed a draw our confidence from Mr. Choate, and sed a him, who have betrayed the cause of freedom; and if he finds any satisfaction in the hosannas which a sounding his name through all the domains of a very, and where the slaves, too, must join the the ros, or have their backs skinned with the whip-North, where every adult native can read and via and form an intelligent estimate of his oratio, as where, if he were now a candidate for Senatoral & nity, he could command scarcely a third of the role in any State,—he is welcome to that satisfaction

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gone. Give her these PILLS to stimulate the vial principle into renewed vigor, to cast out the structions, and infuse a new vitality into the block where the principle into renewed vigor, to cast out the structions, and infuse a new vitality into the block Now look again — the roses blossom on her chek and where lately sorrow sat joy bursts from evy feature. See the sweet infant wasted with voral Its wan, sickly features tell you without disciss, and painfully distinct, that they are eating in its away. Its pinched-up nose and cars, and reds sleepings, tell the dreadful truth in language wid every mother knows. Give it the PILLs in kn doses to sweep these vile parasites from the bot. Now turn again and see the ruddy bloom of childhood. Is it nothing to do these things? Nay, so they not the marvel of this age? And yet they may done around you every day.

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