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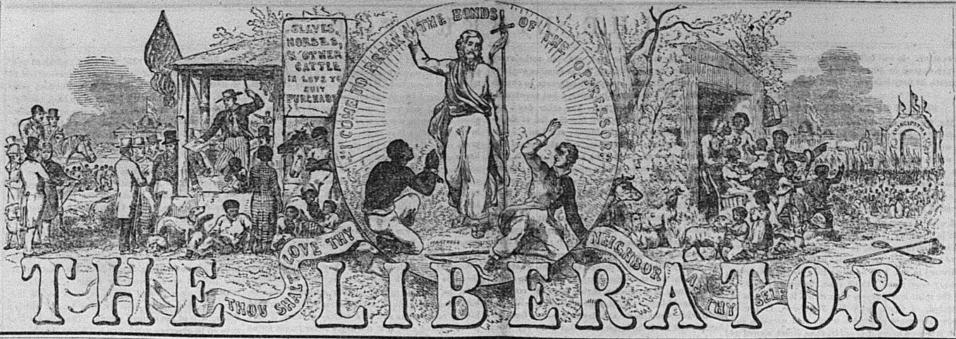
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The following gentlemen constitute the Financal Committee, but are not responsible for any of the this of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, En-END QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL



WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell.

The free States are the guardians and essen-

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

stables of the institution. . . There is some excuse

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 excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our pathens, in

FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE

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

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and

Christian resolution. . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving

of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1578.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

VOL. XXIX. NO. 5.

MONTHLY SALE OF LIVE STOCK, ETC.!! Last Monday was a beautiful day, and a lively be. About eight hundred head of mules were of-end for sale. The prices of the last sale day were fered for sale. The prices of the last sale day were not well sustained; much of the stock, however, was of an inferior quality. From the reports of the auctioners in another column, and our own observations, we concludes the following: Meles, three various, we consider the probability and states, three vars old, at \$120; two years old, at \$130, \$120, down to \$55; James Conway, of Nicholas, sold one sat privately at \$175, others went at \$65, \$61, to 37. Mr. Hector Reid, sold privately, recently, fry calts to C.T. Garrard, at \$100. The cattle market was buoyant. About five hundred head of stock cattle were sold, three year olds at \$40, \$35, to \$22; two year olds at \$30, \$25 to \$14. We ard of very large contracts for fat cattle, to be devered in New York in the spring months, at \$4 50. livered in New York in the spring months, at \$4.50.

Horses sold at fair prices, ranging from \$311 to \$40.

Negroes sold at very high prices. Boya eighteen years old from \$1,220 to \$1,035: girls from sixteen to seven years old at \$965 to \$485: sales on four months time. Men twenty-four years old sold for each at \$1,200. Negroes hired readily; men at \$300 to \$125; boys at \$130 to \$30; women and gris at \$100 down to nothing. It being the first the year, an immense amount of money changed ands. The banks were so crowded, we found it est impossible to get to the counter, and every store was converted into an exchange. Although menty was so abundant, patriotism was at a dis-count, and the Flag was not overrun with debtors.

-Paris (Kentucky) Flag.

Good Prices ron NEGROES .- We learn from the Somer (Ala.) Democrat, that on the 21th instant, Hom. A. A. Coleman, executor of the late Benjamin Ir, will Win, K. Ustick as Auctioneer, sold fiftysuperces of indiscriminate ages, sizes and condithut dollars, being an average of over \$966. Eight-en of these negroes were under ten years of age; eight were forty years old and upwards, and they were sold in families without separation, frequently as many as five or six selling together. Negro men prought from \$1400 to \$1675; boys from twelve to fourteen years old from \$1250 to 1400; girls from to fourteen years of age, from \$1050 to \$1400. One of the most extraordinary sales of slaves—not to much on account of their number as the prices obamed for them, although even the number was very arge-was made at public auction at the village of Autaigaville during four days of last week. One hundred and seventy slaves belonging to the estate of Richard Morton, were sold, on twelve months time, with interest added, for the enormous sum of one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, being an average of \$941 and a fraction over. In the large number comosing the lot were old and young, halt and lame, and one was deaf and dumb. A girl aged 14, black and a field hand, brought \$1935. A young fellow was bid off for \$2160. Evidently, the 'Flush times of Alabasa' have come again.—Mantgomery Confederation.

NEGROES.

On last Monday, a great many negroes were sold and those under a disputed title. Somewhere between 50 and 75 must have been put upon the block. They were sold in all manner of ways—for ash, on one and two years' credit, and sometimes with interest, and sometimes without. They brought high prices, especially those that were sold on a crait. It is unnecessary to specify prices, but they were large. These high prices, doubtless bring many of the negroes into market, although some of them were estate negroes. And it is likely that the same prices will range for several years at least. Cotton is bringing very high figures. In fact, a coton plantation is now about the best thing in which dists can invest. We have frequently expressei the opinion that the culture will never again certake the consumption, so as materially to redate the prices. We reiterate the same opinion how. And so long as that is the case, the price of negroes must range high. Besides, there is great demand for negro labor on railroad work. That demand, also, must continue for some years, and per-laps increase. Hence, in our judgment, the price of segroes will not decline for years to come. Even the introduction of a million of Africans would not materially affect prices. Some will, undoubtedly, be smaggled in, but there is no possibility of re-open-ing the stars to decline for the prices.

Negro property is getting to be a monopoly-the legs price of it makes it so. And we are sorry to set that a great many of our largest holders are op-ped to the re-opening the African slave trade, ther lawfully or otherwise. They are acting upon a mistaken principle. They fear that it will reduce the value of their, negroes. We have already ex-pressed the opinion, that the introduction of a milould have no material effect. But suppose it did negro property would be so much the safer. For there would be a larger mass of our own citizens alcrested in its perpetuity, and it would command stal more respect abroad. All our people are still tracto the South, because they are influenced by principle; but can we hope that will always be the when the great majority of the slaves shall beome a perfect monopoly, as it is now fast doing, in the hands of a few rich men, comprising not one twenteth of our population; and when there will no longer be any hope of a laboring man ever pos-

We have no time or space now to discuss this subset; but it is one of fearful importance, and there use in shutting our eyes to its magnitude. It

speration, wherein they may prefer the desolution the island with fire and slaughter, rather than assut to its acquisition by the United States.

We would not, by an inopportune and abortive apparation, provoke France and England to such a species are a superior and apparent to the such assets as a superior and apparent apparent apparent and apparent apparent apparent apparent apparent and apparent apparent

nexation an opportunity of opposing it on the pre- pation. The slaves are converted into a body of text of a regard for justice and the honor of the peaceable and industrious yeomanry, living inde-

and blood which the negro Emperor of Hayti was about to pour on the struggling remnants of the white race in Eastern St. Domingo. In the midst of his forced recruitings and despotic war-taxes for the invasion of Dominica, he is suddenly overtaken by a revolution that will give him enough to do to save himselfalive. France may take this occasion to resume her old colonial dominion over the blood thirsty barbarians of Hayti, and thus make humanity and civilization her debtors.

Evance has, in every sense, as clear a property in

her revolted colony as Spain in Cuba, though in the case of Hayti it stands in the form of an unpaid mortgage, while Cuba is held in actual possession; mortgage, while Cuba is held in actual possession; Anglo-Saxon. Among the blacks, as among the but Napoleon III is not satisfied with the rights over the French part of the island and would to being the whites, will be found the indigent, the improvident

whose misdeeds no power will hold himself accountable. Our merchantmen have been overhauled and robbed by Haytien egaisers, and our citizens have been unjustly east into their filthy dungeons to die unbeeded; and these records of complaint are left unbeeded; and these records of complaint are left that paid labor is more economical than unpaid labor. to wholesale slaughter at Panama, and our Isthmus to wholesale slaughter at Panama, and our Isthmus the the Antilles. Our whole circle of inter-American policy, from the inception of the Clayton Bulwer stupidity, to the closure of the Nicaragua transit, has been one continuous chain of disgraceful foreign entanglements, or equally shameful omissions to do the right thing at the right time .- Ibid.

SELECTIONS.

EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH

ISLANDS. .When the government of Great Britain emancipated the slaves in their colonies, those who opposed this great philanthropic measure predicted the utter rain of the colonies. It was insisted that the negroes were an ignorant, brutal race of men, that were incapable of civilization, that they were an indolent and lazy race that would never labor for any thing beyond the bare necessities of life, except under the lash of an overseer. And it was oldly predicted that as soon as they were liberated, being superior in numbers to the whites by more than ten to one, they would rise in insurrection and massacre the whites, and the colonies would sink at

once into a state of barbarism.

Parliament, however, went forward with fool-har diness, as it was said at the time, and completed the work. About a quarter of a century has clapsed since this great work of justice and humanity was completed,—an act of national liberality, \$100,000,000 being paid out of the public treasury to the slave owners, which is, we believe, without a parallel in the history of the world; and what has been the result? All the predictions of wrath, murder and rapine were at once falsified. The colonies all re-mained quiet. Fierce crimes of all kinds were committed there in the times of slavery. The whites were safer in their houses than they ever had been line, presented his Report, which, on motion of Mrs. fore. There was indeed a falling off in the exports | Chapman, was accepted. of the islands. Less sugar was produced, and the pro-slavery men of the day triumphed in the fulfilment of part of their prophecies, that the islands moved the appointme were ruined, and would soon sink into barbarism. which were voted:— Gradually, however, the state of the colonies improved, the exports and imports increased from year year. The negroes, who, it was said, would not rork except under the lash, were found willing to labor for moderate wages, about twenty-five cents a day. But notwithstanding this, there was an actual diminution of exports. Whether there was a like The negroes having the fruits of their own industry consumed more themselves. When in slavery, they were stinted both in food and clothing to the smallest amount that were required to keep them alive, mouth; Richard Kingman, Gummington; Joshua and able to work. When they had the disposal of T. Everett, Princeton; George Draper, Hope lale; their own earnings, they chose to indulge themselves in some comforts to their convenience, which was Warren Low, Essex; Amos Farnsworth, Roxbury; denied them by their masters. So that though the Ezekiel Thacher, Barnstable. denied them by their masters. So that the exports were less, it by no means follows that the exports were less. The actual amount of labor dale; Daniel S. Whitney, Southboro'; Abby Kelley been equal to what was enforced under the whip, and probably was not much less, but the laborers took a large part of the products to themselves.

The Report of the action

But time went on, and experience, the true touchstone of all political theories, has continued to deal unkindly with the prophets of slavery. There has been a continued progressive improvement in the May, Jr. condition of the colonies, until in all the sugar The Ge slands, with the exception of Jamaica, the export of in the most palmy days of slavery. In some it bas largely increased. In Barbadoes it has doubled under the system of voluntary labor. In Mauritius it has increased four-fold. has rendered it more difficult in Jamaica than in the other islands to procure labor on the old plantations, a thorough-going Anti-Slavery lecture. other islands to procure labor on the old plantations, is the abundance of usoccupied land. The negroes, as soon as they acquire a moderate sum, purchase a small lot of land, and choose to work for themselves.

These small land-holders are largely on the increase, and the Governor refers us to them as a class of some largely of the increase, and the Governor refers us to them as a class of some largely of the complete largely of the increase.

The Republicans are disposed to unite with any other party, and to use any amount of compromise to gain a temporary success for their party. Such labor as has been bestowed in that region has brought forth good fruit. The little town of Cummington, for the party of the party.

morality as may impair its original and essential condition of competence and independence on their clergyman of that town has signed the petition. There ed is that which belongs to Massachusetts in the Senpopularity. own farms. Even Jamaica surely does not give a We would not afford the adversaries of Cuban an-very discouraging picture of the results of emancipendently by their own labor on their own farms.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1859.

In short, it is because we are reluctant to make the possession of Cuba an object of indefinite, if not impossible attainment, that we oppose the thirty million proposition.—Washington 'States.'

The pro-slavery zealots in this country, those North as well as those South of Mason and Dixon's line, have long been ringing their changes on the ruin of the British West Indies. The failure of emancipation, the incurable laziness of the negro, and the indigenerable recognitive of the slave-driver's THE RESPITE FOR THE DOMINICANS.

Providence seems to have interposed its saving hand, to stay at the last moment the torrent of fire and blood which the negro Emperor of Hayti was about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the about to pour on the struggling remnants of the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the last distinct of the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the last distinct of the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the emancipation is the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the slave-driver's whip. In Jamaica, by general consent, the slave-driver's whip is the

chains, will rise and avenge their old injuries on their former masters. The second is, that the negro is as industrious, as frugal, as thrifty, as the the French part of the island, and would fain bring the Dominican Republic under the negroes, and then the Dominican Republic under the negroes, and then among the negroes than among the whites. From the properties of the standard negroes than among the whites. seize the whole island as an appanage of his empire. all the accounts we have seen, the emancipated ne-This negro caricature of government is a blot on the map of civilization, and it would be the best and brightest act of Louis Napoleon's reign, if he would use his iron will and strong hand to obliterate it. All the accounts we have seen, the emancipated negroes in the British colonies, in industry, frugality and thrift, rank evidently above the poor whites in slave states are obliterate it. All Christendom—the United States included—has been much too patient with those Haytien outlaws, for who have by their prudence, industry and frugality who have by their prudence in the British colonies, in industry, frugality and thrift, rank evidently above the poor whites in slave states. It is less than 30 years since the emaneman, who are the owners of valuable plantations, who have by their prudence, industry and frugality who have by their prudence.

unheeded; and these records of complaint are left buried and forgotten in the dark recesses of the State Department. Haytien outrages are met by the same inexplicable apathy which resigns our citizens the experiment of free labor has had the fairest trial, the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the experiment of the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the experiment of the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the experiment of the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the prices of land since the emancipation have doubted to the emancipatio to wholesale slaughter at Panama, and our Istands, highways to destruction at Nicaragua. The spirit which virtually acquiesces in 'British visitations of our merchantmen on the high seas, and which refuses to arm the Executive with power to chastise our wrongs on the Isthmus, also paralyzes our naour wrongs on the Isthmus, also paralyzes our nadalyzes our national prestige in the same land will give when cultivated by slave and unpaid labor. Another fact may be stated equally decisive. Every part of Barbadoes was overpaid and decisive. Every part of Barbadoes was overpaid and cultivated before the act of emancipation, so that no new land has since been brought under cultivation. But the productions of the colony, as proved by the exports, are doubled. They must have more than doubled, since the home consumption of the free laborers must be larger than that of slaves,

Such have been the results of emancipation in the British colonies. When this great cause was first undertaken in England by Clarkson, Wilberforce and others, it was advocated on the ground both of justice and humanity, and also of economy. It was sturdily opposed by the old King, George, whose piety would well have entitled him to be President of our Tract Society. It was also opposed by all his courtiers, but was eventually carried through. The arguments of the friends of the measure finally prevailed, and experience has, we think, fully justified all their reasonable expectations.

Tiberator.

ANNUAL MEETING

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Thursday, Jan. 27, 1859.

The Society met at Mercantile Hall' in Summer street, at half past 10 o'clock, A. M., and was called to order by the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston.

Opportunity was given for vocal or silent prayer. On motion of Samuel May, Jr., it was voted that two Secretaries pro tem. be appointed; whereupon, Charles K. Whipple of Boston, and Eliza J. Kenney

The Treasurer, Samuel Philbrick, Esq., of Brook-

of Salem, were chosen.

Samuel May, Jr., General Agent of the Society, moved the appointment of the following Committees,

Business Committee,-William Lloyd Garrison. Wendell Phillips, Adin Ballou, Charles C. Burleigh, Maria Weston Chapman, Abby Kelley Foster, Eliza Lee Follen, Charles Lenox Remond, Parker Pillsbury, Henry C. Wright, Ezra H. Heywood,

Committee on Namination of Officers for the ensuing year .- Edmund Quincy, Dedham : Daniel Ricketson New Bedford; William Ashby, Newburyport; Louis McLauthlin, Pembroke: Anne W. Weston, Wey-

roluntarily performed by the negroes might have Foster, Worcester; Sallie Holley, New York; Jo-

The Report of the action of the Board of Managers during the year, in carrying out the purposes of the Society, was read by the General Agent, Samuel

The General Agent having intimated that the audience would be gratified to hear some statement rethis staple is equal, or nearly equal to what it was specting Mr. Burleigh's labors and success in Western Massachusetts-

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said that the Western part of Even in Jamaica where the State was less advanced in Anti-Slavery than the the emancipation was most obstinately opposed, and Eastern part. The Republicans of that region are of where, in consequence of the violence of the planters, the better sort of Republicans, yet, though that party where, in consequence of the violence of the planters, the worst state of feeling existed between the negroes and the whites, the Governor, in a late message to the colonial parliament, says:—'A progressive increase, both in the quantity of the State exports, and in the amount of revenue derived on articles of consumption, indicate as they most surely do the improvement of the condition of the colony.' What has rendered it more difficult in Jamaica than in the

We would not discredit the cause by an ignomintion failure.

