directed, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent. Advertisements making less than one square inmed three times for 75 cents - one square for \$1.00. The Agents of the American, Massachusetta convivania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Soicies are authorised to receive subscriptions for Tax

sting to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to

The following gentlemen constitute the Pinan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the bes of the paper, viz :- FRANCIS JACKSON, Ep-THE QUINCY, EDMEND JACKSON, and WENDELL

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell."

EF 'The free States are the guardians and emen-ial supports of slavery. We are the jutiers and con-tables of the institution. . . . There is tonic excus-

for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

warighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR PATHERS, IN PRANTING THE CONSTITUTION, SWENTED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must seek in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for look.

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enalsying of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

WILLIAM BLEET CHANGES

can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

use in aiding other States in binding on men a

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 22, 1860. WHOLE NUMBER, 1539.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

VOL. XXX. NO. 25.

MR. SUMNER'S POSITION DEPINED.

The question raised as to Mr. Sumner's politics been settled definitively. The Republican Leglature of Massachusetts, which was called together many days ago to legislate on the cow disease, last night passed resolutions defining Mr. Sumner's poli-tics, and legislating him a Republican of the highest rank. This was done in order promptly to rebake those presses in New York, which, by their silence, minuations and open assertions, undertook to make people believe that the Senator from Massachusetts was not a Republican—that the Republicans, as a party, were no more responsible for what Mr. Sumaid in the Senate, than they were for what Mr. tiatrison said in his Liberator. has decided this controversy; and decided it in such a ray as not to leave doubts. The decision is much clearer than the 'protection' clause of the Lincoln platform. It has not only legislated that Mr. Sumper is a Republican in good standing, but it has redored his speech, which the N. Y. Times decorated, which the Tribune would not read, and shad the Courses 4 Enquirer characterized as an Their the Courses of English the Times's denuncia-nons were deserved, the Tribune's silence was an allustration of civil prudence,' but the Courses characterization were unjust and improper. Summer is no more an abolitionist than those who support him , and we have the authority of the Legislatore for this. The accredited and hitherto truster organs of the Republican party of New York may undertake to poo-poo Mr. Suinner and his late speech; but the Legislature of Massachusette endorse him and it .- Boston Courier.

Black Republican Legislature of Massachusetts, is bold adoption of the rankest Abolition sentiments as the creed of the Black Republicans—the support-Lincoln and Hamlin. the Black Republican prophet and leader, with all his diabolical heresies, and gives unequivocal assent to his avowal that ' the United States Constitution a covenant with death, and an agreement with bell. Sumner's speech contained the highest eulogy of Garrison he could utter, and the Black Republicans of Massachusetts place their seal of approbation upon what Sumner said, by solemn Legislative resiltes, which they direct to be sent to the officers and members of the National Legislature. Thus has Garrison Abolitionism been formally adopted as Black Republicanism, and what the Massachusetts Legislature has joined, let no man put asunder. Now we have Black Republicanism in its pure state—without mask or disguise of any kind—it is admitted to be the twin brother of Garrison-Phillips Molitionism, united by the strong ligament of solenn, formal, Legislative declaration. The people will clearly understand that it is not the 'rail-splitter they are asked to call to power, but the Union-splitter with Abolitionism for his wedge.—Boston

The endorsement of Mr. Sumner's speech, by the

said had been unsaid, and deeply regret the want of policy in such a thrice-told tirade upon an impracticable theory, at a time when practicality is in special demand. It illustrates no less his total unfitness for public station than his utter inaptitude for political warfare. It will prejudice his party with-out benefiting his cause. Enemies are exasperated by it to an extreme degree, and the current of sympathy which circumstances had enlisted in his behalf, is changed to a virulent flow of hostility towards him personally, and towards the sectional sentiment which he assumes to represent. It unmasks Republicanism, and strips it of the guises and preterts upon which its more will and more prudent advocates depended for success. It is an insidious and faithless blow at the Constitution, and in its inentable import is thoroughly disunion. In his inrective at Fancuil Hall, against the Fugitive Slave Law, Mr. Sumner invoked the forcible resistance to that measure which virtually annulled and repealed the Stamp Act-a case in no sense analogous, because without any constitutional warrant whatever. But, mind you, be added, 'I do not counsel violence. So now, while ostensibly deprecating the setionalism which threatens the permanence of our institutions, his speech is the essence and aggregation of doctrines which can have no realization but in the overthrow of the Constitution and the disreption of every national bond. The speech, in a ford, has added rancor to the embittered feeling of the South; and the North, whether justly or not, will be held responsible for its repugnant and unfriendly sentiments. The Republican party will have something to do to counteract its effects upon their their prospects in the approaching campaign. — Washington correspondent of the Boston Courier.

Charles Sumner's recent speech is a curiosity that has no parallel, at least on our Senatorial record. Pedantry, egotism, fatuitous hypotheses, malice, thapsody and verbosity stripe and emblazon it with gusting conspicuousness. His chronic distemper, implacable hatred of South Carolina, poisons almost every paragraph, and struts through ludicrous arrogance. The full reservoir of his vitu-pration is poured out upon South Carolina, the are Palmetto State, enwreathed with the sacred pemories of Fort Moultrie and Camden and Cowens, and whose history towers proudly among the nublest. Well, indeed, may Massachusetts blush, as her memory reverts to the days when Webster nored the chairs now occupied by Sumner and Wilson. Well may she supplicate for that spirit that animated her then, and made her toice responsive to the mandates of the Constitution in the days of Thomas Jefferson, as she witnesses the debasement of her once brilliant history—as she allows her sentiments to be misunderstood polished misrepresentation of Sumner and the simuhting demagoguism of Wilson. Well may she re-gret, as she peruses the malignant address of Senator Sumner, that her views are assumed to be re-flected more by the frenzied declamation of the Abditionstic theologian than the dispassionate, ar-fumentative logic of the practical statesman; more by the fanaticism of the opinionated moralist than the self-immolating spirit of the true patriot. The speech of our Senatorial essayist makes apt the

THE PERSON NAMED OF THE PERSON NAMED IN T

The ruling passion, be it what it will, The ruling passion conquers reason still." -Beston Post.

No one can rise from a perusal of this speech without a contempt for the author and a conviction of his unfitness for his place. . . If Mr. Sumper were a religious man, he would be a persecutor. Instead, he has adopted a rague philosophy of his creed, and he proclaims a political cruesde against brethren living under a commune Constitution. brethren living under a common Coastitution. Mr. Sumoer will go to Europe for his reward. At this noment, the aristocracy and the oligarchies of the

up 'a stupendous oligarchy' which the Constitution recognizes :- Charles Sumner, in the Senate, has set forth, in a thousand and one counts, what he calls 'The barburism of slavery'; but for what purpose, it will puzzle the readers of these speeches to say, unless it be to keep up and infuse fresh life into that Bohon Upas to the country,—to its vast interests and its patriotic instincts,-anti-slavery agitation. There seems to be practical point to neither speech. In relation to Summer's effort, the New York Times, (Republican,) has a criticism that is just and true :-

From beginning to end, it was a vehement deority on the part of the slave States :- and the tible of

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES F. ADAMS. OF MASSACRUSETTS.

ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION,

May 31, 1860. MR. CHAIRMAN-On the third day of the present

·One gentleman said we had brought the negro in

the master who stands here ' by virtue of the negro.' And it is in this sense that the gentleman's remark forcible; for in this sense it is true. We cannot ut the negro out. This remark serves as a comelete stopper to all the crimination and recrimina-ion so freely indulged in between parties on the solemn point—which of the two first brought the negro in. Let them rest quiet hereafter on this topic. The negro was in before they began to talk hout him at all. He will stay in, whether they hoose to talk about him or not. He will grow in more and more, even while they are sleeping. To not there; still less to suppose that either lamenta-tion or anger, agitation or silence, will in any respect materially change the nature of the great peril. blem which North America is inevitably doomed solve. From the decree of Divine Providence here is no appeal.

s the pole, to the maintenance of a policy which of our notions of freedom. Is it to be will keep that negro before our eyes, whether we then, that we, whose rights are liable to

One gentleman, at this session, in venturing to stretch bank and the tariff were but as atoms in the creation range of vision only a quarter of a century, thought he saw eight millions; whilst another,

But I now go one step further, and declare that

in the Old World, and when the Senate adjourns he ceeding at this moment one-third of the gross num-will go there, to reap his reward in the smiles and ber of its lower branch? I say nothing here of the flatteries of noble lords and ladies, and the puffery other features of the system. But I only ask, if it of a pensioned press.—Albany Atlas and Argus. the Boston Post., is making a deplorable exhibit in the Council Halls of the nation. Charles Francis similar induces in the public council. excited some uneasiness? How can we measure the power of three or four, of twenty, or of two hundred millions of human beings held in slavery, virtue of whom, not as property, but as persons not free,' to use the gentleman's phrase, one section already controls more than a third of the popular branch, nearly one-half of the aristocratic branch of the Legislature, more than half of the Uabine officers in the executive department, and five out of nine of the judges of the supreme judicial tribunal?

Apportion the increase of population, according to the Constitution, as you may; concede to the free regions all advantage in relative growth that you can, the stern fact yet remains of the constant nunciation of slavery. The labor of four leisure presence of an influence, animated by one will, and years seems to have been devoted by Mr. Sumner to looking to one purpose—that is, the preservation of collecting every instance of cruelty, violence, pas- its claims, both to the pecuniary and the political sion, coarseness and vulgarity recorded as having advantages it holds 'by virtue of the negro.' happened within the slave States, or as having been | Even if considered in the secondary light of a comcommitted by a slaveholder. Congressional de-mercial corporation, we have been told this session, bates, State codes, public meetings, newspaper files, by a distinguished member from Alabama, that the and police reports, have been studied and collated joint stock of capital, even now, amounts to the with painful industry; statistical tables have been enormous sum of \$3,500,000,000; and, unlike most ransacked for evidence of relative decay and inferiother corporations, this capital is not only suscepconstant enlargement, but is constantly enwhole has been wrought into a speech, argumenta-lirged. In comparison with this, what was the tive in form, but purely denunciatory in fact and Bank of the United States? What is the Bank of tive in form, hat purely denunciatory in fact and intention,—and apparently designed merely to sting and exasperate the slaveholding portion of Company? The complaint was made of the latter his audience and of the country to the highest pitch Parliament. But here the shareholders sit constantly 'by virtue' of their stock, in both Houses of Congress, in the Cabinet of the executive, and on the bench of the highest judicial court. They help make, they execute, and they expound the laws of the land. For my part, I must say that I have observed nothing in the pages of history so skill-fully adapted to the establishment of a stupendous oligarchy as this interlacing of the interests of a Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, all the ramifications of the political agencies in a

Truly, then, has the gentleman said, we cannot session, a gentleman from Mississippi, distinguished put the negro out, whom his fathers and our fathers for his perspiculty of statement, but in a spirit consented to put into the Constitution. I, for one, more defiant than to my untutored sense seemed to add very frankly, I do not seek to put him out. be called for by the occasion, used the following Whatever benefit may have been obtained by him and his friends, from a fair construction of the instrument, I here no intention to cut off. But, on the other hand, it should be observed that no adere, and that he must be put out. Let us see you vantage such as they enjoy can ever be long used Sir, there are twenty members from the South without the experience of a corresponding drawstanding upon the floor by virtue of the negro, not as property, but as "persons not free." Put them out, will you? Sit, your fathers and my fathers did not put the negro out. Thy put him, as an institution of ment, this is particularly true. No man, or set of property, and of society, and of government, in the Constitution which you, gentlemen, swore to support. Of course, this putting in of the negro is a mere figure of speech. If he were veritably here in propria persona, I presume nobody would be more indignant than the gentleman himself. No. It is the master who stands here 'by virtue of the negro.' And it is in this sense that the gentleman's remark in facilities that the gentleman's remark in the first propriation against such abuse in the future. We recognize the truth of the old maxim, that 'eternal nize the truth of the old maxim, that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' as well as of that other one, which in my youth I remember to have been familiarly used in quarters in which it seems to me that I seldom hear it now-a-days, 'Power is ever stealing from the many to the few.' I say, then, that even if the control which has been gained an to talk 'by virtue of the negro,' could be shown to have ple in the United States alike; if it could be proved deprecate the misfortune is as idle as to complain of the force of the waters of Niagara. The subject is before us, and it is our duty to face the consideration of its proportions like statesmen, and not to imagine that, if we only shut our eyes to it, it is not there; still less to suppose that either the proportion of the proportions like statesmen, and not to imagine that, if we only shut our eyes to it, it is not there; still less to suppose that either the proportion of energetic measures of association to ward off the

There is no need, then, of further explaining the reasons for the rise of the Republican party. We have indeed been told that it is a standing menace there is no appeal.

In one important particular, however, the gentleman from Mississippi has fallen considerably below
the fact. He says that twenty members stand upon
this floor 'by virtue of the negro.' If this were so,
I should be glad to see and to identify them—to set
them apart, and to define the precise limit of the
political power which the Constitution has thus
created. Even twenty members would constitute
no insignificant element in the struggles which will
always be carried on for the attainment of power in
the negro is multiplying with rapidity; that
always be carried on for the attainment of power in
type of the slaveholding States, and that
to our brethren of the slaveholding States, and that
the negro is with the philosophy of party politics in
a free country which such a demand betrays, I
would respectfully ask on what grounds it can be
proposed, so long as the policy which it demounces
remains purely defensive? No sane man will deny
that the negro is multiplying with rapidity; that
the negro is dwarfed involved in the continuance of his present condition very free government. But the negro is dwarfed involved in the continuance of his present condition when he is measured only by the scale of twenty are steadily accounting; that a contensive inmembers. The real fact is, that by virtue of the negro, ninety members stand upon this floor, each one of whom derives a sufficient proportion of his present condition are steadily accounting; that a contensive increase of political power is going on in this hall, as in the other branches of the government, and that the whole character and tendency of the influence political vigor from that source to fasten him firmly thus generated is unpropitious to the maintenance as the pole, to the maintenance of a rolling which notions of freedom. Is it to be pretended Mether does the proposition of the gentleman stop at this point. The negro does not remain stationary. He multiplies all day and every day. The sun never rises without finding him increased by the case of a comparatively trifling moneyed corpohundreds. And the earth never completes its annual circle without adding removed above the case of a comparatively trifling moneyed corporation was in question, nor when the supposed assume to the case of a comparatively trifling moneyed corporation was in question, nor when the supposed assume triple without adding removed above the case of a comparatively trifling moneyed corporation was in question, nor when the supposed assume the case of a comparatively trifling moneyed corporation was in question, nor when the supposed assume the case of a comparatively trifling moneyed corporation was in question, nor when the supposed assume the case of a comparatively trifling moneyed corporation of the gentleman of such a power, have no right to associate and or such a power. nual circle without adding enough almost to place cendancy of insignificant manufacturing interests another member on this floor. Time does nothing was thought to be alarming. How, then, can it be to diminish the magnitude of this experiment. On advanced in the face of a combination of wealth e contrary, it makes it only more and more colossal, and political power, in comparison with which the

