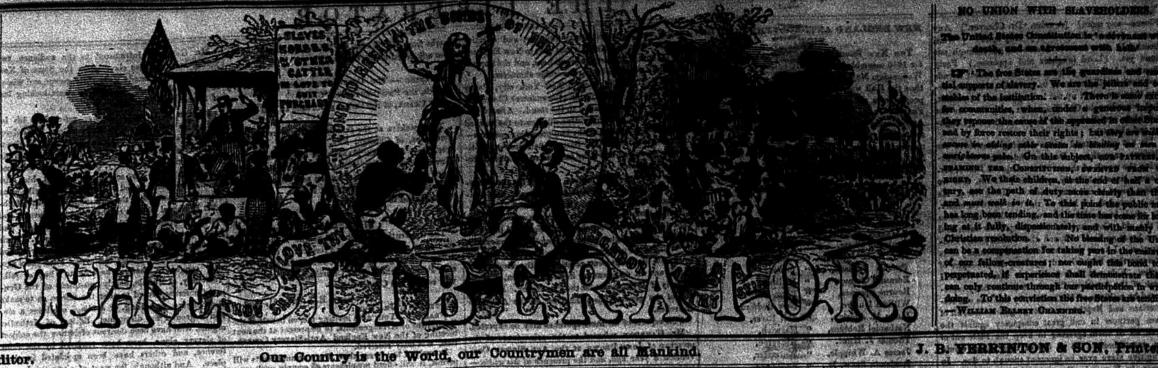
rettan if payment be made in advance, 12 stop G All remittances are to be runde, and all letters nisting to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (rost ram,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inorted three times for 75 cents — one square for \$1.00. Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soeies are authorised to receive subscriptions for Taxs

the londowing generation constitute the Finan-dal Committee, but are not responsible for any of the lebts of the paper, wir :- Francis Jackson, En-grap Quincy, Ensured Jackson, and Westerla



VOL. XXX. NO. 23. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 8, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 159

THE LIBERATOR.

At the New England Anti-Movery Convention, Wednesday, May 30th, 1860. Phonographic report for THE LEBERATOR by J. M. W. TERRIPTOR

Ma. CHAIRMAN-The resolution to which I will

endeavor to say a few words, Dauppose has been read, but I will read it again :-Resolved, That with the slave trade freshly revived

Resolved, That with the slave trade freshly revived among us, with the cohnivance of the government, and in defiance of the law, with the great sects and political parties repudiating the anti-slavery movement, we feel the need of all the more earnestness and of the most radical utterances, in our protests sgainst slavery as a foul sin, and a system of abominations, to be immediately abolished, and against a Church state the syncomes of Satan and covenants. and State, the synagogues of Saten and covenant with death, to be annulled and dissolved."

We are here to-day Abolitionists -our great purpose, to seek the abolition of American Slavery. With the exception of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, which met on Tuesday, I know of no body, least in New England, if anywhere in the whole Empire, that seeks the abolition of American slavery. We have neither a church nor a party that seeks the abolition of American slavery. The question is neither in religion nor in politics-anyhere. Let me say a word upon that fast point.

The question is not in politics, anywhere. There a a benubican party which undertakes to protect, to terrain extent, the rights of white men, in certain ocalities, but that party distinctly repudiates all prenertion with the question of the abolition of sinrets, either gradually or immediately. It is not in then platform; it is not in the speeches of their leadog men. More than that : you never find their leading men on the platform of any anti-slavery society. There is, therefore, no manifestation in the politica! world, of any intent or purpose to attack the system of slavery. Certainly there is none in the religious. We, therefore, and one or two additional societies, are the only bodies that undertake to deal with the question of American slavery. If you take the platform of the Chicago Convention, with the change of a few words in regard to the territorial question, they might just as well have nominated Douglas as anyody eise, because there is nothing in his life nor in his speeches which runs counter to that Declaration of Principles at Chicago. The only approach. therefore, to a political anti-slavery movement is one so closely identified with the old parties, and with the Democratic party especially, that there is no distinguishing element in it. Certainly, its head and all is leaders repudiate all connection with the antislavery movement, as such. I am the more anxious that this should be under-

stood, because some persons suppose that there are different phases of the anti-slavery movement; that there are certain churches doing something, certain politicians doing something. Now, of course, any man who undertakes to be a free man, to express his own sentiments, to go forth with a newspaper in his pocket, is, to a certain extent, attacking slavery-because slavery and freedom are so, not only antagonistic, but inconsistent, that the one cannot exist in the fully-developed presence of the other; but what I say is, that no body of men announces to the public any intention of attacking American slavery but ourselves. We are in the thirtieth year of our existence: we have labored with all the means at our control; and, in the thirty years of our existence, the Slave Power has had, and continues to have, such omnipotent hold on the sources of American character and policy, that there is no man, nor any body of men, bold enough to stand up in the face of the American States, and express his purpose to seek the abolition of slavery. It is a remarkable fact, and well worth noting. It is of great significance. It justifies the policy which we urge upon the nation, of radical, aggressive, undinching attack on all the great sources of character-literature, theology, politics the Union-if they have created a Union so bound to the car of slavery, that thirty years of agitation have not yet made one politician brave enough to put it on his banner that he intends the abolition of American slavery. Here is Mr. Lincoln, proclaimed to be, in the Courier, the man who, according to the best informed political authority, is the only man capable of uniting the anti-slavery sentiment of the Northern States. He is the tide-mark that shows how high what may be called the Northern sentiment (for you cannot call it the asti-slavery sentiment) has risen within thirty years. Mark you! he says in this document, (speech of Mr. Lincoln.) in regard to such a point, for instance, as the abolition or slavery in the District of Columbia, that he has never studied the subject; that he has no distinctive ideas about it. That is the measure of his anti-slavery. Slavery on the very site of the Capitol, under the executive authority of the National Government—the simplest form of despotism—the simplest element of the question whether the Union can make a slave—and he has no distinctive ideas about it-he never thought it worth while to consider it much; but so far as he has considered it, he should be, perhaps, in favor of gradual abolition, when the slaveholders of the District asked for it! (Derisive laughter.) Of course he would. I doubt if there is a man throughout the whole South who would not go as far as that. When South Caroins wants to free her alayes, he is ready to grant that she may. (Renewed laughter.) That is the amount of his anti-slavery in the very focus of the Union, where the problem is discharged of all ingredients, except the simple question whether the United States

thall hold slaves.

Then he goes into another question—that of the inter-State slave trade, which the South herself has, on frequent occasions, taken the opportunity to pro-test against. In regard to that, he is not at all in favor of stopping it; and in regard to the Fugitive Slave bill, he has no objections to it, and he would have objections to introducing the question of repealing it, as an element of sgitation. ('Hear, hear.') That is the amount of anti-slavery, if you choose to call it such, which, according to the Chicago therenometer, the Northern States are capable of bearing. and four inches, cannot afford to carry any principles with him on to it! (Laughter.)

one of them here? Have they ever avowed their the Palmetto State. On every principle of justice purpose to seek, as a distinctive end, the sholltion and Republican law, that is their right. When I of slavery in the Sauthern States? See how the man whom the Tribins defends, and who is con-sidered just now the standard bearer of the political moment they can get their feet and their hands free, sentiment see how he describes such a meeting as to use their hands in strangling every white man this. Mr. Douglas had charged him with saying that South of Mason and Dixon's line. I know you look he meant to go to the banks of the Ohio, and throw upon this as fanatical, but it is the corner-stone of stones into Kentucky, and disturb their domestic in- everything like a vital anti-slavery movement, to look stitutions. Of course, that means that he meant to at the black man, not as a single pitiable victim, but hold anti-slavery meetings in Ohio, and criticise the as a great race, engaged in conflict with the white institutions of Kentucky; hold them up as sinful, race-not obliged to wait until some considerate roband claim of the Ohio people that they should give ber new-models his statute-book, until some county them no encouragement, and when they saw a slave, court lawyer of Illinois gets time to consider the ques-

fyatt goes to Washington to look despotism in the There is no State South of Mason and Dixon's line. ace, to assert the constitutional rights of the citizen, There is nothing but hordes of pirates, in midnight nvaded by a Senate Committee; and, knowing no conclave, putting their hands into the pockets and other way to serve the nation, he refuses to obey the into the souls of their fellow-men. (Applause.) unconstitutional law, and walks into jail. What says There are a great many men very anxious-indeed, lavery? 'A fool for your pains!'-'If he is not bound anxiety-for fear such speed

man, and raise his victim. That statute-book is the house of Hapaburg and the law of Austria, and the negro is Italy, standing under the hoof of Austria. What says Europe to Italy, standing so? Does it say, 'Wait! Garibaldi'? Does it say, 'Wait! Victor Emanuel'? Does it say, 'Wait! Victor Emanuel'? Does it say, 'Wait! Victor Emanuel'? Does it say, 'Wait! Austria! wait Count Cavour! until Francis Josephgets to be a decent man and a Christian; until the populace of Vienna get merciful enough to recognize the rights of Venice'? No! Europe says to Italy, 'H you have iron, make it into swords, and tear down the house of Hapaburg! (Loud cheers.) You are a netion, and you have a right, as such, to assert Italian liberty against Austrian invasion!' When I look at the black man, I look at him see a nation. He is a ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know whether it is ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know whether it is ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know whether it is ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know whether it is ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know whether it is ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know whether it is ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know whether it is ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know make to people, but he does not know whether it is ready to guide the affairs of thirty million of people, but he does not know make the pound, and under the does not know and the transmitter. One of the first of the Capital of the United States said, sook their lives with her own hands; and when she was saided the ready pound and auction-block that it is right to sell bables to the states! One woman in that very District, seeing her two children about to be sold to New Orleans, took their lives with her own h

free him. That is what was meant by the figure, tion whether slavery in the District of Columbia is a Now, Mr. Lincoln says-I don't understand that the sin or not. The slave has the right, and our duty is framers of the Constitution left the people of the free to let the country know, as a matter of ethics, to in-States in the attitude of firing bombs and shells into troduce it as an element of American thought, that he slave States'; -- and he adds, there is no charits- he has the right to free himself, the moment he gets le way of judging the man who made such an accu- the pover. What freed Italy? What put Victor tion against him, except by supposing that he is Emanuel on the throne of half Italy to-day, and sent may; and thus, that when Stephen A. Douglas Gariballi to Italy? The fact that Mazzini and Napoharged him, the standard-bearer of the political anti- leon, before he mounted the throne, and every French slavery party-auch as it is, so-called when he charge newspaper, and every English, never for a moment ed him with the intention of using his free tongue to gave up teknowledging the right of Italy, the momake it less easy for Robert Wickliffe to hold his ment she got the power, to put down Austrian vioslaves, the enormity of the accusation was such, that lence by firce. Away with the idea of insurrection Mr. Douglas must have been crazy.

Victor Enamuel is not an insurgent; Garibaldi is not
That is the state of the political world. That is the a rebel; Mazzini is not a conspirator. Venice and Victor Emanuel is not an insurgent ; Garibaldi is not ndex which shows you how far the political world Rome were never so thoroughly annihilated under has travelled. At yonder door, you will see John the foot of the German, that to rise up and claim Doy, of Kansas, and in his hands an account of his the independence of classic Italy was a crime ife there and in a Missouri jail. That book will tell against anything deserving the name of law; and the ou that a few earnest men, abolitionists, thinking race that has produced such men as have walked our hat there was something higher than law, something streets thirty thousand, capable of taking their rights more potent than a Missouri writ to commit a freeman in their hand, and seeking them at every peril, unto a Missouri jail, went across the border, and took der the protection of the English flag, in Canadahim out-he never having been in Missouri, it was the race that has sent us such men as have spoken to physically impossible that he should ever have of you this morning (applause) - has never been so deended Missouri lay. That was one of the outbreaks, graded, its manhood has never been so trodden out the natural outbreaks, of abolition feeling in the by the white men of thirty States, that when it rises Northern States. That was one of the inevitable re- to claim its rights, it can be called insurrection. (Loud ults of these anti-slavery principles planted in the applause.) John-Hancock was not a rebel. George earts of the common people. Mr. Doy comes out the Third was a tyrant, and the man that rose egainst f jail-comes East-comes to New England. Where him was a freeman, standing on God's platform; and ces he find one atom of sympathy? In Republican claiming nothing but his rights. The tyrants of the nectings? From leading Republicans? From any- Carolinas, steeped in a blackness of darkness compared thing that can call itself Republican? No jot of it. with which George the Third was an angel of lighthey cannot afford to sympathize with him. He only the men who rise against them are free men, and not nds it in abolition meetings. Take Mr. Hyatt. Mr. rebels. (Applause.) There is a great deal in words.

the New York Tribune, the organ of political anti- I have heard Mr. Caleb Cushing express the most prothe cause of the slave. (Laughter.) Democratic con-I am only showing you that, as Abolitionists, we ventions all over the country listen to speeches from an place no reliance on anything outside of this pro- very carnest, enthusiastic men, bewalling the fact, essedly anti-slavery movement. We have not yet that the efforts of Mr. Garrison and his followers have mancipated Wm. H. Seward, much less the black injured the cause of the poor slave. Well, what alave. (Cheers.) We have not yet taken the gag off have we ever done, that Mr. Lincoln is so much the lips of Northern ministers and Northern politi-cians; we are just so far from our work. What is, meeting is to throw bombs and shells into Kenherefore, undoubtedly our policy, what is the inev-tucky ? That is the way he describes it; holds it table dictate of duty, under these circumstances? off at arms' length. I have nothing to do with that It is, not to allow our hopes to centre on the success miserable agitation, says he, which makes Kentucky of a certain political party or candidate. I have no unhappy. What has that agitation claimed? Has objection, personally, to the success of Mr. Lincoln or claimed for that slave in the Carolinas justice? That Mr. Seward; but I would rather that Stephen A. poor man, on the deck or in the hold of that Demo-Douglas should be President than either of them. cratic steamer that left Charleston, and who was sent We cannot afford yet to let Mr. Lincoln succeed, be- back to the hell of the Carolinas, how much did h cause, if he should, the country will say, 'The North ask of those Democrata? Justice? Did he say to them, has got the helm, let us see what the North is ready . Gentlemen, for six generations I and my father to do-wait! '-and we shall have four years of wait- have rultivated the soil of Carolina, until it reflects ing, to see what Abe Lincoln won't do! (Laughter.) the bues of Paradise. I have poured wealth into the Those four years will be wasted. He will waste them | lap of the white man; I have sent his sons to Europe in trying to make up his mind on the abolition of and to the North for education; I have nestled his slavery in the District of Columbia-in finding out in luxury; I have put him on to the very highest whether, after all, there ought to be an internal slave level of the nineteenth century; I have founded for trade. We cannot afford the success of such a man, him the stateliest mansions; I have built for him the Put a Democrat into the Presidential chair, and Mr. most comfortable cities; I have subdued for him the Lincoln is an agitator, Mr. Seward is an agitator, most fertile of States; I have filled his coffers to overevery Republican is an agitator. Free from the re- flowing ; I have made him the basis of the commerce sponsibilities of office, they can afford to speak their of the world. Naked, pennyless, berded with the sentiments, to a certain extent. They can afford to brute, all I sak is to creep out from under this avaspeak of Kansas; they can afford to speak of Mr. lanche of oppression, and own the two hands that Hyatt. Why, Mr. Hyatt would be a martyr if this God gave me!' (Loud applause.) That was all he was the first day of December instead of May, be- claimed. He did not say- Democrats | men who cause then the Presidential election would be over, hold to the theory of equal justice! I claim of that and it could have neither good nor bad influence on master that he shall give to me a pittance of the the Republican nominee or the Republican canvass, wealth I and my fathers have created. I claim of The Tribune, instead of being brutal, would be only him that he shall not turn me out hated and pennythe sithful servant of the Northern thermometer. less, but shall give me clothing and food, a few My deduction from this is tantamount to what I months of education, and a little something to start m now going to say. We are accustomed to look with in the world. Not all he saked was Drop at the slave as simply a victim under the heel of an ine in mid ocean! Sever me from the Carolinas individual white man. Our movement does not so naked as I am! Give me nothing but the muscl regard him. That political party looks at the stat- which your tyranny would have taken from me, il ute-book as the best result of the present state of you could have done it, for you have taken away America, as such. I do not I consider that state everything else! Give me nothing but these, and ute-book the best result of the moral sentiment let me breathe! All I ask is what the veriest crimiof the white race. There is another race in this nal saks-liberty to breathe! That is all the anticountry that have no voice in that statute-book. They slavery enterprise has ever claimed, and that claim is are a race—they are a nation. I do not stand here so frighful, that Mr. Lincoln has not had time to stretch to-day on the point that there is one slave to whom his mind wide enough to take it in, to rise to a level somebody has done an injustice, and we must go to the of morals and sublime virtue high enough to com-white man, and crave that he will grow to be a better prehend it! He is ready to be President, but does man, and raise his victim. That statute-book is the not yet know whether two and two make four.

ther owns his child until he is fit for a lunatic asylum. for that, because in the manages of the Constitution. That is the ethics of this country; and Mr. Lincoln. he can do no more. What I find fault with him for is ther owns his child until he is fit for a lunatic asylum. That is the ethics of this country; and Mr. Lincoln, who has been in that District, seen that very sail, while he is using that one little weapon of the ward, with Burke, with Ejorence Nig walked over the very bridge on which that woman stood when the United States Marshal arrested her for the heroism of protecting her own babes, for the divine act of saving her children from the Christian Republic of the 19th century, for the godliks deed of saving her children from Abraham Lincoln (applause). Seward once said to me, "Your speech in regard to resiste chimber has war and civilization, with Christian ton, with Christian, with Christian ton, saving her children from Abraham Lincoln (applause) public opinion is all very correct, but I am in the Senter chimber knew was a He. (Loud at the man who stood on that very bridge has not yet ate, and I can do nothing about it. You must create And almost every man in this country—ever made up his mind whether the system which crushed public opinion, and I will use it. Well, it was a fair gent man—known that William H. Seward Republic or not! I say, that if we would rouse self into this: Is there a William H. Seward? Is such a people to the proper consideration of their own there a mon behind that coat, or merely a New York duties, if we would make them fit for the crisis in Senator? Is it a man, with a conscience? When he duties, if we would make them it for the crists in which they stand, it is necessary that we should goes up to God, and the Almighty saks him, What go down to the very foundation of the ethics of this did you do to help the bondman! will he say, — I question; that we should no longer confine ourselves did all the Empire State would let me. I did all that, to the mere claim which the anti-slavery movement has made of simple freedom, -bare liberty, -peace-fully letting men go out, after centuries of oppression: Buchenan and Stephen A. Douglas were such con-We have tried is thirty years, and politics has got summate rescale, that, O Lord, I could not afford to down to that level [the speech of Mr. Lincoln].

There is no political anti-alayery existing at this moment. There is no movement in the political arena and I never should have been available. So he put down to that level [the speech of Mr. Lincoln].

that calls traelf anti-slavery. Of course, you know himself into the iron bedstead of a New York Senator

there is none in the church. You know very well, and when he had got there—when, with one hand, he that, unfortunately, the ballot-box is a great deal had laid his sacrilegious grasp on that cross of Virahead of the communion table in its knowledge of gints, and said. John Brown was a felon-thank ethics; and as we find no anti-slavery at the ballot- God they hung him! - when he had stretched out box, we cannot expect to find any at the communion- the left, and filled it to overflowing with that other table. There rests upon us, therefore, that other duty atrocious lie, that in his soul he believed that the of arraigning the theology of the country. It is no vilest of our thirty States was better than the best of of arraigning the theology of the country. It is no new duty. It always exists. If you want to be Republicans, if you want to be under self-governing institutions, you must not imagine that such a movement as this, either religiously or politically, is a temporary expedient, is merely a thing of a day, is going to die out in a few years, is merely the necessity of a few moments. We would not for the world have a movement with his two hands filled thrown in both places. (Laughter.) Cornelius Agripps, the old necromancer of two centuries ago, it is said, in his magic glass, would summon before you the image of friend or relative, and let you see his nocupation; or few moments. Mr. Garrison is not the monstrous ments. Mr. Garrison is not the monstrous '39, that that was property which the law made growth of some inordinately fevered state of the body property. But the American people said - a wee bit litio. Just as long as this nation endures, just as too low, Harry ! - and they left him at Ashland. ong as self-government is practised, on whatever ques- (Applause.) In 1860, Mr. Seward, fresh from Europe tests the public sentiment of the States, there made another bid for the Presidency. His instinct must always be a John the Baptist going out into the was not keen enough; he went too low. They said,wilderness, followed by the carses of the pulpits of the won't do, Billy ! Go home to Auburn, we want Judgs. (Applause.) And I will tell you why. I a cleaner man. And they took Lincoln. Behind have been speaking our 'treaton'; now I come to our that somination there is an infinitely more hopeful infidelity. (Laughter.) I can honestly say, with sign. There is a growth of the American cons out the least desire to startle you by a seeming para- which even the politician has to remember and he must dox, or to say any thing extravagant, but on the most so play his cards that there shall not rest upon his mature consideration, I can repeat what I have all-memory any thing so utterly infamous, that the heart memory any thing so utterly infamous, that the heart ready said three or four times, that with such a Union of the North cannot defend itself against this conand such a theology, I wonder any decent man re- science, scattered here and there among the people, tains a shadow of respect for what are called Chris- which demands, at least, a decent candidate. tian institutions. (Applause.) As an observer of Mas Fostan-Is Lincoln cleaner? my own times, I marvel at the patient and long-en- Mm. Purature Yes, he is; because he has never during prejudice in favor of Christianity which makes said, in so many words, that John Brown was "justly men cling to the belief that there is something in it, hung. He never said, in so many words, that Ar-when in this nation of ours, it has been such a total kansas, symbolized by a bowie-knife, and her sky lit failure in grappling with the sins of our own genera- up by burning slaves, was better than London, in the that they are banded an organization against sin, and ter man than Mr. Seward?

tion. I marvel at the faith that can believe, spite of scale of civilization and Christianity. (Applicase.) demonstration against it. I marvel at the faith that A man may be capable of a Re, but if he has not alis able to see the visible Church of God, when for ready uttered it, if he has not already graffled the devil thirty years it has been totally invisible. (Laughter by speaking it, he has not got so low as the statesman and applause.) Look at it! Not one large sect in of Auburn. (Laughter and applause.) I thank God, the land, not one respectable denomination, willing to therefore, that William H. Seward was rejected after confess that they have it in their hearts to ask for the making such a speech. To is a good sign. It is a abolition of slavery! Not one! Dr. South-side sign that, far off there in the Northwest, there is a Adams, Dr. Gerdner Spring, Dr. Stuart, of Andover, leaven of that spirit that looks upon the negro as a Dr. Lord, of New Hampshire, the New York Ob- nation, with the right to take arms into its hands and ver, they are not marvels; they are only little spots summon its friends to its side, and that looks upon of rust. The marvel is, that the whole body has any that gibbet of John Brown, not as the scaffold of a health in it; that it sits there contented to acknowl- folon, but as the cross of a martyr. (Tremendous spedge to the world that they have, or pretend to have, plause.) lon't dare to say a word against slavery! Why is Mr. PRILLIPS No. not because he was a bette this ? It is no fault of the individual elergyman. You for he never had said, he never had even condescendspend yourselves in individual criticism. What is ed to consider whether there is an 'irrepressible con-Dr. Adams? A mere chip on the surface of a barren fliet. William H. Seward's name is irremediably asea of Sodom ! (Loud applause.) What matters he? sociated with that great philosophic principle." Nothing! He is nothing but a solitary leaf, hanging, in

Lincoln is known merely as the antagonist of Dougthe late autumn, on the otherwise leafless and barkless
has. He is claimed, here, by his defenders, as not
branches of what ought to be a tree. (Applause.)
up to the level even of the Whigs of 1844. Webster Nothing else! But what is the tree—what is the may gather his dust together in his grave, and sak of hurch? I do not deny the intellectual ability of the North, Why blame me, if pattern Anti-Slavery alpit; I do not deny the scholarly attainments of the can select a man not worthy to unloose the latchet ergy :- they have enough of both to occupy a much my shoes as its standard-bearer in 1860? (Apbetter position than they do before the world. But plause.) For every blow that Abraham Lincoln the pulpit can never be any thing but a servant, in a ever struck against the system of slavery, the marry ountry like ours; the pulpit can never be any thing of Marshfield may claim that he has struck a hun country like ours; the pulpit can never be say thing of Marshfield may claim that he has struck a hunbut a slave in a country like ours. The pulpit is nothing but the outer shed of the Lawrence factories; it
is nothing but the outer shed of those colosest treasure-houses at Lowell. (Sensation.) The overseer
inside the mills, at a salary of three thousand dollars
any, and say truly, that he sacrificed the North, and
a year, takes care of the hands of the operatives for
that God will probably hold him, more than any other
six days; the sabordinate overseer, in the town inside the mills, at a salary of three thousand dollars a year, takes care of the hands of the operatives for six days; the subordinate overseer, in the town church, on Sunday, takes care of their morals for twelve hundred a year. They are both hired by the same wealth, owned by the same stockholders, and preach to the same whirring of the shattle fast is heard six days in the week, and echoed on Sunday. (Applause.) I bring no accusations against individual men. Xon cannot make bricks without straw. My friends, I am not asying that to stardle you. What possible benefit could it be for me, in middle life, to come here to tickle your ears, and make you take me. None whatever. Do not think me such a thrice-sedden fool I f am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to abow you the land in which you live. I am only trying to a uncover the muscles and bones of this body politic, and let you know it. That church, so situated, cannot lead public sentiment. You might as well sak the alare of the Carolinas to dictate the policy of the State. One or two independent clergymen, like Dr. Cheever, for example, cannot make fresh the waters of the Dead Sea of American Sectarisation. (Appleause, land and life who had not example to the political anti-lavery platform, is unavailed be because of those efforts—nothing also the produ

thing, as far as it went; but the question resolved itself into this: Is there a William H. Seward? Is
there a same behind that coat, or merely a New York
Senator? Is it a man, with a conscience? Whan he
fully on the scaffold. If he lives to the honest age of seventy, when an American, having given up all of the Presidency, can afford for once in his forgetful moment lets his heart flow out, as it did once at Plymouth Hock, you will hear those same wise lips of his group with Tell and with Wallace, with Vane and with Sydney, with Hampden and with Fayette, the more honored name of John Brown of Osswatomie. (Enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.) considering the Democratic city of New York, it was The labor of this meeting is to create a public se

The labor of this meeting is to create a public sentiment which will embolden men like Seward to speak their thoughts. I know it is a seemingly almost disreputable object to be avowed—that we should be here to ungag the lips of great men; but it is nevertheless frue. You know that our statesmen live by whispering at Washington what they would not for the world have known at home, and whispering at home what they would not for the world have he would bring out some past or future nour of your own life, and let it stand revealed and palpable before you, and you would hear, echoing in the arches, the words which you had spoken, or were about to speak—so powerful was the magic. Suppose that at the very time that William H. Seward was uttering that cold-blooded, deliberate, well-considered, carefully-worded rebuke of John Brown, and Jafferson Davis atting the arches of the Senate chamber the the indignant oaths, the hearty, cordial, impetu oaths with which, when he heard of the murder Stevens, he denounced it as a man denounces it, as Christian denounces it, as a free man denounces ithow the two would have mingled !- the divine pro fanity above, the well-worded deviltry below. (Loud You will say this is very personal, you will say

it is very harsh personality. I know it. Did you over know men in earmest who did not attack things and men? Take Charles James Pox's speeches why cannot you read them to-day? Because he grapples with a man; because he takes some rival sta by the throat; because he says to the stave traders of Bristol, 'murderers!' because he deals with men right on the spot. Take the crations of Burke why do you read them to-day? Because they are more interesting to day than they were fifty years ago. When he got up to speak, the House of Commons left the room. There is nothing but personality, nothing but criticism of idols, nothing but analyzing of parties and churches, that will do you any good. Call us fanatics, revile us for our personality, say that we attack reputations what of that? We did not come into the world to keep ourselves clean. It is not our first and only duty to see that you love us. Popularity is not the great end of our creation. We came into the world to give truth a little log onward; we came into the world to help our neighbor to his rights; we came into the world to take one link of the fetter off the limb of the slave. In order to do t, it is necessary to tear asunder your idols; in order to do it, it is necessary to cut the line that bride you yassel to the pulpit, and let you know that when you look up, you do not see an independent intellect, but you see the reflection of wealth. A hard thing to say; it makes a man odlous to say it; but necess say; it makes a man odious to say it; but necessary to be said, necessary for you to learn, necessary for you to act upon. A negro cutting his master's throst is not a murderer—he is John Hamoock in a new livery. (Loud applause.) Necessary for you to know, necessary for you to believe, necessary for you to say; and when you have said it twenty-five years, it will be stereotyped into character, character into statutes, and statutes into an insurrection, as you call it—a revolution, as we say.

revolution, as we say.