We would not associate it in the minds of our
wa citizens with expedients of such questionabl.

We would not associate it in the minds of our
manry in England has disappeared, but we have it
in New England. It is the yeomanny that live in a lable, as it is certainly noteworthy, that the Orthodox

seem disposed to resist slavery itself as well as its ex- rightful occupant is able again to sit there. tension. Some are large-hearted and liberal contributors to our cause, but most are indifferent enough Massachusetts shall spontaneously and necessarily set to make that region a field unpromising for present free whatever fugitive from oppression shall set foot success; yet they are a people among whom any upon it. gain is likely to be permanent.

The influences hostile to Anti-Slavery are more prominent and more effective there than here.

There is much sham Democracy, undisguisedly proslavery, and much also of a spurious Republicanism, unworthy of its name, in western Massachusetts.

Mr. Garrison, on the part of the Business Committee, presented the following Resolutions:-

Resolved, That (in the language of William Ellery Channing) our duties at the North are plain; first, we must free ourselves from all constitutional or legal obligations to uphold slavery; in the next place, we must give free and strong expression to our reprobation of slavery; and should a slave-hunter ever profane our soil by seeking here a flying bondman, let him be regarded as a legalized robber.'

Resolved, That (Again to quote the words of Channing) 'we in the free States cannot fly from the shame or the guilt of the institution of slavery, as that shows no regard for man; therefore, since what long as we give it any support. Most unhappily, is received and worshipped as God by the ministers there are provisions of the Constitution binding us to and churches of Massachusetts authorizes, by silence give it support. No blessings of the Union can be a or otherwise, man to arrest and try man, on the issue, compensation for taking part to the enslaving of our Is he a free man or a slave-a man or a chattel, we refellow-creatures. Vast sacrifices should be made to ject the worship of such a God as blasphemous and it, but not the sacrifice of duty Better that we should degrading, and say to him, . Get behind me, for thou part than be the police of the slaveholder, than fight art an offence unto me.' his battles, than wage var to uphold an oppressive Resolved, That Anti-Slavery is the only education-institution. We are without excuse in aiding other al instrumentality that has power to infuse into the States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On religion and politics, the church and government of this subject our fathers, in framing the Constitution, the country, the spirit and principles of Jesus of Nazswerved from the right. We, their children, at the areth, and of justice and humanity; and that it is a end of half a century, see the path of duty more libel on the Christ of Calvary to identify him, in his clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this spirit and life, with the Christ of Christendom. point the public mind has long been tending, and the and with manly and Christian resolution."

ing of fugitive slaves in this Commonwealth, and to bers. decree the immediate emancipation of all such as soon | Resolved, That if the government of Massachuset a grand conspiracy against justice, and a powerful people to alter or abolish it. bulwark of the slave system.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said-

drawn up by one whose language, uniformly deliberate, calm and cautious, is well calculated to show the themselves. community of the present day the full justice, the entire righteousness of our position.

In adopting this language, therefore, the thoughts the name of abolition, without looking into its merits.

The Republican party has reached that point in its development when it is likely to break asunder from its bulk and weight. It must before long spontanesurely growing among the Republicans, which sees more clearly the seessity of opposing the existence as well as the extension of slavery.

It seems to me, therefore, that we should use every effort to enlarge the number of these men, and help them to a clear sight of the only method of successful opposition to slavery.

One of these Republican ideas is represented by Governor Banks, who thinks Anti-Slavery only a stepping-stone to the Presidency. Vermont has set herself right in the theory of Anti-

Slavery; but the trouble is, that no fugitive slave is ever hunted in Vermont. It is much, however, to have the right position in this matter unequivocally taken by a legislative body; and the fact that another State has actually taken it will help ours to move with a less tardy step towards her duty.

We have a Legislature which ought to push this peition into a law. If Governor Banks chose to favor it, it would pass promptly through both branches. t remains to be seen how far his influence and examole will limit this movement.

Many privately take the view of our friend Lysander Spooner. If Gov, Banks would take this ground position in favor of liberty, without the incumbrance of a new law. Or, if we had a Chief Justice who was willing to rule that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional because it does not allow a jury trial, we might settle these cases satisfactorily yet. What we want is agitation. It makes little difference whether it comes through the Legislature, or the Judiciary, or through the action of an Anti-Slavery meeting like this.

If we cannot have a Bench right on this subject appointed by the Governor, let us have one chosen by the people. We can trust the instincts of the people. Mesponsibility in the discussion and decision of great questions of practical life is God's normal school for the education of the people. God be thanked, through the atonement of four millions of slaves, pouring out their blood for the people, we shall ultimately get deliverance from this sin and shame.

I think, therefore, that the great, imperative, inev-

months is the pushing of this special question. If we can give Henry Wilson such a law as this to

We have also, thank God, Charles Francis Adams in the House of Representatives, and will show Rufus Choate that John Quincy Adams was not the last of

bitter opponents as in the earlier stages of the cause is also arising a party among the Republicans, who are at Washington. Let her keep it vacant until its though under another name. I have no more confi-What we now need is a decision that the soil of

> HENRY C. WRIGHT. Anti-Slavery is the only educational institution in this nation having power to

infuse the spirit and principles of Jesus of Nazareth into the hearts of this people; into their schools, their churches, their political parties, their legislative halls. None of these now do any thing at all to infuse the spirit of the Good Samaritan, which Jesus presented to the people as the type and essence of his doctrine.

Whom did Jesus choose to stand as the representative of his spirit and system? He chose a man who was regarded by the Jews as heterodox and unholy, an infidel and an atheist, and he says to all-'Go, and do likewise."

Our political organizations give us their ideas, not from the stand-point of principle, but of expediency. Mr. Wright said the speech which he wished to make was embodied in the following resolutions :

Resolved, That we can reverence no being as God,

Resolved, That as Jesus chose the humane infidel time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, of his day (the Good Samaritan) to represent his spirit and life, so those, whom the church and clergy of Resolved, That, whether the people of Massachu- the present day denounce as infidels, are his true repsetts can do anything to abolish slavery in the South resentatives now, inasmuch as they devote themselves, or not, they can forbid, and are imperatively bound by like the infidel Samaritan, to the redemption and welthe highest moral considerations to forbid, the hunt- fare of those who have fallen among thieves and rob-

as they touch our soil; they can and ought to cease cannot and will not protect its citizens from kidnapfrom all slaveholding relations with the South; and pers, no matter from whence they come, nor with therefore they can and ought, in common with the whatever authority they may be clothed-that govpeople of every other free State, to withdraw from a ernment has ceased to answer the great end for which government which, both by practice and intention, is it was created; and it is the right and duty of the

Resolved, That man can perpetrate no greater or more atrocious crime against man, than to arrest him, wished to say. He would leave them to speak for

MR. GARRISON said-They were there for a living purpose, not to laud the dead, [alluding to the recent and the words of Dr. Channing, we take the surest this city] around the connivial board, which was a celebration of the birthday of Webster and Burns in cheap and easy virtue. They were there, too, where they had no fetter upon honest and manly speech, through fear of dividing the church or injuring party prospects.

He referred to the marked change which had taken One of these will represent the Tribune doctrine of place in the public feeling and sentiment of the North, availability. The other will represent the party now Once, mobocratic violence against anti-slavery gatherings everywhere prevailed, and opponents readily came forward to protect the slaveholder, and contest our doctrines as unsound and dangerous. Now the slaveholder is left without even an apologist, and no hostile disputant is visible on our platform. The Church, the Government, the Constitution, the Union, had no defender at a gathering like this, which is so united in sympathy and purpose as to present nothing tangible for vigorous resistance. This revolution in the public mind had not been effected in consequence of any dilution of doctrine or compromise of principle on the part of the abolition ists; for never had they faltered, or lowered their standard-never were they so exacting in their demands, or so bold in speech, as now. In the same spirit of fidelity, they must go forward to the completion of the great work so auspiciously begun, thanking God, and taking courage.

THURSDAY, P. M.

H. C. Wright read again his resolution on the power of Anti-Slavery in the right education of the people, and made some comments upon it. The United States government, he said, has become a foreign in his official action, our State might take the right power to the government of Massachusetts, obstructing and resisting the execution of her own laws, on her own soil. The Federal Government is the real kidnspper, which in our own territory pursues the Southern Fugitive, nullifying the provisions of our own State Constitution and laws in his favor. How long will Massachusetts permit the fundamental law of her own government to be trampled under foot?

Parker Pillsbury wished the key-note of the genuine business of the meeting to be clearly sounded and distinctly, understood. He offered the following reso-

Resolved, That the subtle and fiendish spirit of hostility to the Anti-Slavery cause, that was at first exhibited through colonization schemes, clerical appeals, and a liberty party, (falsely so called,) is now acting with far more power and hope of success in the Reness on the part of the genuine friends of the slave, than did any of its earlier manifestations.

Resolved, That under our doctrine of Dissolution of the Federal Union, as the only hope for the slave, the Republican party, in protecting slavery where it is, act upon, and to have the insults and fury of the South and in all its pledges, promises and oaths to support poured out upon, it may spur him to the vigor of action needful for his own honor and that of his as it does professedly, as a party opposed to slavery, it becomes far more dangerous to the cause of freedom than its opponents with a more open policy and course of action

Mr. Pillsbury said ;

dence in the integrity of Henry Wilson, than in that of Daniel Webster. I do not think his speeches read more favorably for the cause of freedom, as it exists in our time, than those of Daniel Webster did in his, and, therefore, I hope that the principles, and position, and policy of the Republican party will come before this meeting for fall and thorough considera Abby K. Foster rose to second the resolutions of

Parker Pillsbury.

The Republican party are so near us that we find it difficult to apply to them the needed rebuke and opposition for their unfaithfulness to the principles we hold in common. Nevertheless, such rebuke ought to be given. I call upon every member of the Republican party to cease from his present cooperation with the slave-hunter and the kidnapper. The Republican party voted the money that re-enslaved Anthony Burns, and every voter in it is responsible for the guilt of that act.

Self-gratulation is yet premature with us. Nothing has been done, while anything remains to be done. The present is the most dangerous crisis to which Anti-Slavery has ever been subjected. We were more secure when our foes were open and undisguised. At present, the Republican party is stealthily sucking the very blood from our veins.

Our work is to be done over again. We must convert those who think they are already converted. Henry Wilson boasted that the Republicans fought the Democrats on every new issue. We must add to that, that they unite with the Democrats on all the more vital and essential old issues. How is Senator Seward in practical conflict with the slave power? Of what worth are his abstractions? Is he not defending popular sovereignty? Is he not assuming that the people may decide whether they may have slavery or not? Is he not abandoning the essential ground, that we have the right to prevent slaveholding ? I call upon you to give us the funds to teach this doctrine throughout the land; to give more liberally than

Mr. Higginson, of Worcester, said :

I thank the friends who have gone before me for giving the key-note of our afternoon's discussion in a manner worthy of them, and of the cause.

No assembly in the nation, more than this, needs o be reminded that its time for action is NOW, and that its mightiest energies need now to be put forth. The time of open danger is not the most perilous time. The quiet of the present period forebodes great and mminent danger. Here we are, meeting in peace, not persecuted, only neglected. This indifference is worse than the howling of angry multitudes. Any Wender Phillips said—

These resolutions cover the ground occupied by any tribunal, to decide whether he is a man or a beast.

These resolutions cover the ground occupied by any tribunal, to decide whether he is a man or a beast. party is the surest token of its doom. When could a party ever stand faithful to great principles when it was unopposed?

The slave power stands behind all parties and all measures. We have cleared away many new issues, settled many new questions : but slavery still stands there, silent, but mighty. We have not yet grappled with that. When will the actual struggle come?

The time is coming when our premature congratulations will be checked by disgraceful defeat. We stand in a position, the momentous importance of which the most experienced among us do not under-

Anti-Slavery is not a question, it is a fact. It Ma natural antagonism between two sorts of civilization. We began by defending our own freedom. We must advance to the ground of defending freedom for all. Once the word insurrection affected abolitionists with a shudder. Now it might be uttered without a shock in the Massachusetts Legislature. Liberty has been educating us to liberty. The sense of liberty which begins by defending the black man under our roof, ends by showing the need that we should defend him under his own.

This principle of liberty is now working, both in us at the North, and in a far-greater number than we suppose of slaves at the South. Large masses of this latter population are affected by it; and the wish is spreading among them, not as formerly to go to freedom, but to have freedom come to them. And who knows how speedily a morning may arise to show us that it has come?

The present time is one for anxious preparations and for grappling with the sternest principles of freedom. From my soul I believe that this fire, which has been so long and so fiercely blazing among our habitations, cannot be quenched by rosewater, nor removed with smiling unanimity.

Mrs. Foster introduced the subject of finance, with an appeal of intense interest and pathos.

Mr. Garrison thought the tone of the remarks this afternoon unduly desponding and lugubrious. Was it dangerous to our cause to admit that we had made progress? Was the recognition of this fact an assumption that nothing more was to be done? It is well for us occasionally to review our course, and to rejoice in what we have gained. We have no occasion to speak in desponding tones. I think the signs of the times cheering and hopeful.

As to the Republican party, every political party will be proportionate to the character of the people. This one is a time-serving, a temporizing, a cowardly party; yet it is plainly distinguishable in some respects from the Democratic party. The Republican is a pie-bald, a heterogeneous party, very diverse in the constituents which compose it. It has never professed, as the old . Liberty party ' did, to be an Anti-Slavery party. It claims only to oppose the extension o slavery, and it does oppose it. It has really tried to do the work which it has claimed to undertake.

Henry C. Wright inquired-Does the Republican party claim to prevent the extension of slavery in a Territory, where a majority of the whites desire its

Charles C. Burleigh replied, that, as a party, they opposed the extension of slavery without qualificadrifting towards the 'popular sovereignty' doctrine. The Anti-Slavery cause has still as powerful and as Adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

as the stave trade, lawfully, until a dissolution of

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our opinion, the very existence of the South depends upon the re-opening of the African Slave Trade.—
Tukege, (Ala.) Republican.

ACQUISITION OF CUBA.

We desire the acquisition of Cuba for reasons most intimately affecting the welfare and power of the United Smites. We believe this extension of our ire will become an absolute condition of our exstores, and we wish now to prepare the way for that inertiable eventuality. We protest against a policy which will only ac-

he protest against a policy which will only ac-amalate obstacles in our path, and so postpone the trainment of our object to an indefinite period.

We would not confirm the unfavorable disposition of the Spanish nation, by identifying the possession of Cuba with everything dear to their pride and apprentant to their prestige as an independent Power.

We would not exasperate them to that degree of desperation, wherein they may prefer the desolation

chargetic measures of precaution as will diminish the ands of another experiment.

We would not discredit the cause by an ignomin-

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Mr. Garrison read the resolutions previously offered, with some additional ones, and corrected an erroneous statement attributed to him by the reporter for

Mr. E. H. Harwood, of Hubbardston, then took the platform and spoke substantially as follows:

SPEECH OF E. H. HEYWOOD. Mr. CHAIRMAN,-I am very glad that by the reso lutions and speeches of to-day, the issue before us has been distinctly put. We have been called upon to look the question of slavery distinctly in the face. Only a few weeks ago, the N. Y. Timer said that this Anti-Slavery agitation was over. Not so. This agitation can only be settled by the extinction of slavery. Here are two opposing systems, two belligerent, defiant antagonisms, arrayed against each other like Gabriel and the arch fiend upon the plains of heaven. There can be no truce, no compromise between such parties. Temporizing clergymen and time-serving politicians labor in vain. Slavery must be put down. · Carthage must be destroyed.' Politicians and ministers blink this issue. To the American Church it is a stumbling block, and to the American State it is foolishness. When we say that the Church is pro-slavery, we do not mean that it prefers slavery to freedom, but that it is not willing to pay the price of freedom We mean that while it serves Christ with the lips, it denies him in the life; that while it preaches Jesus, it practises Judas. (Applause.) It has no anti-slavery principle. It does not put slavery into the category of sins I want words to express my unutterable con tempt for the shuffling and jesuitical policy with which the Church has handled this question. You have all heard of the negro who said, that he had one source of consolation under all circumstances of affliction, and that was-Webster's Dictionary. (Laughter and applause.) The whole policy of the Church is to darken counsel with words. Look at the resolutions passed by the American Tract Society last May, proposing to discuss the moral duties that grow out of the system of slavery !' Can anything be more blasphemous or ridiculous?