thought he saw eight millions; whilst another, in a bolder spirit, doubling the period, imagined the presence of the existence of exteen millions. Yet what are fifty years in the record of the existence of a great nation! I think I have seen, in the printed remarks of a distinguished member of the other House, a calm anticipation of the time when his section of country might contain a population of two hundred millions of negro slaves! How many members, I ask, will then stand upon this floor, by virtue of the negro? The imagination recoils from the idea of a government, professing to be founded on human freedom, and yet containing within itself all the ramifections of a power capable of being as absolute as any oriental depotism. And yet it would be difficult to point out the error in this prognostication, always supposing the current of human life to run in its ordinary and established channels. Put the negro out, will you? asks the gentleman from Mississippi. For my part, I know not what other answer to give than his own words. Lat na saw way to it. But I now go one step further, and declare that my part, I know not what other answer to give of all mankind. Half a century passed away, and than his own words, 'Let us see you do it.'

Old World unite in an attempt to decry American institutions, and to expose this country to the disters put him in the Constitution, which we are sworn to support.' So they did, in one sense, I am draining their life-blood in emigration; and our grains, and our grains, and our cotton place us in a position attained of every nece equally under the shelter of this bettler, but into long-established and populous combination only of independence but of dictation. Mr. Summer's false testimony against us will be welcome will go there, to read to remark the every and the executive head in the Old World, and when the Senate adjourns he calling a this moment one-third of the gross number of flatteries of noble lords and ladies, and the puffery of a pensioned press.—Albent Atlas and Arous.

But the gentleman says that 'his fathers and my in the Constitution, which we are sworn to support.' So they did, in one sense, I am not expect this object of the plain enough that is, at least, was for covering all the plain enough that is, at least, was for covering all in the Constitution, which we seem that on support.' So they did, in one sense, I am of every nece equally under the shelter of this bettler, but into long-established and populous combination.

But the question now is not what Mr. Jefferson of the grand doctrine which the Declaration of Independence but of dictation. Mr. him, in the legislative department of the government, a steady and permanent political power, extended in the Old World, and when the Senate adjourns he call the proposition attained of every nece equally under the shelter of this bettler, but into long-established and populous combination.

But the question now is not what Mr. Jefferson of Independence but of dictation. Mr. him, in the legislative department of the gross number of the Federal government have practically adopted in the object on the stature of the proposition attained of every nece equally under the shelter of this bettler, but into long-established and populous combination.

But th in history down to the level of the late encounter of once to the source of our present divisions. Passing pugilism, for the possession of a belt, on the other over all secondary disputes about Wilmot Provises side of the water. If their view of it be the right or Squatter Sovereignty, about Fagitive Slave Laws one, then was the whole of the great controversy a or protection of the rights of so-called property, as deliberate fraud; then has the world been cheated the mere incidents, let us look the real issue calmly

The cardinal principle of the Revolution, that which makes a real advance in the progress of political institutions, is that the individual man, whether in or out of the social organization, whilst doing no wrong, has certain rights which his fellowman all over the globe is bound to respect. The general establishment of this maxim in the practice of the nations of the world is, or ought to be, the mission of America during the present century of her growth. In 1776 there was a bright prospect of its speedy accomplishment. For some years it spread both at home and abroad; for it is not to be denied that the effect of her instruction has been and is still felt, not here alone, but in every quarter reasoning, it inevitably follows that a resort to the denied that the effect of her instruction has been rights which he is bound to respect, by parity of and is still felt, not here alone, but in every quarter reasoning, it inevitably follows that a resort to the of the world. Nobody can have failed to observe the progress that has been since made in the recognition of popular rights in every civilized country down to the present time. It would doubtless that the present time. It would doubtless that the very people which was the first to set itself up as the arbiter of the rights of the creamunciate the great truth has been slowly but time. There is then, by this theory, no such thing steadily withdrawing itself from all sympathy with on earth as liberty guaranteed to any one. This steadily withdrawing itself from all sympathy with on earth as liberty guaranteed to any one. This the prosecution of it. Imperceptibly at first, but decision strips us all alike of any rights but such as very distinctly within a short time, this reaction we may maintain by our own right arms. It is has gone on until the term of this Administration, the American sanctification of the sovereignty of when the respective representatives before the world force, under the old argument of prescription. of this great nation have united in one grand is the tyrant's plea of necessity, varnished over with counter-declaration, and that is, that there are men the thin gilding of modern politico-judicial Democall over the world whose rights no white man is rac

tion runs thus :-

stead of declaring what the new version means, and that is, that 'all men are not created equal;' and hence that the rights which he pronounces inalienable in all, are in fact alienable in a great majority of the human race, at the will and pleasure of a minority who happen to be created with pale faces? Surely it is pretty hard to believe that so lucid a writer could, with his eyes open, have fallen into such a delusion as to mean, in a public paper which he regarded as the crowning merit of his life, the precise reverse of what he actually said. Still more difficult is it to imagine that, though he lived for half a century afterward in the midst of discussions and disputes particularly calculated to keep alive his recollection of what he did mean, he should tead of declaring what the new version means, and menace to the slaveholding States?

Fortunately for the reputation of the distinguished son of Virgipia, whose noblest work I, a son of Massachusetts, am proud to defend against the cruel assaults of citizens of his own State, there is other evidence in the context of this immortal paper conclusively to prove that he meant exactly what he said, and that the new version is an after thought of a later age. So far from narrowing his application of the words all men' to white men only, as having inalienable rights to life and liberty, he goes on, in the original draft, to make a solemn charge against the King of Great Britain; for what, pray? Why, to use his own language, 'be
ggravate the customary irritation attending purely political conflicts.