I know this is what you call revolutionary talking:
I mean it such. Some men seem to think that this
Anti-Slavery cause, being certain to succeed. (acholy
doubts that; God made the black man, and as he reigns he will see to 16, in his own time, that di black man has his rights. If there is a God, th black man has his rights. If there is a God, the Anti-Slavery movement will exceed.) Before I pass from that, however, allow me to show you how our religious teachers always put this idea of success, when they do pray—the very best of them. They will sak God to remove sickness, to give us rain, to give us peace and prosperity, to give us health. If they have a friend going shroad, they will sak God to protect him, generally, frankly, without suggesting conditions; but the best of them, when they come to pray for freedom, will say, O Lord, will Thou break the yoke of the oppressor is Thine over good line! Buggesting that He had better not do it hastily (laughter); don't expect Him to do it at precent; He may not be surprised, and we will not do it hastily (laughter); don't expect Him to it at present. He may not be supprised, and we not be surprised, if there is not any fitness of thi just now. We want the rain to day; we want grain to-day; this friend wants micely on the At tio, and that wants relief from his fever—"grant That man wants liberts—"give it—in Thise con-tine." (Laughter.) - Don't give it too coon; he not be ready for it!"

MASHINGTON ST., BOOM Nº 6. ROBERT F. WALLOUT, General Agent.

TERMS - Two dollars and fifty cents per an Fire copies will be sent to one address for tax

F The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor, friends as and entite

derstand me as denying that there eptions. Do not understand me as ad me as de glorious exceptions. Do not understand me as de-nying the worth of these. Our elequent friend, Mr. Slows, is as habitually upon this platform, that we also to forget to call him reverend. (Laughter.) He is not included. I have no right to include, either, his whole brotherhood of seven hundred elergymen of the old 'Covenanters,' who keep their faith and stretch out no hand to touch the United States Contitution. I know there are local and eccondary sects the are thus faithful and loyal to the principles of tice. I do not find fault with them. When I ted by millions of Methodists, by millions of Pres yterians and Baptists and Congregationalists, all o em partners in one great conspiracy against the ave, all of them agreeing to keep the Bible out of a statute-book. To no one of their alters would a fugitive slave ever be ignorant enough to fice. In Egypt, in Rome, in Europe, all down the Middle Ages, if a fugitive alays could find the shelter of a Pagan or Catholic altar, he was safe from the law. What slave, dug up from the mud of the Carolinas, without ideas sufficient to know where the North Star is, was even so ignorant as to sun to the alter of South-side Adams for protection, even when a thousand miles from home? He knows it by instinct. You may take a hound, and foodle him in your parlor; you may feed him with the white hand of beauty, and make him a pet for a dozen years; but turn h into the forest, and let him see a deer, and he will spring at his jugular vein, and drag him down. So the fugitive slave, with every idea dragged down to the dust, with no especity of counting five, with no sense, except to breathe, when he gets to Boston, with instinctive segecity knows that he must give Rese

I have forgotten what I was about to say, when turned saide to speak of this matter of prayer; and as I have spoken longer than I thought, and as there are others who will occupy the time, you will excuse me from saying more.

Street Church the widest berth, and come as near as

possible to this platform. (Applause.)

The Liberator

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, JUNE 8, 1860.

THE INSURBECTION OF 17761

The eighty-fifth auniversary of this great American triumph will be celebrated by a grand MASS SCRETTING, in the handsome and commodious Grove In THANKBORAN, on Wednesday, July 4th. Turning with althorrence from the mockery of commemorating the achievements of Freedom by servility to Slavery, let all who hate despotism in the garb of Democracy and Republicanism as well as of Monarchy, and would overthrow it by every wespon that may be legitimately wielded against it, assemble to consider the solemn and pregnant issues of the hour-how we may best preserve the principles of the Revolution, and carry them forward to a speedy and enduring

Special trains will run upon the different railroads as heretofore. An able corps of eloquent speakers will be in attendance. [Particulars hereafter.]

PRANCIS JACKSON,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
R. H. HEYWOOD,
DR. H. O. STONE,
CHARLES A. HOVEY,
GEO. W. STACY, Committe Arrang

MR. SUMMER'S SPEECH. After a painfully enforced silence of four years in

his seat in the U. S. Senate-a silence caused by the destardly and murderous assault of one who has since been called to his 'final account'-the Hon, Charles Sumner delivered a speech in that body, on the 4th inst., occupying four hours, on 'The Barbarism of Slavery,' in which the brutal and revolting features of manner, and the superiority of free institutions over alave institutions exhibited by an overwhelming array of facts and figures, admitting of no refutation. Throughout, its spirit was lofty, dispified and hold indicative of high moral intrepidity and a noble purpose. No attempts were made to interrupt him. though the smothered wrath of the Southern members must have been excessive. Here is all that followed at its close:-

Mr. Chesnut, of S. C., made a brief response to Mr. Sumner's speech, speaking of it as an extraordi-nary one. After ranging over Europe, sneaking through the back doors of English sristocracy, and fawning at their feet, this slanderer of States and mer

en for his insolence, that he would have learned pro-pariety, but he had repeated his former vulgarity and mendacity. The Egyptians defined reptiles, but it remained for northern abolitionists to deffe-bediment of malice, mendacity was not institute. has respected in the Senate.

He had hoped, after the runishment he had received for his inscience, that he would have learned proremained for northern abolitionists to deliy an em-bodiment of malice, mendacity and cowardice. He was not inclined to put further punishment on the recipient of a former chastisement, who had gone howling through the world, yelping out volumes of slander, and he would therefore endeavor to keep

let. Mr. Summer said he had pointed out the berbarism slavery, and the Senator's rejoinder should go as appendix and fitting illustration of his argument.

To the low blackguardism of the Carolina Senator (why was he not instantly called to order by the President?) nothing could be more felicitous than the retort of Mr. Bunner.

. The correspondent of the New York Tribung save 'Mr. Summer's speech attracted a large audience to the Benate gallaties, which continued well filled during the four hours of his scourging review of Slavery in all its relations, pelitical, social, morel, and economical. These appeared to be a studied effort at indifference on the Democratic side, for only a dozen Senators were in their seats during the first hour or two. Afterward they credully exceed the continued of the con

a whole, this speech was regarded as being movine by the South than the one which create assistation before, and there is reason to believ set a sessation before, and there is reason to believe set, but for prodontial considerations, it might have set attended with similar results. It was found utte difficult to restrain some decided exhibition of sentuncial in certain quarters. The only expression undersation which found vent was in Mr. Ches-u's brief and angry reply, from which the general most of the South may be inferred, as he is re-urded among the most discreet and considerate in a tone and bearing."

ossession of this masterly speech of Mr. Sumner, we ablish it in an extra, which is equivalent to giving extra number of the Liberator, as it would ur pages of our paper in the type ordin by us. As circulation will be immense, and it be read by millions. That portion of it which to the U. S. Constitution is open to criti

Transmis or Harry C. WRIGHT. PROTOGRAPHIC CANADISS OF HARRY C. WARDEY, A very accurate and spirited photographic likeness of this indefinityable and uncompromising advocate of Housesity, Freedom and Progress, by C. M. Salvan, a very promising young artist of this city, may be stained of Esia Maule, It Bromfald Street, or of E.S. Wallert, Anti-Blavery Office. Prior \$1.

entimates (very all and polaries) - colored T (12).

THE REST OF A STREET OF A STREET OF A STREET

1840 morphish at the Melodeon, in Breton, or chreedry, May 30th. At the hour of ten, at which the Holl was entirely filled and crowded with Society, called the Convention to a behalf of the Committee of Arr into, the following line of the continue or Arrai stics of the Convention re-

Vice Pr

of New Hampshi Francis Indixen, Edmund Quincy, Bourne Spooner, William Durfee, James M. Aldrich, Nathaniel Robbins, Dedham. u Plymouth, " New Bedford,

" Harwich, Thomas J. Hunt. Abington, Ismes A. Whipple, " Fitchburg. Benjamin Snow, Jr., A. A. Bent, Robert Hassell, " Haverhill, Newburypor William Ashby.

Balem, Chas. Lenox Rev Daniel S. Whitney. " Lynn, " Concord, James N. Buffun Samuel Berrett, " Barre, M. G. Kimball. William Jenkins. Chas. C. Burleigh, } " Connecticut Jas. B. Whiteot Rodney Moore, Elizabeth B. Chase, Rhode Island.

William Lloyd Garrison, Abby Kelley Poster, N. R. Johnston, Wendell Phillips, Andrew T. Foss, Maria W. Chapman Aaron M. Powell Lydia Maria Child, Charles C. Burleigh, Henry C. Wright Secretaries.

Wendell P. Garriso Samuel May, Jr., B. H. Heywood,

Elbridge Sprague, James N. Buffum, Sellie Holley, E. D. Draper, Elizabeth M. Powell. R. H. Ober, The Convention accepted the above list, and unani-

mously elected the persons named. JOHN T. SARGENT took the Chair, and made some introductory remarks relative to the associations of the Hall in which the meeting was assembled, and referring especially to the death of THEODORE PARKER. Rev. SAMURL J. MAY, of Syracuse, read appropriate Scripture selections, and offered prayer.

W. L. GARRISON, from the Business Committee reported and read the following resolutions :---

Whereas, no elements can be more antagonistical of more irreconcilable than those of Liberty and Slavery and, therefore, no experiment more insane or mor disastrous than that of attempting to amalgamate them in the same government, and within the same Union; and,

Whereas, in the formation and adoption of the Con stitution of the United States, 'it cannot be denied,' to quote the language of John Quincy Adams, 'the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves -namely, an immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade-the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—and the exaction fatal to the principles of popular representation, of representation for slaves, for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons"; and the entire military and naval power of the nation was pledged to the suppression of every form of domestic insurrection

Whereas, (again to quote Mr. Adams,) in the ar ticles of Confederation, there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation him in the Federal councils-no power of taxation-no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves; but when the powers of government came to be dele- jority of the people at the North never thought of gated to the Union, the South refused their subscripthhe slave as a man, and, in his opinion, when Mr. Calrehment till it should be saturated with houn made the re the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could wealth he had dug from the soil against the universe. purify, no quarantine could extinguish :- the freemen he never thought of it as applying to the slave. He of the North giving way, and the deadly venom of said that the mass of the Republicans were ready to slavery being infused into the Constitution of free- condemn Daniel Webster for siding in the enactment dom :- and hus reduced to the alternative of depart- of the Pugitive Slave Bill, yet they virtually reing from the vital principle of their liberty, or forfeit- enacted it every time they took a seat in Congress ing the Union itself, they averted their faces, and with The Republican office-seeker was compelled to wear trembling hand subscribed the bond; ' therefore,

Resolved, That (again to quote the same high authority) the bargain between Freedom and Slavery, him. In regard to the attitude of a large portion of contained in the Constitution of the United States, the Northern people, he thought Mr. Wright had is MORALLY AND POLITICALLY VICIOUS, Inconsistent given them too much credit, when he spoke of their with the principles on which alone our Revolution universal endorsement of Helper's 'Impending Crisis. can be justified, cruel and oppressive by riveting the To his mind they were far from endorsing it. But chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freemen to he himself would recommend its circulation, although maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master, and grossly unequal and impolitic by admitting that the obvious difference between indorsing a book's sen slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, timents, and recommending its circulation. Finally property to be rescued and returned to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a ent wording would tend to defeat the cause he is double share of representation. The consequence has tended to promote, and he supposed Mr. Wright been, that this slave representation has governed the Union ; Benjamin, portioned above his brethren, has but, by common minds, they might be construed to ravined as a wolf; in the morning he has devoured mean that they had no rights, as men. the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil.

Resolved, That, in consenting to the adoption of such a Constitution, the people of the North have of Mr. Wright's resolutions! To say merely that a made "A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND WITH RELL slaveholder had no right to his slaves, was, in his ARE THEY AT AGREEMENT '- insanely declaring that opinion, exceedingly tame for a Garrisonian Abolitionwhen the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it ist. He considered the slaveholder, as such, had n shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our rights at all, not even to breathe a breath of God's refuge, and under falschood have we hid ourselves. free atmosphere. He was for encouraging the slaves

heart and the lips of every one who professes to re- and he considered it the duty of the people of the vere God, to hold the principles of justice and the North to put weapons into the hands of the oppressed claims of suffering humanity as of paramount im-to aid them in the accomplishment of their object, portance, to regard chatfel slavery as 'the sum of all | The speaker hoped and believed no slave would ever villanies, and liberty as the inalienable birthright of be again returned to slavery from the soil of Massachuevery human being, 'THIS COVENANT WITH setts, and before he would lift his hand or his voice DRATH MUST BE ANNULLED, AND THIS for the return of a fugitive slave, he would see the AGREEMENT WITH HELL MUST NOT STAND, Union dissolved, though he knew it would be by a no matter what convulsions may follow, or what in- civil war, in which he and his children would fall by terests may be temporarily affected by it ;--for if this the sword. In conclusion, he said, ART US HE PRES; be not done, then to this nation God proclaims, 'Be- let us not be brought into bondage by any laws which cause ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perversences, and stay thereon; therefore THIS could make. But let us petition our State Govern-INIQUITY shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, ment until it gives us a shield to protect us from the swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant. And he shall break it as the breaking of the potter's vessel that is broken in

Resolved, That while the present unhallowed Union exists, the people of the North cannot fail to be de-moralized by it, as well as to involve themselves in slavery, sithough he believed there were measures as the judgments impending over it—connect maintain any ground of moral consistency in their opposition to silvery—tamot prevent the extension of the accuracy—tamot prevent the extension of the accuracy—tamot prevent the extension of the accuracy—system at the dictation of the South—but must continue to add six to six, to deepen their guilt, radical change, and extirpute this infernal system. In

mising character.

The Convention, on motion, wond, That the following he assigned as the hours of macing of this Convention during its sension, viz.: 10, 21 and 7].

In the absence of Rev. Dr. Curavviz, who had been expected as the next speaker, but who found it impossible to get through the crowd, the platform was taken by Waxmuz, Partitle, Esq., who spoke for an hour in review of the present position of the Republican party, agd in unitions of its leading men, and expecially of in candidate for the Presidency. He spoke also of the general files character of the American churches.

Pull reports of all these speeches may be any presence of Jone Baown at the Anti-Slavery Convention a year ago, and the presence of his widow—truly a noble woman—on our platform to-day. The fact of Mrs. Brown's presence, thus made known to the Convention, induced a general apontaneous expression of the deep sympathy felt for her and her children.

Adjourned to the afternoon.

ox.—The Convent by the President at 3 o'clock. Mr. GRORGE W. CLARK, of Rochester, New York

sang with much expression an appropriate song of Mrs. F. B. Monnis, who represented herself as

slave for twenty-three years, requested opportunity to speak, which was granted. She said she had been not a slave on a Southern plantation, but a slave to an intemperate step-mother and husband. She related some cases of prejudice against color which had She was followed by HENRY C. WRIGHT, who asked

opestion to this effect :- If he had a child under his care whom he had educated in evil ways, and then the child practised upon him the lessons he had taught him, had he a right to complain? if he in such case deserved the sympathy of the people? If he had taught the child it was right to rob, to steal, to pick pockets, had he a right to complain if the child robbed him! He thought not. Applying the illustration to the system of slavery, he said, the slaves were pupils of the slaveholders, who had taught them that there were no rights of property or person, and when the slaves should grow to be men, as they assuredly would. and should practice upon the slaveholder the lessons he had taught them, would the oppressor have any right to complain, or would he be entitled to the sympathy of the Northern people? After further remarks on the same idea, he read the following resoluions as expressive of his own sentiments:-

Resolved, That individual slaveholders, as such have no rights, but are to be regarded and treated as he most inexcusable enemies of mankind.

Resolved. That slaveholding States have no rights, out are to be treated by the people and States of the North as self-incorporated bands of American corsairs, whose power it is the right and duty of all the friends f justice and freedom to seek to annihilate.

Resolved, That slaves, as such, owe no obedie service or duties to their enslavers; and a religion or government that enjoins on them such duties or ob ligations, deserves only the scorn and contempt of Resolved, That in Helper's 'Impending Crisis,' so

enerally endorsed by Republicans, we find the true and only scheme for the abolition of slavery, i. e., No co-operation with slaveholders in politics—no fellowship with them in religion-no sfillstion with them in society-no patronage of elaycholding merchants-no guestship in slave waiting hotels-no fees to alayeholding lawyers—no employment to alayehold. ing physicians—no audience to slaveholding persons no recognition of slaveholding men, except as ruffians. outlaws and criminals.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, in reply, said that the matwo faces, one looking in the direction his heart die tated, and the other in the way the Constitution bad he could not endorse fully all its contents, and showed he wished to make some alteration in the phraseology of Mr. Wright's resolutions, as he considered the pres meant that the slaveholder had no right to be such

Rev. John Pirrout next addressed the Conven tion. He did not like the milk-and-water characte to resist their masters, with violence if need be, and Resolved, That the cry should go forth from the to rise against him, in order to obtain their liberty; man can make, or by any constitution that our fathers ment until it gives us a shield to protect us from the harpy claws of the Slave Power.

Mr. RANDOLFE, who claimed to be a des Pocaliontas, took the stand, and spoke at some length on the subject of slavery, and expressed his willing-ness to labor with those who have for their fundamenold them it was their outly to the infernal system. In adical change, and extirpate this infernal system. In he course of his remarks, he was interrupted by Mr. Fowler, who wished to state some facts disparaging to the speaker's character. Mr. Powler was called to order. Much discussion, relative to points of order, followed, and both Mesers. Powler and Randolph made brief statements; and after a few general re-

marks from Mr. Wickes, of Wissonsin, the Conve

ock, the PRESIDENT in the Chair. Mr. CLARK, of Rochester, again sang an anti-al

Dovarian, of Chicago, Rev. E. G. Town, of Brein-tree, Rev. J. Serias Marrie, of Beston, and E. H. Harreon, of Bearon, whose impansive specules, ils-tuned to with the closet attention and often appland-ed, will be hereafter reported at length.

Adjourned to Thursday at 16,

The Convention reasembled at the Melodi

pording to adjournment, the President in the chair.

The following letter from CRARLER HOWARD MAL-

With great respect, yours, very truly, CHARLES HOWARD MALCOM.

be requested not to extend his remarks beyond thirty

Voted. That the hour of 114 be assigned for the consideration of the financial condition of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and of contributions

ANDREW T. Poss was called upon, and said that the thirty minutes rule would not incommode him, as he wished to speak only a short time. He wanted to criticise a little Mr. Wright's resolutions, which said that the slave was not to blame for practising the lesions of violence and enslavement taught him by his nater. He (Mr. Foss) considered the slave culpable who should undertake to enslave others, insa-much as he did not believe that the slave equid think slavery right in itself. There was not a slave so ignorant or degraded but knew that slavery was a crime, be it practised by black or white. God had not made the human soul so mean as to be capable of believing that slavery was right. He did not consider there could be any actual instability to the everlasting truth dained by God. That is always recognized and acknowledged, although people may fail to live to it. Mr. WHIGHT rose to defend his position, and said

was the universal sentiment of the sation that the black man has no right to do to the white as the of the resolutions. white man does to the black, in regard to the rights of property and person. It was in view of this infernal doctrine that he framed the resolutions. The uestion was, whether the people of the North would South to prevent the slave from outting his master's throat, should he rise to do so. The Republican party is pledged to do this as a party; is pledged protect the master against the slave, but not the lutions before the Convention.

Rev. S. J. Mar, of Syracuse, said that notice had

J. H. Fowler, of Cambridge, proposed to exhibit e objects and results of the Garrisonian party and f the Republican party. The Republican party, on se testimony of its leaders, has no ulterior ends but the non-extension of slavery; and even in the Chicago platform, there is no declaration of a purpose to dmit no more slave States. The Republican party is no more anti-slavery than the Democratic party of Ohio in 1845, and of other States in 1848. The nonstension principle would admit the growth of slaery where it is to a vast extent, a hundred times its ent amount, or more. The object of the Abolitionists can only be accomplished by force—the force of civil organization, or the force of arms, i. s., insurection. The former should be chosen.

an opportunity, he would have given went to the fice, and a rigid adherence to absolute right at every thoughts rising in his soul for utterance. Upon the cost-a peculiar sweetness and openness of conduct next November, and vote for Lincoln and Hamlin. This he deemed inconsistent. He referred to what was said the evening provious about the doctrines of believed in a hell for the oppressor and his apologist. But he did not come here for the purpose of discussing any theological doctrine, but only about slavery, simply stating that he took Jesus Christ for his guide. He argued the wickedness of sustaining a slavehold ing government. He closed with offering the following resolution :-

Resolved, That the high moral position occupied by the non-voting Abelitionists who adopt the motto, No Union with Slaveholders in either Church or State,' is the only position the Christian can rightly repudiated by all lovers of God and man.

Mr. CLARKE said, as the subject of theology was be ore the meeting, he would sing a song, 'The Dream,' rhich he did greatly to the gratificat sembly.

The hour assigned for taking donations to the Sc ciety having arrived, the Finance Committee proseeded to receive such contributions, and Mr. Para-Lirs took the platform, and spoke in behalf of a generous contribution to the Society's tressury. Our novement, said he, is the only one that has for its object THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERT. We have upon our shelves thousands of publications, the recent inidents of the reign of mob-law at the South, the letter of Victor Hugo, John Brown's example, Mrs. Child's 'Right Way the Safe Way,' O'Connell's Pestimonies, &c., to be carried to the people. Who shall carry them? Most of the anti-slavery people vote, and go to some church every Sabbath, which utterly fails in its duty to the slave, and find some kind of ethics which justify them in so doing. He wished them to at least earn the right to be considered honest in their ethics, by putting their shoulders We come here to listen to men whose lives are given to the cause, but who, living in the very focus of ac have but little to give to any one cause. It is fro those who live outside the pressure that sid is ex-pected. He had no respect for abolitionists who came to the Convention merely for an hour's amusement, and not to let their 'blood bound to keep step to the music of God's providence and purpose. He re-lated an anecdote of a convert to the anti-clavery faith, who said, with much self-congratulation in his newly-gained freedom, that when he was a church-member, it had cost him fifty dollars a year, but this cause had post him only five

Daxran S. Kiro, of Boston, referred to his in ne who shot Major Pitonira at Bunkes Hill; also to internet in the school of Prudence Crandell for the mob his blood boiled ! He went on to give som interesting facts about the former history of the Meth-edist Episcopal Church on the subject of slavery, and stated its present position. He thought there had tated its present position. He thought there had seen a great advance on the part of that body. Their tending rules have always forbidden the buying and elling of human beings as alaves. Four years ago, The following letter from Charles Howard Matcoil, Paster of the Septist Church in Newport, R. L.,
was read to the Convention:

NEWFORT, R. L., May 21, 1860.

SARURI MAY, Jr., Eq.:

DEAR SIE—Your note inviting me, on behalf of the
Committee of Arrangements, to be present at the next
meeting of the New England. Art. Slaver. Committee of Arrangements, to be present at the next organs, who have been desirous of letting the subject of slavery alone, have been removed by the Committee and Aller and Al meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, was duly received.

In reply, I beg to say that, if my arrangements will permit, it will afford me pleasure to comply with your invitation. As I change my place of residence to another part of the city about the last part of this month, I am somewhat doubtful if I shall be able to leave home at that time. However, whether I am present or absent, be assured that my whole heart is with you in the cause of the alave.