No, there is no such thing as compromising with such wickedness as this. The devil dies hard. Hack him in pieces and every separate bit will make a new devil. When evil entrenches itself behind the forms of law, there can be no compromise made with it The trouble with the Church is, that it has no love for the slave. You remember the story of the woman who wrote to her husband in California- Say not that absence conquers love; the longer you stay away the better I love you.' (Laughter and cheers.) The Church loves the slave at the greatest possible distance. In going about among the country towns, I find no persons who are willing to sacrifice anything but the Liberator men; and this is the great fault of the Church in connection with this question. It would prefer liberty to slavery, undoubtedly, but it is not willing to pay the price of liberty.

The same thing is true in politics. I take it we ar not to rely upon politics at all. It is not at all reformatory. The governments of the country are necessarily influenced by the prejudices of the people, and politicians are the creatures, not the creators of the age. I need not say much in praise of men who did so much evil that their successors are regarded as benefactors for undoing it. Politics make reform about as Sodom and Gomorrah made fire and brimstone. (Applause.) When we look at the political parties, the Republican party, for instance, we find the necessary evil of politics-that it is linked directly with this great evil. When an old political organization is broken asunder, people sometimes think we have a new element. By no means. The old elements have simply assumed a new form. It is the drift-timber that floats upon the last freshet. The Republican party goes not only for constitutional liberty, but for constitutional slavery. It recommends impartial liberty for all men, except for slaves. It goes not only for State rights, but for State wrongs. I do not care what construction the Republican party put upon the Constitution, if they will legislate for liberty. Let them abolish slavery in the District, and the inter-State slave trade, and slavery itself. But they cannot be called anti-slavery until they put themselves upon this plane of action. There is a story of a good woman who undertook to shoot a hawk, and when the gun knocked her over, her son, who had been trying some experiments upon it, called out, . Hold on, mother; there are nine more charges to come.' (Laughter.) I want this Republican gun loaded so heavily that the South will know, when the first shot is fired, that there are nine more charges to come.

Evidently, there can be no compromise in this matter. The slaveholder must be agitated out of church and State. This going against slavery where it does not exist, is firing at nothing, and hitting it. It is only boys who think to catch swallows by putting salt upon their tails. Mr. Seward begins to see the folly of all attempts at compromise on this question. Who, then, are the fanatics, and who are the statesmen? The greatest statesman now on the stage confesses himself the pupil of the abolitionists. But it has taken him twenty-five years to learn the lesson. Who, then, rules the country? Is it the men who occupy the White House? No, it is the Anti-Slavery enter prise. Pharaoh sits upon the throne, but Joseph i Governor of Egypt. (Loud applause.)

Here, then, is the issue. Every thing must comup to this plane of action. Burke said that justice is the only settled policy of society, and any prominent deviation therefrom lies under the suspicion of being no policy at all. To this we must come-to the policy of impartial justice for all men. I care nothing about the comparative superiority of the races. Locke says that men are very much the same in intellectual faculties in all time. Mungo Park says that he found lawyers in Africa who could argue with as much ability and with as great fl sency and at as great length, as in Edinboro'. (Laughter.) Why, the last black baby of South Carolina, with its great cry and little wool,' is likely to be full as great as the last specimen of Boston south-side aristocracy. (Laughter.) am surprised that in New England, a man who stands as the apologist for the foulest sin of the age, can be countenanced for a moment as a Christian minister. According to the record, Adam's fall occurred six thousand years ago, more or less; but he did not touch bottom until 1854, in Essex street church, Boston! (Roars of laughter and enthusiastic ap-

The strength of this cause is in the realm of ideas. of universal principles. Agitation is its staff of progress. Do not be afraid of it. We cannot rely upon institutions, as such. They do not breast the current, but float with the stream. It is idle to expect any thing from them. Nothing is fixed on this earth but truth and justice. Living principles are the strength of this reform, and must be adhered to. It makes no difference how many men we have, if we have only enough to speak the truth. It is not the shuffling policy of politicians that helps forward this cause. It is not Mr. Wilson, in the Senate, declaring that the Republican party will let Slavery alone where it exists; it is not Mr. Banks in New York declaring that he has no controversy with the Fugitive Slave Bill,-it is not that that stirs the people; it is when Sumner, in Fancuil Hall, says, 'I was a man be fore I was a commissioner, and when Giddings says, in Congress, 'if we cannot have liberty but by insurrection, let it come, -that the public conscience is stirred. That is what we want-direct appeal to the hearts of the people. If we would only rend asunder those bulwarks of the American Church and State. the hot indignation of the popular heart would blot slavery out of existence in an instant. This agitation can never be abandoned until slavery is hushed in the sleep of death. Philosophy tells us that when the

earthquake ceases, volcanoes commence. So if you

of pro-slavery in Church and State has gone down intelligence, that the children in the families ought to beneath its fiery billows. (Loud applause.)

SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

MR. CHAIRMAN,-I have never seen the day when I should feel at my ease in pursuing a train of thought so well and beautifully commenced as in the speech to which we have just listened; but this evening, I am under peculiar embarrassment, by reason of excessive hoarseness; still, I hope I may always be ready to contribute my morsel to sustain the interest of an occasion like the present,

felt in listening to the remarks made by our friend from Worcester (Rev. T. W. Higginson). I believe it to have been by far the most important speech ever delivered in this hall or any where else in the Antislavery cause; and I think it so, particularly because of the spirit and purpose with which it seemed to be inspired. I think, with Mr. Higginson, that it is more than mere play upon words that we need, and that it is even more, if possible, than direct appeal to the consciences and hearts of men. Indeed, since, within the last few days, I have felt myself incapacitated for speaking, I have hoped that the time for words had gone by, and that the dispensation of deeds had commenced. I hope the time is not very far distant when somebody will be able to say, as the old English martyr said, in the time of Bloody Mary,' when he was bound to the stake- We shall this day kindle such a fire in England, as, under God, shall never be extinguished.' I hope some of us will be able to say that in regard to the great movement in which we are engaged. I want to see the day when the last speech shall have been made, and the last word shall have been uttered; when the dispensation of doctrine shall have been superseded by the dispensation of fact; and I think no one properly appreciates the Anti-Slavery movement who does not regard that crisis as very near at hand. We have seen enough of the Slave Power, most assuredly, to have learned that it cannot be conquered by any very gentle, or soothing, or conciliating measures. I think that it ought to be understood, by this time, that this is a Leviathan which is not to be drawn out by a hook; that this is a fire that, as my friend Higginson said this afternoon, is not to be extinguished by rose-water; that we have a more serious work on hand than politicians understand; that there are things in the Anti-Slavery enterprise not dreamed of in the philosophy of politics. I am heartily tired of hearing any allusions made to politics. I do not believe that Henry Wilson or any other Senator or Representative in Congress from New England, or any part of the country, any more comprehends the mysteries and the necessities of the Anti-Slavery cause than the youngest child now in the audience, or in any other part of the State. I remember reading, somewhere in the history of the Revolution, that a young orator, standing up in Fancuil Hall, said-Whoever supposes that the scenes of this day will end without strife, entertains a very false conception of the solemnities of the occasion which has brought us together;' and I think we are at this moment in the midst of scenes which our friend Higginson was not able to grasp, even in his almost inspired vision and conception. Whoever expects to see slavery extinguished but in a Red Sea of blood, knows little of the philosophy of human experience and of human needs; and whoever believes in the use of the sword, and is not preparing himself for its use, is not up to the exigencies of this hour; and the young men who are not training themselves in the art of war, are probably only prolonging a strife that must end at last either in complete submission to the Slave Power, or in scenes of blood at the very mention of which we well might tremble.

Our whole country, at the present moment, is prostrate before the Slave Power. You may speak of Seward, or you may talk of Wilson, but the crack of the slave-driver's whip is not more potent on the plantations of Carolina than on the floor of Congress. Senator Seward uttered some pretty bold words some months since, and the Democratic party screamed · Treason' from one end of the country to the other. The consequence was, that Republicans began to make apologies and excuses, wherever Republicanism is about being 'national' in its principles, it is not bolical commands of Simon Legree, but the softest and permitted to exist-for, however, that party may talk 'national' in its geographical extent, and will not be most smiling simper of little Eva herself, if it were until it is made up of braver men than we have yet sent to Washington. They tell of the perfect submission and perfect discipling the perfect submission and perfect discipline the perfect discipline the per practised in the Democratic party. I do not think sung in accents more musical than the voice of Charity the Democratic party is peculiar in its exaction of to Eva and her father, 'Never will I obey one con the Democratic party is permitted the Democratic party is permitted the Democratic party is permitted to Eva and ner lattice, the Bear and ner latti I saw the other day a statement that they had a new ed, and you and I stand upon the same platform of way of training horses in South Carolina, which is likely to supersede the philosophy of the famous overboard to rescue even Legree from drowning, as he Rarey, and the way they do it is to send all the un- did Eva; but I would have him see all Mississippi tameable horses to the Democratic caucus, and put them under the training of politicians there; and they say the horses are never known to disobey any swept from her escutcheon. When we have such command after that! (Laughter.) But I believe the Uncle Toms as that, we shall have raised men who Republican party is not much better. When Mr. will understand Liberty as something higher and Seward made that speech, the whole party immediately set itself to apologize for it, and to affirm and re-affirm throughout the country, wherever it exists, the rolling of drums and the booming of cannon—the its perfect loyalty to slavery and fidelity to the Constitution, so help them God; and finally, after they had apologized for it some fortnight or more, the Boston papers began to publish it; but they never dared to rust it to their readers before that; and when it came from the mouths of these famous horse-tamers, it was found to be nothing more nor less than the most common utterances of the Democratic party leaders; for they declare there shall be no interference with slavery where it exists, that no party could be truer to slavery, in all its interests, than would that party, than the master has to be a tyrant. The one is a and that, whenever the slaveholders get ready to abolish slavery by State action, themselves, then they would have no objection to its being done. Now, really, I do not know the private opinions of Benj. F. Hallett and Caleb Cushing, but I venture to say, that if the South were really ready to abolish slavery, Caleb Cushing would be ready for it, and Benj. F. Hallett also-Cushing being convinced-would be ready for it. So I do not see what wonderful difference there is between Seward and Cushing, or between the best men of the Republican party and the common men of the Democratic party. And while this is true, and while Senators can be cudgelled in the halls of Congress; and insulted wherever they go, as New England Senators are, and are willing to be, for the sake of the six thousand dollars the Congressional term, I do not think they know or care very much about the Anti-Slavery movement.

Then, again, I do not believe there is any man of them who has expressed any opinion against slavery each other, as well as upon the world. The momen as a matter of principle. I have never heard of any we cease to criticise each other with the same freedom much before. Whether they will make an issue with man with half an idea, and the man with one idea, regard to the re-opening of the African Slave Trade, and the man with no idea at all. (Laughter.) Every should be any Anti-Slavery issue betwixt the two gular, here finds refuge. We gather up all that is not

do not mind. The main idea which I wished to ex- on his own account. Conservative men fall into regipress was, that it seems to me that what we want is a ments naturally. No man knows what is wanted new and deeper baptism into the spirit and genius of he leaves that to the General. Each moves forward the Anti-Slavery enterprise. Why, even the aboli- with a blind, disciplined impulse, in one vast, concentionists themselves, the best of them, scarcely read trated mass. Our warfare, on the contrary, is that of the Standard or Liberator enough to keep at all well light troops; each man sallies out and fires his own amother this agitation at one point, it will break out posted in the Anti-Slavery movement; and I fre, gun. In the end, this does the most work. The mo-

THURSDAY EVENING. Edmund Quincy, one of in another. It will roll and surge, until the last relic quently have to tell the most common anti-slavery know, not to Republicans and Democrats, to church members, and deacons, and ministers, but to out-andout Garrisonian Abolitionists. The other day I was in the Anti-Slavery office, and saw the list of delinquent subscribers to the Liberator; and I would simbly say, that there are many motes in the eyes of Ab onists, that might well be cast out, and it may be they would then see a little more clearly the beams in Republican and Democratic eyes-for there are many of them there; and I fear that many a man who is so gingerly in his treatment of the Republican party, might brush a little of the dust out of his own I wish to express a part of the great gratification I eyes, and it may be he would see depravity enough then. I have not much strength left; but the little I have, I should like to devote to earnest, wholesome anti-slavery work, and I do not care much what it is do not know that, in the struggle which is to come I should not, in cowardice, shrink from the contest but I should hope, if I did, that it would be-like th Nantucket Quakers in the Revolution-to feed the hungry and heal the wounded. But I do say this we have proved already in our experience of the Slave Power, that what we have, we have to take, for they will give us nothing. As it was said here this afternoon, no tyrant ever surrenders his power. That old emark which was made when a little detachment of roops was ordered to lay down its arms- Come and ake them ! '-is the universal answer of all tyrants, when they are asked to lay down their power, 'Come and take it,' they say; and you will have to take it by such means as will be effectual in the encounter. Our friend Higginson referred to the raid made over into Missouri by Ossawattomie Brown and his friends, and the liberation of those fifteen or twenty slaves. He alluded to it as an indication of what may come before long. I see the government has sent an armed force to resist and prevent any repetition of such novements. I trust that the angel of God will protect old Osswattomie Brown, and shield him in whatever battle he may engage. (Loud applause.) For f our movement, or our age, even, has a Cromwell, that man is undoubtedly the Cromwell of this generation, and I hope that if one drop of his blood shall fall to the ground by the bayonets of the myrmidons of James Buchanan, it will spring up in more than a dragon's-teeth harvest of brave men, that shall revenge it, not by slaughter and blood, but at least by the emancipation of every slave in the land, before the sword of insurrection shall be sheathed. (Cheers.) If that is treason to your government, all I have to say is, let your government make the most of it. If I can excite among men who believe in violence the spirit of war, that I shall do. That is to say, I shall say to every man, Be true to your convictions of right. If you would defend your own hearthstones, and your own wife and daughter, defend the hearthstone and the wife and daughter of the slave, or, at least, place him in a position where he may have hearthstone, however humble, and a wife and daughter he may call his own. I like very well a remark that our friend Garrison once made, and I wish he would often make it about this time. He told the colored people at the time of the passage of the Fugitive Bill, that he was a non-resistant, and he wished they all were. So I say, that I wish all the colored people, and all white people, too, were such non-resistants a our friend Garrison. But I would also say, as h said on the occasion to which I refer, since they are not, and believe in resistance to tyrants by violent measures, you must remember that the names of Washington and William Tell are very honorable names in the history of mankind. God knows l do not wish to see a drop of blood; but God also knows, and to him I appeal for the sincerity of th remark, that I would rather see the blood of insur

rection flowing, than the blood of the slaves shed b ruffian hands on the plantation. (Applause.) Yesterday, for the first time in my life, I saw Mrs Stowe in this State of Massachusetts. I wished then and I have been wishing ever since, that I could have given her one hint. I need not say anything in prais of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' but I will tell you where think its defect is. It is, that there is no heroisn about it, until heroism is of no use. I wish we could have an 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' the heroism of which should consist not in resisting the atrocious and dia humanity.' (Applause.) I would see Uncle Tom leap drowned in her own waters, before he would obey one of her edicts, until the last vestige of slavery wa nobler than the stuff out of which Fourth of July orators manufacture their rhapsodies, which mingle with one as senseless as the other. (Applause.)