This is one reason why changes in the doctrines of the slaveholding party from time to time have so rapidly taken place. The most material of these, and that which made the present position of parties the old revolutionary dogma, that slavery was an evil imposed upon one portion of the country, against its will, which it tolerated only from the necessity of the case, gave place to the modern against the consequence of the case, gave place to the modern of the words.

whom we are now told by the highest court, who would seem by their argument completely to justify that monarch, that they 'have no rights which as white man is bound to respect.' And, singularly enough, as if to mark, beyond the possibility of the most arrant fatuity to misconceive it, Mr. Jefferson's intent, in charging the sovereign with the crime of his determination to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he takes pains, in the original manuscript, with his own hand, to write the word 'MEN' in capital letters; the only word so written, it should be observed, in the whole body of the document. I would humbly submit, then, upon this evidence, that if any narrower application is to be made of the words 'all men,' than that which they naturally bear, a much stronger argument could be made from the context in favor of limiting it to all black men of the African rice, than in defence of the strengt to twist it exclusively for the benefit of the whites. But when Mir. Jefferson appeals to the comprehensive term of 'human nature,' as possessing these rights, it is

by false pretenses, and our fathers were rogues who in the face. The construction put upon the Declaradeserved to suffer the penalties of the law for rebeltion of Independence for the first half century of our
lion against the constituted authorities of the mother career is favorable to the liberty of human nature
country, instead of carning the glorious meed of
the patriot's crown.

The cardinal principle of the Revolution, that
which makes a real advance in the progress of rogues another at to institute the former law and the progress of rogues another at to institute the former law and the progress of rogues and the rogues and the progress of rogues and the rogues and the progress of rogues and the rogues and the progress of rogues and the rogues a

all over the world whose rights no white man is bound to respect.

It does indeed appear as if this grave and solemn decree of Judges, of Presidents, of Senators, and Representatives in a free country, did fly in the face of the Declaration of Independence, long acknowledged among us as undoubted authority for political doctrine. But we are now given to understand, in these high quarters, that there is no difficulty in reconciling this apparent contradiction.

The way of it is this: the language of the Declaration and the solution of the language of the Declaration of the solution of the first half century of our career; and furthermore, to make that Government justication of the solution of t ty in reconciling this apparent contradiction.
If y and defend, for certain purposes, a law founded originally on nothing but fraud and force. Surely, if this be admitted, it can be no further cause of We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all surprise that those among the people who still remen are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that the better days of the Republic, who yet believe among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of hapthe law of liberty, and to resist oppression, and who mean to make it such, if honest efforts will effect it, wrote the words 'all men,' clearly intended only all should associate in an organization having for its while men. But here is an obstacle at the threshhold of this argument. Of course, if this be the
construction, the necessary implication is that the
rest of mankind are not endowed with the same inrest of mankind are not endowed with the same inrights which the Creator bestowed on ponents. The strongest political organization know whites. Hence the latter are justified in regarding the former as inferior creatures, whom they may subject to their will if they can. I understand this power acquired 'by virtue of the negro,' as I have consequence to be distinctly admitted by the friends already described it, but union, energy, and ceaseless of the new view. Now, the fact is well known that that celebrated paper, mainly to his reputation as a liberty and authority. Here is renewed in a modification of the passage be true, what are we to think of his skill, but union, energy, and ceaseless vigilance in resisting its further progress. Here that celebrated paper, mainly to his reputation as a liberty and authority. Here is renewed in a modification of the passage be true, what are we to think of his skill, but union, energy, and ceaseless vigilance in resisting its further progress. Here the old enemies—tinctness and force. But if this construction of the passage be true, what are we to think of his skill, but union, energy, and ceaseless vigilance in resisting its further progress. Here the old enemies—tinctness and force. But if this construction of the passage be true, what are we to think of his skill, but union, energy, and ceaseless vigilance in resisting its further progress. Here the old enemies—tinctness and force. But if this construction of the passage be true, what are we to think of his skill, but union, energy, as I have the consequence in resisting its further progress. Here the old enemies—the ol whites. Hence the latter are justified in regarding in our history has been made subservient to its will.

and disputes particularly calculated to keep alive his recollection of what he did mean, he should They, in the main, spring from the nature of a never have whispered to any living soul, either privately or publicly, a single doubt of his having been correctly understood. He well knew the sense which his cotemporaries universally attached to his words. If he had any other in his mind, why did he not disclose it?

Fortunately for the reputation of the distinguishment of the slave question, in which the fears for the safety of a pecuniary interest greatly saggravate the customary irritation attending purely political conflicts.

charge against the King of Great Britain; for discum suavery was a master, and that the social what, pray? Why, to use his own language, be a positive blessing to the master, and that the social what, pray? Why, to use his own language, be system evolved from this relation could justly boast

cause he has waged cruel war against human nature system evolved from this relation could justly boast likes!, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people.

It appears, then, by this, that Mr. Jefferson thought it was human nature itself that possessed these most sacred rights which he denominates in alienable, and not the small portion of it included in the white population. Ay, and that is not all, either. Who are the 'persons of a distant people to whom he refers as deprived of these most sacred rights under this cruel tyranny? They are the very blacks of the African race whom the King had torn from their homes, and made elaves to the colornists of America. They are the very people of whom we are now told by the highest court, who would seem by their argument completely to justify

where?
Here, then, we see the practical consequence of the abandonment of the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence; and here we see the absolute necessity for the establishment of a great associated organization which shall be potent enough to overthrow this false doctrine, and to re-sist every practical form of its development. I say it not in any spirit of menace or of unkindness to those who disagree with me on this matter, but because I feel it to be a solemn duty incumbent upon me as a Representative of a State pledged by all its past history to maintain the cause of freedom and free institutions. There can be no compromise whatever on this issue. ever on this issue.

seer on this issue.

So long as it remains undetermined—and that is equivalent to saying so long as the people of these States remain themselves free—so long an organized party will continue in the field, having for its main object the restoration, as a cardinal principle of the Federal Government, of the ancient doctrine of the inalienable rights of man. If this be a standing menace to the people of the slaveholding States, so be it. We may regret that they so regard it and be it. We may regret that they so regard it, and love them too, but we must love liberty more. So said Brutus and Cassius in their hour of peril, to Mark Antony, when he was deserting the sacred cause they had sworn to support: ' Vocemus te ad nulles inimicitias; sed tamen pluris nostrum libertaem quum tuam amicitiam æstimemus.'

The party thus associated has no purposes which it seeks to conceal. It harbors no hostile designs against the rights of any of the States. Its leading idea is agroun, total and fundamental, in the spirit in which the government has of late years been administered-reform, also, in the details, which appear of late to have been suffered to run into many grave abuses. It is not to be concealed that all over the country there is a well-defined impression that, for the sake of retaining power, corruption has been tolerated, if not actively encouraged, in high places: and the various efforts at investigation made a few years, so far from removing that uneasiness, have gone far to increase it. Without undertaking to judge of the truth or the error at the bottom of the feeling, I do yet maintain that, for the honor of the country, and of all who may be concerned in the administration of the government, there is an over-ruling necessity for a complete change of the persons now responsible for its direction.

The reform must be wide enough to restore free-dom as the guide of the Federal policy, and to set aside the new idol which has usurped her throne. It must be deep enough to reinstate honesty above suspicion in the dispensation of the pecuniary contracts incident to the possession of great place. If the execution of such a policy as this constitutes good ground for a resort to extreme measures of resistance by any portion of the people of these States, then is there no hope of further harmony in Ameri-ca; for the evils which would ensue to us, if we were deterred from action by such considerations, would be far more fatal to the public neace and pros-perity, in the ultimate result, than my which could grow out of perseverance against unreasonable de-

grow out or perseverance against unreasonable de-mands. Once more may the words of the great Roman patriots be appealed to: 'Nulla enim minan-tis auctorita's apud liberos est.'