If my voice, uttering its testimony against the gullt of appression, upon your platform, can be of any service, it shall be heard there, if in my power. He walks a way strewn with thorns who, sither fouth or North, fronts the great sin of our national life, and bears against it the entire weight of his epposition; but, it is a way which piety and patriotism both mark out, and which duty bids us follow. May God help all such, and give victory to the right and true!

With great respect, yours, very truly.

Out All LES ROWARD MALCOM. forence, and others have been appointed in their

demning one of the greater evils of society, like pro-titution ! In its present position, the Methodis On Mr. Garrison's motion, Foted, That, in consid-tration of the number of speakers present, each one body-guard of slavery, and the last speaker confessed himself one of that guard. The only stay to the tide which is setting toward slavery in Church and party is to be found on this platform.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER spoke of his change of views and of the new political party of which he is a supporter. He objected to the attack on that party which had been made here in the resolutions of the Business Committee, and accordingly should move that those resolutions relative to the Constitution be indefinitely postponed. He wished fair play for the new party, which he claimed would one day be the movement of the country.

Mr. GARRHOR, in reply to Mr. Poster, begged the ttention of the audience to a second reading of the resolutions. He replied to the assertion of Mr. Poster that the resolutions were an attack upon the new party. They were, he said, merely the embodiment f the sentiment of the Society for twenty years He maintained that, in fact, and in the confi and practice of the American people, the Constitu tion was what the resolutions pronounced it. Mr. FOSTER complained of misrepresentation which

he had suffered at the hands of the Anti-Slavery Society for the last four years. He went on to defend his course in moving for the indefinite postponement The question was put on Mr. Foster's motion, and

it was rejected. Adjourned to the afternoon.

AFTERNOON.—The Convention was called to order by the President at 3 o'clock. S. S. FOSTER claimed the floor to discuss

been given yesterday that at this hour resolutions on the death of Theodore Parker would be offered.

EDMUND QUINCY moved that the resolutions now efore the Convention be temporarily laid on the

Mr. Purrage Our friend Theodore Parker we great light, but we have lost, within the last month another earnest, devoted friend not only of this Society, but of the Anti-Slavery cause, in regard to whom I have a resolution from the Business Committee to precede and accompany those relating to cur beloved friend, Mr. Parker :--Resolved. That in the death of our beloved friend

and fellow-laborer, John W. Browne, the anti-slavery Rev. N. R. JOHNSTON, of Topsham, Vt., next took friend-one who gave to it the aid of strong original the stand. He said he would be brief, and if, last powers and the most liberal culture; the example of evening, when listening to eloquent speeches, while a life of rare simplicity, and of the most scrupulous the fire was burning in his own bosom, he had had and delicate conscientiousness a spirit of self-sacri-Garrisonian platform he felt at home. He had heard which won the attention and regard of those who most several ministers of the gospel say that, though they hated his opinions, and a hand only too generous in stood upon the Garrisonian platform, they should go lavishing aid on every applicant; in him, the cause of woman, of the poor, the intemperate, the impriso and of the slave, lost a ripe intellect, a brave, loving and religious spirit, a vigilant and untiring frienddamnation and salvation; and he must say he still one who spared neither time, money nor effort—and in the path of duty asked no counsel of expediency, met cheerfully every sacrifice, paused at no peril, and

feared not the face of man.

Resolved, That the President of this Convention forward a copy of this resolution to the widow of Mr Browne, with an assurance of our most respectful and profound sympathy with her in her great loss.

Mr. PHILLIPS then presented and read the followng resolutions :--

Resolved, That in the death of our beloved friend and fellow-laborer, Theodore Parker, liberty, justice and safely occupy, and, at the same time, tends most and truth lose one of their ablest and foremost cham powerfully to the destruction of elavery; whilst all pions—one whose tireless industry, whose learning, other theories and positions are not only sinful, but the broadest; most thorough and profound New Engmost corrupting in their tendency, and subversive of land knows, whose masterly intellect, melted into a the very foundation of morality, and therefore to be brave and fervent heart, earned for him the widest and most abiding influence; in the service of truth and right, lavish of means, prodigal of labor, fearless in utterance; the most Christain minister at God's altar in all our Commonwealth, one of the few whose fidelity seves the name of the ministry from being justly a represen and bye-word with religious and thinking men; a kind, true heart, full of womanly tenderness,—the object of the most unsernpulous even of bigot and priestly hate, yet on whose garments bit-ter and watchful malice found no stain,—laying on the altar the fruits of the most unresting toil, yet ever ready as the idlest to man any post of daily and humble duty at any moment :-- in him we lose that strong sense, deep feeling and love of right for whose cloquent voice millions waited in every hour of darkness and peril, whose last word same, fitly, across the water a salutation and a blessing to the kindred martyrs of Harper's Ferry :—the store-house of the lore of every language and age, the armory of a score of wespons sacred to right, the leader whose voice was the bond of a mighty host, the friend ever sincere, loyal and vigilant, a man whose fidelity was attested equally by the trust of those who loved him, and the hate of everything selfish, heartless and base in the voice always heard in his behalf, and which a nation was learning to heed—and whoever anywhere lifts a hand for any victim of wrong and ain, will be lonelled and weaker for the death we mourn to-day. Resolved, That a copy of the above res

ent to Mrs. Parker, with fit express sincere and respectful sympathy in this hour of her bitter grief and sad becavement.

These resolutions were spoken to by Rev. SAMUN FREEZING CLARKE, and the President.

A full report of these deeply-interesting commencentive addresses may be found in embequent col-

umns. The Convention voted to request the line chusetts Anti-Slavery Society to publish then by

STEED TO STATE OF

The resolutions relative to Mr. Panna bit & BROWNE were then unanimously adopted. The resolutions before the Society, as mored The resolutions overether, then were taken to be the Business Commissee, the term is a large of the Mr. Poster spoke in opposition to them. By dead the practical effect of those resolutions to be in the practical effect of those resolutions to be in the practical effect of those resolutions and the practical effect of those resolutions and the practical effect of t the supporters of the Constitution under a meal and, so far as his new party was concerned to its der its supporters. He referred to the chasping der its supporter to the Constitution. He walk to take the testimony of J. Q. Adams, who was its. enced, he seid, by some present motive, to day terise the Constitution as he did. He (Mr. F.) is not believe the Constitution was a compact; h help a bill of instructions given by the people to the fin erament. Our fathers meant to establish a beautrecy, and to carry out the doctrines of the Declarion of Independence. They were not perjured me.

Mr. Foster's half hour here expired, and he had

Mr. Bunkeren took the floor in reply, It to fathers promised to established justice, they did in fathers promised to never did establish a Democray; they made a mixed government of denome; at aristocracy. Mr. Burleigh examined for half a hour the various points made by Mr. Poster is a my able and logical speech.

SAMURL MAY, Jr., moved that the question be no taken on the resolutions. No new point he said had been advanced against them by Mr. Poster. The been advanced against mans by ar. roser. The audience had heard repeated discussions of the subject, and had thought and read much on the subject, and had thought and read much on the subject for many years. Mr. Foster had no recon to regard our reaffirmation of our own principles and coarse tions as an attack upon his new party.

MPRO
Mr. F
address
Mr.
me, no
hiend
cold he
that he
life, or
qualitie
too nee
to ench
up on o
thorn 'Ver'
fitmed
hidden
cause.
senieti
plicity
at Har
whose
Benate
by ma
goal o
ablest
In the
success
this p

enterp was a nor wallawye of the platfo is intermed ment, life of (for the which pleet a groate shape the grate char, Consectimid, obbwe good ruin a walks

twilig

my b God you s of the brave

was a cal s hard! Bens to vole edges by report. New alone a ma

bidd to-d fran

The Convention sustained the call for the vote. which, being taken, was overwhelmingly is tow of the resolutions, only a few voices being mised in the pegative. The Convention then adjourned sine die.

JOHN T. SARGENT, President SAMUEL MAT, Jr., R. H. HEYWOOD, WENDELL P. GARRISON, DEATH OF JOHN W. BROWNIL ESQ. AND

REV. THEODORE PAUKER Commemorative Meeting at the Melodeon

mographic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. TERRITOR THURSDAY AFTERNOON, May 31.

At this session of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, the series of resolutions presented by Mr. PHYLLIPS, relating to the recent decesse of Jony W. BROWNE, Esq. and Rov. THEODORS PARKER, [see proceding column, came up for consideration by specia assignment.

THE PRESIDENT-I can only say, for myself, the, perhaps, I have no right to a single moment of the precious time, so wisely assigned to other speaken; but this let me say, as the presiding officer of this Convention, that under no auspices, perhaps, could this fitting tribute be more suitably and profitably offered, than under those of the New Bogland Anti-Slavery Convention; and, were the tribute to be conmensurate with the worth of our dear friend, it might better be said, under the auspices of the United States Anti-Slavery Convention, or the wide world; Anti-Slavery Convention. For who more than he has been the fearless champion of human right! This, as was said yesterday, of all places in this city of his professional labors, is the fitting place for our tribute; for you remember it was here that he first planted the standard of freedom of speech and the freedom of the pulpit, which he so manfully and nobly sustained to the hour of his death. I am sure there an many here present who well remember the stormy day. in the month of February, 1845, when he met here his few and fondly-attached followers, and here inaugarated that freedom which he so bravely carried out. But, as I said when I began, I have no right-

though my heart is full enough, Heaven knows-to eneroach upon the time which has been assigned to other and abler speakers. You are to hear, this afternoon, from our friend, Wendell Phillips, ispplause,] who is here, and, I presume, beam hand resolutions appropriate to the occasion.

SPEECH OF REV SAMUEL J. MAY. Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y., came forward

Convention long with what I have to say. You

are all expecting, and expecting justly, from the lips of him who has just read to you the resolutions, s speech which will be more worthy of them and of the casion than anything that I can offer. But I deem it a privilege as well as a duty first to press upon you-if, indeed, they need to be pressed-those resoutions, expressive of the sorrow which every one who had aught to do with this or any other of the attempted reforms in our country must feel, when they think of the departure of those who have been so true, so faithful, so fearless. I look back, Mr. President, with a sad heart upon the past, when I remember not only these two faithful ones, but others who have fallen, ere yet the great work to which we put our hands, a few years ago, seems to be ball accomplished. When I first heard our brother Garison state and advocate the great principles on which the redemption of the enslaved in our country was to be attempted, they seemed to me so self-eridently true, they were so impressive, that I had not a doubt of their almost immediate acceptance when they should be made known. So simple was I in that day of Anti-Slavery infancy! In 1840, a dear friend, my step-mother, died. She had ever, however, I sm sorry to say, been opposed to my esponsal of the And-Slavery cause ; for though excellent in other respects, she was constitutionally conservative. I refer to her now, that I may mention a fact which I had forgotten for some time. Among her papers was one date about ten years before the time when I found it, on which was recorded this simple prediction of miss Our son, S. J. May, says that, in ten years from this time, the Anti-Slavery cause must be triumphent. That was in 1840. How little did I foresee the trials to which this self-evident truth was to be subjected. ere it would be scoepted by the people! Never thall I forget the joy of my heart when our fr iends, Pril Live and Quincy, came forth, with all their sesdence honors upon them, and all their professional prospects before them, and laid themselves, and all they were and had, upon the altar of devotion to the sixte [Loud applause.] It seemed to me the harbinger of almost immediate triumph to our cause. But tolled on, year after year, and still the mighty Butle stood, apparently as firm as ever. Then came the men who are alluded to in these resolutions. And more especially THEODORE PARKER, of whom all that is here set forth may be said, and more, if inquist could be found to express it. A truer, purer, simple more devout, devoted, fearless, loving man, here! never known. [Applause.] And yet, what here his labors, and all the labors of brother Browns, and d all who have come into this cause, effected! The nation is indeed aroused; the nation can never slamber again over this mighty wrong; that is tre-The day of triumph must come, for there is a Got, and there is a spark of Divinity in every human heat, else man would not be man. [Applause.] And ye, who is confident enough to propher when the low is to be? But let us not be discouraged. In grateful memory of these devoted friends, in grateful mem ry of the services rendered us by that man, especial whose memory is to live, and whose fame is to spread wider and wider, and whose loving and burning words are to be listened to by an over-enlarging safe.

ence throughout every pert of those lands which

deen read more and so in north some contract of the contract o

speak our language aye, and of all other lands in which there is anything like free thought—is priteful remembrance of his services, and as the bear testimony we can give him of our gratitude and lore, let as now, with renewed devotion, consecrate ornelres all the more to this great service, in the soleas resolution that, crippled as we are by his remo val from our midst, yet, trusting in that God whom ral from our indicated from the aspersions that a false the so nobly vindicated from the aspersions that a false theology has thrown upon him, and to the power of

theology in the power of the truth which possesses, in Itself, an influence which outest, the most malignant, cannot forever withstand-let us, I say, resolve that, crippled as we are we will nevertheless go on with increase tion, fighting this monster-wrong to its death.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., Mr. Phillips, who was received with loud applause dressed the audience as follows :--

Ms. CHAIRMAN-You will not, of course, me, no one would be expected, to analyse a near in the very hour he dies. That would be a cold heart, fit only for a critic who, in the very hour that he lost one who had made a large share of his life, could bold him off, and take all his separate qualities to pieces, and paint them in words. We are too near, we love too much, to perform such an office to each other. Now, at least, all we can do is to call up some few prominent traits that have been forced upon our observation as we walked side by side with those who have worked and lived with us.

Very few of you knew that most efficient friend funed in the first resolution I have read ; yet, though hidden, he was no slight or trivial servant to the great cause. The purest of all human hearts, but not, as is sometimes the case, with that rare and childlike simplicity, a merely negative character; for he graduated at Harvard in the same class, and was linked as a roommate and nearest and most intimate friend, with one whose intellect is the admiration of millions-our Senator, Mr. Sumner; (applause) and he was thought by many, indeed by most, of those who stood at the goal of collegiate reputation, the most original and ablest intellect which that class gave to the world. In the bloom of youth, in the freshness of a rare success in his profession, he placed himself on this platform in the mob years of the anti-slavery enterprise, when to speak an anti-slavery word was starvation, when to hold up an anti-slavery banner was political suicide. Yet, the most promising lawyer in the County of Essex, dowered with the love of the Whig party of that county, he came to this platform with that unconscious fidelity to truth which incapable of asking what is expedient. I remember well what checked his political advancement, and it suggests one of the great comforts in this life of a reformer. After all the seeming sacrifices (for they are only seeming) and the hard struggler which are said to mark our lives, we are the happiest of the human race, for God gives us this, the greatest of all rewards: As we move onward, society hapes itself according to our ideas; we see about us the growing proof, the ever fresh and green evidence this we were right ten years before. [Appleuse.] Conservatisan areans on, discontented, distrustful; timid, thinking that when you have swept away the cobwebs, the root in coming down, sighing for the good old times, anxious to hide in its grave from the rein and wickedness it sees all about; but Reform walks onward, its buoyant forehead lit with the twilight of the coming day, and saying, All hail! my brother! I saw you in my dreams! Thank God that he gave me life long enough to see you set jocund foot on the misty mountain tops of the morrow. [Enthusiastic applause.] Now, this brave, dear brother, when he stood the pet of Essex, was asked, as the condition of another step of political advancement at the very threshold of his life, hardly graduated from college- Will you take the Senatorship, and when there, will you pledge yourself to vote for Daniel Webster ?" . Never !" no longer officer of ours.' To-day, in sadness, with veiled face, every heart in Massachusetts acknowledges that the step which that young man rebuked by refusing to pledge himself in advance to its support, was a fatal mistake in the great statesman of New England. That instinctive sense of right which slone, and at the cost of being thought a fanatic and a madman, threw up life at the very threshold, at the bidding of duty, Massachusetts puts her seal upon it to-day, and says, ' Would to God that we had been as frank, and done as much, and turned away the bitter

Leaving politics, Mr. Browne, with his characteristic simplicity of character and unconsciousness of talent. deemed himself unfit for the tasks which others were ready to press upon him. He said to me once, I remember, when I urged him to come to this platform, and let us hear again the voice which had delighted us so often, 'I ought not to be there; there is nothing in me worthy to stand there: I am shamed sway from such a post.' Yet the best judge in New England called him the most pregnant talker he ever met.' And never was a demand, of whatever character, made upon him, to which he did not respond with an alacrity and efficiency which showed how mistaken was his own judgment, and how much wiser he would have been to have yielded to our entresties, and have led where he only consented to fol

years which closed the life of our great, our favorite

You who remember him so calm, self-poised, and still in manner, speaking in measured words, one by one, saw only half his nature. By constitution, his blood was lava, and his soul thundered and lightened at the sight of wrong, specially any meanly base act. Indeed, 'thunder and' lightning' was the pet name he bore among his classmates. But, side by side with this volcano, stood, sleepless and watchful, the most delicate and scrupulous conscientiousness, too delicate perhaps for daily life. When plunged, therefore in our fierce agitation, he doubted whether he was justified, in the hot moments and floods of feeling which such contention let loose on his spirit. It seemed to him his duty, the best part and purest, to keep the waters of his life calm and still beneath the stars that looked into their depths. Such conviction, however, never made him either an idler or a neutral. His flag was nailed to the mast-no man ever mistock his position. Beneath that flag was so high-souled and transparent a life that none could hate or doubt the bearer. His professional skill, the very best our Bar possessed, was freely given to every poor man. Never rich, his hand was ever open. No where did he fear the face of man; and, as much as our nature can, he surely kept a conscience void of offence towards his fellows, and a soul pure in the sight of God. Patient of labor, in that little heeded and hidden toil so indispensable to every reform he was ever ready. Many of us stood here dowered with the result of his toil, many of us brought to you his ripe thoughts, which his own lip and his own life would have given so much better; and when he fell, I, for one, felt lonelier and weaker in my place in this world and its battle. There are very few men so true to friendship, so loyal, so untiring, that you feel, in closing your eyes, 'I leave one behind me who will see that over my grave no malicious lie goes unrebuked, and that justice is done to my intentions. I always felt that if Providence should take me first, there was a voice and a hand which twenty years of tried and stanch friendship would place as a shelter over my memory. Would to God I could do him to-day, half the justice that his sword would have least from its stablend to do for me ! [Applause.]

Another friend is gone. Not gone! No, with us,

heart forward at the feet of the Eternal; he has only side, and in the midst of us, in the omital State of struggled onward, and reached it to-day. (Profound sensation.) Only one step higher!

You may not think this great praise—we do. Other

Wail ye may full well for Scotlan Let none dare to mourn for him.

How shall we group his qualities? The first that occurs to me is the tireless industry of that unresting brain, which never seemed to need leisure. When some engagement brought me home in the small hours of the morning, many and many a time have I looked out, (my own window commands those of his study,) and sees that unquenched light burning—that unflagging student over at work. Half curious, half sehamed, I lay down, saying with the Athenian, The trophies of Militades will not let me sleep. He seemed to rebuke me even by the light that flashed from the window of his study. I have met him on the care deep in some strange tongue, or hiving up knowledge to protect the weak and hated of his own city. Neither on the journey nor at home did his

Why is he dead? Because he took up the burden of three men. A faithful pulpit is enough for one man. He filled it until the fulness of his ideas overflowed into other channels. It was not enough His diocese extended to the prairies. On every night of the week, those brave lips smothered bigotry, conquered prejudice, and melted true hearts into his own ning to show symptoms that they will be glad, when quered prejudice, and melted true hearts into his own ning to show symptoms that they will be gled, when on the banks of the Mississippi. This was enough the world doubts whether shey have any life left, to for two men. But he said, 'I will bring to this altar say, ' Did not Parker spring from our bosom ?' Yes, of Reform a coeffice offering yet; and he gathered the he takes his place—his serene place—among those sheaf of all literature into his bosom, and came with few to whom Americans point as proof that the naanother man's work, almost all the thoughts of all tional heart is still healthy and alive. Most of our ages and all tongues, as the background of his influence in behalf of the slave. He said, Let no supergraves, and we cover them up with apologies; we ficial scholarship presume to arraign Reform as arro-gant and empty fanaticism. I will overtop your can-throw the mantle over their defects, and say, 'Rodidates with language and law, and show you, in member the temptation and the time!" Now and all tongues, by arguments hoar with antiquity, the there one—now and then one—goes up silently, and rightfulness and inevitable necessity of justice and yet not unannounced, like the stars at their com

that comes from a wisdom without them and above without a witness, for his children have been amon them.' The fault of New England scholarship is us, and one half have known them by love, and on that it knows not its own use; that, as Bacon says, half have known them by hate-equal attestations t it settles in its fixed ways, and does not seek reforma- the divine life that has passed through our streets." tion.' The praise of this scholar is, that, like the I wish I could say anything worthy; but he should great master of English philosophy, he was content to have done for us, with the words that never failed to light his torch at every man's candle. He was not be fitting, with that heart which was always ready. ashamed to learn. When he started in the pulpit, he with that eloquence which you never waited for and came a Unitarian, with the blessings of Cambridge. were disappointed—he should have done for us what Men say he is a Unitarian no longer; but the manna, we vainly, try to do for him. Farewell, brave, strong when it was kept two days, bred maggets, and the friend and helper! little worms that run about on the surface of corruption call themselves the children and representatives of Channing. They are only the worms of the manna, and the pulpit of Federal street found its child at the Music Hall. [Loud applause.] God's lineage is not of blood. Brewster of Plymouth, if he stood here to-day, would not be in the Orthodox Church, counting on his anxious fingers the five points of Calvin. No; he would be shouldering a Sharpe's rifle in Kansas; fighting against the libels of the Independent and Observer; preaching treason in Virginia, and hung on an American gibbet ;-for the child of Puritanism is not mere Calvinism; it is the loyalty to Justice which tramples under foot the wicked laws of ts own epoch. So Unitarianism (as far as it has any worth) is not standing in the same pulpit, or muttering the same shibboleth; it is, like Channing, looking into the face of a national sin, and, with lips touched like Isaish's, finding it impossible not to launch at it the thunderbolt of God's rebuke. [Ap-

Old Lyman Beecher said, 'If you want to find the sor of St. Paul, seek him where you find the objections made to a preacher that were made to St. Paul.' Who won the hatred of the merchant princes of Boston? Who did State street call a madman? The fanatic of Pederal street in 1837. Who, with unerring instinct, did that same herd of merchant princes hate, with instinctive certainty that, in hate him? The Apostle of Music Hall. That is

When some Americans die-when most American die-their friends tire the public with excuses. They confess this spot, they explain that stain, they plead circumstances as the half justification of that mistake, and they beg of us to remember that nothing but his own case. His (Mr. G.'s) reply was, 'I do not good is to be spoken of the dead. We need no such doubt that your great-grandfather, and grandfather, mantle for that green grave under the sky of Flor- and father, were amply endowed with brains; but malice has scanned every inch of his garment;—it you must be more careful, or the penalty will come.' was seamless; it could find no stain. History, as in Nevertheless, if Mr. P. had fallen thus prematurely, the case of every other of her beloved children, gath- it was a rich consolation to know that it was the reers into her bosom the arrows which malice had shot at him, and says to posterity, ' Behold the title-deeds to your gratitude! [Applause.] We sak no moment to excuse, there is nothing to explain. What the enerling journal thought bold, what the selfish politician feared as his ruin—it was God's seal set upon his apostleship. The little libel glanced across him like the rocket when it goes over the vault; it is passed, and the royal sun shines out as beneficent as

When I returned from New York on the twelfth day of this month, I was to have been honored by standing in his desk, but filness prevented my fulfilling the appointment. It was eleven o'clock in the norning. As he sank away the same week, under the fair sky of Italy, he said to the most loving of wives and of nurses, 'Let me be buried where I fall'; and tenderly, thoughtfully, she selected four o'clock of dred dust of brave, classic Italy.

low him to the grave, that same moment of bright- ever erring, would ultimately be brought back. 'You ness lighted up the arches of his own Temple, as one may quarrel with that theology,' said Mr. Garrison, whom he loved stepped into his own deak, and with "if you please; I shall not. I like it; I have great remarkable coincidence, for the only time during his faith in it; I accept it. But this I say, in respect to Gon.' It is said that, in his last hours, in the wan- Unitarian, or Universalist. These sectarian the that very moment, he was speaking to his usual thousands; at that very instant, his own words were sinking down into the hearts of those that loved him best, and bidding them, in this, the ioneliest hour of ment which shocked our eminently Christian countered a senti-

the justice that his award would have least from its sabbard to do for me ! [Applause.]

Another friend is gone. Not gone! No, with us, only standing on one step higher than he did. To such spirits, there is no death. In the old times, when such spirits, there is no death. In the old times, when that torolly mamusoth of the press, the swarfor hurled his weapon and social standard of the press, the warfor hurled his weapon into the thickest of the opposite host, and struggled to win its way to the confidence of the West by believe the most through scholarship of New England, and was glad to win its way to the confidence of the West by believe the most through scholarship of New England, and was glad to win its way to the confidence of the West by believe the most through scholarship of New England, and was glad to win its way to the confidence of the West by believe the most through scholarship of New England, and was glad to win its way to the confidence of the West by believe the press, in fidelity to the truth, in distinct the chickest of the opposite host, and struggled to win its way to the confidence with flust weapon of influence in the bloom of his youth, Theodore Ferker Sung his in his right hand, he always pieced himself at our life. Parker, though strong in his convictions, was

the Empire. (Cheers.)

You may not think this great praises—we do. Other men have brought us brave hourts, other men have brought us hear eighted and vigilant intellects, but he brought us, as no one else could, the inftiest stature of New Engiand culture. (Applause.) He brought us a disciplined intallect, whose statement was systemee, and whose affirmation the most piffed tradest look long time before he ventured to doubt or racters, nothing but our reputation for accuracy, for our weapons, the man who could give to the cause of the slave that weapon was indeed one of its ablest

and foremost champions.

Lord Bacon said in his will, 'I leave my name Lord Bacon said in his will, 'I leave my mand and memory to foreign lands, and to my own countrymen, after some time be passed.' No more fitting words could be chosen, if the modesty of the friend who has just gone before us would have permitted him to adopt them for himself. To-day, even within twenty-four hours, I have seen symptoms of that re-

When nations, slowly wise and meanly just, To buried merit raise the tardy bust.

liberty.' (Hearty applause.) Enough work for three ing, and takes it place, while all eyes follow it, and to do; and he sunk under the burden! say, 'Thank God! It is the promise and the herald! o do; and he sunk under the burden] say, 'Thank God! It is the promise and the herald! Lord Bason says, 'Studies teach not their own use; It is the nation alive at its heart. God has not left us

> 'Sleep in peace with kindred ashes
> Of the noble and the true;
> Hands that never falled their country,
> Hearts that baseness never knew!' Prolonged applause.]