But, Mr. Chairman, I have forgotten myself again, and will bring my remarks at once to a close. Let-us as I have said, try to make our work an earnest work in view of justice and right. By the grace of God, I will insist that men shall be true in some way to justice and humanity: that they shall, in some way, re sist the tyrant; for it is unquestionably true, that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.' And I de not believe the slave has any more right to be a slave guilty as the other, unless the power be too strong and if the power of the tyrant be too strong for the victim, it is for us to come to the rescue, in the fear and in the love of God. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, -I suppose the strength of such movement as ours consists in the fact that it is made up of men, who think each one for himself. Of course, such a body of men, fit or able to carry on or initiate an enterprise so repugnant to the associations and the principles of a great nation, must be minds that are exceedingly independent. I do not say, or course, that they are before their age, or necessarily correct; but they have, at least, what is a singularity or independence, as you may choose to phrase it. Of course, therefore, you will hear from this platform, as you have heard to-day, on all sides, enticisms upor such. Whatever is done is done as a matter of policy. that we criticise the world, we shall have lost that One issue is yielded after another. When Texas was peculiar character of intellectual life which gives us admitted, nobody complained more; when the Mis- our efficiency, indeed, by virtue of which we gravitate souri compromise was repealed, it was very easy to towards this cause. As to every other idea which the reconcile the country to it; and when Cuba is ad- community repudiates, all sorts of singularity gravimuch afterwards-I do not think they will quarrel slavery meeting is so picturesque. Here you see the I do not undertake to say at this time; but if there man who faucies or really has in him any thing sinparties, in 1860, I think that is most likely to be the enrolled in the ranks of conservatism-all that does not marshal itself into line at the beat of the drum. Each But I shall betray myself into too long a talk if I man is like Harry Wynd in Scott's novel, and fights

about to happen, somehow or other there is a hurtling are often mistakes, it will be so. But when anti-slain the air before they come. Now, it is nearly sixty very begins to triumph, I will tell you the very first years since the word 'insurrection' has been a fami- sign you will see. The moment anti-slavery apliar word in the American vocabulary. Before the proaches any thing that can be called its triumph, the adoption of the Constitution, the history of Carolina is political press will begin to argue that Garrison did almost a succession of insurrections. Up to within not originate the Immediate Emancipation doctrine, twenty or thirty years of abolition in Jamaica, the but that, a common printer in the office of a Newhistory of that island was a history of insurrections. buryport paper, edited by Caleb Cushing, he stole the Instead of there having been but one insurrection in St. idea from him! (Loud laughter and applause.) And Domingo, there was not a year that was not marked by the religious press, I think, will dispute it, and proinsurrection. The German lecturer, Solger, who says bably bring forward the claim of Dr. Cox of New no man has any rights who does not show his title by York, as the person who really originated the entera constant struggle to achieve them, and argues that prise. (Renewed laughter.)! Now, the Boston Coutherefore the black race is not entitled to freedom, rier had an article yesterday morning, in which i must be ignorant of the ghastly scenes of murder, said that some people (what captious people they bloodshed and judicial assassination which mark the must be!) had found fault with the tone in which it prove nothing else, that the negro never forgot for an goes on to observe-mark you! it is the Boston Couthe volcano and the earthquake are at work. That is pews for colored people-it is this paper that speaks why we smell the gas. The chinks are opening; the why we smell the gas. The chinks are opening; the lava is breaking out. Now, not only the South and Southwest, not only valiant old Ossawattomie Brown, but the vanguard of thinkers, doubters, and apprehenders, all over the country, have been talking for the last five years of insurrection. It is not only in our meetings, but if you watch the papers, or look any where, you will see it; just as, fifteen years ago, any where, you will see it; just as, fifteen years ago, any where, you will see it; just as, fifteen years ago, any where, you will see it; just as, fifteen years ago, any where, you will see it; just as, fifteen years ago, any where, you will see it; just as, fifteen years ago, any where, you will see it; just as, fifteen years ago, any where, you will see it; just as, fifteen years ago, any opportunity to serve them, Northern men began to talk about disunion in a whisper, and now it has been talked about until it may almost be said to be capable of cool calculation. Even the *Tribune*, which is not remarkably rash, which looks of the tribune, which is not remarkably rash, which looks of the tribune of t rise, and, as it did in St. Domingo, hew off its own them. We may drink in cold water, it not in Oxford port, the old toast of Samuel Johnson-who, though port, the old toast of Samuel Johnson-who, though of the gradual melting away of the prej dices once a Tory, could recognize the right of the black man to entertained by their white brethren towards them. Indies, (Applause.)

Speaking of races-as our friend Heywood said, I not half so much in that as in circumstances; for, put them in the same circumstances, and the races will prove to be about the same. I remember that in St. ordered a black colonel to be sabred in the sight of distinguished by its bearing towards its colored population, not merely by giving them equal politic his wife, he lingered a moment before submitting to execution ;-like that Roman under Nero, who, though the blood of the bravest race of the old world filled his heart, lingered before submitting his neck to the sword, his wife, you know, seized a dagger and stabbed herself, crying out, . Pretus, it is not hard to die'so the wife of this black colonel on the island of St. heard of the Roman, seized a sabre from a French · Husband, death is not the thing to fear!' (Apblack! (Renewed applause.) The same circumstances produced the same result. I think you will find it so every where.

But, at the same time, whether it is so or not, I do and I shall be sanguine to the last. I think that in that the thoughts of the American people at this mo- in unity!' (Laughter.) ment centre on the subject of slavery. The statesmen of the last generation made their reputations, or lost them, on money questions, the tariff and the bank. All over the land, you heard nothing but the clink of dollars and the rustle of new bank bills. Cotton wool filled the ears of the American people, and their hearts were changed into tariffs and bank charters. That was the American idea of the last generation; but nobody can say that such questions make up the history of at the present day, is Slavery. It was no joke of our President, but a solemn truth, that Congress is turne l into an anti-slavery debating society. Nobody reads any thing that does not touch slavery. What loads ple ask first? 'Is Cuba to be annexed?' 'Has Mexico where the minds of thirty millions of people are centhe whole affair, and makes a machine no larger than bers them at the same time. Now, that same laborkeen, inevitable intellect on this slave question :-We do not mean (it says) to have it in our way long; it interferes with the location of the Pacific Railroad -injures the value of Northern acres, -interferes with

Mr. Seward has been mentioned. My friend Pillsbury said he uttered bold words at Rochester. Mr. It is because I think my friend Mr. Pillsbury is un-Seward is too wise to say 'bold' words. The words just to that party that my regard for justice combold and politician do not agree together; there pels me to say a word, by way of fair discrimination, is no rule in the grammar to make them agree. Mr. wherein I think he is lacking, so far as that party is Seward said wise words, prudent words, judicious concerned. The Republican party is not to be meas words, at Rochester-never 'bold' words. He never ured by our standard. I mean, a man may ob utters any word until he is certain there is in the pub- ject to our standard, and say, 'I do not accept lie heart a readiness to echo it back. The reason why your standard ; judge me by my own.' Very well. his speech is of any value is because Seward made it. Then I say to him, as Paul said to the Jews who He is a sensitive plant; he is one end of the electric would not accept Jesus, I will judge you by your wire and America is the other. The value of that own standard. 'Ye that live under the law, do y speech at Rochester is, it was made by a man who not hear the law? Cursed is every man that continumitted, the Republican party will not quarrel very tate to this point. That is the reason why an antipeople are ready for it, and who has that instinctive, do them ! And there he had them. Men may projudgment, by which you may know that the Ameri- own? When we measure them with their own yardcan people are about ready for it, when he undertakes stick, they must either get rid of that yardstick, or to say it. Republicanism, with its eyes like Mammon, confess that they are found wanting. The Republifixed on the golden pavement at Washington, does can party must be judged by what it claims to be not see the change that is going on; but Seward and to do. Is not that fair? Has it ever claimed to has his eyes not on the golden pavement of office, but be an anti-slavery party? Where ?-when? And if on the clear sky that is breaking ahead of him, and if it has not, then it is to be measured by another rule. he cannot be President of the American Republic, he The party professes not to be an anti-slavery party, means to be the statesman of the nineteenth century. but a non-extension party. Is it true to its own idea

(Cheers.)

ment the attempt is made to marshal these troops into here first this evening, (Mr. Heywood.) spoke to us of rank, that moment it sacrifices its own character, that what the influence and name of our Pioneer would be moment it ceases to be the distinctive army of reform. in times to come. I believe that, a hundred years One thing I like in the remarks that have just been hence, when men have the leisure to go back to origimade. Did you ever observe, that when things are nal history, and find out that popular apprehensions history of Carolina and of Jamaica-proving, if they had spoken of the colored people. The Courier then hour that he had as much right to his freedom and to rier, published in this city, that had colored schools his own wife as the white man who robbed him of until Wm. C. Nell finally triumphed in abolishing both. That title has never been lost by reason of his them—that had railroad cars out of which some of us neglect to try, at least, to enforce it. . I like, there- have been dragged for the crime of sitting by a colorfore, these speeches about insurrection; for it seems ed friend, man or woman-that had, up in the Old o me, that when the air is full of them, it is because South gallery, and in many another church, little

! Whatever inferences may have been drawn, justly the Tribune, which is not remarkably rash, which looks at its dollar on both sides, and at its milled looks at its dollar on both sides, a -the very thing that Webster said ought never to be children well educated, and the honest pains and done. I like this augury of the flight of birds; it tells us of something that is to come; and if this race shall they were entirely worthy of the boon which has been the said of the said to be something that is to come; and if this race shall they were entirely worthy of the boon which has been rise, and, as it did in St. Domingo, hew off its own chains, it certainly will not lie on our lips to reproach the State, of having their children educated at the same schools with the whites.

• We are glad of this progress; and we are also glad

freedom- Success to the first insurrection in the West | Certainly there never was anything more unchristian than the spectacle which we can remember in the parish churches of New England, of a few colored Spenking of races—as our friend Heywood said, I worshippers stuck up in a sort of swallow's-nest pew think there is a great deal in race; but yet, there is under the caves, as if they were lepers or pariahs The man whose devotions are disturbed by having a family of well-behaved and decently dressed colored persons in the pew next to him, may know much o the doctrines of Christianity, but is very little imbue Domingo, in that last terrible struggle, when LeClerc with its spirit. We think Massachusetts is honorably privileges with the whites, but by the increasing willingness of its people to recognize their social rights, and to deal with them in a spirit of humanity and Christianity.' How far the Courier has travelled, unconsciously

The man who wrote that article might stand here and feel quite comfortable, and in his proper neighbor-Domingo, who had never read Greek or Latin, or even | hood; and yet, he wrote an article in the Boston Courier! Great events are coming. That is the first cuirassier, and gave herself a mortal wound, saying, wave of that flood of argument which is to rob our friend of all credit for the anti-slavery enterprise. I plause.) It was Roman blood, though the skin was think that is another sign of how the public mind is softening and beginning to be ashamed of its prejudice against color. The Boston Courier is ashamed of that old Boston prejudice against the colored man. We are growing. Men are beginning to take in the idea persist in believing that the cause is mightily onward, that underlies this backnied phrase, 'American Nationality.' Out in Michigan, an Asiatic woman, on this country of men who read and write, and think, her death-bed, requested that her body might be of newspapers and books-the land of brains-where, burned; but the mad mob entered her husband's as Waldo Emerson so wittily says, the Yankee carries dwelling and stole the corpse, and consigned to the more brain in his right hand than any other man does earth in spite of him. That is another prejudice. If in his head—in such a land, it is not bullets that de- we are a nation, I want our arms broad enough to hold cide questions at the last; it is discussion and thought; all colors, all castes, all creeds,-taking in, with t is purpose and resolve. There is not a Gibraltar broad and generous and close sympathy, all races. I rocky enough, nor, crowded with cannon as Mr. Hig- should be ashamed of Boston if we had not three ginson painted it, there is not a Gibraltar flery enough thousand negroes here; I wish we could have a to stand twelve hours against the united public opinion thousand Mahonmedans, and some East Indians, and of thirty millions of American people. I do think, some of every other race, as typical of the greatness of with the Whig party or the Democratic party, is the whatever my friend Mr. Pillsbury may at present an- the country. I am of the mind of the Boston Courier, wickedness, on the side of the Slave Power. De ticipate, that there is nothing more fixed than this,- I agree with it. It is pleasant to see brothren agree have something of self-respect and manhool left;

Still, I agree with Mr. Pillsbury in one thing, as well as with the Courier. There are some dark spots. I will tell you one, Every body abuses the Orthodox. Let us turn the shield round. There is a man who, in the face of the nineteenth century, propounded to an audience calling itself Christian, the atrocique sontiment, that he was willing to send his mother into slavery to save the government; and when the scorn or pitying indignation and contempt of Christendom our time. The nucleus of all thirgs in our country. dorged his footsteps, from the Mediterranean to Washington, and from Washington to his home, what excuse did he make? . I did not say my mother; I said my brother!' What an immense difference! What an infinite distinction! What a test of Unitarian down the telegraph? Slavery. What news do the pto- Christianity, that the hunted hound could think it a defence in the eyes of the Christian world to say that rotted yet into our hands?" Do you tell me that he did not mean his mother, he meant his brotherand that was virtue! That man bought his patrontred on that great question, that like stupid boys, we age of the United States government by the atrocious are to nore over the lesson for thirty years and not sentiment, and Boston called him home, and put him learn it? I do not believe it. Give a Yankee a pin into the pulpit of Fletcher and Greenwood, -hely men made by half-a-dozen different men—the head by one and pure, whose names are household and sacred man, the shank by another, the point made by another, and he pollutes the spot where they stood! Where and the shine put on by a fourth,—and he laughs at is the Unitarian who can lift up his testimony against a rival sect, while the apostate representative of the this cushion, that makes pins by the bargel, and num- lowest level of American subserviency can be called home to Boston, still to break the bread of Christ, and saving race, that accomplishes more in ten years than be recognized as a minister of the liberal gospel in the the old world does in half a century, has fixed its metropolis of New England! (Loud applause.)

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

My friend Mr. Pillsbury put into my mouth the value of gold mines,-disturbs our foreign rela- speech that I do not remember to have made, though tions, -perils the stock of cotton, -it will force Great it is possible I may have made it. He said that I told Britain to cultivate cotton on the banks of the Ganges, the colored people that Washington and William and ruin the Carolinas.' I think we are too wise to Tell were honorable names in history. Perhaps I suffer the system to exist; we shall settle the slave did, although I do not remember it; but if I did, it was simply a truism, which every body knows.

A single word in regard to the Republican party. re-eminent sagacity, that common sense and cool perly object to our standard- will they object to their It is. Will any man deny it? Will my friend Mr. There is another sign—to come down from great things to small—the Boston Courier. (Laughter.)

My eloquent and enthusiastic young friend who stood ciple, and declared that the Union should be dissolv-

ed, if they were overcome. That is not the hane. But ed if they were to that point, they do carry out a their professions of resistance to the extension of the very. I hold that I may give them all tredit by what they have done, without at all compromise, the Anti-Slavery cause, and without at all dinh ing my right to say to that party-You treen a sandy foundation, after all; and though you my think you can do something for liberty, I believe will fail in the end.' The Republican party haven tainly been consistent in its efforts to prevent the tension of slavery; it has spent a vast amounts money for the purpose of enlightening the public sen ment, so as to save Kansas and Nebraska, and then territories of the West, from the encroachment the Slave Power. Let the party have the credited Why not? (Applause.) I know of nothing in this Anti-Slavery cause which justifies me in being us charitable or unfair. Give to every party its do and I say that, up to this time, the Republican pe has tried to prevent the extension of slavery, and is suffered greatly on that account. Tell me that a to be put in the same scale with the Democratic ty-that party which is ready for every thing than South desires, in the way of extending and eleminated slavery! How was it in the last Presidential tion? Was it nothing to the credit of the Republic party, that no representative of John C. Free could stand upon Southern soil, except in peril of life -when the whole party was outlawed in all to Southern States-when no electoral ticket bearing ! name could have been tolerated in Georgia, or Alala ma, or Carolina, or any Southern State-and who if Henry Wilson had dared to go down South to advocate his election to the Presidency, he would have gone there as a man goes to the grave, and never would have come back to Massachusetts alm When a party stands in that attitude to slavers, to slavery stands in that relation to it, I hold it is union and unjust to say that, after all, it is as bell and party that goes all lengths for the extension and east nization of slavery. ('Hear, hear,' and loud applies

The Republican party, as a matter of fact-and a are dealing with facts-embraces the anti-slaver ters of America, wherever they are-with the me tion, it may be, of the little handful who raid is Gerrit Smith. The American people, Lazy, who to and are anti-slavery in spirit and sympathy, and with the Republican party; not one is with the Den. ocratic party. Among them, of course, there are all phases of sentiment, from the most radical to the nost superficial. There is a good deal of pro-slavey a uine anti slavery-sympathy, generosity, kindre pity for the slave; blindness of vision to a come extent, a want of moral courage up to a certain part it may be, but, nevertheless, an carnest deer to struggle to do something whereby this odious Sans Power may be driven back, hedged up, or it say way destroyed in the land. (Applause.) Judging 1. as we are bound to do, by its own test, therefore it disclaims being an anti-slavery party, as it quideclares, that in regard to slavery where it was ists, it does not mean to raise any sgitation, and me means to try to prevent its extension, to that extension I say, the party has been true, and my sympaths a that extent, have been with the party; for wear desire to save the great West from the encreechmen of the Slave Power, and establish freedomen to Western soil.

And yet, this being conceded, it does not the that I may not here, as I do every where, say that is Republican party, being a compromising party, in will succeed in heading off the Slave Power, and or venting what it is laboring to prevent; and Ithin it does not preclude me from saying, that to attempt make a geographical distinction in regard to their of God and the rights of man is a great moral short ity, or from sa ing to the party that it cannot main tain its position against the inexorable logic of the South : for, granting that it is right, constitution and proper to hold slaves in fifteen States of i Union, the argument is irresistible that it is reit constitutional and proper to hold them in the tents ries also, and in any additional States that may brought into the Union.