And the remedy is secession, or, in plainer words, a dissolution of the Union, and a disruption of the Constitution! So we are told. In a word, the people who defy us to put the negro out of this hall; who claim that, by virtue of that negro, twenty of their number stand on this floor; who hold a major-ity of the seats upon the bench of the Supreme Court; who have, time out of mind, wielded in their own favor the executive influence of the Federal Government, imagine that they are about to better their condition by abandoning all these enormous privileges, and by setting up another government, without any similar advantages, among themment, without any similar advantages, among themselves. Perhaps there might be some plausibility in this idea, if you could fence yourselves all around with a high wall, and proclaim a complete non-intercourse with the world outside.

But the day for these fancies is passing off, even with the Chinese and the Japanese, who have held to them the longest. Your slaves will not be made safer at home, or less aggressive when abroad, by the withdrawal of the power of reclamation; neither will your internal condition be less an object of anxiety to your neighbors than it is now. The mere fact of the existence or the non-existence of a common bond of government may modify, but it cannot materially change the conditions of your great social problem. If the Constitution were expunged by agreement to-morrow, its difficulties might, indeed,

agreement to-morrow, its difficulties might, indeed, be aggravated, but none would be removed.

Whatever we may choose to think or say of one another, either for good or evil, a higher Power above us has raised up on this continent a people who, whether united or divided, whether praying or cursing, whether loving or fighting, are destined to remain, in all the essential features of religion, language, thought, fealing, babits, continue and many guage, thought, feeling, habits, customs and man-ners, one and the same. Whatever seriously touches the condition of one portion of us, does and will have its effect upon the rest. In spite of all efforts to the contrary, there is and will be a common sym-pathy having its root in that universal principle, a simple allusion to which by a great dramatist of antiquity is said to have instantaneously elicited a burst of enthusiasm from the thousands who crowded the Roman theatre—' I am a man; nothing that

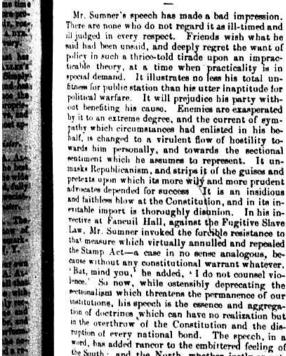
ed the Roman theatre—'I am a man; nothing that touches men can fail to move me.'

Do you say that you can and will resist all this, that you will shut yourselves up at home, and see no more of the light of reason than is consistent with the preservation of what you are pleased to denominate your property; then try it a while if you are bent on the experiment. But permit me to predict, at this time, that it will ignominiously fail. You cannot separate from us, unless you blot from your memory all the traces of a common descent, a common literature, social affinities comented by the dearest ties, and disc common faith.

est ties, and one common faith.

The violent men, who are counseling this extreme The violent men, who are counseling this extreme policy, and in whom you now put your trust, will not retain their hold upon your confidence when you open your eyes to the consequences of their work, and to the causes which they assign in their jostification. It may then be too late entirely to repair the damage; but, whether late or early, you shall not have it to say that there was not at least one voice, however humble, among those of your fancted opponents, which did not warn you of the folly of throwing off friends and follow-citizens, only because they preferred to follow the doctrines taught by your and their fathers, rather than to desert them in your company. Choose ye where you will go; for us, we will adhere to the ancient tatth.

The most marked attention was paid to the delivery of this speech, throughout, by the House.



en unifolistrate august versus out

Now that the brave, manly, humane, upright THEopone Pasker has seen 'the last of earth,' and ascended to a higher and nobler sphere of existence, the following concluding passages (full of thrilling pathos and deep serenity) from his . Experience as a ned in a Letter from him to his Society, will be read at this time with special interest :-

To compose sermons, and preach them to multi-tudes of men of one sort but many conditions, thereto setting forth the great Truths of Absolute Religion, and applying them to the various events of this wondrous human life, trying to make the Constitution of the Universe the Common Law of men, illustrating my thought with all that I can gather from the World of Matter, its use and beauty both, and from the World of Mas. from human laboth, and from the World of Man, from human l both, and from the world of him, from numan in-bors, sorrows, joys and everlasting hopes,—this has been my great delight. Your pulpit has been my joy and my throne. Though Press and State, Mar-ket and Meeting-House, have been hostile to us, you have yet given me the largest Protestant audience in America, save that which Orthodox Mr. Beecher, who breaks with no theologic tradition of the New England Church, inspires with his deep emotion nature, so devout and so humane, and charms w his poetic elequence, that is akin to both the sweet-briar and the rose, and all the beauty which springs up wild amid New England hills, and to the loveli-ness of common life: I have given you my sermons in return, at once my labor and delight. My Life is in them, and all my character. in them, and all my character, its good and ill; thereby you know me better than I, perhaps, myself,-for a man's words and his face when excited in sermon and in prayer tell all he is, the reflection Sermons are never out of my of what he has don mind; and when sickness brings on me the consciousness that I have nought to do, its most painful part, still, by long habit all things will take this form; and the gorgeous vegetation of the Tropics their flery skies so brilliant all the day, and starlit too with such exceeding beauty all the night the glittering fishes in the market, as many-co ored as a gardener's show, these Josephs of the sea; the silent pelicans, flying forth at morning and back again at night; the strange, fantastic trees, the dry pods rattling their historic bones all day, while the new bloom comes fragrant out beside, a hoiseless prophecy; the ducks rejoicing in the long-expected rain; a negro on an ambling pad; the slender-legged, bulf-naked negro children in the street, playing their languid games, or oftener screaming neath their mother's blows, amid black swine, hens and uncounted dogs; the never-ceasing clack of women's tongues, more shrewd than female in their shrill violence; the unceasing, multifarious odness of our hostess; and, overtowering all, the self-sufficient, West India Creole pride, alike con-temptuous of toil, and ignorant and impotent of thought,-all these common things turn into poetry se I look on or am compelled to hear, and then ransfigure into sermons, which come also spontaneously by night, and give themselves to me, and even in now sleep say they are meant for you. Shall they ever he swore than the walking of

'A sick man in his sleep, Three paces, and then faltering'?

The doctors cannot tell ; I also know not, but hope and strive to live a little longer, that I may work much more. Oh, that the truths of Absolute Religion, which Human Nature demands, and offers, from the Infinitely Perfect God who dwells therein, while He transcends the Universe, Oh, that there were an Idea colightening all men's minds, a Feeling in their hearts, and Action in their outward Oh, that America's two and thirty thousand ministers, Hebrew, Christian, Mormon, knew these truths, and to mankind preached Piety and Morality, and that Theology which is the Science of God and his two-fold Universe, and forgot their mythologic and misguiding dreams! Then what a New World were ours! Sure I would gladly live to

I may recover entirely, and stand before you full of brown health, equal to the manifold labors of that position, live to the long period of some of my fathers, and at last die naturally of old age. This to me seems most desirable, though certainly not

Or, I may so far recover, that I shall falter on a score of years or so, one eye on my work, the other on my body, which refuses to do it, and so urge my weak and balky horse along a miry, broken road. If this be so, then, in some still, little rural nock, in eight of town, but not too nigh, I may finis some of the many things I have begun, and left for the afternoon or evening of my days; and yet, also, from time to time, meet you again, and, with words of lofty cheer, look on the inspiring face of a great congregation. With this I should be well content; once it was the ideal of my hope.