REMARKS OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON. Mr. Ganasson said he felt impelled to utter a few unpremeditated words in support of the resolutions offered by Mr. Phillips, respecting the removal of his beloved and endeared friend, THEODORE PARKER; and yet, when all hearts were full, almost to bursting, in view of this great bereavement, the most eloquent words seemed poor and common-place. Silence wa more expressive than speech.

His estimate of Mr. Parker was an exalted on He regarded him as one of the most remarkable men the world had ever seen-a prodigy as to his scholarly attainments, and his power to acquire knowledge in all its varied forms, which he dispensed with unbounded munificence for the enlightenment and elevation of his race. He felt very sad at Mr. P's departure, which he regarded as premature, the result of overtasking his bodily powers, though for the noblest ends. He thought his friend, Mr. Phillips, needed to be admonished, rather than stimulated to more protracted labors, by that light which he so often saw in Mr. Parker's study, at the sacrifice of needed rest. It was not an example to be imitated for it was using up life too rapidly, in violation order that their craft should be safe, they ought to physiological law. How often even before he saw any eign of failing health on the part of Mr. Parkerhad he warned him, with all earnestness, that, by such unremitted studies and labors, he was surely treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath But Mr. P. was wont playfully, yet confidently, to refer to the longevity of his ancestors as full security in sult of earnest devotion to the cause of truth, freedom, and humanity, and a very noble sacrifice indeed.

Mr. G. referred to the mental independence and moral courage which characterised Mr. Parker, in respect to all his convictions and acts. He was not, technically, 'a Garrisonian Abolitionist,' though often upon that platform, but voted with the Republican party, though faithfully rebuking it for its timidity and growing spirit of compromise. He was no man's man, and no man's follower, but acted for himself, bravely, conscientiously, and according to his best judgment.

But, what of his theology? Mr. G. did not know that he could state the whole of Mr. P.'s creed, but he remembered a part of it :- There is one God and Father over all, absolute and immutable, whose love is infinite, and therefore inexhaustible, and whose tender mercies are over all the works of his hand; and that same Sunday to mingle his dust with the kin- whether in the body, or out of the body, the farthest wanderer from the fold might yet have hope. He be-Four o'clock! The same sun that looked upon lieved in the continual progress and final redemption the half-dozen mourners that he permitted to fol- of the human race; that every child of God, howabsence, opened one of his own sermons to supply my mere abstract theological opinions—the longer I live, place; and as his friend read the Beatitudes over his the less do I care about them, (applause)—the less do grave on the banks of the Arno, his dearer friend I make them a test of character. It is nothing to me here read from his own hand-writing the text, 'Tauer that any man calls himself a Methodist, or Baptist, or dering of that masterly brain, he murmured 'There boleths are easily taken upon the lip, especially when are two Theodore Parkers; one rests here, dying, but the "offence of the Cross" has cessed. Whoever the other lives, and is at work at home. How true! will, with his theology, grind out the best grist for

their bereavement, 'Trust God.'

He always came to this platform. He is an old he, 'whether my neighbor believes in one God or in occupant of it. He never made an apology for coming to it. I remember many years ago, going
to it. I remember many years ago, going
to the root of absolute justice and morality,
home from the very hall which formerly occupied
and obviously meaning this: If a man pick, my
pocket, it is in vain he tells me, in palliation of his
looking up to us. It had been a stormy, hard gatherorime, 'I am a believer in one living and true God.' ing—a close fight; the press calumnisting us; every That may be, but you are a pickpocket, neverthless, journal in Boston ridiculing the idea which we were Or he may say, "I have not only one God, but sudeavoring to spread. As I passed down the stairs twenty gods; therefore, I am not guilty.' Nay, but homeworing to spread. As I passed down the stairs twenty gods; therefore, I am not guilty. Nay, our homeword, he put his arm within mine, and said, you are a thief! And so we always throw ourselves 'You shall never need to ask me again to share that back upon character—upon the fact whether a man platform.' (Applause.) It was the instinct of his is homest, just, long-suffering, merciful; and not nature, true as the bravest heart. The spot for him was where the battle was hottest. He had come, as half the clergy come—a critic. He felt it was not his place; that it was to grapple with the tiger, and throttle him. And the pledge that he made he kept; bless those who needed a blessing, to seek and to

n he came in contect, so that he might learn, if ble, something from them that might aid him in

up for discussion, like multitudes of others, Mr. Par-ker was inclined to treet it facationally, and supposed it could be put saids with a smile. Still, it was his disposition to hear and to learn; and as soon as he began to investigate, and to see the grandeur and intellectual worker, but because he worked with the world-wide importance of the Woman's Rights movement, he gave to it his hearty support before the Kiernal, at the same time that he worked with all

from time to time, driven out by the edicts of Burouse. When I saw him, on his return from Burope the pean despotism! What a home was Theodore Parlact time, he told me of a long conversation which he her's for them! How they have loved to gather had with a scholar at Oxford, I think, or Cambridge, around him in that home, and what a sympathizing who had lived for nothing but to study Aristotle friend, and trusty advisor, and generous assistant, in that was his business in the world—to know all about their times of sore distress, they have found in him! Aristotle; and Parker said that he discussed with There are many such in Boston, and in various parts him, through a whole summer day, Aristotle. of our country, who have fied from foreign oppres- they had exhausted that subject, Parker saked him is

face again in the flesh. We shall never again hear That is but a little part of Parker's knowledge, of the music of his voice, nor be inspired by his bodily which not one in ten thousand ever heard; and it is presence. But is he dead? Are his great powers a specimen of the quantity and kind of knowledge and faculties paralyzed? Is he pow in ingiorious which he had packed sway ready for use.

Now, with regard to the second thing which goes alive, and beneficently at work ! Is it a dream, a fic- to make a man great. What was Parker's way o tion of the brain, to believe that he really lives, and action? It was a grand way of action. His activity occupies a nobler and wider sphere, and that he will was as large, determined, persistent, complete and find a nobler and grander work to perform than he thorough, as his intellectual working was. What he has been able to do here? I believe in immortal life, did was on a plan reaching through years—on a plan not as a matter of logic or of metaphysics, for it does arranged when he was a boy; the whole of his life not come within the scope of these, - but I feel it in mapped out before him, with all he meant to do each every fibre and nerve of my system, in every drop of year proviously arranged, and the reason for it fixed my blood, in the very instincts, necessities and desires in his own mind; and then he went to his work and

. The soul, secure in her existence, smile

At the drawn dagger, and defies its point. This thought, in view of any mortal bereavement however great, fills the soul with complete satisfac tion, and inspires it with a new life.

· God calls our loved ones, but we lose not wholly What He hath given;
They live on earth, in thought and deed, as truly
As in His heaven.

Our departed friend has left with us, and with mankind, his great thoughts and noble deeds, and they are imperishable. They have touched and quickened millions of minds already, and shall enlighten and inspire millions yet unborn; and so, going down through the ages, they shall be a power to redeem

As for his reputation, so bitterly assailed and ma liciously traduced while he lived, time will render it more and more illustrious. As for the stigmas cast upon him by narrow-minded bigots, and canting hypocrites, and craven time-servers, and cold-blooded conservatives, these are to give place to the plaudits of a discerning and an appreciating posterity. Thus it is that they who are willing to bear the cross are permitted, in God's good time, to wear the crown !

· For truth doth conquer at the last; So round and round we run : And ever the right comes uppermost, And ever is justice done!

SPEECH OF REV. J. FREEMAN CLARKE. Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE was the next speaker.

When I was asked if I also would say something here, I felt as our friend Wendell Phillips felt, and of life, he was as docile as a child to the touch o as our friend Mr. Garrison also felt, that this was not love, and it was only necessary, if you had any fault analyze or describe the character of the man whose loss was filling our hearts with a sense of inexpres- what your difficulty was, and just as likely as not sible grief; but, having heard them speak, some he would at once admit, if there was the least reason thoughts have come to me which I would, like to in the complaint, that he was wrong. He was as

We all have a feeling that Theodore Parker was England mind, heart and hand, has never ripened on ing, as I happen to sext day; on Saturday afternoon go and visit the When Theodore Parker was about going away sick and bereaved of his society; on Sunday morn- and I went to see him for the last time, he followed ing preach his sermon, and in the afternoon drive out me to the door of his study, and, putting his hands to Watertown and preach there; and on Sunday on my shoulders, he kiesed my cheek, and said evening he would lie on the sofs, and talk to his 'James, if you and I never meet again in this world friends. That was his way of working. I got a let—we have the happiness of knowing that there never ter, only yesterday, from William H. Channing, an has been between us one word, or one feeling, or one ed of his, who, speaking in the most tender action, of unkindness." In the Old World, you will and affectionate terms of his departure, said that he see men who carry in their button-hole a red ribbon-had, by over-working the intellectual part of his faculties, by too greet fidelity in study, killed out, to some extent, another masterly faculty, which he had observed, but of which those who did not know him might be ignorant—namely, his gorgeous imagination. Mr. Channing said that he was a man who had, with all this logical power, with all those reflective faculties, with all those immense powers of grasp and reception,—the powers by which he had issured, and the powers by which he brought them into one great system, in order to set them before men—with all this, he had the imagination of a poot, but did not know how to describe—with what figure, burrowed from nature or art or history to describe our had not know how to describe—with what figure, burrowed from nature or art or history to describe our had been and accommunities, with all those immense powers of which he brought them into one great system, in order to set them before men—with all this, he had the imagination of a poot, but did not know how to describe—with what figure, burrowed from nature or art or history to describe our history ulties, by too great fidelity in study, killed out, to As long as I live, I shall carry (not apparent to others

w. an end of it; or merely to gather together certain things and put them into his brain, and there an end if of it. No; he had a great idea before him all the time, and his study was always instinct with the life of that idea, and every word he uttered was a living word, and all the thoughts that came from him, came from him as fresh, along a thought. from him as fresh, glowing thoughts,—fall of love to God and love to man.

Not to dwell on that, I say he was great, very

country and the world. (Applause.)

How he will be missed by those noble but unfortunate skills who come to Boston from the old world, and by which he matured them for ripe and present os our country, who have ned from toreign oppression, who will hear of his death with great sorrow of he knew anything about Plato. He said, 'I have read Plato once'; and then Parker began upon Plato, Mr. President, our beloved friend and coadjutor has said went through with every one of the Dialogues, seen 'the last of earth.' We never shall behold his

> did it-lived to accomplish it. But what sort of work was it? Greatness in work considers the quality of the work as well as the amount and the method accomplishing it. What was the quality of his work? It was simply this; it was to lift man toward God. That was the work which Parker gave himself to do in the world. That was the work for which he gathered together all this knowledge, that the work for which he so trained his intellect to be scute, persistent and comprehensive. It was to raise man to God. With his eye on God, he turned to man to lift him up; and wherever he found a man who needed to be raised, or a class, a race, or a nation, that needed to be lifted up, there he felt his work to be. On that point I say no more, because it is the least necessary to speak of his work, since that is patent and known to all.

But there is one other element of greatness in mar

Besides the head and the hand, there is the heart What was the greatness of heart in Theodore Parker His habit was in speaking of the Almighty, not to call Him the Almighty. He spoke of the Absolute Father,' in his philosophy and in his theology; but when he came to speak of Him from the pulpit, as Christian man speaking to Christian men, as a brother talking to brethren and eisters of what they needed it was 'Father' and 'Mother'-the Great Father and Mother of us all.' The tender, feminine heart of Theodore Parker was not satisfied with the name of Father, unless he united with it that of . Mother. So tender was he, so affectionate was he, that no one was ever near to Parker as a friend, as an intimate companion, without wondering how it was that mer could ever think of him as hard, stern, severe, cold and domineering, because, in all the private relation time in which we could speak words which should to find with anything that he had said or done, to go to him and tell him just what your complaint was, or ready to admit himself in the wrong as to maintain his stand for the everlasting right. Let me tell you the ripe and precious fruit of our New England soil, a little anecdote in this connection. I recollect that of our New England stock, of our New England a year or two ago, I saw Parker at an evening party, mind, of our New England institutions. A better where he was talking with a lady, and I went up to ence. No excuses—no explanations—no spot. Priestly and rather, were amply endowed with brains; but specimen of a full-grown, manly and womanly New them and said, 'May I hear what you are saythese old gray rocks of Yankee land. [Applause.] said 'Yes. I was telling this lady a little incident How was he great? There are three directions in connected with my school-teaching, when I taught which a man may be great, and he was great in all a school in Watertown. I did not often punish three. There is the direction of the intellect. There the boys, but I kept a ruler, and I had not deare great thinkers; there are men who make them- termined sof to punish them; but, on the other hand, selves into a thinking machine; there are men who if it was necessary, I meant to punish. One day make themselves into a studying machine—who fill there was a boy,—a good boy he was, usually, themselves full of all thoughts and all knowledges, who had done something wrong, as boys do, and I and stop there. Thropone Parker had all the power said to him, "Don't do that again,"—and he did it of study that any of the hardest and ripest German again; and I said, "Don't do that again, or I shall students, who live for nothing but study, have had; punish you,"—and he did it again; and I said, "Stop but he had a great deal more. When he came back after achool." The boy stopped after school, and I from his first journey to Europe, talking with me of called him to me. He came up with his face a little the men whom he had seen in Germany, he said he pale and anxious, as though he was expecting punwent to see old Baur at Tubingen, and saked him ishment. I said to him, "Why did you do that, how many hours he studied. He replied, 'Only Fred?" He said, "I don't know, sir;" and as eighteen hours'; but Baur was a student, and noth- looked at him, I saw the sweet face of his sister in his ing but a student. Parker had studied his ten, features, and it seemed to me that if I struck him, i twelve, and, for aught I know, his eighteen hours a would be like striking a girl, and I could not do it day; but yet, all that was merely the beginning of So I said to him, "Will you do that again, if I let what he was going to do with himself-merely the you off this time?" He said, "I will try not to, outside preparation for his after work. I remember sir," and he ran down the stairs. As I heard him meeting him on the cars on that fatal winter which running down, I said to myself, "Did I do wrong in laid the foundation of the disease which took him not punishing him, or did I do wrong in saying that away. He had a carpet-beg with him, filled with I would punish him? Well," said I, "however that German, Greek, and Latin books-those old books, may be, this I know, I never can punish a boy after in vellum, of the seventeenth century—volumes this, for if I do, I shall say to myself, the reason is, which it is a pain merely to look at, so hard reading do they seem to be. On Monday morning, he says Parker, 'I never punished a boy after that; and, filled his carpet-bag, and went to the place where he was to lecture Monday night; all day long he Roxbury, (which then reached all the way out to studied his books, and at night delivered his lecture. Dedham,) I got them to adopt a rule, that no child Then on Tuesday he would go to the next place, should ever be punished without the teacher's mak-Inen on Tuesday he would go to the next place, should ever be punished without the teacher's making his books all day, and lecturing at night. So he would go on through the week, until Friday, "catensible reason." "Octavible reason?" "Because," when he would be back again to Boston, with his carpet-bag exhausted, with every one of those books gutted of its contents, with the whole substance of them in his brain, so that he knew all about every them in his brain, so that he knew all about every what he reason may be that the man was out late the case of them and small about every which he reason may be that the man was out late the case of them and small about every which he reason may be that the man was out late the one of them, and could give a perfect analysis of night before, courting, and feels cross; or, perhaps, them all, from beginning to end. On Saturday morning he would sit down to write his sermon for the that the boy has not got a pretty sister." (Laughter.)

we were surrounded with great fields of snow, des-sling white in the sun; and on one side we saw the fall of a terrible avalanche, with its roor of thunder. So we passed on, until we resolved the summit of the mountain, and then, descending on the other side, we came at last to where again the snow cessed, and there, taking the diligence, we want on our way down the side of the mountain, through gorges and revines, and glaciers even, the country around growing more and more green, changing from spring to summer, until at last, when we came down toward the Laks of Lucerne, we passed through orchards full of apple-blossoms, and finally crossed the beautiful lake to the town of Lucerne, there to receive a whole bundle of town of Lucerne, there to receive a whole bun ter, and child—to end the day. When I think of that day's journey, beginning in Italy and ending in Germany, beginning under an Italian sun, at midday, surrounded by snow-fields and glaciers, and as its close amid the apple-blossoms of Germany, it seems to me that that varied and wonderful day is a seet of type of the life of our friend Tarabbara Parkers; its youth Italian—all fresh and gushing with ten thousand springs of early, boyish life and hope and animation, and with all the varied study and activity of the child and the youth; its early morning p in the stern work of climbing up the mountain in the stern work of climbing up the mountain side; its midday, with God's evertasting sun over his head, and the great, broad fields all around, over which his eye looked; and all through its afternoon hours, passing on into an ever-increasing affinence of spring and summer, and ending at last in the awest bosom of affection, gratitude and love. (Applause.)

How shall we mits him! The days are to when we shall know how we miss him. When that great hall stands closed and silent on the Lord's day, -empty and silent, because there is no one here who has the commending ability which can bring together those great multitudes Sunday after Sunday, month after month, and year after year, to be taught and fed,-when great crises of the nation come, and pass unexamined, and not understood, because that great masterly power of analysis is taken from us,—when great national crimes are repeated again and again, and not rebuked to the listening ear of the nation, because there is no great power of intellect and knowledge adequate to that work-then we shall remember and feel and mourn the loss of THEODORE PARKER.

The President, Rev. Joux T. SARGENT, said a few words in reference to Mr. Parker's ministrations among the poor of the city, and the deep interest he felt in every effort for the relief of the Perishing Classes,' after which the question was put on the resolutions, and they were unanimously adopted.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK.

The proceedings of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention occupy so large a portion of our present number as to preclude all comments upon it, further than to say, that its opening session was thronged beyond all precodent, and every succeeding one evincing lively and growing interest in the Anti-Slavery struggle. We publish entire the speeches made with reference to the death of Theodore Parker-a death which has caused a profound sensation of grief throughout the North, and elicited many warm tributes to his character-in some instances, even from Orthodox pulpits. On Thursday evening, the Melodeon was excessively crowded to hear Rev. George B. Cheever, F. B. Sanborn, Samuel E. Sewall, Req. and Wendell Phillips, Esq. in burning condemnation of the iniquitous imprisonment of Thaddeus Hyatt at Washington. It was a powerful demonstration.

The Women's Rights meetings at the Melodeon, or Priday afternoon and evening, were largely attended, and produced a most favorable impression

A CARD The subscriber, a practical Chemist and Manufacturer of Chemical Preparations, French Cosmetics, Fine Perfumes, &c., for the past seventeen years, now offers (free of charge) to all who desire it, the Recipe and directions for making a simple Vegetable Balm, that will, in from two to eight days, remove Pimples, Blotches, Tan, Freckles, Sallowness, and all impurities and roughness of the Skin ; leaving the same-as Nature intended it should besoft, clear, smooth and beautiful. This is no humbag or catch-penny affair, and those who think it such will please not notice the advertisement. Those deand advice, will please call on or address (with return JAS. S. MARSHALL postage). Practical Chem

No. 32 City Buildings, New York.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Collections by Parker Pillsbury. In April-Worcester South Division A. S. So-

ciety, In April—At South Danvers, Sale of Tracts,

Collections by Marius R. Robinson, Ohio, Stephen Goss and wife, South Natick, donation, 3 00
Elliot W. Brown, Executor—a bequest of Squire
Stone, of West Newark, Tiogs Co., N.Y., 8 27
Collections by Wm. H. Fish, Cortland Co., 9 68
PRANCIS JACKSON, Trescutor.

REPORMERS' CONVENTION.

The Prierds of Human Progress will meet in De Witt, Clinton county, Iowa, June 15th, and hold over Sunday.

The object of the meeting will be, to form a better acquaintance among the friends of general reform—

'o inspire each other with greater devotion to the cause of human liberty, and to devise the best method by which all questions appertaining to Religion od by which all questions appertaining to Religion and Humanity may be freely discussed, and the claims of sound merality practically enforced. In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

EW WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture incy, in the Town Hall, on Sunday next, June 10, ernoon and evening, at 2 and 6 o'clock.

at the Union Hall, Harwich, on Sunday, June 10, during the day, and at the Centre in the evening. He will spend ten days in other places on the Cape.

LF HENRY C. WRIGHT will lectate in the lower Town Hall, in Andover, Sunday, June 10, and in Milford, Mass., Sunday, June 17. TO THE FRIENDS OF PUGITIVE SLAVES.

Places are wanted for two lads from the great South-ern prison-house of slavery, one 15 and the other 17 years of age. They have been house servants, but are willing and ready to go on trial to do any kind of work they are able to do. Apply to B. F. WALL-CUT, 221 Washington Street, or by letter to FRAM-CIS JACKSON, Boston.

THE NEW YORK ILLUSTRATED NEWS

THE BUST ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER IN THE UNI A splendid number, containing a Portrait of

CHESTER RACES IN ENGLAND,

TEN BROEK, ESQ., THE AM. TURF, THE JOCKEY ROOMS NEAR THE CHRSTER RACES JAPANESE VISITING THE PATENT OFFICE, PRESIDENT BUCHANAN AND MISS LANE VIEW. ING THE PRESENTS IN THE WHITE HOUSE, NEW ENGLAND AROTTO EXPEDITION, ICE-

with many other interesting Pictures of the latest in-cidents of the week. Can be had at all the News Agents throughout the country. Now is the time to send your subscriptions; \$3 a year. J. WARNER CAMPBELL & CO., 63 Ann Street, New York.

POETRY.

For the Liberator. THADDEDS HTATT. Captive in the Cause of Presdom

Is it a land of Liberty? a it a land of Liberty?

La it a land of generous thought,

Where the will of manhood is not fre

And the voice of the people is sold and bought?

Low shall we be miscalled the free,

When the voice of the people is sold and bought? Aye; the rope of the people is bought and sold;

Bartered away by political guile;
Purchased with office, and power, and gold;
Won by the Demagague's oily smile;
And the Trutterpows cold, and Paleshood bold, Beneath the Demagogue's oily smile. Ples why do they keep in donthsome fall A man accused of no wrong or crime? Why do they keep him a prisoner pale, Watching and waiting for God's good time !-A prisoner pale, who doth not qual, But watcheth and waiteth for God's good time ! What hath he done, that a nation's might Should trample him out like a worm of vice? He hath only stood for a popular right, And offered himself in sacrifice: He bath made this fight for a popular right,
And given himself in sacrifice!

And is there no court, whose justice and ruth Can break these bonds of a tyrant sway? Must Theddeus Hyatt surrender the truth, He must yield, in sooth, a well-known truth, Or waste in prison his life away !

Where is your Constitution now? Where are your boasted equal laws, When 'culprit' is stamped upon manhood's brow, Without a crime, and without a cause -When the citizen's brow is made to bow, Without a crime, and without a cause?

Ah lefar more bitter the Demagogue's rule. Than the sway of a crowned and sceptred thing 'Tis worse to bend to the knave and fool, Than to kneel in the path of a noble King: The flerce misrule of the knave and fool Is worse than the reign of a noble King !

Ye haughty Senators, cunning and gray, Who spread so slily your cruel share, There's a Senate will meet upon Judgment-day ; And God, and your captive, will both be there! What will ye say, upon Judgment dry, When God, and your eaptive, confront you there? Washington, (D. C.) May 30, 1865.

For the Liberator. MY SABBATH. I wandered, one bright May morning, Where I knew that the violets grew. And where, through the pine's dark foliage, The sky looks strangely blue.

It was a Sabbath morning : Will any count it sin, In a forest rather than a church, The day of rest to begin ? To read one's self the sermon

That is written on flower-gemm'd sod ; And to list to the bright-winged warblers Who forever worship God ? I heard the church-bells tolling

The hour for morning prayer, .And I thought how many would wander Through scenes so wondrous fair ; And their hearts be not lifted heavenward,

So dull their sense and dim, Till the preacher says, 'Let us worship God In the use of a certain hymn.

Honest, perhaps, and from the heart, The worship such would give ; But, methinks, 'twould teach one how to die, Rether than fit to live.

Oh ! it is not solemn faces, Nor spoken words of prayer, That fit us for life's duties,

Thus I mused as I sat there, listening To the song of birds and bees, And the music of the soft South wind, As it murmured through the trees.

And homeward at length returning, Through fields of springing corn, I knew that not in vain I'd spent That glorious Sabbath morn.

For I'd read from the book of Nature A lesson of love for all ; How our kind Heavenly Father Careth for great and small. And, heedless of their frowning.

Who met me on my way, I wondered if they felt like me, How holy was the day.

E D MORER Sherborn, May 27.

For the Liberator. THEODORE PARKER. Mid Italia's sweetest flowers, And her soft, cerulean sky, Freedom's noble son has fallen, Breathed his last expiring sigh. Nature weeps her favorite fallen ; He a as one that loved her well; But the heart's unspoken sorrow Language has not words to tell. Man will mise him, and will vainly Seek another friend as brave; Woman, too, will mourn the teacher

That her noblest lessons gave. With the Wrong he battled ever. For the Right he loved to plead : And his life was a rich blessing. Unto thousands in their need.

All the world will pay him honor. And will write his loving name High amid the many, chiseled

In the temple of its fame. Of her PARKER, fair New England Shall be proud forever-more; And his fame back shall be echoed. From the farthest land and shore

He is nurs, although his body Sleepe in quiet far away : Movering round us is his spirit, at the state Williame labor day by day.

May bur live be ever patterned !-After his who's gone before,
And the world be better for us,
When our missions shall be u'er ! Manchester, May, 1360. Sylvesten.

THE RIGHT MUST WIN. O, blest is he to whom is given

O, bleet is he to whom is given
The instinct that can tell
That God is on the field when He
Is most invisible

And blees is he who can divine
Where real right doth ite.
And dares to take the side that seems
Wrong to man's blindfold eye!

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Principle LETTER OF GERRIT SMITE.

[The first he has written since his sickness. His besith of body and brain restored. Treatment of his by the New York Democratic Vigilant Association.