My hope is in the great Republican party; network t stands, but it has materials for growth. The = who have gone into it are men who have salimilost caste, to some extent, because they would be yet; we trust it will not be necessary to dirib; " will endeavor to prevent the extension of slaver, and that, in process of time, will bring slavery to an ed I believe this is a delusion; but to their minds I des not appear so. It is an experiment, and they harest to learn, as we have had to learn, that all comptant ing expedients are hopeless as against the dominent Slave Power; for we ourselves have had to chang our position again and again. Twenty years again. thought I was an Abolitionist, but I had not the cleared myself from all actual complicity with shree because I had not then seen to the extent I now set If any man had said to me, twenty years aga. In talk about being an Abolitionist, do you, and the you are voting at the polls, and sustaining the prislavery Constitution of the United States, I should have been dumb. I might have said, perhaps 11 not comprehend this; I will look into the muter but he, seeing exactly what was involved in a roll might very properly have said, 'Sr, you are mail consistent, thorough-going Abolitionist.' So in the spirit of justice and true charity, we must confer sed each other, argue and reason with each other, and it deavor to enlighten each other; and he who this his feet are planted upon the solid rock, let himson those who may be standing, in his judgment, upon the sand, 'You cannot remain where you are with salet here is solid footing; come up hither, and you also conquer.'

I am not here to say anything by way of spelor for the Republican party; it is not my vocation, and know it not to be my duty. I have said what I have as a matter of justice. The Republican party a !. to its idea, the non-extension of slavery, while a tir same time, its guilt, its awful guilt, consists in grafits consent and support to the existence of slaver, a fifteen States of the Union, under the constitution pro-slavery compromises. (Applause.) I have see this again and again, and the party has nothing has in reply, and cannot or will not complain that les unjust, or that I utter an untruth when I say, the between the Democratic and Republican parties, tales the Constitution of the United States, in reggi slavery, where it is now established, there is not a hair's breadth of difference. That is, ther are to let slavery alone; they agree that slaves par be hunted all over the North; they agree that have representatives may be permitted in Congress; be agree that the whole force of the nation may be pledged to put down a slave insurrection; and to the extent, there is no difference between the parish But in regard to the component parts, the men sign make up the parties, there is a great difference. Republican party is only pro tempore; it is to broken up, undoubtedly; and the men who compa it will, I trust, take a much higher positions give, at last, a firm support to the only rational, calsistent and victorious doctrine in this conflict with the demon of slavery- No Union with Slaveholds Governmentally or Religiously! (Loud appliants)

Mrs. Posten said it was well known that some in ent looked with different eyes upon the Republic party, from those who sat in the editorial chair, and never went out into the field except by invitation, and were not obliged to force their way to a hearing. St thought she could best explain her views by referred to the temperance movement. When that mortune

free from the stain of the slave's blood. Airra few explanatory remarks by Mr. Pillsbury If, Garrison, the Convention adjourned, to meet Froisy morning, at 10 o'clock.

SECOND DAY. FRIDAY MORNING. Francis Jackson, President, in

paniel S, Whitney, of Southborough, read som goal verses, bearing upon the relation of the church s work of opposition to slavery.

a action of Samuel May, Jr., it was voted, that a hoar of 11 1-2 o'clock be assigned as the hour for thing donations and pledges, to carry out the obof the Society the ensuing year. The hour havarrived, the Financial Committee proceeded to cate the foregoing vote, while the discussion of goasbefore the meeting was continued by C. C. ariesh, H. C. Wright, and Wm, C. Martyn, of

Henry C. Wright wished to state to the Republius of Massachusetts the precise point where they and in relation to Slavery.

. You acknowledge the existence of slavery in the You acknowledge the constitutional right of

ery to be represented on the floor of Congress. You acknowledge that the slaveholding members orgress have a right by the Constitution to be ted as good citizens, and as honest and honorable

The Republican party, in regard to the protecof slavery where it now exists, stands just where Democratic party does, proclaiming its readiness ingress a slave insurrection as well as to catch the

This is the rock on which you are wrecked-the ion that the majority should rule even where a group, and your adoption of this vicious conon made by your fathers, through which you lles your political ties to overrule and supersede your mee. By committing this sin, and persevering all, you inevitably destroy your moral capacity to stinguish between right and wrong.

The position to which I am driven, for my ow as salvation, is to disclaim and reject every assum obligation which undertakes to bind me to this uneskable folly and wickedness.

Charles C. Burleigh mentioned the case of a woman sent who wished to ask aid for the redemption of ion from slavery.

Mr. Martyn, of Worcester, saidin circumstances of great danger and severe trial. tunian nature generally displays traits and resources equal to the emergency. When the hour comes, the

Our present civilization, it has been well said, is only a collection of the trophies which have been wrung from reductant authority.

There are excellent reasons why we should persistthe maintain whatever agitation is needful for the L Because the agreement to support slavery is an

therent wrong, although the monstrous proportions this wrong seem to have prevented men from recog-

L Slavery places us before the world in a false tht. While it lasts, we, the model republic of the Fild, can neither manfully held the oppressed from other lands, nor help the oppressed among ourselves, nor maintain our own right to lead a manly, humane and boniest life.

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1 The Anti-Slavery enterprise is the most fruly regous enterprise in the country. Jesus was the restest agitator and radical the world has ever seen. those who now assume to speak in his name, shun thradical right, and agitation for the accomplishment of it, us the most dangerous of diseases. Their ro-slavery gospel is mere whipped syllabub, while te persons to whom they preach are in perishing el of vital air, and wholesome food.

I have often been asked-what is the use of talking much about slavery. I reply :

Public scatiment can be changed. The present spurious laws, in conflict with the high

law of God, can also be changed by thorough agi-

Edmund Quincy, from the Committee on officers of be Society, reported the following list for the ensuing Presidente-FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice Presidents - Andrew Roberon New Redford Smund Quiney, Dedham ; Adin Ballou, Milford; Singham L. Capron, Worcester; Jefferson Church, stingfield; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Henr L Bowditch, Boston; George Flint, Rutland; John Hilton, Brighton; James Russell Lowell, Cam-

sidge; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Sewburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Richard Clap, Strehester; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Thomas Stone, Bolton; William Whiting, Concord; Ezek-Thacker, Barnstable; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg: George Miles, West-

minster; Timothy Davis, Framingham. Corresponding Secretary-Samuel May, Jr., Leices-

Recording Secretary - ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston. urer-Samuel Philarick, Brookline, Auditor-EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

Confeillors-William Lloyd Garrison; Edmund Quincy; Wendell Phillips; -Maria W. Chapman; Barles K. Whipple; Anne W. Weston; William I. Bowditch; Charles F. Hovey; Eliza Lee Follen; John T. Sargent; Charles E. Hodges; Charles Fol-

Adjaurned till 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON. Francis Jackson in the chair. Ma Holder of Lynn, said-The object of the solutions presented yesterday morning is to prepare, some degree, the minds of the people for the pethis now in circulation, asking the Legislature to mact a law which shall prevent the rendition of the faritive slave. I want to make a few remarks upon at petition, in a different strain from those who have Preceded me. You all know that Massachusetts, as a just of the Foderal Union, is committed to the suport of Slavery; that our legislators are bound by slema oath to sustain that Union by supporting its Sastitution. That Constitution, among other things, mmands the return of the fugitive slave. This law which the petition prays for, is to forbid such a return In other words, you are to ask the Legislature, not as to assembly of individuals, but in their official capac-By as an oath-bound-body, not to renounce their

members of the Mass. A. S. Society, ask this thing? them, the means by which the cause of all this might Is not perjury as much a violation of moral duty as to deprive one of liberty? Two wrongs will never Mr. H. read a letter from John Brown of Ossawatomake one right. Do not mistake my position upon this point. I would to God I could, as a Mass. man, Missouri, and claimed that the event might well be exclaim, I am not only free, but my State is also free. considered as marking a new era in the Anti-Slavery But she is not. Now, if she can make herself free movement. When whites are found bold and brave by any such legislation as the petition asks for, God enough to rescue their black fellow men from bond be praised. I should rejoice to know that such a law age we may well rejoice. He was tired of hearing of was passed. But, with our views of the pro-slavery Lafayette and Kosciusko; he wanted to see their parts character of the Constitution, we hold that to pass acted out to the slaves. Who will be the Lafayette to such a law is to violate the oath, therefore, instead of the African? the answer comes back from Kansasrequesting them to perjure themselves, we should take the youngest child of this nation. The time was comthe higher position, ask them to take a nobler stand, ing fast when the race who so long have waited in and come out entirely from the Union-in other words, their silent strength for the hour of deliverance might renounce the oath instead of violating it. I would rise up and assert their freedom. Public sentiment at have Massachusetts do, what our friend Phillips the North was almost ready for the movement; this wanted done when Charles Sumner was stricken down Anti-slavery agitation had educated them up, and

have no part nor lot in it. remarks made by some of our friends who advocate, no sympathy with such a speech as we have just among the ways and means by which slavery is to be heard, as far as it is proposed to shed blood and to use abolished, that of blood. I have no sympathy with weapons of death. Where there is no life, there are such a course. I believe with Daniel O'Connell, that no rights. We must reverence the right to life if we no revolution was ever worth the shedding of one would consistently maintain other rights. The men drop of human blood; and when I hear our friends of war often enslave those whom they have conquer counselling armed resistance as the only means of ed; the men of peace neither kill nor enslave. establishing universal liberty, I am not only opposed to them on mere policy, but also from principle; for to use arms. Our work is to put right principles into is not the right to life as inalienable as that to liberty their hearts and minds, and then our work will be When, at one of our previous meetings, I heard our done. good friend Pillsbury say, that he longed to see the time come, when Boston streets should run with blood from Beacon Hill to the foot of Broad street. go there to battle for freedom. They went to make I could not but shudder at the spirit of vindictiveness, and doubt the sincerity of our friend, although and I do not see that Kansas has given us any lessons he thought himself sincere at that time. Then again, of wisdom in regard to the management of the waryesterday afternoon, I was grieved to hear our friend fare against slavery. Phillips say, he was glad that every five minutes gave birth to a black baby, for in its infant wail he voice is still for peace. recognized the voice which should yet shout the war cry of insurrection; its baby hand would one day fought? Where are we to begin and where to stop hold the dagger which should reach the master's If we fight with actual slaveholders in the South heart. More in unison with my sentiments are the must we not also fight with pro-slavery priests, poliprinciples of our great leader. This movement of ticians, editors, merchants, in the North? Where ours is not so much political as moral, and by all are we to begin?

ployed as well as the end in view. When on some distant day-and God grant it may be yet far distant-you shall erect the marble monument to the memory of him who originated, and thus far leads on this Society in its eternal opposition to American slavery-when you place upon the tablet his memorable words . No Union with Slaveholders'inscribe there also those sweet words of Bethlehem which he has ever practised with such unswerving fidelity - Peace on earth-good will to men!

DR. HEBBARD said-I love this meeting and this cause. My whole heart, my whole sympathies are with the Anti-Slavery people. Most of the measures they propose are very dear to me, and Slavery is utterly detestable to me. Yet I wish to echo the idea suggested by the last speaker.

I spoke a hundred times in the Fremont campaign, and I am not ashamed that I did so, since I spoke more for freedom than Fremont. What the people want is eloquence directed to the support of freedom and if Mr. Garrison and Mr. Burleigh and Mr. Phillips and Mr. Pillsbury would go into the campaign for 1860 and speak for freedom, they would receive t hearty welcome and produce an immense effect.

What I ask is this. Why should the Republican party be unceremoniously set aside? I speak of the laity of the party- the rank and file. Many of them are liberty-loving, worthy, Christian men.

(Some one asked whether a pirate could be a Christian. Dr. Hebbard replied that he believed many slaveholders at the South to be unwilling slavehold-

I have not lest all my faith in the Bible, though many things in it deserve no better than to be trodden under foot of men. Buth I hold to the teachings of to be pitied than his victim, the slaveholder than the

Mr. Garrison offered three additional Resolutions, on the part of the Business Committee.

Resolved, That (in the language of Rev. Dr. Cheever) a fearful paralyzing power, a spell of stu- creasing co-operation of the present year now depefaction, an insensibility unto death, is on the nation ; and the church and the ministry that ought to act as the nation's conscience are drugged and possessed with the devil of silence; so that the people are not arrested, not alarmed, not made sensible of what Satan's work is being accomplished upon them: this is a terrible betraval of principle, and fearful treason against God and his Word."

Resolved, That (again to quote Dr. Cheever) the whole history of the corruptions of Christianity can show nothing worse than the sanction and defence of friends throughout the British empire whose organ is the iniquity of slavery by the church and the ministry. is, for the magnificent service they have rendered to The refusal of the church and the ministry to turn the humanity. condemning light of God's Word upon it, the fear sanction of it, by men of age, experience, and professed piety, cannot do otherwise than call in question the religion of such men, and the genuineness of such religion. No iniquity that blots the name, the memits corruptest patristic period, is to be compared with securing it, whether for black or white. the iniquity of shielding, sanctioning and sustaining We thank that public mind for its appreciation of free

this sin. Therefore, Resolved, That 'it is a revived and true Christianity that, through the Word and the Spirit, must cut the inalienable right of every man; that to deprive up and abolish this horrible traffic at the roots, by abhorring, denouncing and casting out slavery itself, vine; und that therefore we regard slavery as an unas forbidden and accursed of the Almighty.'

heart, at the hands of earnest men and women. I am triumphant. not a peace man, and may say what will shock some here, but I think that the terrible Logic of History heart and brain to the words of Freedom, in whose teaches plainly that no great wrong was ever cleansed behalf was made this true recognition of the world's without blood. My object was to show how this in- universal brotherhood,-this grand resolve to proevitable tendency was bringing about a bloody strug- mote it,-by Mr. Edward Baines of Leeds; who, ir gle in this nation, cursed, as it is, by the black crime behalf of the meeting, said :- That recognizing the of chattel Slavery. For one, believing in the right of universal brotherhood of mankind, and that " God hath resistance for myself, I extend the same to my made of one blood all nations of men to dwell in the African brother and stand ready at any time to aid in earth," we are called upon (so far as in our power the overthrow of slavery by any and all means,-the lies) to remove any evil which interferes with the inrifle or revolver, the dagger or torch. For this I terests of our fellow-men; and that, considering slawent to Kansas, not alone for the liberties of the white very a great social evil, we are justified in using every man, but to reach the slave in South Carolina. I moral and legitimate means for its overthrow, where believe the lesson taught by Kansas is the mode ever it exists.' and manner by which the most vulnerable point of slavery, that of Insurrection, may be reached. for Liberty in the North American States, for their Kansas has done this and it has, also educated men impressive statement to the world of a fact it ought for the work. The ride shot that laid low the first to know, in the resolution supported by Mr. W. B. victim in Kansas, has rung the death-knell of slavery Foster :- That so long as the Free States of Ameri-

wicked osths and trample them under foot, but, to the rifle for their own security, and study defence as riolate them-in fact, to commit perjury. Can we, as a science, it also showed to the more clear sighted of

in the Senate House, call home Henry Wilson-let these men were waiting both in Massachusetts and there be two 'empty chairs,'-call home her represen- in Kansas for the time-waiting to aid the flaves in tatives from the other branch, and let the 'silent and their warfare.

perpetual speech' go up from an unrepresented State, Mr. GARRISON said-This is a free platform. There that this Union is a bloody contract, and that we will must be differences of opinion upon such a subject as ours, and each must express his own thoughts and be So much for that. A word upon the tone of the individually responsible for them. For myself, I have

When we get the people with us, we shall not need

The people of Kansas are not the friends of liberty without distinction of color. As a class, they did not money. I do not think them worthy of imitation,

I am for going on as we have hitherto done. My

Who is going to fight? and who is going to be

means, when we are engaged in a great moral enter-I certainly should not begin with border ruffians prise, let us pay equal regard to the means to be em-They are a poor, ignorant, subordinate, deluded class, blindly following the lead of those who, if more in telligent, are also more depraved than themselves.

Far rather would I begin with the President and cabinet of the United States, who, for utterly selfish purposes, are stimulating and directing the brutality of these tools. Far rather would I begin with the false priesthood whose teachings prepare the people to be thus misdirected. The slaves are held by the religious sentiment of the country. They are held by the clergy, the churches and the sects. [By the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; by the American Home Missionary Society; by the American Tract Society; by the American Sunday-School Union.