In either of these cases, I see how the time of

this illness, and the discipline alike of disappointmet with what seemed worse than death, and, i my short-sighted folly, I said, 'Oh, that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away, and be at rest!' Yet my griefs all turned into blessings; the joyous seed I planted came up Discipline, and I wished to tear it from the ground; but it flowered fair, and bore a sweeter, sounder fruit than I expected from what I set in earth. As I look over my life, I find no disappointment and no sorrow I could afford to lose; the cloudy morning has turned out the fairer day; the wounds of my enemies have done me good. So wondrous is this Hu-man Life, not ruled by Fate, but Providence, which is Wisdom married unto Love, each infinite! What is Wisdom married unto Love, each infinite! What has been, may be. If I recover wholly, or but in part, I see now sources of power beside these waters of affliction I have stooped at; I shall not think I have gone through 'the Valley of Baca' in vain, nor begrudge the time that I have lingered there, seeming idle: rainy days also help seed the ground. One thing I am sure of: I have learned the wealth and power of the grateful, generous feeling of men, as I knew them not before, nor hoped on earth to find so rich. High as I have thought of Human Nature. I had not quite done justice to the present growth of these beautiful faculties. Here and now, as so oft before. I have found more treasure than I circamed lay hidden where I looked.

But if neither of these hopes becomes a fact, if the silver cord part soon above the fountain, and the golden bowl be broke, let not us complain: owl, and a stronger cord, shall serve the Well of Life for you. Though quite aware how proba-ble this seems, believe me, I have not yet had a single hour of sadness; trust me, I shall not. True, it is not pleasant to leave the plough broken in the furrow just begun, while the seed-corn smiles in the open sack, impatient to be sown, and the whole field promises such liberal return. To say Farewell to the thousands I have been wont to preach to, and pray with, now joyous, and tearful now,—it has its bitterness to one not eighty-four, but forty-eight. To undo the natural ties more intimately knit of long-continued friendship and of love,—this is the bitter part. But if it be my lot, let not you nor me complain. Death comes to none except to bring a blessing; it is no misfortune to lay aside these well-loved weeds of earth, and be immortal. To rou, as a Congregation, my loss may be easily supplied; and to me it is an added consolation to know that, however long and tenderly remembered, I should not long be missed; some other will come in my place, perhaps without my defects, possessed of nobler gifts, and certainly not hindered by the ecclesiastical and social hostility which needs oppose a man who has lived and wrought as I. It will not always be unpopular justly to seek the welfare of all men. Let us rejoice that others may easily reap golden corn where we have but scared the wild beasts away, or hewn down the savage ds, burning them with dangerous fire, and make the rich, rough ground smooth for culture. It was with grimmer fight, with source sweat, and blacker smoke, and redder fire, that the fields were cleared where you and I now win a sweet and easy bread.

What more shall I say to sweeten words of farewell, which must have a bitter tasted. If I have taught you any great Religious Truths, or roused therewith Emotions that are good, apply them to your life, however humble or however high and wide; convert them into Deeds, that your superior Religion may appear in your superior Industry, your Justice and your Charity, coming out in you housekeeping, and all manner of work. So whe

Course

illness, and my absence too, blind your eyes to errors

Is run, some faithful enlogist may say,
He sought not preise, and praise did overlook
His unobtrusive merit; but his life,
Sweet to himself, was exercised in Good,
That shall survive his name and memory. Let not fondness for me, now heightened by my

may be in my doctrine, which must be in learn, begun my work. 'No ma ways: 'welcome, then, each wiser you out a better way. On earth, to be thankful for your Patienes, with me so much and long; for nearest when needed most, and the nearest when needed most, Christian Life, which I ha

To whom is given.
The joy that mixes man with Hea.
Who, rowing hard against the atres.
See distant gates of Eden gleam,
And never dream it is a dream;
But hear, by secret transport led,
Even in the charnels of the dead, Even in the charmels of the dead.
The nurmur of the Fountain-head;
Who will accomplish High Desire.
Bear and forbear, and never tire.—
Like Stephen, an unquenched fire.
As looking upward, full of grate.
He prayed, and from a lappy place
God'a glory amote him on the face!

Here they add to my joy; perhaps their remer
brance will add to my delight in Heaven.
May you be faithful to your own Souls; train a
your Sons and Daughters to lofty character, mo

your Sons and Daughters to lofty character, most fit for humble duty; and to far cathedral heights of cacellence, build up the Being that you are, with Feelings, Thoughts and Actions, that become 'a glorious Human Creature,' by greatly doing the common work of life, heedful of all the Charities, which are twice blest, both by their gifts and their forgiveness too. And the Infinite Perfection, the more in the service of God and man but in value.

The sonal the mortal robes lie under the skies of Italy. There let them repose, that pligrims and parriots of the Old World and the New may go to a spot consecrated by blood that flowed thither from the streve to gird them up for a few years' labor forgiveness too. And the Infinite Perfection, the more in the service of God and man but in value. Cause and Providence of all that is, the Absolute The soul that were them was the world's. It speaks
Love, transcending the time and space it fills, our yet, and shall speak in pulpit and senate. Boston
FATHER, and OUR MOTHER too, will bless you each will thank him for the unequalled munificence of his beyond your prayer, forever and forever. Bodily absent, though present still with you by the Im-mortal Part, so hopes and prays Your Minister and Friend,

THEODORE PARKER. FREDERICKSTED, West-End, Santa Cruz, April 19, 1859.

DEATH OF THEODORE PARKER --- COM-MEMORATIVE MEETING AT MUSIC HALL, SUNDAY, JUNE 17, 1860.

SPEECH OF CHARLES M. BLLIS, ESQ. Priends: I must speak; but least of that of which my heart is full. I knew Mr. Parker well life, to keep in sight the light he showed us, and folfrom the time of his going to West Roxbury. In low its heavenly guidance. his last letter to me he writes: 'There has never been a day since I left home that I have not often thought of your father and his dear ones. He is one of my oldest friends. His is the last house I was meet to console and animate each other by the recolever in at home, except my own.' Again that trem- lection of his virtues. bling hand wrote; but the mortal eye of that friend, to try to pay tribute due to the friendship of so many phy. It is only what he tells of himself that com death, the very hymn he chose, which we have just Alexander and Pericles, you have the secret whisper tions, that I must turn away from old memories of For, it was each report of this kind that impressed that great soul was trained, mastering tools where- with authority to their own times, and therefore to within; of the village church, with its silent finger and | good candidate elsewhere. its little band; the Sabbath School; of Brook Farm, where we lived-its woods and fields, and stream of well afford to tell his experiences; they were all honwhich I could not speak.

ment and recovery, would furnish me new power. his soul-his affectional nature. No mind, no learn-it, ever in the interest of humanity. He had a strong Several times in my life has it happened that I have ing could express it. Though to the world they understanding, a logical method, a love for facts, a seemed solid as the ground, they only floated on bosom.

ciety, morals, laws and religion. But, of this Society !

ed, let old errors go.