PETERBORO', May let, 1860. WILLIAM GOODEL, Editor of Printiple:

My DEAN PRIEND,—This is my first letter since left the Lunatic Asylum. During all these months

Since the hung-up lute, that me'er hath spoken.

Why do I write my first letter to you? First, because through you? can best answer the deeply earnest inquiries respecting my health—its loss and recovery—inside more frequently by persons of the class who read your paper, than by persons of other masses. Second, because I prefer that my first communication in this my resurrented data who may be the communication in this my resurrented data. recovery—made more frequently by persons of the class who read your paper, than by persons of the classes. Second, because I prefer that my first communication in this my resurrection state, when more than ever I prize the true religion, should be with those who give the best evidences of possessing it insensity, and to speedy death.

2d. Dr. Gray was accustomed to comfort and self infelded, think him to be a very poor judge of what constitutes the true religion, even your good self infelded, think him to be a very poor judge of what constitutes the true religion, who is so ignored what constitutes the true religion, who is so ignored in the importance of questions on depravity, future punishment, and the atonement, as to put them all entirely outside of the essence of that religion. I do not forget that in the eye of such he life him to the true religion, who dares to doubt the Divine importance of parts of the Bible; religion to the religion, who dares to doubt the Divine importance of a the Bible; which are accept the claims of absolute authority, which are set up for it; insists that, instead of the final trial of the right of human nature is tited the final authority by which to try the Bible; and who says, in terms so plain as to shock the prevailing religious sense, that even this book, immeasurably best of all books though it be, is good on had, right or wrong, so far and only so far as it agrees or disagrees with human nature. You might perhaps consent that love—love in the heart to God and man—illustrated by each love in the life, makes up the whole of the essence of such manifestations. For instance, I have not wholly one of the true religion. But you would add what I cannot—that conduces on the points referred to its continued to the life of the essence of the essence of the painful uncertainty and

religion—it is in my very high regard for the re-ligion of yourself and those whom I have been class-ing with you, that I find a strong reason for choos-ing yourself as the proper person to whom to ad-dress this letter. Jesus would have even himself judged by his works. He requires us to judge each other by our works. Your works approve your re-ligion; and therefore do I approve it—and none the less promptly and cordially, because I have to dis-sent from some of your religious theories and speculations. There are many men, very religious in their way, whose works nevertheless do not commend their religion. I think this is true of the New York State Temperance Society men, who are found on one day gravely resolving that it is a high crime to license dram-shops, and on the next eagerly voting for dram-shop magistrates and legislators. I think that this would be true of those who should vote for men guilty of acknowledging murder to be law; and that it is true of those who do rote for men guilty of acknowledging the worse crime of slavery to be law. Were Jesus again on the earth, he would, instead of praising magistrates and legislators for replunging the fugitive slave into the horrid pit of slavery, and instead of praising the voters,
who voted them into office, be far more likely to say
to them all: 'Ye do the deeds of your father.'
Moreover, it would be all the same whether they
should or should not put in the plea of Constitutionall or other necessity. This one question in his Court
is, not what is Constitutional, but what is right.
But to return to the object of my latter and inlators for replunging the fugitive slave into the hor-

But to return to the object of my letter, and in-form your readers of my health. I am not as hlame-worthy as many think me, for the prostration of my They censure me for not having relaxed my usual incessant labor. They say that, under my bodily diseases, I should have given up my extensive correspondence, writing for the press, public speaking, and the care of a large landed eatate. It is, by the way, something to my credit, that I so far favored my feeble health as not once in all the year 1859 to go from home to a public meeting. I readily admit that I am not blameless for having been the subject of these diseases. In respect to them, Jesus could not say of me: Neither bath this man sinned nor his parents.' I confess myself guilty of having sinfully violated the laws of one of the best constitutions ever given to man. I have overworked myself.

Forgetting that human powers have limits, I for

got to think that I could not do all that I wished to

sympathy of my head with my dyspeptic stomach. Vertigo and other most uncomfortable sensations—now as if my head were made of lead, and now as if it were made of cork—were among the products of this sympathy. Never did I suffer so much in this wise as when I went to Congress. I did not venture to take my seat the first week; and when, a few days after taking it, I ross to make my first speech, I was painfully uncertain whether I should have head enough to make head-way. My friend, Dr. Jones, of Onondaga, was in the same Congress.

these admonitory sensations. I did so when in Congress; and to this cause among others was it owing, that I was so much more of a talking than thinking member. But the dyspepsia, which began in the Fall of 1858 and continued a year, was attended by call of 1858 and continued a year, was attended by call on me in his journeys from the one to the other. none of these sensations, and therefore by none of the admonitions involved in them. Palpitation of heart, of which I had hitherto experienced nothing, was its incessant companion and chief signal. My head felt well and my brain worked easy. Dr. Gray, the Superintendent of the Asylum, believes that even in the first half of the year 1859, I had come into that stage or character of insanity woung children. Republicant merchants are the controlled to relations of the mind. had come into that stage or character of insanity called exaltation of the mind. I never read, called exattation of the mind. I never read, studied nor wrote with more pleasure. To speak, plainly, I had never so much confidence in my powers, and was never so egotistical. I boasted that I could do more than at the age of forty. This being the condition of my brain, it is not at all strange that, although, as my nurse believes, I slept but three boars a night, during most of that year, (less than a manufactor of one hour a night during the last than an average of one hour a night during the last three weeks before I was removed to the Asylum.)

three bours a night, during most of that year, (less than an average of one hour a night during the last three weeks before I was removed to the Asylum, it should not occur to me that so serious an injury in the loss of my reason would be the penalty for continuing the customary use of my brain. What, though even in warm summer nights, I frequently could not fall saleep until my cold feet had been rubbed and bottles of hot water applied to them, averetteless I was in too intoxicated and happy a state to forbode wil to myself. Why the dyspenia of 1883 and 1890 affected my heart and produced no uncomfortable sensations in my head, I am but capable of explaining. Physicians can perhap are rubin it, when they learn that, for nine months before the dropsy. I had typhold fever, and most distressful neuralgia in the bead, and that, intermediately, I suffered greatly from deriand the other members of, my family, quits overame ine. The news, a few weeks after, of the death of a little to hasten me ye condition to its criss. Only three weeks after, I went down under a troop of hallucinations. My family were reduced to provery. They were east off hy sheir friends and the world. Those, who had put their property into my hands, and land they are amine with my nades, and the it was on my way to Yirginia, shall work on the surface of the second and the first of the second and the first of the second and the first of the second and the world. Those, who had put their property into my hands, and than they are amine with my nades, and they not amine with my nades, and the interest and produced to prove the second and the first of the second and the world. Those, who had not their property into my hands, and then the provention of the second and the second and refactives in the South believed that it was on my way to Yirginia, shall work to my family, and my seen memory my if also, which had the second the new year and the second and refactive in the South believed that it was on my way to Yirginia, shall work to my family and my

itil within a very few days of my going to the

I required no attendant, and was removed into Dr. Gray's family. Three weeks more, and he brought me to the home which had always been, and which was now far more than ever, my earthly beaven. I am prepared to say that, on the whole, I do not regret my insanity. The following are among my reasons for this conclusion:—

Int. Dr. Gray assures me that but for the shocks which hastened my downfall, or but for others which might have occurred to that end, I should gradually have gone down under the pressure of my bodily diseases and mental labors into a hopeless type of insanity, and to speedy death.

2d. Dr. Gray was accustomed to comfort and obser me with the prediction, that my sickness would result in a greatly improved condition of both body and brain. This prediction there is growing reason to hope will be verified. Certain at least is it, that I am restored to a far higher degree of bodily health

restored to nearth.

8d. Should dyspepsia return upon me severely and especially should wakefulness ensue, I and my family will be concerned for my brain, and a prompt, judicious, and most probably successful treatment for its protection will be adopted.

4th. I know now, to a far greater extent than

ever knew before, bow to appreciate a well-conducted Lunatic Asylum, like that in Utica. Doe tors Cleveland, Turtellot and Wright are worthy of their association with Dr. Gray. The institution appears to me to be controlled by wisdom and love. How sad are the effects of the popular prejudices and superstitions against Lunatic Asylums! Doubt-

less a large share of the scholars, statesmen, an men of vast commercial operations, whose deaths at their homes the newspapers ascribe to a brain fever, would be cured, if their families could brave the reproach of having them in a Lunatic Asylum. Had my family been superstitious enough to regard it as more sinful to have a diseased brain than a diseased arm, or foolish enough to partake of the con mon notion that it is disgraceful to be the inmate of a Lunatic Asylum, I, too, should have been left to die at home, and I, too, should have been published as having died of 'brain fever. 5th. I now sympathize with the insane as I never

did before-and especially with those whose hallucinations, like my own, are of a deeply painful character. Although the last half of my life has been a history of sicknesses and surgical operations, (eight of the latter,) yet was the sum total of my sufferings in them very small compared with that I suffered in a fortnight of my insanity. Do you wonder that the imaginary can so surpass the real? Let me assure you that none of all the realities of life were ever so intensely real to me as were the imlife were ever so intensely real to me as were the imaginations of my distempered brain; and that the deepest carnestness I had ever felt before was but affectation and hypocrisy compared with that mighty carnestness which had now taken possession of my whole soul!

Since my return to my reason. I have seen that

some newspaper editors and other persons made fun of my insanity. My only reply is, that they would not have done so had they known what I was suf-fering; and that should any one of them become insane, I shall be found to have learned by things I have suffered not to ridicule bim.

6th. But for my insanity I should, quite proba

got to think that I could not do all that I wished to
do. But in a world where there is so much to do
that few are found willing to do, it is not always
casy to resist the temptation to overdo.

For a dozen years before the last, I had at times
suffered from dyspepsia—though by no means as
severely as had many persons of my acquaintances
My suffering was mainly in the quick and strong
against by of my head with my dyspeptic stomach.

Some and the strong was mainly in the quick and strong
paper after my blood. This was manifest when its
paper after my blood. This was manifest when its Dr. Jones, of Onondaga, was in the same Congress.

I well remember that to my remark, that I was so airnaid of falling in the streets as not to dare to walk them without carrying my name and other information in my hat, his quick and witty reply was:

Such things in your hat are of themselves enough to make you fall.'

I always was alarmed enough and prudent enough to reduce the labors of my brain in the times of the most merciful providence in my whole life.

to reduce the labors of my brain in the times of these admonitory sensations. I did so when in Congress; and to this cases among other properties. At the time of his last visit, he was sick with the young children. Republicans may have concocte plans with John Brown. But they did it not under my roof, nor anywhere else with my knowledge. Republicans may have given him monies, and even arms. But I never knew from what persons, except my neighbors and myself, he received monies and astonished was I at learning, after the collision at Harper's Ferry, that the arms of the Kansas Committee were in Virginia. I had not for years heard anything of those arms.

from tes and coffee; and to whom tobacco was no less instead of whom tobacco was no less instead of whom tobacco was no less instead of whom to whom to way, in the hour of his calamity, 'Rejoice not against me, O mine comey; when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. Look at further evidence of this unparalleled meanness. The great and pressing object of the manifesto was to defeat the Republican party, at the election to take place in ten or freely days. Hence it represented me to be a member of that party, although knowing full well that I belonged to no party, and that I was entirely content to forego, for conscience mke, both in the State and in the Church, all the offices, honors and advantages which attend on party membership. Again, although knowing me to be a man of peace instead of war, of moral suasion instead of blood, nevertheless, as John Brown was known to be my beloved friend, to have obtained loans and gifts of money from me whenever applied for, to have

beloved friend, to have obtained loans and gifts of money from me whenever applied for, to have bought his farm from me, and to have been the father and friend of one of the little communities on lands I had given to my colored brethren, so did the manifesto judge mine to be the expedient name for connecting with this plundering and killing association, and for serving as the link to couple the Republican party with John Brown and his doings at Harper's Ferry.

Then see, at least so far as it speaks of my connection with this association, how maked as well as mean a lie is this manifesto. When they who prepared it are arrangeed for connecting my name

as mean a lie is this manifesto. When they who prepared it are arraigned for connecting my name with their fancy-built association, they in effect confess that they had not a shred nor a semblance of fact to justily their villany. Nay, more, conclusive testimony shall appear, at the proper time and in the proper place, to prove all these thirty-one 'merchant princes' admitted, when the manifesto was published, that, in respect to myself, it was a 'calamity,' and that they all declared, (perhaps to soothe their guilty consciences, perhaps to quiet my friends, or perhaps both,) that 'they would see to it that no harm should come to Gerrit Smith.' It is true that they had set the dogs on me, but then they would interpose to save me from being

It is true that they had set the dogs on me, but then they would interpose to save me from being torn to death. It is true that they did not wish to kill me, but then how could they resist the temptation to use my name for the greatly needed and highly meritorious purpose of killing Giddings, and Seward, and other prominent Republicans!

Finally, look at the atrocity of this manifesto lie. The frenzy of party politics has often driven men to violate the principles of a sound morality. But when before was it ever known to involve a company of thirty-one men of high standing, in the enormous crime of falling upon their fellow-citizen, and, in the face of their own clear convictions of his innocence, fastening charges upon him which his innocence, fastening charges upon him which they knew could not fail to serve mightily to blast his reputation, to expose him to the harassing and endangering action of the courts, to outlaw him those whom these lying charges had

filled with rage to assassinate him?

Perhaps there is one thing that is stranger, and Perhaps there is one thing that is stranger, and even guiltier, than this enormous crime. It is that they who committed it are yet to show the first sign of repentance for it. But we must not fail to recollect that repentance is generally hastened by the fear of punishment, and that my thirty-one calumniators probably feel that they are not only too rich, but too numerous a band to be in great danger of punishment. I trust, however, that even in their case also, the Scripture shall be verified, which declares, though hand joined in hand, the wicked shall not

I have referred to my numerous diseases. I do not forget that my frequent and great sufferings, involving even the loss of my reason, will be construed into poor encouragement to follow my example of strict temperance. But instead of my strict emperance being the cause of my diseases, to it do I owe it that I survive my diseases, and that I am now permitted to take this fresh start in life, and to

But I am ashamed of having written so much about myself; and I cannot but fear that my having done so will create the impression that my great affliction has contributed to the growth of my ego-tism, rather than my modesty. So I close my letter abruptly: not, however, without first saying that I have written it privately, and without the knowl-edge of any one, so great was my fear that my family might think it too much of an undertaking for one who had come up so recently from the entire pros-tration of body and brain.

GERRIT SMITH. Your friend,

> From the Maine Temperance Journal. THADDEUS HYATT.

We wish to call the attention of our readers and he public, to the case of this gentleman. It will recollected that he was thrust into prison in be recollected that he was thrust into prison in Washington, by the United States Senate, on a charge of contempt for declining to answer certain questions, propounded by a committee of that body. And this act is aggravated by the fact of being confined in a prison that is not fit for a hog-pen, to the imminent hazard of his health. If not at his 15 imminent hazard of his health, if not of his life.
At this moment he is prostrated with fever, in conbe the loss of his life. And this man is an Ameri- THIS Institution is open Summer and Winter for

could find it either in his head or his heart to cast a vote in favor of such a deed; and all such ought to be made to feel the honest indignation of their

That the incarceration of Mr. Hyatt is an act of irresponsible and despotic power, every person whose mind is not warped by prejudice or interest cannot fail to see. And every man capable of understanding plain and simple English, and who will read the Constitution of the United States, must read the Constitution of the United States, must see that this act is a flagrant and wicked violation of that clause which provides that no man 'shall be compelled to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life. LIBERTY, or property, without DUE PROCESS OF LAW.'—Art. b, Amendments.

On what 'due process of law', was Mr. Hyatt shut up in that vile and filthy den in Washington.

unfit to be inhabited by swine? None whatever for, in the first place, he was brought before a body a mere legislative, a law-making power; not a law-executing body. This last is the sole province of the judiciary. In the next place, he is thus incarcerated for an act not recognized by any law on our statute books as a crime. It was an act of unmitigated and shameless despotism, which should make the cheek of every senator who voted for it burn with shame, and fire the breast of every American elizen with indignation. And especially should this be the case, when it is remembered, that being thrust into a vile dungeon without the forms of law, he must lie there until he rots, unless this same Senate is pleased, by the exercise of the same subtrary and lawless power; to release him.

It seems to us, that every unsophisticated common sense man must see, that if such practices are to be admitted in our government, it may become one of the worst engines of described in the state of the same are to be admitted in our government, it may become

to be admitted in our government, it may become one of the worst engines of despotism the world ever saw. No person who is man enough to attract the notice of the Senate and excite its hostility, or the notice of the Senate and excite its hostility, or it may consider dangerous to its schemes, is eaform its iron and despotic grasp, unless he has power to resist its assaults on his liberty. If it wishes to crush any man in the nation or put him out of the way, it will only have to trump up some excuse to bring him before some of its committees, and then demand what he cannot concede without disgracing himself, and then, if he refuses to barter away his honor, just thrust him into a dangeou, and he is done for, so long as these men hold their nower.

The truth is, this act involves all the principles on which the Inquisition was justified, and that distinguished the odious and detectable administration of Lord Chief Justice Jeffries and has made tion of Lord Chief Justice Jeffries and has made his name infamous in the world's history, and caused him to be so detested and abharred by the people of his day. And this act ought to provoke the same indignation all over this land, as was ex-cited by the doings of that notorious character. And that it is not so, shows such a degree of in-sensibility to the encrosedments of tyranny as our fathers would have been ashamed of.

FW Mr. Brady, photographer, is now engaged in reproducing upon paper the features of Mr. Thaddeus Hyart, of the Washington jall, and also the room in which he temporarily resides. The latter pictures, prepared under Mr. Hyart's supervision, bears the in-scription, 'Room in which Thaddeus Hyart is incar-cerated, in the American Bastile,' &c., &c.

CELEBRATED

HOT-AIR FURNACES

DARLOR GRATES in great variety, embracing more than eisty different patterns, varying s from three to sixty-fiee dollars.

PORTABLE HOT-AIR RADIATING PARLOR GRATE, the most elegant heating apparatus for drawing-rooms and parlors ever invented.

patterns, including the . Clipper Improved, . Mount

DINING-ROOM STOVES, with ovens, including the 'Beauty," of new and chaste design, and in its operation entirely superior to any cast iron . Parlor Oven Stove' ever introduced into this market.

large assortment of Office and Shop Stoves; Castings for the PROUTY & MEARS'S Stoves and Purpaces, &c. &c.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL, Abredie good falls "green particle version

ALLEN S. WEEKS.

23, 25 and 27 New Friend Street (Between Union and Hanover Streets.)

BOSTON. June 1-coptf

CARPETING

All the Year Round?

JOHN H. PRAY, SONS & CO. IMPORTERS AND DEALERS IN

CARPETING. 285 WASHINGTON STREET.

(NEAR WINTER STREET,)

RCEIVE, by Steamers and Packets from Eng-L. land, the latest and best styles and qualities of Carpeting, comprising Wiltons, Velvets, best qualities of Brussels, Tapestries, Three-plys, Kidderminsters, &c., Painted Floor Cloths (of all widths and qualities), Rugs, Mats, Bockings, Feltings, Canton

AMERICAN CARPETING. ALL WHICH ARE OFFERED AT THE LOWEST PRICES, For cash or approved credit.

New Edition of a Great Work.

HELPER OUTDONE BY JUDGE STROUD IN HIS MASTERLY WORK,

A SKETCH OF THE SLAVE LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES. TVERY man should own and read this book Rev. Dr. Wayland says of it, in a letter to the

author. I wish there was a copy of it in every famly, or better seree the purposes of humanity.

We want 500 Agents to sell this work during the present Presidential campaign. No more effective document can be circulated. Price, \$1. Large dis-

count to agents. JOHN P. JEWETT & CO., PUBLISHERS,
No. 20 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON May 11

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS Hygienic Establishment.

Nos, 63 and 65, COLUMBIA STREET, BROOKLYN, L. L.

can citizen who stands charged with no crime known to our laws!

It is, to us, a matter of the most profeund astonishment that the people of these United States are not wrought up to the highest pitch of indignation, by this most despicable exercise of irresponsible and despotic power. And we are not less astonished that any Republican Senator could be found who could find it either in his head or bis heart to east;

Antor House. Accommodations and table. **excellent*. Astor House. Accommodations and table, excelle and at one half the price charged at the Hotels. Address GEO. F. ADAMS, M. D.,

Physician and sole Proprietor April 20. THAYER & ELDRIDGE.

PUBLISHERS

Wholesale Booksellers, 114 & 116 WASHINGTON ST. Mehl6 of BOSTON, MASS.

Resistance to Slaveholders LETTER TO SENATOR WILSON.

WADES PATENT RUNNING ATTACHMENT, No. 9 WALNUT STREET. (First Door from Main,) opposite Mechanics' Hall, WORCESTER, MASS.

Every variety of Stitching done to order.

W. IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair-Dyeing.

MADAM BANNISTER (formerly Madam Cantraxy) would inform her kind and liberal patrons and the public, that she has removed to \$23 Washington st., and 20 West st.; where will be found her Restorative, the most celebrated in the world, as it prevents hair from turning gray, and produces new in all diseases of the scalp. She stands second to nobe in Hair-Dyeing and Champooing.

Ladies walted on at their residences, either in or out of town.

Boston, May 1, 1860.

CHARLES HAZELTINE, PIANO-FORTE TUNER

REPAIRER

CF Orders may be left at Russell & Tollman's, 299
Washington street, and at the Nopomes PostOffice:

Is there any virtue in MERS. S. A. ALLEN

HAIR RESTORERS

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE TO TO THE ED'S OF EVANORLIST.—'My age is sin.

One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had been quite thin. About the lat of March, of the break year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's form year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's form year, I commenced using the directions, and have used the commenced using the directions, and have used the commenced using the directions, and have used the second three or four weeks, on retiring to been weeks now slmost restored to its original color, and the has appears to be permanent. I. AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIKE DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRETIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certably a salvantage to one who was in danger of become bald.

Bridgewster, Oncida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, ISE.

President J. L. EATON, I.L. D., Union University of the salvantage to the s YOURSELF.

President J. L. BATON, LL. D., Union Uniterity,

Marjessoro , Assault state, that some time last ping I found MY HATE FALLING OFF. I concluded to puchase a bottle of "Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Returner, &c., and give it a trial. I commenced use is but very irregularly; but notwithstanding the impulsifity, I found that its influence was distinctly the ble; The Falling of Formats Chara, and my bed, which before were quite GRAY, WRATE CRIMERS BLACK. I do not consider that I have given it fair trial, but, from what I have seen of its effects in my own case. I have reason to believe that it is tapked of accomplishing what it purports to do, via. The TRES HAIR FROM FALLING OFF, and to RETURN GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLD. GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK. Editor ! Ladies' Repository, Cincinsai, Ohia.

'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen' Zjiobalar mine with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various stricks manufactured for the hair, I feel no heusation in frommending yours as the best I have ever used. It great the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retain it is the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it is

Bev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor Caristian Adre cate, Buffalo, N. Y. Your Hair Restorer and Zylobaliamum is the best Thave ever known. It has restored my hair to

Rev. B. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. America and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobelm. mum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleasure in recommending them usuch as have occasion to use such preparations. Bev. A. WEBSTER, Editor ' Christian Era,' Boston

· Having used numerous specifics to little purpose, I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zykbalsamum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. 1 have done so for several months past with good effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bell nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has regained the softness of my earlier years. Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. Guide to Holiness, Bostos.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, frand mong our other advertisements, we insert from setual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now the evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to it good effects. Rev. S. B. MURLEY, Pastor Congregational Church,

· I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Rair Re-

storer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the His Restorer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to directions. Others of my acquaintance have used in with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as a invaluable dressing for the hair. Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

. My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and

out on a very lively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BE-COMB THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANT-LY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE W. are thankful to you, and feel that we have full value of our money."

GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Prescot, Lancashire, Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray heir was restored, to its natural color,—not the wig-like

appearance produced by dyes, but to in own startle color, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dy. I can strongly recommend it, and shall (set happy is answering the queries of any you may refer to m [The above clergyman is well known throughout Gred Britain, and to many in the United States.]

HAYTI. Rev. Mrs. E. S. AlleDRUS, (many years Missionary

to Hayti,) Marrinsburgh, N. Y.

In consequence of her long residence is storesamed island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealty condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Aller's six writes to the 'American Baptist,'—I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Aller's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum; I have tried many other remedies for my hair, but sere any thing that so materially and permanently benefit ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen.

Res. J. Wilson a Wilson Day (1997) to Hayti,) Marrinsburgh, N. Y. Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Parife and.)

"I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the next literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the set of it in curing my baldness and grayness."

Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyteries Wil-· It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till as

know it is what it purports to be. Having opportusity and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be blessed for the control of the co pleased to insert adversisement, &c. Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of B New Ballimore, Greene county, N. Y.

Some time since, I procured a bottle of your World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relater, and Leavestern and Leaveste and I am happy to say, that it prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it from being gray to original glossy and beautiful black. Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Paster Prot. Duta Chard

Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Paster Prot. Dura Language Visiter county, N. Y.

'I have no hesitation in certifying that Mr. S. L.
Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobskenta
have produced all the effects described in her sides,
tisement, in restoring the color and increasing the
growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully remained it to those whose hair may either begin in in color or decrease in luxuriance.

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Pratteburg, N. Y. 'I was really surprised to find my gray har sea turned as black as when I was a young min.

Rev. M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvania It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and order a new growth, although I did not attend to it at ne require.

Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H. We think very highly of your preparation, the new no doubt, if you had an agent in this ricial a large quantity might be disposed of.

We think that if there fail to convince, while tout than a trial will. Some for dealers try to wil wide on which they make more profit than on these; short

These are the only preparations experied is so quantity to Europe.

We aspire to have the best, not the lower pick. One fould of the Restorer will last a year, \$1 is bettle. Balsam, 374 cents per bottle.

Address all letters for information, &c., in it is. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, N. & Broome Street, New York. The Generics has and in Black risk to directions pasted on bottless and in Black risk to directions pasted on bottless on other is genuine. Signing the name by other is offences.