The livery of the court of heaven is stolen by these nen to serve the devil in. And it is through their instrumentality that slavery is entrenched so strongly in these United States.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said-From war we readily ome to the sinews of war, which is money. I rise to announce that the Finance Committee will again pass round the hall to receive your contributions for the means to carry on the campaign of which you have The Business Committee direct me to read the fol-

lowing resolutions .

1. Resolved. That the past year's history, clearly howing to the world the truth we have have proclaimed from the beginning,-that the peace and safety of every European nation depend on the abolition of American slavery,-this Society feels therefore bound, by its devotedness to the world's welfare, renewedly and unceasingly to invoke the aid of all men every where for the destruction of a common nuisance.

2. Resolved, That the thanks of the Massachutime in annual meeting assembled, are ever due to our honored and beloved British friends, for the moral support and the material aid they have so generously, from the very beginning, hastened to render to the Common Cause; and that the more direct and inmands a renewed and fervent expression of our gratitude, for that Cause's sake, although we well know that in this Godlike purpose they have not in view the thanks or gratitude of man.

3. Resolved, That this Society observes with profound satisfaction the clear and resolute discrimination with which the free and independent press of England, as contradistinguished from the . Times newspaper, has, during the past year, handled the subject of American slavery : and we thank those

4. Resolved, That we thank the Anti-Slavery mind and trembling on the part of good men to speak out of our mother country, as manifested recently in York against it, and to call it sin, the compromise with it, shire, at a local meeting representing a general feeland the very-generally implied and sometimes express ing, of the LEEDS YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY SOCI-ETY,-and conveyed to us in the speech of Sir Peter Fairbairn, Mayor of Leeds, as chairman of that meeting; in which he offers his testimony to the impor tance of the Anti-Slavery Work, and to the value of ory, the Christianity of any Pather of the Church, in Freedom, expressing his happiness to assist others in

dom as expressed in the resolution offered by the Earl of Carlisle :- That freedom being the gift of God, it is man of this right is contrary to all laws, human or Dimitigated evil, demanding the condemnation of every MR. R. J. HINTON of Kansas, was introduced and human being who respects the laws of God, or readdressed the meeting. He spoke substantially as cognizes the principles of natural justice or the equal rights of man'; at the same time assuring that long-Mr. President, I am not in the habit of making devoted friend of the Cause that the uhworthy course speeches, and for nearly three years have been where of some of the members of the Republican party in acts seemed of more worth than words. Least of all Congress is no index to the feelings of their anti-slashould I attempt it in this presence, but as I have sat very districts battling for this Cause; among whon listening, some thoughts have suggested themselves every such rebuke of ingratitude and injustice as he which I feel desirous of expressing; asking no cop- utters, is hailed across the world of waters by all the sideration but that due earnest words from an honest militant as most effectual to make this sacred Caus-

We thank those men of Yorkshire, ever true

We thank those British allies in the moral struggle on this continent. It is easier for a Government, ca continue to aid the Slave States to keep in bondage having a great wrong in its midst, to prevent the first from three to four millions of their fellow-citizens outbreak against it than to crush any subsequent ones we must consider the American Union to be the When the oligarchy caused the men of Kansas to take stronghold of Negro Slavery; and that we therefore

leeply deplore that a notion of our own race, and lan- its laborers, created such an enthusiastic, commo guage, and religion, and bound to us by so many ties voice, that it roused the whole American people. I of common interest and sympathy, should be thus the feared we were loving a part of that vitality. I was

chief upholder of this destructive and sinful system.'

We thank those British friends of Religion, who, feeling that slavery being the worst of all sin, the defence

I was glad, for one, to hear from the fresh, young, of it must be the worst of all heresy, have warn- enthusiastic, overflowing heart of the Kansas emigrant ed Christendom in the following uncompromising who stood here and told us what he went to Kansa strain,-resolving . That the system of slavery, as it for, and brought back a noble account of himself and now exists in America, is grievously opposed to the his State. That was one end of the telegraph. I unwhole spirit of the Gospel of Christ, and is an oppres- derstand there is in this hall another end of that same sive iniquity which no Christian ought to palliate or telegraphic wire, -the only real Governor that Kanconnive at; and that this meeting deeply deplores the sas ever had-Gavernor Robinson. (Loud applause. fact that so many of the American churches should I think this audience would be profoundly gratified be the abettors and defenders, and even perpetrators if he would report progress in regard to those outlyof this sin of slavery .; and we entreat the Rev. G. ing territories. (Renewed applause.) I would very W. Condor, the Rev. P. Chown, and Mr. Alderman willingly give way, if the man whom we may no Harrison, by whom the resolve was sustained, to feel know by sight, but whom we all know by sound, assured that these are the accents that stir the chain far off as Kansas, will be kind enough to show himof sympathy which communicates unfailingly be- self to-night, and let us hear him, too. (Applause. tween the town halls of Britain and the depths of Gov. Ronnson came forward to the platform and

Anti-Slavery Society, as represented to us by the you, while I have behind me such an array of talent honored name of Armistead, with all the excellent and eloquence; but inasmuch as it is customary for and venerated friends who speak to us from its plat- persons who have graduated at some literary institu form, to receive a renewed expression of gratitude from tion, when they visit their old college or their old this eldest branch of the American Anti-Slavery So- university, to meet with and greet their old associates ciety's affiliation, for their sympathy with the Aboli- preceptors and teachers, so I, who have been a gradu tionists, their pity for the slave, and their allegiance ate of this university, am glad to show myself, and to undying Freedom, —and while thanking them for greet you here. (Loud applause.) the exercise of the same political discrimination in | Gov. Robinson then proceeded to speak, briefly, dealing their blows against slavery which the Ameri- the condition of things in Kansas, remarking that can Anti-Slavery Society practises and ever means to they had done the best they could with the incongru practise as by its Constitution bound, we feel most of our materials with which they had to work, and that all cheered by their assurance that they, like our- if the anti-slavery friends at the North would look selves, claim and will ever exercise the right of moral on their brethren in Kansas with a little leniency, interference with slavery whenever it exists.

5, Resolved, That (in the language of John Quincy end. Adams) 'the Constitution of the United States sanc- At the conclusion of Gov. Robinson's remarks, Mr. morally and politically vicious, inconsistent with the eloquence and power for half an hour or more. We principles on which alone our Revolution can be jus- shall print his speech in full hereafter. tified, cruel and oppressive, by rivetting the chains of The resolutions presented by the Business Commitslavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain tee were then adopted by a unanimous vote, and the and perpetuate the tyranny of the master, and grossly meeting adjourned, sine die. unequal and impolitic, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to its owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation : therefore,

6. Resolved, That such a Constitution should instantly be spurned by the people of Massachusetts, and of every other free State, and the Union subsisting in virtue of it between the North and the South should be dissolved forever.

7. Resolved. That (to quote the language of Mr. Adams) if slavery be the destined sword, in the ties of this Union, the same sword will cut asunder the bonds of slavery itself'; that 'if the Union must which it ought to break; and that if the dissolution of the Union should result from the slave question, it to the foreign ones. is as obvious as anything that can be foreseen of futurity that it must shortly afterwards be followed by a universal emancipation of the slaves." 8. Resolved, That the solemn and weighty memorial

lature, asking of that body indignantly to protest tive from Southern oppression to live, unmolested, in the most respectful consideration, and the most hearty majority of cases, these gentlemen seem to have disre-Adams, 'so much the more sacred the obligation of which we are happy to put on record, as follows: the Legislature to defend their lawful rights. I would defend them, should the dissolution of the Union be the consequence; for it would be, not to the defence, ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Esq. but to the violation of their rights, to which all the consequences would be imputable; and, if the dissoother cause but this."

other evils. The sword of resistance sometimes successfully opposes the sword of oppression.

The non-resistance of the slaves is not a non-resismore of a man than he could ever otherwise be. Far to the petition in question. as they are to-day from a civilization and a Christianization such as we could desire, I believe that the population of St. Domingo to-day are far higher in the scale of humanity than they would have been had they chosen to remain slaves.

I hold that despotism is the baby step of civilization I think that the British government was mightily helped by the surrender of Cornwallis to see the wisdom of acknowledging that the United States were, and of right ought to be, free and independent,

We want you to give us funds to present our view of the best method of doing this work, and to stimulate all with a sense of the value of liberty, that each may use his own chosen method for the same great

Adjourned to 7 o'clock P. M.

FRIDAY EVENING. Edmund Quincy, one of the example. Vice-Presidents, in the chair. Mrs. Caroline M. Severance read an excellent

speech, which we hope to give hereafter. Mr. Joshua T. Everett inquired if nothing is to be said at this meeting respecting the iniquities of the American church and clergy.

Dr. Barnes of Philadelphia said, that slavery could Mr. Robson. not stand a year in our country if it were left unsup-

ported by the church.

Henry C. Wright read a newspaper extract declaring that the church had left her own duties to be performed by infidels. 'They are the pioneers, beckoning to a sluggish church to follow.'-This is the testimony of the New York Ecangelist.

Abby K. Foster spoke of the need of enlarging the subscription list of the Liberator, and proposed that some volunteers pass round the audience to receive the names of subscribers. While Mrs. Chapman, Miss Holley and Mrs. Foster were doing this, Henry C. Wright advised Republicans to subscribe for and read the Liberator.

Mr. Garrison then took the floor, speaking at length, and in a deeply impressive manner, upon the essentially religious nature of the Anti-Slavery movement, and the wident proof given by its life of its Christian character, This, speech will appear in the Liberator

MR. PHILLIPS was then loudly called for, and came forward. He said-Mr. Chairman, you called upon me some few moments ago, but I did not feel that I Sr Louis, Missouri-Box 1952. had anything to say to this meeting at that moment. Indeed, I felt that some of the causes of discouragement which our friends had stated in the course of the discussion were very trifling to me, as they were outside, compared with an inside symptom which I did not like at all; that is, that in these meetings, for a year or two, we have not heard as great a variety of voices and testimony as formerly; they have been left too much after the model of a cut and dried meetis not the old, original, conquering, inevitable anti-slavery course, whose uprising testimonies, from all

Apply at this office, or at 6 Stillman street, ing, to some two or three well known speakers. That

the slaves sufferings and the abolitionists' hearts. was received with hearty cheers. He said- It is

And, finally, while praying the Leeds Young Men's with extreme diffidence that I present myself before

they would find that all would come out right in the

ons a dishonorable compromise with slavery; it is Phillips again took the stand, and spoke with great

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, Secretaries, pro tem.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY ANNIVERSARY. SUBSCRIPTION.

This undertaking was crowned with extraordinary success, whether considered from the point of view of finance or of friendship. It reunited the friends of the cause from all parts of the country-from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South; while Europe joined with America in behalf of the principles of freedom so important to the welfare of both. We shall give a full account herehand of the destroying angel, which is to sever the after, with the communications received on the occasion. At present, we can only report that the results were double those of the last year, amounting to be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question upon about \$5000, with trifling attendant expense; the home contributions bearing an honorable proportion

If It will be remembered that the petition, requesting our Legislature to pass a law which should entirely put an end to slave-hunting on the soil of of the colored citizens of Massachusetts to the Legis- Massachusetts, and vindicate the right of every fugiagainst the dectrines of the Dred Scott decision, and this State, was sent to every clergyman now settled. to vindicate their constitutional rights as citizens of or regularly preaching, in Massachusetts, with a spethe Commonwealth and of the United States, deserves | cial appeal for his aid in circulating it. In the great response on the part of the Legislature. . Weak and garded both the request and the petition. Some hondesenceless as they are, to quote the language of Mr. orable exceptions, however, have occurred, one of

STOCKBRIDGE. (Mass.) Jan, 28, 1859.

Recording Secretary Mass. Anti-Stavery Society. Dear Sir .- I received your circular addressed to m lution of the Union must come, let it come from no as the acting Pastor of the neighboring church, (Congregationalist) in Housatonic, and took much pleasure Opinion is to be the great mover of society. It is in reading it, and commending the action therein also true that evils themselves sometimes crowd out urged upon my people. This week, I have in a word, brought the subject before my neighbors in the southern part of the county through our (Barrington) Berkshire Courier. Though a great change for the tance of Christian principle, but of cowardice, sensu- better, on Anti-Slavery subjects, has come over our ality and degradation. As servility invites oppression. Pastors and Churches, yet I am afraid there will not of determination not to be, or not to be as efficient action as there should be in the pres remain, a slave, will do much to deter the despot from- ises. Residing as I do, some four or five miles from carrying his tyrannical purpose into execution; and the people of my charge, one of my deacons thought the very act of shaking off his chain makes the slave he could do better than myself in obtaining signatures

Yours for the slave,

JOSIAH BREWER.

THE CAUSE OF WOMAN .- We hear that Mrs. Dall has recently repeated her lectures in Peterboro', N. H. On Friday, February 4th, she begins a new course, in Dorchester, under the patronage of some of the ladies of the Rev. Mr. Hall's Society. We wish she might have many invitations to repeat them within short distances of this city.

In a letter to Theodore Parker, dated Mont pellier, Jan. 11th, Charles Sumner says-

· People here never tire in expressing their aston shment that a republic can continue to sustain slavery. They tell me that this anomaly makes it impossible now for the liberals of Europe to cite our

Mr. Sumner expresses strong confidence that time will complete his restoration to health.

A letter from our friend William Robson, dated Warrington, Jan. 16th, informs us of the safe arrival of Rev. Samuel J. May and Miss Sarah P. Remond Among all the clergy and churches of the city of at Liverpool. The latter had suffered much from Boston there is not one in ten who has the slightest sickness on the voyage, but she was recovering her interest in our meeting or our cause. I believe what strength, remaining, in the meantime, the guest of

Have you the Dyspepsia! the Asthma? the Liver Complaint? or general debility? Does your food dis-Mr. Garrison read again some resolutions on that tress you? Do you suffer from nervous irritation or subject, which had already been presented to the ennui! Take the Oxygenated Bitters, which cure all these.

Two bills are before the, Legislature of North Carolina, now in session, which, taken together, give to the free colored people resident therein the choice of removing out of the State within two years, of choosing an owner for themselves, or of being sold at public auction for the benefit of common scho

'Hail, Columbia! happy land! Where 'common schools' on slavery stand.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in West erly, R. I., on the evenings of Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, 8th, 9th and 10th of February. HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in

Newburyport, Sunday, the 13th inst., all day and evening. E. H. HEYWOOD will speak on American

Slavery as follows:-Southboro', Hopkinton, Saturday. February 5. Sunday, Monday, Westboro'. The Post Office address of A. G. Spalding

GIVE HIM A CHANCE .- A young colore

warpenter wants immediate employment. Apply to WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill. Dec, 31. TO THE FRIENDS OF THE FUGITIVE.

A young able-bodied Fugitive, from the South, wants a place. He can take care of cattle, drive wants a place.

Horses, wait and tend, chop wood, or work on a farm.

Apply to R. F. WALLCUT, Anti-Slavery Office, 21

Cornhill, or by letter to FRANCIS JACKSON.

WANTS A SITUATION.-A widow lady

TO DYSPEPTICS.

And all who suffer the tortures which the disease inflicts, in one form or another of its many phases : Cure yourselves permanently and speedily by using

The Oxygenated Bitters.

The 'Weekly Novelette,' of Sept. 18, says: Dyspepsia is one of the prevailing diseases of our country. This is owing both to climate and the alost universal habit of enting our meals too rapidly to admit of proper digestion. But, in spite of these adverse circumstances, this disease, even when it becomes chr nic, disappears rapidly by the use of the Oxygenated Bitters, which have been found to prove an infallible remedy.

From the Publisher of a weekly circulated Magazine. MESSES. S. W. FOWLE & Co: I have taken three bottles of the Oxygenated Bitters, and have derived great benefit from their use. I have been much troubled with Dyspepsia for several years, and found nothing that afforded me any relief until I used the Bitters. I most cheerfully recommend them to all who are afflicted with this troublesome and stubborn JAMES ROBINSON,

of the 'Student and Schoolmaster.

From Gen. A. C. Donge, our Minister to Spain.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18. DR. GEO. B. GREEN: DEAU SIR—The Oxygenated Bitters with which you were so kind as to furnish me, have had a most salutary effect in my case. I was troubled with Dyspepsia for four years, during which time I tried many remedies, but never met with any so good as your Bitters. I am now in the enjoyment of good health, and I hope and believe that all who use the Oxygenated Bitters will find them as serviceable as I have found them.

as I have found them.

With high respect, your ob't servant,

A. C. DODGE.

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Correct Examinations and Advice as to 1st. Choice of Occupation. 2d. Health, Habits and Diet.

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LECTURES. Invitations to lecture in any of the cities, towns, or villages of New England, before Lyceums, or otherwise, will be considered, and when practicable accented.