ligion; by thought and study made clear to the infinite Perfection, Power, Wisdom Justice, Love, and came to the rescue of civilization at a hard pinch, plainly showed it to the world. He saw and showed and who blocked its course. light of love, and has his eyes opened to spiritual truth, as flowers beneath the sun. He took Truth He never kept back the truth, for fear to make an from books and scholars, Religion from the temples and enemy. But, on the other hand, it was complained that priests, and showed them to the world.

that failing frame, thinking death near, -as he said, this charge-for the faithful preacher most of all up to his shoulders in his grave, -he reviewed his It was his merit, like Luther, Knox, and Latimer, up to his shoulders in his grave,"—he reviewed his It was his merit, like Luther, knox, and Latimer, work. He wished to live to round it off, hoping for and John Baptist, to speak fart truth, when that was the length of years and strength of his ancestors, but ready to pass the golden gates to immortal life. His his sympathy for goodness was not less energetic, work is fragmentary in relation to his idea, though on the had,—he overestimated his friends,—I so much is in itself complete. He tells us, that after his discourse of Matters Pertaining to 'Religion,' he importunity of his good opinion, whilst they knew formed a plan, and prepared for the afternoon and every life and the most unmeasured. ning of his days, to show the 'History of the Pro- was capable, it must be said, of the most unmeasured

ser of Mank and

o clear, that he would not only re it to the reason of men, but story of the world, and show its

State whilst they endure; set forth in a system of re-ligion; a method of spiritual culture; shadowing a scheme of ethics; containing a cheme of ethics; containing almost the only fit at-tempt to state the law of laws in the language. His shought, his labor, his life these are su triumph enough. After a life brief in years, but in labor how long I in stature how great! in purity how glorious on earth! his mortal robes lie under the skie

will thank him for the unequalled munificence of his charity; the Herculean labors of his ministry; the unsullied purity of his life. May she grow to see and live by his truth! last to have a just pride in being the home of this spiritual Columbus; forget his errors Men may raise monuments of stone; they will frame memorials more during in adamantine speech.

ors, and his labors will outlast them all. Our best tribute, here in the presence of the living spirit, the fittest in his sight, and the most lasting, will be the quiet vow not to falter in his work, and, as we may, in Church, or Court, or State, or common

but he who stood here above the world's fading hon-

SPEECH OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. At the death of a good and admirable person, w

I have the feeling that every man's hiography is a the first to welcome him there and here, was not to his own expense. He furnishes not only the facts but read the written words. Would that I could venture the report. I mean that all biography is autobiograyears. But the day of his first illness, and that of his to be known and believed. In Plutarch's lives of sung, open such recent sorrows and quick associa- of their confidence to their lovers and trusty friends. his house at Spring street, over which the pines those to whom it was told in a manner to secure its were always whispering; his library there, where being told everywhere to the best, to those who speak with to do the work of the world, and the fair per- ours. For the political rule is a cosmical rule, that den on which it looked; of his love for all without, if a man is not strong in his own district, he is not a He whose voice will not be heard here again, could

gold and gems, dearer and fairer in the pictures which orable to him, and were part of the history of the the child, the boy daguerreotypes, than the poet or civil and religious liberty of his times. Theodor romancer can make them ; of the old home-of the Parker was a son of the soil, charged with the strolls there; of the free communion with men of energy of New England, strong, eager, inquisitive of the past and the present there opened; and from later knowledge, of a diligence that never tired, upright, and fresher things, for they would lead to that of of a haughty independence, yet the gentlest of companions; a man of study, fit for a man of the world; I remember, even before that, how his stalwart with decided opinions and plenty of power to state frame swept along the avenues of Divinity Hall. I them; rapidly pushing his studies so far as to leave remember the manner of his early preaching. In few men qualified to sit as critics. He elected his that was shown what I always thought was the chief part of duty, or accepted nobly that assigned him element of his character and source of his power. in his rare constitution. Wonderful acquisition of He was often overcome by emotion; his utterance knowledge, a rapid wit that heard all, and welcomed choked; tears flowed; his frame shook. It was be- all that came, by seeing its bearing. Such was the yond what was natural, even at that age. He has largeness of his reception of facts, and his skill to told us that 'he preached only what he had himself employ them, that it looked as if he were some Presiexperienced.' Gigantic as his developed intellect be- dent of Council to whom a score of telegraphs were came-great as were the treasures of learning he dif- ever bringing in reports; and his information would fused-his greatest power was the native impulse of have been excessive, but for the noble use he made of stripping them of traditional lustres. He had a Born on soil sacred to freedom-of stock culled in sprightly fancy, and often amused himself with England, and trained for two centuries in the best throwing his meaning into pretty spologues; yet we physical and moral culture of the world-himself rear- can hardly ascribe to his mind the poetic element, ed in schools not the costliest, but the best-taught though his schoolarship had made him a reader and the love of labor, self-reliance, absolute reverence for quoter of verses. A little more feeling of the poetle God and conscience—he surprised the world by the significance of his facts, would have disqualified him intellect that embraced, the will that moved it. But for some of his severer offices to his generation. The these only beat with the pulses of his mighty heart, old religions have a charm for most minds which it I do not wish to vindicate all. But as the dust of is a little uncanny to disturb. 'Tis sometimes a quesearth shall fall, this element will justify much that tion, shall we not leave them to decay without rude is questioned now. He did not believe in calling shocks? I remember that I found some harshness in black, white. Let time and truth judge his sayings. his treatment both of Greek and of Hebrew antiqui-What he spoke in love will live. Do you not re- ty, and sympathized with the pain of many good peomember how, in his discourse on Adams when the ple in his auditory, whilst I acquitted him, of course building shook, and his voice was silenced as the of any wish to be flippant. He came at a time when ice and snow fell like an earthquake before the sun to the irresistible march of opinion, the forms still reof Spring-he wished it so with the character he was tained by the most advanced sects showed loose and discussing-with what joy he reviewed the glorious lifeless, and he, with something less of affectionate labors of the long Indian summer of that life, the rap- attachment to the old, or with more vigorous logic, ture with which he hailed its closing act, summed up rejected them. "T is objected to him that he scattered in that Saxon sentence; 'the great loud No of an old too many illusions. Perhaps more tenderness would man going home to his God'? Is the wail of a true have been graceful; but it is vain to charge him with heart over powers perverted-the woe of him who perverting the opinions of the new generation. The speaks in the cause of Humanity and God, to those opinions of men are organic. Simply, those came to who smite what they might save-to be condemned? him who found themselves expressed by him. And The Resolve that Theodore Parker should have a had they not met this enlightened mind, in which chance to be heard was more than the word of a they beheld their own opinions combined with zeal in friend, or a protest for religious freedom, or a plan for every cause of love and humanity, they would have a free church. Before the South Boston sermon, it suspected their opinions and suppressed them, and so was known who and what was coming in this young sunk into melancholy or malignity-a feeling of lonepreacher, who had said: God still lives; man has liness and hostility to what was reckoned respectable lost none of his high nature'; and in his parable of Tis plain to me that he has achieved a historic im-Paul: 'I shall walk by God's light, and fear not.' mortality here; that he has so woven himself in these It was thought that the new truth would be spread few years into the history of Boston, that he can by his voice; perhaps not dreamed that one man never be left out of your annals. It will not be in could spread it so widely. But that simple Resolve, the acts of City Councils; nor of obsequious Mayors the seed of this Society, was dropped in faith that nor, in the State House, the proclamations of Govthat truth would prevail-the mover of it having a ernors, with their failing virtue - failing them at year or two before, in a little book now forgotten, critical moments—that the coming generations will shown how it was the basis of all true art, criticism, so-First-We may be content to leave almost all that or in Legislative Committee Rooms, that the true is matter of discussion at this day whilst partisans de- temper and authentic record of these days will be fine their positions, priests their creeds, with a word read. The next generation will care little for the which covers it all, Vera pro gratis. If truth be start- chances of elections that govern Governors now; it Next-Let us look at what he created and did. He bily, but it will read very intelligently in his rough