Sold of Symp Date and Pancy Good Dealer Oct 14. 1700

THE BARBARISM OF SLAVERY

MADISON THOUGHT IT WRONG TO DAIL IN THE CONSTITUTION THE IDEA I PROPERTY IN MAN.—Debates in the Fed-SPEECH ON CHARLES SUMNER.

for the Admission of Kansas AS A FREE STATE.

is Principlat - Undertaking now for the first a shere a slence of more than four years, to adopte the front of the front o restrict me to put on record here, as an apology sering my seat so long vacant, without making if he resignation, for a successor, that I acted above links of an invalid, whose hopes for restrict to his natural health community triumphed is he disappointments for this debate, it became my my is suppose the Crime against Kansas, and to in so spon the immediate admission of that Territory a state of this Inion, with a Constitution forbiding Strony. Time has passed; but the question regard, ambappy to avow that rule of moderation, such it said, may venture even to fix the boundary of the constitution itself.

prof vision itself.

I have no personal griefs to utter; only a barbarous grown equal intrude these into this chamber. I have no personal wrongs to avenge; only a barbarous make could attempt to wield that vengeance which he nore to the Lord. The years that have intervened in the team voices to which I cannot fail to hear. Sense what an I—shat is any man among the living it many the dead compared with the Question when I is this alone which I shall discuss, and were far argument with that easy vicesty which is of windown itself. on the argument with that easy victory which is of a county

to Charles against Kaness stands forth the painful

to Warnh bistory, and you cannot find its paralthe siave trade is bad; but even this soormity is

a compared with that elaborate comparance by

to a Christian age and within the Husita of a

of the whole country was held trembling of ciril war; while all this targe exuber-iranes, letestable in finelf, becomes con-ceptable when its origin to traced to the nith, the conspiracy to force Slavery at all to hansas; the successive invasions by security there was destroyed, and the electors itself was trodden down; the sacrilegious urpation; and, among other things, ca-s-oaths, calculated to diffranchise actual ndly to Freedom, and securing the privihole crowned by a statute, "the be-all

here stays of the press the argument against more than I at the press the argument against more man for the press the argument against more man for the press of the state of the press of the state of the press of

in the humillating Truth with which I begin. Semiters on former occations, revealing their sensibility,
have even protested against any comparison between
what were called the "two civilizations," meaning
the two social systems produced respectively by Freedom and by Slavery. The sensibility and the protest
are not unmateral, though mistaken. "Two avrillations!" Sir, in this mineteenth sentory of Christian
light, there can be but one civilization, and this is
where Freedom prevails. Ectween Slavery and Civilization there is an essential incompatibility. If you
are for the one, you cannot be for the other; and
just in preportion to the embrace of Slavery is the diverce from Civilization. That slave-masters should be
disturbed when this is exposed, might be expected.—
But the assumptions now so beautifully made, while
they may not prevent the sensibility, yet surely exclude all ground of protest when these assumptions
are exposed.

Nor is this the only difficulty. Slavery is a bloody
Touch-me-not, and everywhere in sight now blooms
the bloody flower. It is on the wayside as we approach the national capital; it for not he marble steps
which we mount; it flaunts on this floot. I stand
now in the house of its friends. About me while I
speak are its most sensitive guardians, who have
abown in the past how much they are ready either to
do or not to do where Slavery is in question. Menaces to deter me have not been spared. But I should
fill deserve this high post of duty here, with which I
have been houngred by a generous und enlightened
people, if I could hestiate. Idelairy has been often
exposed in the presence of idelaises, and hypocrisy
has been chastised in the presence of Scribes and
Pharisees. Secil examples may give encouragement
to a Senator who undertakes in this presence to expose Slavery; nor can any language, directly responsive to the assumptions now made for this Barbarism.
be deen to question. Slavery can only be painted in
the sternest colors; but I cannot forget that rature's
stree

Comparison between the Free States and the Slave States.

Under the second head we shall naturally consider (1) Slave-masters as shown in the Law of Slavery; (2) Slave-masters in their relations with sawes, here glancing at their three brutal instruments; and (3) Slave-masters in their relations with each other, with society, and with Government; and (4) Slave-masters in their unconsciousness.

in their unconsciousness.

The way will then be prepared for the consideration of the assumption of constitutional law.

I. In presenting the CREEACTER OF SLAVERT, there is little for me to do, except to allow Slavery to paint itself. When this is done, the picture will need no explanatory words.

(1.) I begin with the Law of Slavery and its Origin, and here this Barbariam paints itself in its own chosen definition. It is simply this: Man, created in the image of God, is directed of his human character, and declared to be a "chattel"—that is, a beast, a thing or unities of property. That this mateument may have seen in be put forward without precise authority, I quote fac missates of three different States, beginning with South enrollus, whose voice for Slavery always has an uncerting distinctly chass. Here is the definition supplied by vide States.

"Slavee chall be deemed, held, taken, reputed, and

"Slaves shall be deemed, held, taken, reputed, and adjudged in law, to be chattels personed in the hands of their owners and personed and their executors, administrators, and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."—2 Brev. Dig., 229. And here is the definition supplied by the Civil Code of Louisians: "A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor. He can do In similar spirit, the law of Maryland thus indirectsist of specific articles, such as sidees, working beasts, animals of any kind, the court, if it deem it advantageous for the ward, may at any time pass an order for the sale thereof."—Statutes of Maryland. Not to occupy the time unnecessarily, I present a summary of the pretended law dafining Slavery in all the Slave States, as made by a careful writer. Judge Stroud, in a work of juridical as well as philanthropic merit:

chings—is an article of preperty—a chaitel personal—obtains as undoubted law in all of these (Slave) States. "—Stroat's Law of Slavery, p. 22.

Out of this definition, as from a solitary germ, which in its pettiness might be created by the hand, towers our Upas Tree and all its glantic peison. Study it, and you will comprehend the whole monstrous growth.

Sir, look at its plain import, and see the relation which it establishes. The slave is held simply for the was of his master, to whose beheets, his life, list liberty, and asppliess, are devoted, and by whom he may be bartered, leased, mortgaged. Dequeathed, involced, shipped as cargo, stored as goods, sold on axecution, knocked off at public auction, and even staked at the gaming table on the hazard of a card or a die; all according to law. Nor is there anything, within the limit of life, inflicted on a beast which may not be inflicted on the slave. He may be marked like a hore, driven like an sae, sheared like a sheep, mained like a cur, and constantly whipped like a beruie; all according to law. And sheald life itself be taken, what is the reneedy? The Law of Slavery, imitating that rule of evidence which, in barbarous days and and barbarous countries, prevented a Christian from itstifying against a Mahousdan, openly pronounces the tacompetency of the whole African race—whether bond or free—to testify in any case sgainst a white man, and, thus having already surrendered the Slave to all possible outrage, crowns its tyranny, by exaluding the very testimony through which the bloody cruelty of the Slave-master night be exposed.

Thus in its Law does Slavery saint itself; but it is only when we look at detalls, and detect its essential elements—fee in susper—all inspired by a single modified the planet in their orbits, and they have on affine process, of course, in these alements, is the impossible pretension, where Barbarium is lost in implety, by which man claims property is wan. Against such arrogatoe the argument is brist. According to the law of nature, wr

n the earth:

that right we hold

By His debation; but man over men
He made not ford, such title to Himself
Heserving, human left from human free.

He made not lord, such title to Himself
Recerring, human left from human free.

Slavery tyrannically assumes a power which Heaven depied, while, under its barbarous necromancy, borrowed from the Source of Evil, a man is changed into a chattel—a person is withered into a thing—a soul is ahrunk into merchandise. Say, sir, in your madness, that you own the sun, the stars, the moon; but do not say that you own a man, endowed with a soul that shall live immortal, when sun and moon and stars have passed away.

Secondly, Slavery paints itself again in its complete obrogation of marriage, recognised as a sacrament by the church, and recognised as a contract wherevar civilization prevails. Under the law of Slavery, no such sacrament is respected, and no such contract can all subject to the shifts interests or more selfash lust of the matter, whose license knows no check. Natural affections which have come together are rudely form a sinder; nor is this all. Stripped of every defence, the chartity of a whole race is exposed to violence, while the result is recorded in the tall-talle faces of children, glowing with their master's blood, but doomed for their mother's skin to Slavery, through all decending generations. The Senator from Missistippi (Mr. Brown) is galled by the comparison between Slavery and Polygamy, and winces. I hall this sensibility as the sign of virtue. Let him reflect, and he will confees, that there are many disgusting elements in Slavery, which are not present in Polygamy, while the single disgusting element of Polygamy is more than present in Slavery.

By the Heenes of Folygamy, one man may have many wives, all bound to him by the marriage He, and in other respects protected by law. By the Il-ches of Slavery, a whole race is delivered over te prostitution and consultings, without the protection of any law. Six is not Slavery barbarous?

The start of the parested relation, which God in his

ly takes from the slave all the fruits of his biller sweet, and thus takes from him the mainspring to exertion. Tell me, sir, is not sinvery barbarous?

Such is filavery in its five special elements of Barberism, he recognised by law first, assuming that man can hold property is same; secondly, abrogating the relation of husband and wile; thirdly, abrogating the parental its; fourthly, closing the gates of knowledge; and fifthly, appropriating the unpaid labor of mother. Take away them elements, sometimes called "sboses," and Slavery will cease to exist, for it is those very "abuses" which constitute flavery. Take away any one of them, and the abolition of flavery begins. And when I present flavery for judgment. I mean no slight with regard to which there may be a reasonable difference of opinion, but I mean this five-fold embediment of "abuse"—this ghastly outscure of Barbariem—each particular of which, if considered separately, must be denounced at once with all the ardor of an houset soul, while the whole five-fold combination must awake a five-fold combination. But this five-fold combination becomes still more hateful when its single soories is considered. The Senator from Miscretypi (iff. Davra) says that it is "but a form of divil government for those who are not fit to govern themselves." The Senator is mistaken. It is an outrige where five different pretensions all concur in one single object, looking only to the profit of the master, and constituting its ever-present motive power, which is simply to compet the labor of fellowscene without wages.

If the offence of Slavery were less extended; if it were contined by tens and hundreds, instead of militions, the five-headed enormity would find little indulgence. All would rise against it, while religion and divilization would lavish their choicest efforts in the general warfare. But what is wrong when done to one man caunot be right when done to many. If

lions, the five-headed enormity would find little indulgence. All would rise against it, while religion
and divilization would lavish their choicest efforts in
the general warfare. But what is wrong when done
to one man caunot be right when done to many. If
it is wrong thus to degrade a single soul-if, it is
wrong thus to degrade a whole race. And yet this is denied by the barbarous logic of Slavery, which, taking
advantage of its own wrong, claims immunity because its Usurpation has assumed a front of audacity
that cannot be safely attacked. Unhapplly, there is
Barbariam elsewhere in the world, but American
Slavery, as defined by existing law, stands forth as
the greatest organized Barbariam on which the sun
now shines. It is without a single peer. Its anthor,
after making it, broke the die.

If curiosity carries us to the origin of this law—and
here I approach a topic often considered in this
Chamber—we shall confess again its Barbariam. It is
not derived from the common law, that fountain of
Liberty; for this law, while unhappily recognising a
system of servinde, known as villeinage, secured to
the bondman privileges unknown to the American
slave; protected his person against maylem; proected his wife against rape; gave to his marter, and
surrounded his offering with generous presumptions
of Freedom, unlike that rale of yours by which the
servitude of the mother is necessarily stamped upon
the child. It is not derived from the Roman law, that
fountain of tyranny, for two reasons—first, became
this law, in its better days, when its early rigors were
spent—like the common law itself—secured to the
bondman privileges unknown to the American slave
—in certain cases of ornelty rescued him from his
master—prevented the separation of parents and children, also of brothers and eisters—and even protected
him in the marriage relation; and secondly, because
the Thirteen Colonies were not defived from any of
those countries which receptived from her of
the surface of the separation of parents and childer the

der the mild injunctions of the Koran, a benignant acrytinde, unlike yours, has prevailed—where the lash is not allowed to lacerate the back of a female; where no knife or branding-iron is employed upon any human being to mark him as the property of his fellowman; where the master is expressly enjoined to listen to the desires of his alaye for emancipation; and where the blood of the master, mingling with his bonders.

In manufactures, the failure of the Slave States is greater still. It appears at all points, in the capital employed, in the value of the risw material, in the annual wages, and in the annual product. A short table will show the contrast:

Free States.—Capital, 8430,240,051; value of raw material. 8465,844,092; annual wages, 8195,978,458; annual product, 8842,580,053.

Slave States.—Capital, 885,029,879; value of raw material, 886,190,639; annual wages, 833,257,800; annual product, 8165,413,037.

This might be illustrated by details with regard to different manufactures—whether of shoes, cotton, woolen, pig from, wrought from and from castings—all showing the contrast. It might also be illustrated by a comparison between different States; showing, for instance, that the manufactures of Massachusetts, during the last year, exceeded those of all the Slave States combined.

States combined.

In commerce, the failure of the Siave States is on yets larger scale. Under this head, the census does not supply proper statistics, and we are left, therefore, to approximations from other custers; but these are shough for our purpose. It appears that, of the products which enter into commerce, the Free States had an amount valued only at \$410,754,992; the Slave States an amount valued only at \$410,754,992; that of the persons engaged in trade, the Free States had 130,856, and the Slave States 52,622; and that of the tonnage employed, the Free States had 2,750,196 tons, and the Slave States only 720,295. This was in 1850. But in 1855 the dispreportion was still greater, the Free States having 2,252,515 tons, and the Slave States \$65,517 tons, being a difference of five to one.

Advances and Michigan, count is territory, years at a distant into the Union in the lane year; and yet in 1888. He whole yathation of Arganes, including its secrete property in human Sash, was only 808.507. TO, while that of Michigan, without a single start, was \$116.600.000. The whole accommissed valuation of all the Since deducting the macron property in human Bosh, was only 808.507. The whole accommissed valuation of all the Since deducting the macron property in human Bosh. Its 180, was only 8120.505.157 bit the wheeler of New Fork and the Since Since of the Freeding of the Property in the hearty's equal was of \$1.500.000 and \$1.500.000 an

coly as two to one. It is now more than five to one, and is still going on.

The same disproportion appears with regard to persons connected with the Press. In the Free States, the number of pranters was 11,822, of whom 1,229 were in Massachnetts; in the Stave States there were 2,895, of whom South Carolina had only 141. In the Free States, the number of publishers was 331; in the Stave States, 24. Of these, Massachnetts had 50, or more than twice as many as all the Stave States; while South Carolina had none. In the Free States, the authors were 73; in the Stave States, 9—of whom Massachnetts had 17, and South Carolina 2. These suggestive illustrations are all derived from the last official census. But if we go to other sources, the contrast is still census. But if we go to other sources, the contrast is still

Recent all these shings we might futer that or serious previated in the Slave States between the size if in specific results of a deplorable character, authoniciated by the official censes. It is appeared that in the Slave States there were \$433,036 sative white persons over twenty years of age who cannot read and write, while in the Free States it was 1 to \$3. The number in Free Massachusetts, with a population of nearly a million, was 1,050, or 1 in \$11; the number in Slave South Carolina, with a population of nearly a million, was 1,050, or 1 in \$11; the number in Slave South Carolina, with a population of nearly a million, was 1,050, or 1 in \$11; the number in Free Connecticut was 1 in \$71; in Slave Virginia, 1 in 5, in free New Hampshire 1 in 201, and in Slave North Carolina, 1 in 3.

Betwee closing this picture of Slavery, where the dismal colors all some from official figures, there are two other assets of the same of the

of our people, produced by the existence of alswery among us. The whole commerce between master and shave as a perpetual exercise of the most beliterous passions, the word uparterrate pasteries of the most beliterous passions, the word uparterrate pasteries of the word of the operation and degrading submissions on the other; pur children see this, and learn to initiate it.

* The west seed to extend the massers and wown's suff-proved by such circumstances. And with what execution should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting our half the citizens then to trample on the rights of the other, remajorate these sais despots, and these into commiss, of the other; was forced. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed.

**Next comes the Philosophic Anthority, and here the language which I quote may be less familiar, but it is handly less commanding. Among names of less weight, I shall not discriminate, but shall simply follow the order of time is which they appeared. First is John Locke, the great author of the English System of Intellectual Philosophy, who, though once unhapply conceding indulgence to American slavery, in another place describes it, in words which every absenuates should know, as—

"The state of war continued between a lawful conqueror and his captive. * So opposite to the generous temper and courses of our nation, that "is anythy to be concrived that as Englishman, know Liss a constructar, about plead for it."

Then comes Adam Smith, the founder of the science of Political Economy, who, in his work on Morals, thus utlear himself:

"There is not a negro from the coast of Africa whe does not possess a degree of magnanimity which the soul of the sortium never exerted more cruelly her empire over mankind, than when also subjected these nations of heroes to the refuse of gaols of Europe, to wreakes who possess like virtues pelither of the countries which they come from, nor of those which they go of, and where icrusy, brutality, and baseness, so justly expose them to the conturn of

masters:
"To omit for a year, or for a day, the most efficacions method of advancing Christianity, in compliance with any purposes, that terminate on this side of the grave, is a crime of which I know not that the world has had an

a crime of which I know not that the world has had an example, arrept in the practice of the planters of America, a race of mortals vehom I sepaces no other man tendes to resemble."—Letter to William Drammond, 18th August, 1705. (Boscoll's Life of Johnson, by Croker.)

With such authorities, American and Philosophic, I meed not healtate in this ungracious task; but Truth, which is mightier than Mason and Jefferson, than John Locke, Adam Smith and Samuel Johnson, marshals the evidence in unbroken succession.

Proceeding with this argument, which broadens as we (1.) As in considering the Character of Slavery, so in considering the Character of Slave-masters, we must begin with the Low of Slavery, which, as their work, testi-

Indiger to the state of the representative of our barriers in the state of the stat

One of the choicest passages of the master Italian poet, Dante, it where a scene of transcendent virtue is described as sculptured in "visible speech" on the long gallery which led to the Heavenly Gate. The poet felt the inspiration of the scene, and placed it on the wayside, where it could charm and encourage. This was natural. Nobody can be surrounded by virtue and justice, if it be only in images and pictures, without feeling a kindred sentiment. Nobody can be surrounded by vice and wrong by violence and brutality, if it be only in images and pictures, without coming under their degrading influence. Nobody can live with the one without savantage; nobody can live with the other without loss. Who could use his life in the secret chamber where are gathered the impure relies of Pompell, without becoming indifferent to loatshoone things! But if these loatshoone things are not merely soulptured and painted, if they as we am annulsed—while the parental the syndely torn—while to sile—bonest gains are fliched or robbed—while the soul itself is shut down in all the darkness of ignorance, and while food himself is defied in the pretended that man can have in true property in his follow-man; if all these things are present not merely in images and pictures, but in reality, their influence on character must be incalculable.

It is according to irresistible is with the men are fashion-testied by what is about them, whether climate, weenery, life,

stantly by the portentious Barbarism about him; the filavs master naturally adopts the bindgeon, the revolves, and the howicknife. Through these he governs his plantation, and secretly armed with these he enters the world. These are his congenial companious. To wear these is his pride; to use them becomes a passion, almost a necessity. Nothing contributes to violence so much as the wearing of the instruments of violence so much as the wearing of the instruments of violence that having them always at hand to obey the lewies: finting of the instruments of violence and the marking them always at hand to obey the lewies: finting the other peculiar to our slave-missters, known as a "street fight," is not shameful; a duel is not dishonorable, and modern initiatators of Cain have is mark set upon them, not for represent and condemnation, but for complianent and approval. I wish to keep within bounds; but unanswerable facts, accumulating in fearful quantities, attest that the social system, so much vannied by honorable Senators, and which we are now asked to sanction and to extind, takes its character from this spirit, and with professions of Christianity on the lips, becomes Cain-like. And this is aggravated by the prevailing ignorance in the flave States, where one in twelve of the adult white population is unable to read and write.

The heldest they who least partake the light,
Af game cocks in the dark are trained to fight.
Of course there are exceptions, which we all gladly recognise, but it is this spirit which predominates and gives the social hav. And here mark an important difference Risewhere it is this spirit which predominates and gives the social have. And there mark an important difference Risewhere it is hunted as a crime; in the slave States it is because of law both social and statute. Elsawhere it its pursued sed condemned; in the slave States it in the same the testimony of two dovernors of slave States it takes its place among the honorable groces of society.

We hear of homicides in different parts

And very recently we have read in the the trustees of a college in Alabama have resolved that Dr. Wayland's admirable work on Moral Science "con-tains abolition doctrine of the deepest dye," and they proceed to denounce "the said book and forbid its fur-ther use in the Institute." All this is natural, for tyranny is condemned to be cor

were anonymously denounced, is open; nor are the gloomy priscos and the Bridge of Sighs wanting. This spirit has recently shown itself with such intensi-ty and activity as to constitute what has been properly termed a reign of terror. Northern men, unless they happen to be delegate to a Democratic Convention, are exposed in their reveal.

hrs. roll of dead men's bones and all

constitutionality of this precention. Owner described to billy of the people in that State, this egent declined to render this simple rervice. Massachusetts next selected one of her own sons, a venerable citizen, who had already served with honor in the other House of Congress, and served with honor in the other House of Congress, and who was of admitted eminence as a lawyer, the Hon. Sammel Hoar, of Concord, to wish Charleston, and to do what the agent first appointed had shrunk from deing. This excellent gentleman, beloved by all who knew him, gencie in manners as he was firm in character, and with a countequance that was in itself a letter of recommendation, arrived at Charleston, accompanied only by his daughter. Straightway all South Carolina was convulsed. According to a story in Bowell's Johnson, all the inhabitants at St. Kilda, a remote island of the Hebrides, on the approach of a stranger, "catch cold;" but in South Carolina it is a fever that they "catch." The Governor at the time, who was more other than one of her present Senators, (Mr. Hammond.) made his arrival the subject of a special message to the Legislature, which I now have before me. The Legislature all "caught" the fever, and swiftly adopted resolutions calling upon "His Excellency the Governor to expel from its territory the said agont, after dae notice to depart," and promising "to sustain after dae notice to depart," and promising "to sustain

[Continued from First page.]

of Massachusett was the flourishing a bludgeon in his hand—the bludgeon always shows itself where slavery is in question—cried out, "you had better be travelling, and the somer the better for you, I can tell you; if you ray here until to-morrow morning, you will feel something you will not like, I'm thinking." Next came threats of an attack during the following night on the Hotel itself from the impending danger of an infuriate mob; then a committee of slave-masters, who politely proposed to conduct him to the boat. Thus arrested in his chaple errand of good will, this venerable public servant, whose appearance alone—like that of the "grave and trous man" mentioned by Virgil—would have softened any mob not inspired by alavery, yielded to the ejectional proposed—precledy as the prisoner yields to the officers any mob not inspired by slavery, yielded to the ejectment proposed—precisely as the prisoner yields to the officers of the key—and left Charleston, white a person in the crowd was heard to offer himself as "the leader of a tarassi-feather gang to be called into the service of the city to the occasion." Nor is this all! The Legislature a resend time "caught" the ferer, and, yielding to its infinence, passed another statute, forbidding under severe penalties any person within the State from accepting a manifestion to befriend these colored mariners, and under allies severer still, extending even to imprisonment life, prohibiting any person "on his own behalf or by one of any authority from any State" to come within coryets from all such mariners.

Such is a simple narrative founded on authentic documenta. I do not adduce it now for criticism, but simply to chrolt it in all its stages—beginning with the earliest pretchasen of South Carolina, continuing in violence, and ading in yet other pretensions—among the special in ances where the barbarism of slavery stands confesses may well give to South Carolina has character of a shore drivers ships worked mariners dread to kind," has been openly vindicated in all its details room beginning to end the both the Senators from South theretina, while one of a. [Mr. Hammond, in the samurorenth has beene his mony from personal knowledge to the character of public agent thus maitressed, saying, "he was a mut, kind, old gentleman, and i Sad a sort of friendbut not enough for truth. The most in-

and touching simply what is of record, and alwady "en-rolled in the Capitol," I present a few only of many in-stances, which, especially during these latter days, since slavery has become paramount, have taken their place in Here is an instance On the 15th February, 1837, R. quired, before a Committee of Investigation into the administration of the Executive office. His excuse was that he could not attend without exposing himself then by to outrage and violence in the committee room, as on examination at the bar of the House, Mr Fairfield, on examination at the bar of the House, Mr Fairpia, a member of the committee, afterwards a member of this body, and Governor of Maine, testified to the actual facts. It appeared that Mr. Peyton, a stave-master from Tennessee, and a member of the committee, regarding a certain answer in writing by Mr. Whitney to an interregatory propounded by him as offensive, broke out in these words; "Mr. Chairman, I wish you to inform this witness that he is must to insuff me in his answers. If he does words: "Air Chairman, I wish you to interm the does, that he is not to insult me in his answers. If he does, Got damn him: I will take his life on the spot." The witness, rising, claimed the protection of the Committee; on which Mr. Peyton exclaimed. "God damn you, you shan't speak; you shan't say one work while you are this room; if you do, I will put you to death Mr. Wise, another slave-master from Virginia, chair Mr. Wise, another slave-master from Virginia, chair-man of the committee, and latterly Governor of Virginia, then intervened, saying. "Yes, this damned inscience is insufferable." Soon after, Mr. Peyton, observing that the witness was looking at him, cried out, "Damn him, his syes are on me—he shan't do it—damn him, he shan't look

frements of Parliamentary Jaw, but breaking out to rful examples. And here again, facts shall speak, a.

These things, and much more, disclosed by Mr. Fair-field in reply to interrogatories in the House, were con-firmed by other witnesses, and Mr. Wise himself in a speech made the admission that he was armed with dead-iy weapons, saying, "i watched the motion of that right arm, [of the witness,] the elbow of which could be seen by me, and had it moved one inch, he had died on the spot. That was my determination."

All this will be found in the 13th volume of the Con-gressional Behates, with the aridence in detail, and the All this will be found in the 13th volume of the Congressional Debates, with the evidence in detail, and the discussion thereupon.