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JAMESTOWN INSTITUTE.

N May last, we opened our School with only one I pupil as boarder, and no prospect of a second; with no expression of confidence in our peculiar method from any one, and without counsel or aid.
We have now twenty-eight pupils in the family, four Assistant Teachers, a Matron, and a lady to superintend the wardrobe of the children. We daily receive letters of inquiry from all parts of the country-more than we can properly answer. Each month our family has been larger than the preceding, and as happy a family as we ever saw together. Each week we have promise of more, and a GREATER WORK OPENS BEFORE US THAN WE CAN POSSIBLY PERFORM

Our method is original and very peculiar. We never reward merit nor punish transgression, but have more confidence than ever that "the rank weeds that infest the moral character of children will wither and die' in an atmosphere of love and purity. We note assign lessons to be committed to memory, but our pupils give their own thoughts in their own words, and go to their books as they go to the table for the food they need and crave, To a great extent we have won them from mere PLAY to amusements that develop as well as entertain. The sexes associate with a freedom, purity and beauty we are proud to have observed and examined.

proud to have observed and examined.

A few weeks ago, a stranger whom we had never before scene called on us and carefully inquired into our method, and we have just received his 'Christmas gift' of \$100, as an expression of his appreciation of our plan and method. This led us to publish this circular, believing our movement to be demanded by human progress, and that others desire to aid such an

With the denation received we shall found a Juvenile Library, and we invite donations of juvenile and scientific books and periodicals, and especially of tools and specimens for a Geological Cabinet. We shall

and specimens for a Geological Cabinet. We shall welcome pecuniary aid in any form. If ten persons would take scholarships for one year, it might double the practical value of the labors of five leachers.

More than all, we need an energetic and loving man to unite with us in this work—a manly man, who can relieve us of all duties except the school and general care. We need a Matron who knows she has general care. We need a Matron who knows she has love enough to soothe the troubled spirits of children,

and strengthen their good resolutions.
S. Albro, Esq., of Buffalo, and A. E. Newton of Boston, have spent some time with us, and know something of our plans and purposes. Our patrons

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We refer inquirers to any of the above, but more especially to the school and family, where we shall welcome the most careful inquiry and the most faithful criticism. O. H. WELLINGTON.

Jamestown, N. Y. Jan. 1, 1859 TWO

FREE LECTURES EVERY WEEK,

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John Quincy Adams. TUST PUBLISHED, by BELA MARSH, 14

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ton-first, as recorded by themselves when in the body-and second, as written by them through medi-

POETRY.

For the Liberator. TIME IS FLEETING. Oh! tell me not I must turn away

From the light and beauty of earth to-day; Time may be fleeting-this life may be sad-But deep in my soul it is very glad; And I love the sunlight and glorious sky, And the cool green grass where the shadows lie, And the singing birds of the summer hours-God made them so glad-and He made the flowers And why should I turn from the light and bloom To dream of darkness, the worm, and the tomb? I fear no death-for the soul no decay; Life, beautiful life-forever-alway; The nearer to God, the lighter-more bloom; The life after death, the grander-more room. I'll love the bright earth, this child-home of ours, Its sunlight and starlight, and music and flowers; Beauty and grandeur, and joys that ne'er fade; Oh! I thank the great God for all he has made !-Suffering and sorrow will go to the tomb; He made everlasting the light and the bloom.

THE CENTENNIAL BIRTHDAY OF ROB-ERT BURNS.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. His birthday- nay, we need not speak The name each heart is beating .-Each glistening eye and flushing cheek In light and flame repeating !

We come in one tumultuous tide,-One surge of wild emotion,-As crowding through the Frith of Clyde Rolls in the Western Ocean;

As, when you cloudless, quartered moor Hangs o'er each storied river, The swelling breast of Ayr and Doon With sea-green wavelets quiver.

The century shrivels like a scroll,-The Past becomes the Present,-And face to face, and soul to soul, We greet the monarch-peasant!

While Shenstone strained in feeble fisghts With Corydon and Phillis,-While Wolfe was climbing Abraham's heights, To snatch the Bourbon lilies,-

Who heard the wailing infant's cry, The babe beneath the shealing, Whose song to-night, in every sky, Will shake earth's starry ceiling,-

Whose passion-breathing voice ascends And floats like incense o'er us, Whose ringing lay of friendship blends With Labor's apvil chorus?

We love him, not for sweetest song,-Though never tone so tender,-We love him, even in his wrong,-His wasteful self-surrender.

We praise him not for gifts divine,-His muse was born of woman,-His manhood breathes in every line ;-Was ever heart more human?

We love him, praise him, just for this: In every form and feature, Through wealth and want, through wo and bliss, He saw his fellow-creature.

No soul could sink beneath his love,-Not even angel-blasted ;-No mortal power could soar above The pride that all outlasted!

Av! Heaven had set one living man Beyond the pedant's tether,-His virtues, frailties, Hz may scan, Who weighs them all together !

I fling my pebble on the cairn Of him, though dead, undying, Sweet nature's nursling, bonniest bairn, Beneath her daisies lying.

The waning suns, the wasting globe Shall spare the minstrel's story-The centuries wave his purple robe, The mountain-mist of glory !

ROBERT BURNS.

BY JOHN GREENLEAP WHITTIER. How sweetly come the holy psalms From saints and martyrs down, The waving of triumphal palms Above the thorny crown; The choral praise, the chanted prayers From harps by angels strung, The hunted Cameron's mountain airs, The hymns that Luther sung

Yet, jarring not the heavenly notes, The sounds of earth are heard. As through the open minster floats The song of breeze and bird! Not less the wonder of the sky That daisies bloom below ; The brook sings on, though loud and high The cloudy organs blow!

And if the tender ear be jarred, That, haply, hears by turns The saintly harp of Olney's bard, The pastoral pipe of Burns, No discord mars His perfect plan Who gave them both a tongue, For he who sings the love of man,

The love of God hath sung!

In holier tars than ours.

To-day be every fault forgiven Of him in whom we joy: We take, with thanks, the gold of heaven, And leave the earth's alloy. Be ours his music as of Spring, His sweetness as of flowers, The songs the bard himself might sing

Sweet airs of love and home, the hum Of household melodies. Come singing, as the robins come To sing in door-yard trees. And, heart to heart, two nations lean, No rival wreaths to twine, But, blending in eternal green, The holly and the pine !

A WINTER SCENE.

Here is a graphic description of a beautiful winte scene, by one of our native bards :---

Look! the massy trunks
Are eased in the pure crystal; branch and twig Shine in the lucid covering; each light rod, Nodding and twinkling in the stirring breeze, Is studded with its trembling water-drops, Still streaming, as they move, with colored light. But round the parent stem, the long, low boughs Bend in a glittering ring, and arbors hide The glassy floor. O! you might deem the spot The spacious cavern of some virgin mine, Deep in the womb of earth, where the gems grow, And diamonds put forth radiant rods, and bud With amethyst and topaz, and the place Lit up, most royally, with the pure beam That dwells in them, or, haply, the vast hall Of fairy palace, that outlasts the night, And fades not in the glory of the sun ; Whose crystal columns send forth slender shafts And crossing arches, and fantastic aisles Wind from the sight in brightness, and are lost Among the crowded pillars.

The Liberator.

NON-EXTENSION OF SLAVERY. Sub hoe signo vinces.

whatsoever; yet I am impertinent enough to ask that to extend and perpetuate slavery! the interest and welfare of humanity are at issue; Lamentable indeed is the reflection, that some repub pepper poured upon them to increase this torture; sands of pro-slavery extension, and suffer much dam after which, they were nailed by the ears to'a post, age, not only of the ship, but also of ourselves,' and left for the sun to scab over the horrid spec-

SALISBURY, (N. H.) Jan. 21, 1859.

My DEAR SON:

whether the United States shall be governed by the have taken Rome. Slave Power or by the friends of the rights of man. freemen and freeholders.

The history of the country proves that the slave hissing, and a terror to themselves." States possess the best land; that their facilities are equal to the free States for all the improvements sus- awaits them, and to prevent them from destroying that inasmuch as they have not kept up with their their breast. The whole history of slavery proves it a the laborer for his toil, that there is an evil somewhere | Christendom in which it has been tolerated. Where, every philanthopist must be the reflection which de- them, and they have become monuments of God's prives a portion of the great family of man of all the wrath; and where once the primrose and violet bloshistoric page of every age.

Non-extension should be our motto. 'No Popery!' was the motto which put down papistry in England, and this should be our rule of action until we confine slavery where the Constitution did. This was the sentiment of our great statesman, Daniel Webster, What a horrible picture the country would present consented, that there should be one foot of slave ter- who would predict the end thereof? ritory beyond what the old thirteen States had at the formation of the Union. Never, never.' Jefferson, a man of the greatest original forecast that this country ever produced, whose prophetic ken pierced the veil, thus of the future spoke: 'I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice will not sleep forever. The Almighty has no attribute to take side with us in such a contest." Jefferson foresaw that some terrible judgment awaited the nation, if it continued to tolerate slavery; prophet's mirror lies behind; to judge of the future, mankind, deprived them of the enjoyments God gave, not to one, but all. We shall be debarred of our advantages and rights when the slaveholders, as they threatened, call the roll of their slaves on Bunker eracy of the sons of their forefathers, and the land where rests the remains of the immortal Warren shall

It was wrong to admit into the Constitution the idea ple The South governs the country more by their larly allude, further than to say that they crooked courtesies and base spaniel fawning of North - was, doubtless, to allure large numbers of America ern pimps, than John Randolph. The pro-slavery democrats of the North are as much under the slave-· Slavery is a system of outrage and robbery; Plato, · Slavery is a system of the most complete injustice; ble :' Horne, ' Man is the owner of himself by nature :' Cicero, 'By the grand law of nations, all men are born free, and this law is universally binding on all; Demosthenes, ' God created man, and gave him to himself; consequently, man' is his proprietor.' Shaks-Burke, Pitt, Fox, Plood, Grattan, Curran, Blackstone Wilberforce, Clarkson, Sheridan, Washington, Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, and all the Randolphs, have left this record. I thought, at first, I would give the names of all the wise, good men who have recorded their testimony against slavery; but I must desist, for I find it more difficult than it was for Homer to give the names of all the Greeks who went to the siege of Troy-which, he said,

· To count them all demands a thousand tongues, A throat of brass and adamantine lungs.

All the great nations of antiquity that tolerated slavery have withered from the world, 'and the wrath of God abideth on them.' The Medo-Persians, the been slow to avail themselves, for perpetual inter-Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Carthagenians, and the ference with the domestic affairs of the whole island; Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Carthagenians, and the and Nero fiddled while it was burning. Thus we see that the first of the Alminha hard the first of the first of the Alminha hard the first of that the fiat of the Almighty has scattered all the nations of old, that dared to trample upon his laws, and enslave the likeness of his own image. Having quoted a few sentiments for the cherished schemes of the cherished ed a few sentiments from the wise, good and great men of all ages, I will now quote from the great God himself, who has declared his word by the mouth of his holy prophets:— He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall and his confederates with American gold and to selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall and his confederates with American gold, and t selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.' 'Therefore, thus saith the Lord, Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the revival is not unlikely, now that Santana, by the famine, and I will make you to be removed into all the defeat of Baez, has been restored to power. Genekingdoms of the earth.' This dreadful denouncement ral Pierce, it is true, has retired into private life was pronounced upon the Jews when they were about to establish slavery against God's laws given to them by Moses and the prophets. What followed, all the world know. When Jerusalem was destroyed by the

I dislike trespassing upon your time in any manner structive warning is this to all nations that are striving

you will so favor me as to give place to this letter in your most interesting and estimable paper, which, I ble for his country, 'when he reflected that God was am proud to say, never shrinks from the contest when just, and that his justice could not sleep forever. when all that is noble and dear to mankind is strug- licans are counseling to loose from Crete, because gling to dethrone oppression, and erect in its stead now the 'South wind blows softly,' they suppose they the standard of universal emancipation and liberty, have obtained their purpose; but I assure them that The writer of this letter has travelled much in the they are laboring in error, for slavery sailing is still South, studied its institutions thoroughly, and under- dangerous, and non-extension is a safe harbor to winstands its policy as well as the slaveholders them- ter in. But if we loose from this, we shall be towed selves. He has seen slaves whipped until the skin for twenty or thirty years more up and down the sea was completely cut from their back, and vinegar and of slavery, and at last be stranded upon the quick-

The paramount question before the country is, paused at Capua to celebrate his victories, he might

This is the great question before the most enlightened a man killing himself to prevent dying. We have too community of the civilized world. The ascendency or much regard for the South, too much for the peace control in the government is what the Slave Power and harmony of the country, to consent to the purhas been striving to obtain for more than twenty years; chase of slave territory to extend slavery. Purchase therefore it behooves us to consider whether it would Cuba, restore the slave trade, and the South will fall be better for the happiness and prosperity of this one day by the hands they have manaeled. God Alrepublic to be governed by slaves and slavehelders, or mighty's judgment will fall upon them, and they shall become a desolation, and the inhabitants thereof a

Our object is to ward off the impending blow that ceptible to the genius of man; therefore, it is clear, themselves by the continual hugging of the viper to brethren of the North, whose sterile soil scarce pays withering, blighting curse to all the nations of which has been wasting Nature's virtues. Every ill now, are all the great cities built by slave labor? effect is traceable to some cause; ergo, to what cause Where is Nineveh? Where is Babylon? Where is can the progressive advancement of the North over the Thebes, whose hundred brazen gates so often turned generous soil of the South be attributable other than back the tide of war, and whose domes of gold sent the blighting effects of human slavery? Melancholy to back the sunbeams? The curse of slavery was upon privileges conferred upon them by their Creator. somed, now spring up brambles and thorns, and pesti-All and every individual in the community should lence and desolation reign. We ask nothing of the strive to prevent the spread of an evil, fraught with South but what is guaranteed to us by the Constituthe deepest mischief, whose bloody footsteps mark the tion. Grant that, we will exclaim as the Grecian

'Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore, Give me to see, and Ajax asks no more.'

Extend slavery over the Union, restore the slave trade, and the whole African race would be here. who said, 'I never could consent, and never have A war of the races would inevitably commence; and

B. PETTINGILL. Yours, &c.,

[From the London Anti-Slavery Reporter.] AMERICAN INTRIGUES IN ST. DOMINGO.

Sir,-The island of St. Domingo, once united

. LONDON, Dec. 15, 1858. To the Editor of the ' Anti-Slavery Reporter.'

under the firm administration of Boyer for a period of twenty-two years, is now divided into two parts, and this was what he meant when he said, 'The Almighty has no attribute to take side with us in such Republic, and the West, or French part, being cona contest: that is, God would have no sympathy with them in a contest of slavery against freedom. The prophet's mirror lies behind; to judge of the future, separation, but it must be obvious to every one who we must look at the past, which warns us to beware has studied the recent history of the country, that of an evil that has destroyed the noblest prosperity of this separation has occasioned much present weakwith perils of incalculable magnitude. The exist-ence of two antagonistic negro states on the same island, necessarily influenced by mutual jealousies and hatreds, and still bearing to each other the re-Hill, and the Monument shall weep over the degen- lations of an imperial power and a revolted pro vince, could not fail to invite foreign aggression and intrigue. The petty representatives of England France, Spain, and the United States, have, in turn All the wise, good men, since the deluge, have recorded their testimony against slavery. Madison said, to have been influenced by the most evil motives, that there can be property in man, and it is not admitted, either by letter or construction. Monroe says, island. These intrigues doubtless form a part of We have found that the evil has preyed upon the that great scheme of territorial expansion and slavevitals of the Union; and has been prejudicial to all holding propagandism, which aims to extend the the States in which it has existed. John Randolph government of the stars and stripes over Mexico, the States in which it has existed. John Randolph declares, I deprecate the extension of slavery and its horrors as much as any other man, be he whom he were gathered in 1854, when, by dint of intrigues may, because it is applied to the laws of vice, avarice and ambition, instead of good will toward men from love of him who is Prince of Peace. Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man from the Cazaneau, obtained the cession, by treaty, of the North, who rises here to defend slavery upon princiwhite slaves of the North, than by their black slaves the right of American citizens to hold and cultivate of the South.' No man more abhorred the 'low land, and to work mines. The object of this treaty adventurers to the shores of St. Domingo, by the certainty of immediate profit and the prospect of far more substantial rewards. The treaty was happily holders of the South as their own slaves, not from not carried out, owing, in a great measure, to the election but necessity; for they know if they do not exertions of the French and English Consuls, who, succumb to their measures, the Democratic party will by shewing to the Dominican Congress the danger of making such important concessions to the United States, induced them to refuse to ratify the treaty. Santana, however, still refused to encourage Ameri can intrigues, and thereby occasioned the Aristotle, 'It is neither equal nor just that one man of Dominican territory in 1855 by the Emperor should be lord and master over others;' Cyrus, the Soulouque, whose fears were not unreasonably exgreat, 'To fight, in order not to be made slaves, is no- cited by the prospect of an American occupation of the Republic. This war delayed the fall of Santana, which, however, took place in 1856, when he was compelled to resign the presidential office amid the execrations of his fellow-citizens, who cried in the streets of San Domingo, ' A bas le tyran! A bas les Americains! He was succeeded by Baez, who peare, Milton, Coke, Hampden, Locke, Granville, compelled him to leave the country; but he returnsucceeded in capturing the city of San Domingo

and restoring himself to power.