Here is another instance of similar character, which did not occur in a Committe-room, but during debate in the Senate Chamber. While the Compromise measures were under discussion in 1850, on the 17th of April, 1850. Mr. Foots, a Slave-meater from Mississippi, in the course of his remarks, commenced a personal allusion to Mr. Benton. This was aggravated by the circumstance that only a few days previously he had made this distinguished gentleman the mark for most bitter and vindictire personalities. Mr. Benton rose at once from his seat, and, with an angry countenance, but without weapons of any kind in his hand, or, as it appeared afterward before the Committee, on his person, advanced in the direction of Mr. Foots, when the latter, gliding backwards, drew from his pocket a five-chambered revolver, full loaded, which he cocked. Meanwhile Mr. Benton, at the suggestion of friends, was already returning to his seat, when he perceived the pistol. Excited greatly by this deadly menace, he exclaimed, "I am not armed. I have no pistols. I disdain to carry arms. Stand out of the way, and let the assessin fire." Mr. Foots remained standing in the position he had taken, with his pistol in his hand, cocked. "Soon after," says the report of the Committee appointed to investigate this occurrence, "both Senators resumed their seats, and order was restored."

All this will be found at length in the 21st volume of the Congressional Globe. All this will be found at length in the 21st volume of the Congressional Globe.

Another instance, which belongs to the same class, is given by the Hon. William Jay, a writer of singular accuracy, and of the truest principle, who has done much to litustrate the history of our country. It is this. Mr. Dawson, a slave-master from Louisians, and a member of the House of Representatives, went up to another member on the floor of the House, and addressed to him these words: "If you attempt to speak, or rise from your seat, sir, by G-d, I'll out your throat." sir, by G.—d, I'll out your throat."

The duel, which at home in the slave States is "twin" with the "street fight," is also "twin" with these instances. It is constantly adopted or attempted by slave-masters in Congress. But I shall not enter upon this catalogue. I content myself with showing the openness with which in debate it has been memored, and without with which in determine the same slave-master, already mentioned in debate in the Senate, 26th of March, 1860, thus sought to provoke Mr. Benton. I take his words from the Congressional Globe, vol. 21, p. 603;

"There are instances in the history of the Senator which might well relieve a man of honor from the obliquion to recognise him as a fitting antagonist; yet it is notwithstanding true, that if the Senator Avent Missouri will have a very early opportunity of proving his provens in contest with one over whom I hold periest control; or, if he feels in the least degree aggreed at anything which has fallen from me, he shall, on demanding it, have full redress accorded to hum, according to the said laws of honor. I do not denounce him as a coward; such language is unfitted for this andience; but if he wishes to patch up his reputation for courage, now greatly on the wane, he will certainly decrease an expertunity of doing to whence he makes ha derive known in the previous. At present he is shielded by his age, his open discovered of the colligatory laws of hence, and his Benatorial privileges."

Withouch bitter taunts and reiterated prov-With such bitter taunts and reiterated provocations to the dual was Mr. Benton pursued; but there was no call to order, nor any action of the Senate on this outrage.

Here is another instance. In debals in the Senate on the 27th February, 1862, Mr. Clemens, a shave-master of Alabama, thus directly attacked Mr. Ehett for undertaking to actite their differences by argument in the Senate, rather than by the duel. "No man," said he, "with the faciling of a man in his bosom, would have sought redress here. He would have looked for it chercher. He now comes here not to ask redress in the only way he should have sought is."

There was ne call to order. There was no call to order. Here is still another. In

There was no call to order.

Here is still another. In the debate of the bill for the improvement of Rivers and Harbors, 29th of July, 1854, (Congressional Giobe, vol. 29, appendix, page 1163,) the Benator from Louisians, (Mr. Benjamin,) who is is still a member of this body, ardent for slavery, while professing to avoid personal alternation in the Senate, especially "with a gentleman who professes the principles of non-resistance, as he understood the Senator from New York does," proceeded most carnestly to reped an imagined impunation on him by Mr. Seward, and wound up by saying: "If it came from another quarter it seems not be specified from that I should another it." And then, during the precent session, the Senator from Missindppi, (Mr. Davis.) who speaks so often for Slavery.

And then, during the precent session, the Senator from Missishppi, (Mr. Davis.) who speaks so often for Savery, in a collegay on this floor which the Senator from Verseont, (Mr. Oolisoer.) has maintained, the Duel as a mode of softing personal differences and vindicating who is assisted personal differences and vindicating who is alled personal bonor; as if personal honor did not depend absorbletly upon while a man does, and, not what is dean to him. "A gentleman," says the Senator, "has the right to give an insult, of a foot items footing in the senator of the same of the sa

ed in the voice.

In an address to his constituents, 19th September, 1842,
Mr. Adams thus frankly describes the treatment he had

sperienced:
"I never can take part in any debate upon an impotant subject, he it only upon a mere abstraction, but a pack opens upon me of personal invective in return. Language has no work of represent and railing that is not And in the same speech he gives a glimpse of slave

"Insult, bullying, and threat, characterize the slave-holders in Congress; talk, timidity, and submission, the Representatives from the Free States." Nor were the slave-masters contented with the violence of words. True to the instincts of slavery, they threat-ened personal indignity of every kind, and even assassi-nation. And here South Carolina naturally took the

lead.
The Charleston Mercury, which always speaks the true voice of slavery, said in 1887; "Public opinion in the South would now, we are sure, justify an immediate resort to force by the Southern delegation, even on the floor of Congress, were they forthwith to seize and drag from the Hall any man who dared to insuit them, as that eccentric old showman, John Quincy Adams, has dared to do." And at a public dinner at Walterborough, in South " May we never want a Democrat to trip up the heels

wards speaking with regard to a certain transaction in which negroes were concerned in Georgia, when Mr Black, of Georgia, raising his bludgeon, and standing in front of my seat, said to me, 'if you repeat that language again. I will knock you down.' It was a solemn moment for me I had never been knocked down, and having some curiosity upon that subject, I repeated the language. Then Mr. Dawson of Louisiana, the same who and drawn the bowie-knife, placed his hand in his pocket and said, with an eath which I will not repeat, that he would shoot me, at the lame time cocking the pistol, so Mr. Giddings, strong in the consciousness of right, knew the lignity of his position. He knew that it is honorable always to serve the cause of Liberty, and that it is a priv-lege to suffer for this cause. Reproach, contumely, vic-

ted by the circumstance that, where persons notoriously rejected an appeal to the duel, such insults could be of-fered with impunity.

Here is an instance. In 1848 Mr. Hale, the Senator rom New Hampshire, who still continues an honor to his body, introduced into the Senate a bill for the pro-ection of property in the District of Columbia, especially

pre even unto death, are rewards, not punishments, and

learly the ludiguities which you offer can excite no show

of invite the Senator to the State of Mississippi, and will tell him beforehand, in all honesty, that he could not go ten miles into the interior before he would grace one of the tailust trees of the forest with a rope around his neek, with the approbation of every virtuous and patricia citizen, and that, if necessary, I should myself against reported as saying in the House of Representatives:

And in 1841, Mr. Payne, a slave-master from Alabama, in the course of debate in the House of Representatives, alluding to the aboliticalists, among whom he insisted the Postmaster General ought to be included, declared that— "He would put the brand of Cain upon them-yes, the mark of hell-and if they came to the South, he would And these words were applied to men who simply ex-pressed the recorded sentiments of Washington, Jeffer-son and Franklin.

Even during the present session of Congress, I find, in the Congressional Globe, the following interruptions of Mr Lovejoy, when speaking on slavery. I do not charac-terise them; but simply cite them: By Mr. Barksdale, of Mississtppl: "Order that black-hearted scoundrel and nigger-steal

ing this to take his cost,"

By Mr. Boyce of South Carolins, addressing Mr. Love

"Then behave yourself." By Mr. Gartrell, of Geordia, (in his seet): "The man is crasy " By Mr. Backsdale, of Mississippi, again:

"No, sir, you stand there to-day an infamous, perjured By Mr. Ashmore, of South Carolina: "Yes; he is a perjured villain, and he perjures himself every hour he occupies a seat on this floor."

By Mr. Singleton, of Misslesippl: "And a negro-thief into the bargain." By Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, again: "I hope my colleague will hold no pariey with that pe jured negro-thick"

By Mr. Singleton, of Mississippi, again: "No, sir; any gentleman shall have time, such a mean, despicable wretch as that!" By Mr. Martin, of Virginia: "And if you come among us, we will do with you as we did with John Brown—hang you as high as Hattan. I

did with John Brown—hang you as high as Hastan. I say that as a Virginian."

But enough—enough; and I now turn from this branch of the argument with a single remark. While exhibiting the character of slave-masters, these numerous instances—and they might be multiplied indefinitely—attest the weakness of their cause. It requires no special talent to estimate the insignificance of an argument that can be apported only by violence. The scholar will not forget the story told by Luciau of the colloquy between Jupiter and a simple countryman. They talked with wase and freedom until they differed, when the angry god at once menaced his honest opponent with a thunderbols. "Ah. ah!" said the clown, with perfect composure, "now, Jupiter, I know you are wrong. You are always wrong when you appeal to your thunder." And permit me to say, that every appeal, whether to the duel, the bindgeon, or the revolver—avery menace of personal violence, and every outrage of language, besides disclosing a hideous barbarism, also discloses the fewered necessaries of a cause already humbled in debate.

[4.) Butch as has been each to arthibit the character of slave-masters, the work would be incomplete if I falled to point out that; tracesceloscenses of the final influence of slave-masters, the work would be incomplete if I falled to point out that; tracesceloscenses of the final influence of slavery, which completes the evidence of the Balacters about openly declare slavery "emobiling," at least to the master, and also "the black markle topic but I shall be brief.

That Senators should openly declare slavery "emobiling," at least to the master, and also "the black markle topic but I shall be brief.

That Senators about openly declare slavery "emobiling," at least to the master, and also "the black markle topic but I shall be the markle and interested the surface and any other black markle topic are not any the black markle topic are not explained by the examples of history. say that as a Virginian."

marble key-stone of our national arch," would excite wonder if it were not explained by the examples of history. There are men who, in the spirit of paradox, make themselves the partisans of a bad cause, as Jerome Cardan wrote an Encomium on Nero. But where there is no disposition to paradox, it is natural that a cherialized practice about blind those who are under its influence; nor is there any end to these examples that histories are since in the same and the same and the widespread and honorable; so much so, that Telemachus and Memior on landing at Mycense, were asked by Niester if they were "girates"—preciacly as a stranger in South Cardina might be said the were a slave master. Eldnipping too, which was a kindred indulgance, was ones, and its particular and the same a kindred indulgance, was ones, and its constitution of the were a slave master. Eldnipping too, which was a kindred indulgance, was ones, and its constitution of the same and the same

But boast themselves more comely than before."

Mr. President, it is time to close this branch of the argument. The barbarism of slavery has been now exposed, first, in the law of alsavery, with its five pretensions, founded on the assertion of property in man, the denial of the conjugal relation, the infraction of the parental relation, the exclusion from knowledge, and the robbery of the fruits of another's labor, all these having the single object of compelling men to now without seages, while its barbariam was still further attested by tracing the law in his origin to barbarious Africa; and secondly, it has been exposed in a careful examination of the aconomical results of stavery, illustrated by a contrast between the free States and the slave States, sustained by official figures.

From this exposure of Slavery, I proceeded to bounder its influence on Slave-masters, whose true character stands conficeed, first, in the Law of Slavery which is their work; mext, in the relations between them and their slaves, maintained by three inhuman instruments; next, in their relations with each other, and with society, and here we have seen them at home under the immediate influence of Slavery—also in the communities of which they are a part—practicing violence, and pushing it everywhere, in street fight and duel; especially raging against all who question the pretensions of Slavery; entering even into the Free States, but not in lawless outbreaks only; also in official acts, as of Georgia and South Carolina, with regard to two Massachusetts citizens and then ascending in audscity, entering the Halls of Congress where they have raged as at home, against all who set themselves against their assumptions, while the whole gloomy array of unquestionable facts has been closed by portraying the melanchaly unconsciousness which constitutes one of the distinctive features of this Barbarism.

Buch is my answer to the assumption of fact in behalf of alsaver by Senators on the other side.

questionable facts has been closed by portraying the melanchaly unconsciousness which constitutes one of the distinctive features of this Barbarian.

Buch is my answer to the assumption of fact in behalf of slavery by Benators on the other side. But before passing to that other assumption of constitutional law, which constitutes the second branch of this discussion, I add testimony o the influence of slavery on alave-masters in other countries, which is too important to be neglected, and may proparly find a place here.

Among those who have done most to press forward in Russia that sublime act of emancipation by which the present Emperor is winning lustre, not only for his cwn country, but our age, is M. Tourgueness. Originally a slave-master himself, with numerous slaves, and residing where slavery prevalled, he saw, with the instincts of a hoble theractor, the essential barberism of this relation, and in an elaborate work on Russia, which is now before me, he exposed it with rare ability and courage. Thus he speaks of its influence on slave-masters:

"But if slavery degrades the slave, it degrades more the master. This is an old adage, and long observations have proved to me that this adage is not a paradox. In fact, how can that man respect his own dignity, his own rights, who has learned not to respect either the rights or the dignity of his fellow-man? What control can the mornal and religious sentiments have over a man who sees himself invested with a power so eminently contrary to morals and religious estiments have over a man who sees himself invested with a power so eminently contrary to moral and religious sentiments of the master with the slave cannot be otherwise than a succession of injustices. Among good masters, (and it is agreed to call so those who do not abuse their power as much as they might), these relations are clothed with forms less repugnant than among others; but here the difference atops. Who could remain always pure, when carried away by his disposition, creited by his temper, drawn

was not born in a land of slaves. No one can understan the unutterble meanness of the slave system on the mind of those who, but for the trange obliquity which precent from feeling the degradation of not being gentleme. engitone's Travels, thap. II, page 33.

Thus does the experience of slavery in other occurrent the sad experience among us. BROWN ASSUNPTION—Discarding now all the presumptuous boasts for slavery, and bearing in mind its essential Barbarism, I come to consider that second assumption of Senators on the other side, which is, of course, inspired by the first even if not its immediate consequence, that, under the Constitution, slave-masters may take their slaves into the national Territories, and there continue to hold them. continue to hold them, as at home in the Slave States; and that this would be the case in any territory newly acquired, by purchase or by war, as of Mexico on the South or Canada on the North.

And here I begin by the remark, that as the assumption of constitutional law is imprired by the assumption of fact with regard to the "ennoblug" character c sisvery, so it must lose much if not all of its force whe

When slavery is seen to be the barbarism which it is, there are few who would not cover it from sight rather than insist upon sending it abroad with the flag of the Republic. It is only because people have been insensible to its true character that they have tolerated for a moment its exception that pretensions. Therefore this long exposition, where slavery has been made to stand forth in its five-fold barbarism, with the single object of compelling men to work without wages, naturally grepares the way to consider the assumption of constitutional law. This assumption may be described as an attempt to Africanize the Constitution, by introducing into it the barbarous law of slavery, derived as we have seen originally from barbarous Africa; and, then, through such Africanizotics, of the Constitution, to Africanize the constitution of the constitution, to Africanize the same of the constitution, and it will be found to stand on

law of stavery, derived as we have seen originally from barbarous Africa; and, then, through such Africanization, of the Constitution, to Africanization, of the Constitution, the African pretension of property in man; and, secondly, the pretension of property in man; and, secondly, the pretension that such property is recognised in the Constitution.

With regard to the first of these prefensions, I might simply refer to what I have already faid in an earlier part of this argument. But I should do injustice to the part it has been made to play in this controversy, if I did not again expose it. Then I sought particularly to show its barbarism; now I shall show something score.

Property implies an owner and a thing owned. On the one side is a human being, and on the other side a thing. But the very idea of a human being necessarily excludes the idea of a human being, and it is equally clear that a hing cannot be a human being, and it is equally clear that a human being cannot be a thing. And the law liself, when it adopts the phrase, irrelation of master and slava," confesses its reluctance to sanction the claim of property. It shrinks from the pretension of Senators, and satisfies itself with a formula, which does not openly degrade human nature.

If this property does exist, out of what title is it derived!" Under what ordinance of nature or of nature's God is one human being stamped an owner and another stamped a thing." God is no respector of persons. Where is the sanction for this respect of certain persons to a degree which becomes outrage to other persons? God is the father of the human family, and we are all his children. Where then is the sanction of this pretension by which a brother lays violent hands upon a brother? To ask these questions is humiliating; but it is clear there can be but one response. There is no sanction for such pretension; no ordinance for it, or title. On all grounds of reason, and wairing all questions of "positive" stating, the claim of a slave-master, he said: "No; not until you

The first is the alleged inferiority of the African race; an argument which, while surrendering to slavery a whole race, leaves it uncertain whether the same principle may not be applied to other races, as to the polished Japanese, who are now the guests of the nation, and even to persons of obvious inferiority in the white race. Indeed, the latter pretension is openly made in other quarters. The Richmond Enquirer, a leading journal of alsave-maters, declares, "The principle of slavery is in itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion." And a leading writer among slave-masters, George Fitshugh, of Virginia, in his Sociology for the South, declares "Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary. Nature has made the weak in mind or body for slaves." And in the same veic, a democratic paper of South Carolina has

has made the weak in mind or body for slaves." And in
the same veic, a democratic paper of South Carolina has
said, "Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the
laboring man, schile or black,"

These more extravagant presentions reveal still further
the feebleness of the pretension put forth by the Senator; while instances, accumulating constantly, attest the
difficulty of discriminating between the two races. Mr.
Paxton of Virginia tells us, that "the best blood of Virginia flows in the veins of the slave;" and fagitive slaves
have been latterly advertised as possessing "a round
face," "blue eyes," "flaxm hair," and as "escaping under the pretence of being a white man."

This is not the time to enter upon the great question of
race, in the various lights of religion, history, and science. Sure I am that they who understand it best, will
be least disposed to the pretension, which en the assumed

race, in the various lights of religion, masory, seek, will ence. Sure I am that they who understand it best, will be least disposed to the pretension, which on the assumed ground of inferiority would condemn one race to be the property of another. If the African race be inferior, as is alleged, then it is the unquestionable duty of a Christian civilization to lift it from its degradation, not by the bradgeon and the chain, not by the berrare as pretension of ownership; but by a generous charity, which shall be measured precisely by the entent of its interiority.

The second argument put forward for this pre-tension and twice repeated by the Benator from Mississippi, is that the African are the posterity of Ham, the son of Scale, through Canana, who was curred by Neah, the best best the second of the best the second of the best that the interioristics has best upon all his of the second of the best the second of the second of the best the second of the second nal bondags, not only in the third and fourth generations, but throughout all succeeding mas. Surely, when
the Senator quoted Scripture to scarce the claim of
alave-masters, he did not intend to just. And yet it is
hard to suppose him in earnest. The Senator is Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, in which he is
doubtless experienced: He may particula, set a squadron
in the field, but he has evidently considered very little
the text of Scripture on which he relies. The Senator
issumes, that it has fired the door of the colored race,
leaving unfouched the white race. The tank and
know that, in the worst days of the 2-tish aristocracy,
this same argument was adopted as the secure for holding
white such in bendage, precisely as it is now put forward
by the Senator, and that event so this day the angry
Folish noble addresses his white passant as the "sen of
Ham."

It hardly comports with the gravity of this debate to
dwell on such an argument, and yet I cannot go wrong
if, for the same of a much injured race, I break it asset
for justify the Senator in his application of this archive
curse, he must maintain at least five different propositions, are essential links in the chain of the Affair American
new years; that, by this mandelelles, Change himself
was actually changed into a "chatted" wheneve he is
simply made the "cerunit" of the besterm; secondly,
that not merely Cannon, but all his posterity, to the remodest generative, you so changed, whereas the lunguage
has no such actual; threely, thus the Affair American aresult to leid un Affair American filles the authory posterity
and submylion abstractly difficult to actually a posterity
and submylion abstractly difficult to actually a posterity
and submylion abstractly difficult on actually a posterity. The posterity of Common and almostly
when or Jupischess patterness the law among a submylion
available. This plain analysis, which may fill scalles
a policy, above the first analysis, which may fill a smile a
which is belief and a first analysis.

system of the law is departed from the legislative interior must be expressed with investible clearmant, in didnes a court of justice to suppose a design to effect such object." It is well known, however, that these two declarations are little more than new forms for the ancient rules of the common law, as expressed by Porticenet inspring of cracking judicians, as a great littler as no freet; file is to be adjudged implour and cruel who does not havor. Liberty; and, as expressed by Bilackatone, "The law is always ready, to catch at anything in favor of Liberty."

But, an op recerption runs against the King, so no prescriben is allowed to run against devery, while all the early victories of Freedom are set aside by the slave insature of to-day. The prohibition of slavery in the Missoutial, for the exercise of this power, admitted from the beginning until now, have been overturned; but at last, bodder grows alsave-masters do not hastitate to assall that principle of jurisprudence which makes alwery the creature of "positive law" alone, to be upheld only by words of "irrestatible clearmas." The case of Somerasti, in which this great rule was declared, has been impeached on this floor, as the Declaration of Independence has been impeached also. And here the Senstor from Lousiana (Mr. Benjamin) has taken the lead. He has dwelt on the assertion that, in the history of English law, there were earlier cases, where a contrary principle was declared. But permit me to say that no such cases, even if they exist in authentic reports, can impair the influence of this well-considered authority. The Senator knows well that an old and barbarous case is a poor answer to a principle, which is brought into activity by the demands of an advancing Civilhasion, and which once recognized can never be denied; that jurisprudence is not a dark lantern, ablning in a narrow cirele, and never changing, but a gladsome light, which, slowly casesting from original darkness, grows and spreads with human improvement, until at last it becomes as

sistent with these two national declarations. Here is the national heart, the national soci, the national will, the national voice, which must isopire our interpretation of the constitution, and enter into and diffuse itself through all the national legislation. Such are the commanding authorities which constitute "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and in more general words, "the rights of human nature," without distinction of race, or recognition of the curse of Ham, as the basis of our national institutions. They need no additional support. But, in strict harmony with these are the many utterances in the Convention which framed the Constitution of Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, who announced that "he would never concur in wpholding domestic slavery; it was a nefarious institution;" of Ethridge Gerry of Massachusetts, who said "that we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to slavery, but we ought to be careful not to give any sanction to G;" of Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellaworth of Connecticut, and Mr. Gorham of Massachusetts, who all concurred with Mr.

fo be careful not to give any senction to it," of Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, and Mr. Gerry; and especially of Mr. Madison of Virginia, who in mild, juridical phrase, "RECOURT IT WARKS TO ADEM IN THE CONSTITUTION THE IDEA THAT THEME COULE BE PROFEST IT MAN." And lastly, as if to complete the elaborate work of Freedom, and to give expression to all these niterances, the word "servitude," which had been sllowed in the clause on the apportionment of Representatives, was struck out, and the word "service" substituted instead. This final exclusion from the Constitution of the idea of property in man was on the motion of Mr. Randolph of Virginia; and the reason assigned for the substitution, according to Mr. Madison, in his autheditar sport of the debate, was, that "the former was thought to express the condition of slaves, and the latter six chigarious of free persons." Thus, at every point, by great national declarations, by frank utterances in the Convention, and by a positive act in adjusting the text of the Constitution, was the idea of property in man unequivocally rejected.

This pretention, which may be dismissed as utterly baseless, becomes abourd when it is considered to what result it necessarily conducts. If the Barbarism of Slavery, in all its five-fold wrong, is really embodied in the Constitution, so as to be beyond the reach of prohibition, either Congressional or local, in the Territories, theu, for the same reason, it must be beyond the reach of prohibition or abolition, even by local authorily in the States themselves, and, just so long as the Constitution continues unchanged, Territories and States alike must be open to all its bleating infinences. And yet this pretention, which, in its janteral consequences, overturns State Rights. I disdain to dwell on that other argument, brought forward by Senators, who profess to be the special guardians of State Rights.

I disdain to dwell on that other argument, brought forward by Senators, who profess to be the special guardians of t

special guardians of State Rights.

I disdain to dwell on that other argument, brought forward by Sanators, who, denying the equality of man, speciously assert the equality of the States; and from this principle, true in many respects, jump to the conclusion; that slave-masters are entitled, in the name of equality, to take their slaves into the National Territories, under the solemn asfigureds of the Constitution flut this argument comes back to the first pretension, that slaves are recognized as "property" in the Constitution. To that pretension, already amply exposed, we are always brought, nor can any sounding allegations of State equality avoid it. And yet, this very singument betrays the inconsistency of its authors. If persons held to service in the slave States are "property" under the Constitution, then, under the provision—known as the "three-rights" rule—which founds representation in the other House on such persons, there is a property representation from the state States, with voice and vote, while there is no such property representation from the free States. With glaring inequality, the representation of slave States is founded, firston "persons," and escondly on a large part of their pretended property; while the representation of the free States is founded simply on "persons," leaving all their boundless millions of property unrepresentation of the free States is founded timply on "persons," leaving all their boundless millions of property unrepresentation of the free States is founded the Constitution, you slap in the face the whole theory of State equality, for you disclose a gigantic inequality between the slave States and the free States; and assuming the equality of States, in the face the whole pretension of property in man under the Constitution.

I disdain to dwell also on that other argument, which,

onstitution.

I disdain to dwell also on that other argument, which, I disdain to dwell also on that other argument, which, in the name of Popular Sovereignty, undertakes to secture to the people in the Territories the wicked power—sometimes called, by confusion of terms, right—to ensiave their fellow-man; as if this pretension was not blasted at once by the Declaration of Independence, when it announced that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and at if anywhere within the jurisdiction of the Constitution, which contains no sentence, phrase, or word, sanctioning this outrage, and which carefully excludes the idea of property in man, while it surrounds all persons with the highest safeguards of a citizen, such pretensions could exist.

whatever it may be elsewhere, Popular Sovereignty within the sphere of the Constitution has its limitations, Claiming for all the largest liberty of a true Civilination, it compresses all within the constraints of Justice; nor does it allow any man to assert a right to do what he

pleases, except when he pleases to do right. As well within the Territories attempt to moke a King as attempt to make a slave. But this pretension, Where I behold a factious band agree To call it freedom when themselves are free,

proceeding originally from a vain effort to avoid the im-conding question between freedom and slavery—assu-ning a defusive phrase of freedom as a cloak of slavery— peaking with the voice of Jacob while its hands are the hands of Rasu—may be dismissed with the other kindred pretensions for slavery, while the Senator from Illinois Mr Douglas,) who has wandered so far in its support

And here I close this branch of the argument, which I use treated less fully than the first, parily because time and strength fall ma, but cheftly because the harbarism of slavery, when fully established, supercodes all other negity. But enough has been done on this head, the risk of reputition, I now gather it stoether, he have patter that clave masters, under the Constitution, only take their claves into the Territories, and online to hold them as in the States, stands on two retensions, first that man may hold property in man, and secondly that this property is recognized in the Constitution. But we have seen that the pretended property stitution. But we have seen that the pretended property in man stands on no reason, while the two special arguments by which it has been asserted, first, an alleged inferiority of race, and recordly, the ancient curse of Ham, are grossly insufficient to uphold such a pretension. And we have next seen that this pretension has as little support in the Constitution as in reason; that slavery is of such an offensive character, that it can find support only in "positive" sanction, and words of "irrestrible clearness;" that his benign rule, quentioned in the Bensia, is consistent with the principles of an advanced cirillation; that he such "positive" muction, in words of "irrestrible clearness," can be Sound in the Constitution, while, in harmony with the Declaration of Independence, and the Address of the Continuous Congress, the consistency such acts of the Continuous Congress, the consistency such acts of the Convention in substitution, and especially the act of the Convention in substitutions. Survived the services of the condition of sizes," all attest that the presented the condition on sizes, "all attest that the presented that man can hold property in

Mr. Chesnut made a brief response to Mr. Sum ner's speech, speaking of it as an extraordinary one. After ranging over Europe, sneaking through the back doors of English aristocracy, and fawning at their feet, this slanderer of States and men has reappeared in the Senate

He had hoped, after the punishment he had received for his insolence that he would have learned propriety, but be had repeated his former vulgarity and mendacity. The Egyptians delfied reptiles, but it remained for northern abolitionists to delfy an embodiment of malice, mendacity and cowardice. He was not inclined to put further punishment on the recipient of a former chastisement, who had gone howling through the world yelping out volumes of stander, and he would therefore endeavor to keep quiet.

Mr. Sumper said he had pointed out the barba-rism of slavery, and the Senator's rejoinder should go as an appendix and fitting illustration of his argument. Adjourned.

Letter from Washington. Hon. R. B. Fenton and the Old Soldlers' Bill-The Print ing Bill-Speech of Hou. Chas: F. Adams-How the South took It-Summer to Speak. From our occasional Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1860. Congress drags its slow length along to its close. The House is hard at work, though the usual amount of President-making speeches are thrown in each day to spice the proceedings. Yesterday a very important bill passed the House after a severe struggle. Hon. R. E. Fenton of

New York called up his Invalid Pensioner bill, existing general laws on the pension rolls from the date of their disability instead of from the completion of their proofs as now practiced at the Pension Department. Mr. Fenton has long since come to be regarded as the old Soldier's friend, and the able and gallant manner in which he engineered this most just and equitable measure through the House

entitles him to great credit as an experienced and skilful legislator, and to the gratitude and thanks of that much neglected and long defranded class of our fellow citizens, who fought the battles of the Republic, and wasted their means and impaired their health for our benefit and happiness. The bill was attacked by Mr. Branch of North Carolina with his usual power and ability, but the eadiness and ease with which Col. Fenton met his objections and sustained the bill showed that he was master of his subject, and perfectly pre-pared to defend every section. After an ineffec-tual attempt to lay it on the table, it passed by a rote of 98 to 80. The Printing bill then came up in its regular rder and consumed the rest of the day and most of to-day. During the discussion a nice family

quarrel sprang up among the Democrats, the de-bate being mostly confined to Mr. Pryor against the Administration and Mr. Burnett of Ky. who had the moral courage to defend the Prean evidence of a strength of nerves deserving a better cause. Mr. Pryor was most felicitous in his use of adjectives when denouncing J. B. and pitying "the sorrows of the poor old man" of the White House. The bill passed by a large majority. This bill provides for a government printing house, to be carried on by salaried worknen and superintendents. Many Republicans fear that it will engender more corruption than the present method.

the present method.

After the passage of this bill the House went into Committee of the Whole, when Hon. Charles Francis Adams got the floor to speak. He was immediately surrounded by the entire House. He stood near the imaginary "Mason and Dixon's line" on the floor, and the seats upon either side of him were at once densely packed. There was not an inattentive person in the Hall, even down to the pages. A dead silence prevailed over that usually noisy arena. Mr. Adams' voice is very weak, and his friends had feared he could not be heard, but every sylable of his able, polished, scholarly, but scathing speech, was distinctly heard in every part of the hall and galleries, from beginning to close. Indeed, one could almost fancy that the "old man eloquent" was again holding this tumultuous body, spellbound and entranced. As he went on, and and warmed with his subject, the silence and attention became intense-a pin dropped could almost have been heard. Sentence after sentence, glowing with eloquence and lofty patriotism, rang through the hall. The Republicans scarcely breathed, while the southern side sat as if en tranced. He told the South that the Republican organization was composed of freemen, who would not menace others, nor would they submit to menace from others. It was one of the boldest speeches of the session, terribly scathing upon the institution of slavery and those who uphold it, and yet conceived in the most elegant and scholarly phrase; his classic allusions and cloquent and beautiful phraseology were a treat

not often had in a political speech. It was amusing to note the effect of this great shock upon the South side of the House. Gov. Winslow and John Cochrane promenaded uneasily but silently the outer aisle during most of the time. Barksdale, who usually interrupts every speaker upon the Republican side, sat pale and erect as a marble statue, and scarcely removed his eyes from the speaker. Curry, the eloquent Alabamian, found a seat near the ora-tor and seemed delighted with the feast, though every word stung like an adder. Pryor sat nervously in a seat in close proximity and seemed riveted to the spot. He seemed determined to break the spell, and with what seemed a strong effort, sprang to his feet and walked noiselessly out of the slip in which he sat, took a curn among the more distant and walked hoiselessly out of the slip in which he sat, took a turn among the more distant and empty seats, and as if under the influence of a fascination he could not throw off or resist, he returned to his seat, and did not move or take his eyes from the speaker till he closed.

It was no doubt one of the most singular episodes in the present session. It was not less so than that which occurred during the delivery of Owns Lovalor's speach. But it was its very verne. While that was the wildest and most fearful exhibition of men't passions ever witnessed.

fal exhibition of men's passions, ever witnessed in the House, perhaps; thes was no less exciting and thrilling—but the occasion produced the veropposite effect upon the combustible elements of
the House. It was a proud moment for the soof the "Old Man Elequent." The southern members did themselves infinite honor in thus respect
fully listening to Mr. Adams. Whether it was
the recollection of the father, whose voice of warm

bers did themselves infinite honor in time respectfully listening to Mr. Adams. Whether it was the recollection of the father, whose voice of warning and patriotism so often stilled the storms that rose tampitanously in the old half, or whether it was purely the effect of the elegance and elequence of the speaker himself, that produced this result, I will not pretend to say. But it is true, that such a scene has not been witnessed in this Congress at least.

Charles Summer, who had been a deeply attentive listener, rushed to him when he closed, and most heartily congramitated him, as did large numbers of his political friends in the House.

Charles Summer speaks in the Senate on Monday next. It is said by his intimate friends that it will be the speech of his life; that it will surpass any previous effort of this eloquent Senator during his curser. There will be an immense throng to hear him. Ever since he was struck down by the assessin Brooke, an impression has prevailed all over the country that if Mr. Summer ever took his seat in that body again, he would make the greatest speech over listmed to in that hall. That time has country that if Mr. Summer ever took his seat in that body again, he would make the greatest speech over listmed to in that hall. That time has tome. He has intimited that he should speak next Monday, and of course the most intense unxing provails to hear it. I shall endeavor to give you an account of it.

the Southern District of the State, introduced a complimentary resolution with respect to the new building and court room, which he desired might be accepted by the Court, and ordered to be placed upon the Record.

A delegation of two gentlemen of our place have had a hearing before the Commissioners, with reference to the locating of a Nautical School for boys at this post. We know not yet what the decision may be, although we hear that two of the three Commissioners are in favor of this place. If not already determined, the question will be of course. The doings of the Chicago Convention are highly approved here. Stlex.

From our ewn Reporter. NATION, June 2, 1860. Agreeable to the call of the town committee, the Republicans of this town assembled last evening to take the initiatory steps for the formation of a Lincoln Club, and a vigorous prosecution of the campaign. Hon. J. W. Bacon presided, and J. B. Fairbanks was chosen Secretary. A committee of eleven were chosen to report, to an adjourned meeting, a plan of organisation and a list of

to keep the party "conveniently small," by ex-cluding from participation in the organization of the Club, men who have acted in the past with other parties, in opposition to the Republican, and men who have traternized to some extent with net with no sympathy from the meeting. GEMS TAKEN FROM THE BELL-METAL. There were some "getts," though not of the first water, in the speeches of the orators at the bell-ringers

entertainment last night. "Frinstans," as Yel-

lowplush remarks, Devereux said:

lowplush remarks, Devereux said:

'To the thunderstrack expectancy of the nation, the
Republican Convention proposed the names of Abraham
Lincoln and Hannibal Hamiin. Twenty years ago I met
Mr. Hamiin in the State of Maine in political contests,
and I should as soon have thought that the Ministepic
might in course of time empty deelf into the Indian
Cosan as that he should turn up where he now stands." That only shows that Devereux is not a good judge of character, and that is one great trouble with all the members of that party. "Thun derstruck expectancy," however, is good! And Mr. Saltonstall cried out excitedly:

"The blood of Pairick Henry is crying from the We never knew before that Patrick Henry ever lost any portion of his vital fluid on the ground or elsewhere. Sationstall had better read Henry's life. And Mr. Henry asked, fervently:

"Suppose, gentlemen, we were in dissolution. Why gentlemen, do you know that all the cotton you manufacture at the North comes from the South?" Why, of course they do n't know it! How could such a crewd as that be expected to know anything about cotton?

COL. TRAIN AND MR. HOUSTON. The chip is gain on the hat of some of the southern members of Congress. Col. Train had the misfortun to assert that " he should consider himself guilty of gross impropriety as a member and a gentleinterpolating remarks, when he was not entitled to the floor." He did not say that Mr. Houston or anybody else would be guilty of such impropriety, but that "he should consider himself guilty," &c. But Mr. Houston flew into a rage, the irrepressible conflict reared its terrific head, the Union tottered geographical divisions came out in black lines, an affair of honor loomed up in the distance, andwhat else? Why, it was proposed to adjust the matter amicably! Col. Train replied that he meant just what he said, and had nothing to adjust. We just hope that Col. Train will stick to his point and wont budge an inch. Let it be known whether every time a southern member chooses to interrupt or annoy anybody else, and gets snubbed, there is to be necessarily a row, pistols, sword-canes, followed by correspondence apologies and adjudications.

The Brill Reserve. The phenomenon of boil ringing without visible agency still continues at intervals. On Thursday the bell rang sixteen times, and called the little girl who attends to its ringing that number of times to the door, to find that no one was there, and that the same cause or agency was still at work. The same day, while the family were at the table, distinct and successive rape were heard on the walls of the room where they were assembled. Sunday was the only day that there has not been ringing—Providence Journal.

It is were clear from the phone that the character.

It is very clear from the above that the ghostly supporters of the Baltimore nominees are getting up a little spiritualistic manifestation with regard to the BELL movement. A similar exhibition occurred in State street yesterday. But ghosts don't vote, and without earthly support that party AN EXTRAORDINARY CURE POR DEAFNESS.

singular discovery for deafness was recently

made in Paris by a lady, one Mdlle. Cleret,

school teacher. It is by the use of "sulphuric ether poured directly into the ear in a dose of four or five or six or eight drops a day. Usually this agent produces only a slight degree of sensitwenty days the operator may suspend its use for several days to retain its energy better, and then resume its use. The application may be continued, if not indefinitely, at least for a very long period of time." The physicians in Paris are in raptures over it. But the most melancholy part remains to be told. She became insane in consequence of the success of the discovery.

The origin of the discovery was this: Mdllc. Cleret had been for many years very deaf, but one day she bought some thread, which was wrapped in a leaf from some work on geography which had fallen stillborn from the press and had been sold as waste paper. She read on it that certain peasants would cure themselves of deafness by exposing their ears to certain emanations. She forthwith began to make experiments on herself orthwith began to make experiments on herself ended to different objects not by chemical knowledge, but simply by accident. After having used the most painful substances, she hit upon the substance she now uses, and experiencing the good effects of it on herself, she applied it to her

pupils. Twenty-nine children were attended by her, and in every instance advantageous results obtained. Two children, declared by approved medical men to be incurably deaf and dumb, were completely cured by her. Seven other children were attended by her, under the supervision of a committee; these children were completely deaf and dumb. All of them, after receiving her at-tentions for eight or nine months, evidently greatly.

REGISTRATION IN MASSACHURETTS. The General Statutes of this State make some changes in the provisions of law affecting registration, with some additions, which it is hoped will secure portion of the statutes has been printed in pamphlet form with careful explanations, and sent with a letter from the Secretary of the Commonwealth to every town clerk. The design of the new law is to give to town

clerks and others an active duty in the collection of returns, the performance of which is enforced by no light penalties; and not only these officers, but clergymen, magistrates and undertakers, as well as parents and friends, cannot now be too careful to ascertaining and observing the requirements of the statute. A dispatch from New Orleans says business

there is about over for the season, large numbers of merchants having already left for Europe and The arrestan well at Toledo, Ohlo, was com-peted on Monday last, the angur having pene-trated the local haustible reservoir underlying the city, and letting out the water in a strong and co-plous stream.

Edward Bates, of Missouri, is about to publish a letter, addressed to O. H. Browning, of Quincy, Ill., advising his friends to do their atmost to secure the election of Lincoln and Hamilia, and expressing the opinion that they should not wante their rotes upon the Bell and Everett sicket.

eased in the

the departure of the Arabia that Garibaldi's forces, were completely routed at Palermo, which are now flatly contradicted. The Neapolitan troops were completely defeated.

Garibaldi's troops had invested Mercilla, which commands Palermo.

The latest rumors state that Garibaldi had obtained a decided victory at Mercilla.

The Neapolitan government has very little to say, but their last bulletin has it that two columns were pursuing the dispersed troops of Garibaldi.

The insurgents were gaining strength daily.

Is was vaguely reported that France and Russia had signed a treaty on the 19th, on the Eastern question.

The Paris Bourse had advanced, and Rentes closed at 69fr. 20c.

It was reported that the Russian troops in the southern provinces had been placed on a war footing.

A private dispatch from China says that the Chinese government absolutely refuses the ultimatum of England and France, and that war is the only alternative. ARRIVAL OF THE VANDERBILT. New York, June 3. The steamship Vander-bilt, from Southampton 23d, has arrived, bring-ing London and Liverpool advices of the same day, and upwards of 200 passengers. She reports severe wintry weather throughout the passage and passed several icobergs.

A dispatch to Southampton reports that Nor-mandy won the Derby race, Ten Brocek's Umpire being the eleventh.

being the eleventh. Ttaly. The Neapolitans had abundoned the provinces of Palermo and Trapani. Great disorder prevailed, and the provinces were in full insurrection. Six thousand Sicillians had Joined Garribaldi's force.

force.

The Neapolitan army was routed on the 15th by the troops under Garibaldi.

A conflict also took place on the 19th between the Pontifical gendarmes and a party of Garibaldians, near Monteflascom, in the Roman territory. The latter were driven back to Tuscany with a loss of 30 killed and wounded.

The departure of a French naval force to the Adriatic was reported. Adriatic was reported.

It was rumored that England, Anstria and Pressia had agreed to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

The concentration of Russian troops on the Prath is denied.

The treaty of Zurich has been approved by Sar-

dinia.
ROME, 23d. The Customs Guard at Onano ROME, 23d. The Customs Guard at Onano-have been attacked and overpowered by some fill-busters, who, after plundering the treasury, re-treated to Tuscany. The peasantry are asking for arms. The Papal troops will immediately leave Rome for the frontiers. The Journal of Rome says the news from Sicily is favorable to the Neapoliting government. An artillery force left Rome to-day for the frontiers. The Pontifical Chasseurs sent after the fillbusters, owing to the darkness of the night, fired upon each other, killing the Cap-

In the House of Commons, on the 21st, Lord John Russell, in reply to a question, said there was no intention on the part of the Austrian or Spanish governments of interfering in affairs in Sicily.

PARIS, Saturday. The Patrie, in speaking of the affair of Calata Fimi, says: "The volun-teers having been attacked with great vigor, ener-getically defended themselves and effected their getically defended themselves and effected their retreat in good order, leaving behind certain of their number killed. According to last accounts the insurrection was being extended and organized in all directions." The same journal adds, that when the detachments which are being organized shall have joined the volunteers who discrete the same in the s

ganized shall have joined the volunteers who dis-embarked at Marsala, the whole will number 12,000 men, well armed and well provisioned. The Paris correspondent of the Times says it is not true that the Prussian Ambassador at Turin had protested against the expedition of Garibaldi. He merely asked explanations from the Sardinian government.
The effective force of the French army will be increased next month by an addition of 100,000

increased next month by an addition of 100,000 men.

Paris, Monday. The Putris contains a dispatch amouncing that Colonel Pirasdan had obtained a decided success against she volunteers who had entered the Roman Territory. The brother of Orgini is said to have been killed.

Markellles, 21. Advices from Rome state that Gen. Lamoriciero entered that city on the 13th On the following day he dispatched the second regiment of infantry and detachments of mounted gensdarmes from the city. The cause of this movement was the march of the Garibaldians on Orbitella, news of which caused great agitation at Rome. It was said that the march of the French typops had been decided on, but the belief was that it would be postponed.

The Paris correspondent of the Times says: A perfect panic prevailed last week in the commercial and financial world. The pretence for the panic was founded on reports that the Russian government is about to recommence a Menschikof mission, and the landing of Garibaldi in Sicily. The fact is, that the pasic was caused by the obscurity in which all political questions are enveloped.

Naples, 18th. The band of Garibaldi has been

NAPLES, 18th. The band of Garibaldi has been

attacked at the point of the bayonet, by the royal troops near Calata Fimi, and total routed, leaving on the battle-field their flag and a great number of killed and-wounded, among whom is one of their

SATURDAY Evening. It is asserted here that the fight at Calata Fimi was not declaive, and that the Neapolitan troops have re-entered Palermo. Two columns of 3000 men each have been sent in pursuit of the insurgents.
It is estimated that 6000 Sicilians have joined the Garibaldians.
NAPLES, May 15. M. de Carafa has forwarded

NAPLES, May 15. M. de Carafa has forwarded a circular to the diplomatic corps, bitterly accusing the Piedmontese government of having, not-withstanding its promises, allowed bands of volunteers to be enrolled, armed and despatched to Sicily. M. de Carafa adds that this violent attack against international law exposes Italy to amguinary anarchy, and compromises the whole of Europe. He throws the responsibility on the authors and accomplices of such criminal actions.

The Marquis de Villanavina has, in the name of Sardinia, protested against this accusation, which Sardinia, protested against this accusation, which he says is false and injurious. It is believed that Garribaldi will land at Cala-PALERMO, 16th. Garibaldi was at Alcamo or

the 15th.

A fight had taken place at Liappo, in which the royal thoops were repulsed.

Palesino is again in a state of siege.

The French troops have arrived.

More emigrants have disembarked in Sicily.

GENOA, 18th. Marshal Riviera has demanded reinforcements of Marshal Russo, who, being unable to diminish the garrison of Messina, refused the demand. able to diminish the garrison of Messina, refused the demand.

TURIN, 19th. Advices from Naples state that the 6th regiment refused to fire on the people on the occasion of the demonstration on the 18th.

The government intends to appoint Count Trani-Viceroy to Sicily, and grant a general amnesty, when the insurrection is suppressed.

NAPLES, 20th. Bands of insurgents are marching on Falermo.

NAPLES, 20th. Bands of insurgents are marching on Palermo.

The proclamation of Gen. Lauzos, concerning as amnesty and the Vicerovalty has had no effect, and popular manifestations take place repeatedly. It is believed that Palermo will shortly be evacuated by the royal troops.

PALERMO, 18th. Garibaldi's troops are entranched in a semi-circle around Palermo. The Neapolitan troops and functionaries are discouraged.

Hong Kong dates of March 29 state that Mr. Bruce is to receive a final answer from the Emperor of China on the 10th of April.

The whole army will be ready to move about the 15th of April.

It is rumored that a great number of Russian morehantmen are now collected at Nicolaciff; also that Russian troops are being concentrated on the east coast of the Black Sea.

A Courreitte By Levyke. We stated a few days ago that a young lady of Lowell had left that city in company with a sister, on a journey of over a thousand miles, to meet and marry a man she had never seen. We were not then aware that the had never seen. We were not then aware that the lady was a teacher in one of our private schools during the whole period of her literary courbinly. Just before she came to this city she published in a northern paper a piece of poetry on the death of a young wife. It was accidentally read by a gentleman of Canada, who had just lost his bride, its spanpathetic lines expressed the feelings of his own heart so perfectly, that he wrote to the editor for the name of the numberess. As much to his surprise as to his pleasure, her last name was the same as his own. He wrote to her, then an assis-

CONFIRMED. The appointment of John Asple ton, late Assistant Socretary of State, as Ministr to Russia, has been confirmed by the Scrate. elli be a nice trip for him out and book Mr. Trescott is also confirmed Assistant ary vice Appleton resigned.

EVERYBODY'S LAWYER

AND. COUNSELLOR IN BUSINESS, BY FRANK CROSSY. To Tolke Wood How to draw up PARTERING PARTE and gives general from he Acat.
MANTE of all kinds, Rule of Acts.
LEARES and PETITION. OF THE PRILADERPRIA SAR. He Wells Keen How to draw up Bogne and Married Car, Application, Powers of Arrow Married Married Married Married Married Receives Receives and Relation

It Tolls You The Love for the Consesses of pressure with the Startest of Larrange and amount and that of property in surery from Einstein a cury finte At Tells You How to make an Assessmen properly with forms for Convertee with CREDITORS, and the LESCYLET LATE The legal relations existing between GRANDIAN and WARD, MANTER & APPRENTICE, and LANSING. TENANT. It Tells You What constitute Lon sat him and the Law as to Marnise Does the Wire's Riggs to Province, I TORES and ALIRONY. It Tells You The law for Michigan Limite.

ty State, and the Karvastuana haws of this country, and her is comply with the same. Is Wells Now The Law Concerning Persons and how to obtain one, and the Pas-Emprior Laws to Public Laws. it Tells Kon The law for Parents, with mote procedure in obtaining one, with I BLE OF PERS Et Telle Kom How to make your Will, and how to ADMINISTER OF AN EFFATE, with the law and the requirements thereof in erery State. Et Tells You The meaning of Lav Trans in general use, and explains to you the Laun-LATIVE, EXECUTIVE and JUNEAU Prewas of both the General and Str

GOVERNMENTS.

Rt Tells You How to Kasp out or Law, by above

how to do your business legally, there saving a vast amount of property and varations litigation, by its time Single copies will be sent by mell, postage paid, to Ergar Farkwan, Every Machanic, Every Man or Benezie, and Everymont in Every State, on receipt of \$1.00-or n law style of binding at \$1 25. \$1000 A YEAR can be made by en-where, in selling the above work, as our inducements in all such are very liberal. For single copies of the Book, or for ten with other information, apply to or address JOHN E. POTTER, Publisher.

No. 617 Sansom street, Philadelphia, Ps. WATCHES. S. WILLARD & SON,

Have constantly on hand and for sale a complete assert ment of ENGLISH AND SWISS WATCHES, of ever

wariety of style and price. Also, Sole Agents and Is

Churies Fredsham's Celebrated Watches. universally acknowledged to be the most Perfect Time-heepers ever made by the hand of man. For sale Whole-sale and Retail. SILVER SOAP. A perfect prepara-ble, &c., far more convenient and effective than any other. Read the following:

Boston, May 2, 1859.

Mesers. SAFFORD & BURDITT Gentlemen. After repeated trials of your Silver Scap we can recommend it as the best critici see have ever see for cleaning Plated and Silver Ware. It must seen be for cleaning Fines. Yours respectfully, used by every family. Yours respectfully, SHREVE, BROWN & CO.

(Late Jones, Ball & Co.)
Manufactured by the Bosron Industrial Soar Co... GEORGE W. SAFFORD & CO., Agents, June 2 St CA 78 Sudbury street, Boston CHICKERING & SONS,

GRAND, SQUARE AND UPRIGHT

PIANO-FORTES, Thalberg, Strakosch, Gottschalk, Leopold De Meyer, Alfred Jaell, J. Benedict, A. Napoleon,

246 Washington st.,... Boston. 094 Brondway,..... New York. 807 Chestuut street,.... Philadelphia

Gustav Salter, M. Maretnit, Julien,

From the Home Journal. garb, and woods, giens, brooks and flowers, such costs butes its part to make Round Hill a delightful spot fe See Circular, sent gratis. Address Round Hill Wal Cure and Hotel, Northampton, Mass. may 16 1th Whylune 9 RELIEF IN TEN MINUTES

BRYAN'S PULMONIC WAFERS! The most certain and speedy remedy ever discount for il Desenses of the

Chest and Lungs, Coughs, Colds, Johns, Consumption, Bronchitis, Inforest, Honrocuces, Difficult Breathing. Bore Throat, &c., &c. These Wafers give the most instantaneous and perfect relief, and when persevered with according to directions have been restored to perfect health, was have trief of

or means in vain. To all classes and all courties of they are a blessing and a cure—nous and despite at matter how long the disease may have existed, or hower severe it may be, provided the organic structure of the rital organs is not hopelessly decayed. Every on effect ed should give them so impartial trial. To Vocalists and Public Speakers, Shees Wafers are populiarie valuable; they will is at PAY remove the most severe occasional hoursenss; and

their regular use for a few days will, at all times, increase the power and Bexibility of the voice, greatly import the home, compass and clearness, for which perpent are regularly used by many professional vocalists. JOB MORES, Sole Proprietor, Rochester, N. I. Price 25 cents per box. Vocalists and Public Speakers Vocalists and Public Speakers Vocalists and Public Speakers

GEO. C. GOODWIN & CO., Il Mai ton, Mass., General Agents. Wieckly Atlas and Bet

Published Every Saturday Moin NOS. T. & 9 STATE STREET, BOSTO