It is not difficult to discover what political advantages the possession of territorial rights in the Dominican Republic, together with the important bay of Samana, would have conferred upon the American Government. They would, for all time to come, have been able to prevent that union of the two sections of the island which alone can give a fair chance of success to the great experiment of negro self-government, and thereby prove the false-hood of those shallow theories of the intellectual inferiority of the African race, which form the sole justification of American Slavery. They would have had a pretext, of which they would not have and if no worse result happened, they would, at

affairs in the island. The Commissioners, on their return, reported that they discovered on the northwest coast of the island an extensive establishment for the exportation of guano. This establishment consisted of about fifty persons, together with a wharf, boats, and houses, and two four-pounders. The whole party was under the management of Mr. John L. Frazier, who stated that he was the agent of an association at Baltimora which had entered of an association at Baltimore which had entered into contracts with the Governments owning islands in the Carribbean Sea, for the exportation of guano from such of them as might be found to contain that valuable manure. It is scarcely necessary to say that no such contract had been made with the Haytian Government, and that Mr. Frazier's statement was an invention of his own.

Haytian Government have failed to produce any effect upon the American authorities. The protest sent through the American commercial agent was answered on the 15th of August last, by the appearance, at Port au Frince, of two American men-of-war. The American commodore notified to the Haytian Minister for Foreign Affairs, not that he had come to vindicate the sovereign rights of Hayti, but to warn the Imperial Government against interfering with the intruders at Navaza, who, he alleged, had settled there by virtue of an Act of Congress when the islands of Lobos were occupied by a party of American citizens. Then the cabinet at Washplease to occupy?

riendly offices, and, by every moral influence which she can exert, to protect the rights of a feeble ally. Such may have been, and, I trust, has been the policy of Lord Malmesbury; but as this is necessarily a matter of doubt and uncertainty, I would indulge in matter of doubt and uncertainty, I would indulge in a level of the policy of Lord Malmesbury; but as this is necessarily a matter of doubt and uncertainty, I would indulge in Burns. He is an exceptional genius. The people recomplish this most desirable object.

which American designs against St. Domingo have assumed.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, F. W. CHESSON.

MAN-HUNTING IN PENNSYLVANIA. Now that the wheels of Legislation are again in motion at Harrisburg, we wish to urge upon our it? of Senators and Representatives there, the necessity of enacting a Personal Liberty Law for this Common-

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the State of Pennsylvania, respectfully ask that you will pass a law pro

He had that secret of genius to draw from the botsylvania, respectfully ask that you will pass a law pro hibiting the surrender of any human being claimed as tom of society the strength of its speech, and asa slave on the soil of Pennsylvania.'

This form of petition is pointed, brief, and embodto himself or not! But let us enact, as a sovereign State worthy of the name, that every human being on our soil is free, and shall be protected in his free. of mankind.

Important From Hayri. A private letter of Jan. 10, from Port-aa-Prince, received via St. Thomas and Hayra, says Emperor Soulouque had been defeated by Gen. Geffrard, and the imperial troops were running back up to the city. Soulouque himself was expected every moment, and it is said that Geffrard was only a few leagues in his rear. The writer thinks the contest was nearly ended, and that in a day or wo the republic will be in full force.

Romans under Titus; when eleven bundred thousand were slain in the city; when two hundred and fifty thousand were slain in the vicinity, mively-seven thousand were sold into bondage, and agreat multitude periabed by pestlence and famine; then was been great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world. What a stupendous and instructive warning is this to all estimated between the south-western coast of Haytin and believed in his project of him, spoke for him, apples for him, worked for hi

BIRTHDAY OF ROBERT BURNS.

The Boston Burns Club celebrated the centennial nniversary of Robert Burns's birth, on Tuesday night, by a dinner at the Parker House. Gen. John S. Tyler, President of the Club, occupied the chair, and at either side of him sat Gov! Banks, Mayor ent was an invention of his own.

As might be expected, the remonstrancesof the Radstock, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Geo. S. Hillard, N. P. Willis, James Russell Lowell, Ofiver Wendell Holmes, and the Hon. Josiah Quincy, jr.

Mr. Emerson responded to 'The Memory of

SPEECH OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. He was received with loud cheers. He said :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN-I do not know by what untoward accident it has chanced—and I forbear to inquire—that, in this accomplished circle, passed on the 18th of August, 1856, which author- it should fall to me, the worst Scotsman of all, it should fall to me, the worst Scotsman of all, med the Government to protect American citizens to receive your commands, and at the latest hour, who may discover guano on any island net within the lawful jurisdiction of any other Government. The American commodore, not being empowered to there is no append, and I must trust to the inspidiscuss the question—for, in all likelihood, the very rations of the theme to make a fitness which does good reason that Haytian jurisdiction over Nagara and other within the first to me, the worst Scotsman of all, to me, the worst Scotsman of all, to receive your commands, and at the latest hour, which indeed makes the occasion. But I am told there is no append, and I must trust to the inspidience of the theme to make a fitness which does not other than the commands and at the latest hour, which indeed makes the occasion. But I am told there is no append, and I must trust to the inspidience of the theme to make a fitness which does not other than the latest hour. good reason that Haytian jurisdiction over Navaza not otherwise exist. Yet, Sir, I heartily feel the was susceptible of too easy a proof—sailed off without singular claims of the occasion. At the first anwaiting for a reply. The government of Hayti have addressed a new protest to Washington, and there, for the present, the matter rests. It will be remembered, that, five years ago, a precisely similar difficulty arose between the United States and Peru, and States, all over the world, to keep the festival. of American citizens. Then the cabinet at Washington felt itself bound to admit the jurisdiction and to respect the rights of Peru. Why, then, should America now seek to pursue a different policy towards Hayti? The reason would certainly appear not have better reason. I can only explain this to be, either that she cares no longer to recognize singular unanimity in a race which rarely acts the rights of weaker nations, or that, in the partic-ular case of Hayti, she has ulterior designs to ac-complish. It is certainly some satisfaction to know poet of the middle class, represents in the minds compaish. It is certainly some satisfaction to know port that this aggression, like most others of a similar of men to-day that great uprising of the middle character, has not paid its own expenses; for I learn class aga inst the armed and privileged minorities that the guano is of such an inferior quality, that that the guano is of such an inferior quality, that several tons of it, exported to Liverpool, could not find a market, and the vessel in which it was loaded was compelled to take it back again, thereby involving the speculators in a serious loss. But although for this destiny, his birth, breeding and fortune a versel was the collection of the such as the collection of the serious control of the such as the collection of the serious control of the such as the such a America may not be able to turn the guano of Navaza to profitable account, she may, nevertheless,
retain possession of the island for more important
purposes. What could be easier than for her to
rect on the island a small fort, and garrison it with
they might look down the sky as easily. His muse soldiers? or to use it as a coaling station for Ameriand teaching was common sense, joyful, aggressive can vessels? But whether any such use of it be irresistible. Not Latimer, not Luther, struck more made by America or not, the principle involved in the question remains precisely the same. If America is allowed to retain possession of Navaza without protest, what is to prevent her from exploring the numerous other islands which dot the Haytan weighty documents in the history of freedom than coast, and, under similar pretexts, to plant her flag the songs of Burns. His satire has lost none of its edge. His musical arrows yet sing throu Clearly it is the duty of England to interpose her air. He is so substantially a reformer, that I find

the earnest hope, that the influence of Lord Brough- who care nothing for literature and poetry care am, and of other distinguished friends of the negro for Burns. It was indifferent—they thought who in both Houses of Parliament, will be employed to saw him-whether he wrote verse or not : he could have done anything else as well. Yet how true a With your permission, in a second communication poet is he! And the poet, too, of poor men, of shall call attention to another and a later phase gray hodden, and the guernsey coat, and the blouse. Thick American designs against St. Domingo have He has given voice to all the experiences of common life; he has endeared the farm-house and cottage patches and poverty, beans and barley; ale, the poor man's wine; hardship, the fear of debt, the dear society of weans and wife, of brothers and sisters, proud of each other, knowing so few, and finding amends for want and obscurity in books and thought. What a love of nature, and, shall I say middle-class nature! Not like Goethe, the stars, or like Byron, on the ocean, or Moore, in the luxurious East, but in the homely landscape wealth—a law securing to every man within the limits of the State, a right to his person and his libto enslave them, be forever prohibited in this State.

We ask that the homes and the hearths of the old

Keystons, be protected by less than the hearths of the old

many Beany Doors of the less than the hearths of the old Keystone, be protected by law from the ravages of the kidnapper, and the plunderings of the manhunter. We perceive that movements toward urging such beneficent and needed legislation are being farm work, the country holiday, the fishing-cobble, ing such beneficent and needed legislation according such beneficent and needed legislation according such beneficent and needed legislation according to the poet of the poor, anxious, cheerful, working the poet of the poor, anxious, cheerful, working humanity, so had he the language of low life. He Petition was recommended:

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Lowland Scotch a Doric dialect of fame. It is the tonish the ears of the polite with these artless words, better than art, and filtered of all offence through ics correct sentiment. We propose to print blank his beauty. It seemed odious to Luther that the copies of this Petition, or one of similar import, for devil should have all the best tunes; he would bring copies of this lettion, or one of similar import, for circulation in this region of the State. Who will refuse to sign such a paper? We may not succeed in persuading our law-tinkers to act upon our prayer. It is probable that we will not. But we may begin to-day an agitation which one day will culture the speech of the market and street, and clothe it with melody. But I am detaining you too long. The memory of Burns—I am afraid heaven and watch have taken to see the speech of the market and street, and clothe it with melody. But I am detaining you too long. begin to-day an agitation which one day will culminate in this desirable action. We can put our wishes on record. We can give expression to the moral sentiment of the people on this subject. Similar movements are being carried forward in other States, with marked promises of success. We profess to be a Free State—we are now such only in name. Our verdant meadows and smiling hill-sides are all open to the invader who may come hither scenting human blood! Every human being is free by virtue of his birth—free because God made him so. We ask not, then, as some have basely claimed. so. We ask not, then, as some have basely claimed, that no man shall be taken into slavery from this them, the birds whistle them, the corn, barley, and State without a trial by jury. We ask no such absurd and cringing thing. Let no man be put on trial in Pennsylvania to ascertain whether he belongs them; the hand-organs of the Savoyards in all cities repeat them, and the chimes of bells ring them in the spires. They are the property and the soluce

State worthy of the name, such on our soil is free, and shall be protected in his freedom. We owe it to ourselves, to humanity and justice, to honor and consistency, to do this thing.

—Erie, (Pa.) True American.

The wildest cheering followed the conclusion of Mr. Emerson's remarks, a large part of the company rising. There were loud calls of 'More,' Go on,' Go on,' and a gentleman rose from one of the tables there are four hundred orators crying out

The President-Mr. Emerson begs to be excused not because the well of gushing waters is exhausted, but because in the kindness of his heart he thinks that he ought to leave room for gentlemen who are

THE LATE JUDSON HUTCHINSON George W. Bungay pays the following name tribute to the memory of this sweet singer:

tribute to the memory of this sweet singer:

Although Judson has gone unbidden into the presence of his Maker, his his has not been a false. He won a national name, and his reputation custode to Europe, where he had hosts of admiring fines. He was one of the best natural singers in Aerica and his music and mirth have been sources of the head of delighted auditor. With he was wasting his own vital energy, and bringing that mental depression which follows a loss of the cal strength, he was lightening many hears of the load of care, and imparting fresh impulse to the week looking toward the Valley of Death for row were looking toward the Valley of Death for the songs from the fate of the suicide. Let a unlightly over the ashes of the departed, and none is memory for the good he has done. He near to to commit himself on the side of Baferd. memory for the good he has done. He atter friend to Freedom when it cost something to sides with the Slave. He was an early sine Temperance; and his heart-songs have convastly to make these handmaids of religion to the land. He has often volunteered his aid poor persons and feeble societies, and, while is accumulated a competency for his estimable finds he extended a helping hand to others.

A COLORED ORATOR

Mr. W. H. Day, the Edward Everett of toleral orators, (although he does not write for the Leteral says the Springfield (Ohio) Journal, spent the toleral orators. Congregational Sabbath School, and in the rusa addressed a mixed audience at the African Method addressed a mixed audience at the African Methods Church. We will say, without hesitation the fervid, burning, classical eloquence, we have site heard him equalled. He rivals Tom Marshil, a li-loftiest flights, and in the completeness of his sea-ces, and the eloquence of his oratory, he tards at renowned Fred. Douglas—to say nothing of the sa-when A. phen A.

Mr. Day, the colored orator, lectured in Sort Hall, on Thursday evening, to a very respectible at ence. He has, we should judge, scholarly ments, has a good command of language, and a ments, has a good command of language, and a ments, has a good command of language. ments, has a good command of language, and a matall untiring as a speaker, before an audience it times he is really eloquent, in depicting the ways his race, as well as scathing, in remarking terms their treatment by would-be philanthropius, and their treatment by would-be philanthropius, and fessed religionists. He will lecture again at Sid Hall, next Monday evening. Subject. Process Liberty.' We would advise those who this a colorod folks' are destitute of intellect, and set papable of expressing themselves, to go and her

Ayer's Sarsaparilla

A compound remedy, in which we have labored produce the most effectual alterative that on a made. It is a concentrated extract of Pan Sec. greater alterative power as to afford an eff antidote for the diseases Sarsaparilla is reputed a cure. It is believed that such a remedy is wanted by those who suffer from Strumous compliant, at that one which will accomplish their cure mu prove of immense service to this large class of an afflicted fellow-citizens. How completely this cm. pound will do it has been proven by experiments many of the worst cases to be found of the folia complaints: — Schofula and Schofulous Complaints, Eng.

TIONS AND ERUPTIVE DISEASES, ULCEES, PEREZ BLOTCHES, TUMOUS, SALT RHEUM, SCALE HUR STPHILIS AND SYPHILITIC AFFECTIONS, MEETING DISEASE, DROPSY, NEURALDIA OR TO DOTHER, DEBILLTY, DYSPETSIA AND INDUSTRIA, ENGINEER, LAS, ROSE OR ST. ANTHONY'S FIRE, and indeed its whole class of complaints arising from Issuer

This compound will be found a great premer of health, when taken in the spring, to expel in foul humors which fester in the blood at the se-son of the year. By the timely expulsion of the many rankling disorders are nipped in the bal. Multitudes can, by the aid of this remedy, son themselves from the endurance of foul empter and ulcerous sorck, through which the system of strive to rid itself of corruptions, if not assisted do this through the natural channels of the boy by an alterative medicine. Cleanse out the vitate blood whenever you find its impurities busing through the skin in pimples, cruptions, or sensi-cleanse it when you find it is obstructed and skegish in the veins; cleanse it whenever it is feel, and your feelings will tell you when. Even when no particular disorder is felt, people enjoy buter health, and live longer, for cleansing the blood health, and live longer, for Keep the blood healthy, and all is well; but with this pabulum of life disordered, there can be m lasting health. Sooner or later something must go wrong, and the great machinery of life is discions

Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much, the much tion of accomplishing these ends. But the wall has been egregiously deceived by preparation of a partly because the drug alone has not all the that is claimed for it, but more because many proarations, pretending to be concentrated extrators, it, contain but little of the virtue of Sarsaparilla

During late years the public have been nicely by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of bracet of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of his have been frauds upon the sick, for they not any contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but one a contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but che is curative properties whatever. Hence, bitte as painful disappointment has followed the use disvarious extracts of Sarsaparilla which feed in market, until the name itself is justly despised as has become synonymous with imposition and that Still we call this compound Sarsaparilla, and ment to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the rans from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. As we think we have ground for believing it has tues which are irresistible by the ordinary on desired. tues which are irresistible by the ordinary on the diseases it is intended to cure. In order secure their complete eradication from the syste, the remedy should be judiciously taken account to directions on the bottle.

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