Theodore Parker in this Music Hall, in Fancuil Hall, will care little for fine gentlemen who behaved shab ascended to the sublime heights of philosophy and re- story, fortified with exact anecdetes, precise with tellect the truth that fired his soul, that 'God is in- who threw himself into the cause of humanity, and how, historically and by nature, man grows in the The vice charged against America is the want of

sincerity in leading men. It does not lie at his door he was bitter and harsh, that his real burned with too Calmly, and at length, also with labor too great for hot a fiame. It is so difficult, in evil times, to escape

ley, or of Jeremy Taylor, can save you from the Satan which you are.

His ministry fell on a political crisis also; on the years whon Southern alsvery broks over its old banks, made new and vast pretensions, and wrung from the weakness or treachery of Northern people fatal concessions in the Fugitive Siave Bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Two days bitter in the light a great deal more than they do, he is treated memory of Boston, the days of the rendition of Sime and of Burns, made the occasion of his most remarkable discourses. He kept nothing back. In terrible earnest he denounced the public crime, and meted out to every efficial, high and low, his due portion, By the incressant power of his statement, he made and held a party. It was his great service to freedom. He took away the reproach of silent consent that would otherwise have lain against the indignant minority, by uttering in the hour and place wherein

But whilst I praise this frank speaker, I have no wish to accuse the silence of others. There are men of good powers who have so much sympathy, that excelent failed him, with his old gesture, he passed they must be silent when they are not in sympathy. If you don't agree with them, they know they only injure the truth by speaking. Their faculties will not play them true, and they do not wish to squeak figures too small, he sketched a colossal head of fit and gibber, and so they shut their mouths. I can proportions, and taught Raphael his fault. So Parreadily forgive this, only not the other, the false ker criticised these other pulpits, not so much by centongue which makes worse appear the better cause. There were, of course, multitudes to censure and defame this truth-speaker. But the brave know the tice, and loving as Christ. braye. Pops, whether in hotels or churches, will utter the fop's opinion, and faintly hope for the salvation of his soul; but his manly enemies, who despised the fops, honored him; and it is well known that his great hospitable heart was the sanctuary to which every soul conscious of an earnest opinion came for sympathy-alike the brave slaveholder and the brave slave-rescuer. These met in the house of this honest man-for every sound heart loves a responsible person, one who does not in generous company say generous things, and in mean company base things, but says one thing-now cheerfully, now indignantly-but always because he must, and because he sees that, whether he speak or refrain from speech, this is said over him; and history, nature and all souls testify to the same.

Ah, my brave brother ! it seems as if, in a frivolous age, our loss were immense, and your place cannot be supplied. But you will already be consoled in the transfer of your genius, knowing well that the nature of the world will affirm to all men, in all times, that which for twenty-five years you valiantly spoke; that which for twenty-five years you valiantly spoke; that I mean the habit, without which orthodoxy stands the winds of Italy murmur the same truth over your emasculated and good for nothing, or independently grave; the winds of America over those bereaved streets: that the sea which bore your mourners home affirms it, the stars in their courses, and the inspirations of youth; whilst the polished and pleasant traitors to human rights, with perverted learning and disgraced graces, rot and are forgotten with their double tongue saying all that is sordid for the cor-

ruption of man. The sudden and singular eminence of Mr. Parker, the importance of his name and influence, are the verdict of his country to his virtues. We have few such men to lose; amiable and blameless at home feared abroad as the standard-bearer of liberty, taking all the duties he could grasp, and more, refusing to spare himself; he has gone down in early glory to his grave, to be a living and enlarging power, wherever learning, wit, honest valor and independence are

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

teacher dared to speak, and no more. It is only two tics; still, that Boston is nobler, purer, braver, more whole merit of a friend, from fear of being thought to all the pulpits that vex her Sabbath air. He raised flatterers. What the world thinks easily done, it be- the level of sermons intellectually and morally. lieves; all beyond is put down to fiction. I find my- Other men were compelled to grow in manly thought self hesitating to speak just all I think of THEODORE and Christian morals in very self-defence. The dron-PARKER, lest those who did not know him should sup- ing routine of dead metaphysics or dainty morals was pose I flatter, and thus I mar the massive simplicity gone. As Christ preached of the fall of the tower of

Born on the 24th of August, 1810, he died just be- the streets of Jerusalem, so Parker rung through our fore finishing his fiftieth year. He said to me, startled city the news of some fresh crime against huyears ago, 'When I am fifty, I will leave the pulpit, manity come slave hunt, or wicked court, or prosand finish the great works I have planned.' God or- tituted official-till frightened audiences actually took dered it so! He has left this desk, and gone there to bond of their new elergymen that they should not be finish the great works that he planned! Some speak tormented before their time! of his death as early; but he died in good old age, if Men say he erred on that great question of our age the labor of his hands. He planted broadly, and lived prize it most highly." to gather a rich, ripe harvest. His life, too, was an | How direct and frank his style-just level to the harmonious whole :-

when brought

Among the tasks of real life, he wrought Upon the plan that pleased his childish thought." The very last page those busy fingers ever wrote tells the child's story, than which, he says, ' no event in my life has made so deep and lasting an impression on me. 'A little boy in petticoats, in my fourth since he came to the city-every year a step year, my father seat me from the field home." A spotted tortoise, in shallow water, at the foot of a rhodors, caught his sight, and he lifted his stick to strike it, when 'a voice within said, "it is wrong." you in the dark and without a guide."

Out of that tearful mother's arms grew your pulpit. during a hard life, he repeated and obeyed her coun-

Of that pulpit, its theology, and its treatment by Unitarian divines, manly and Christian lips spoke to calculating and prudent bigotry of our times. nurtured in similar maxims of the utmost liberty and

rother I who for us didst meetly wear frown of Thoma about thy radiant brow Gospel from the Father didst thou bear, hearts to sheer, making us happy now i his alone, the immortal Savior cries,

side, and believe a very little less, and the whole them naturally the parents of such horrible and dangerous heresy ! But there is one thing every man may say of this

pulpit. It was a live reality, and no sham. Whether tearing theological idols to pieces at West Roxbury, or here, battling with the every-day evils of the streets, it was ever a live voice, and no mechanical or parrot tune : ever fresh from the heart of God, as these flowers, these lillies - the last flower over which, when his loving hand and said. 'How sweet!' Like that story he loved so much to tell, of Michael Angelo, when in the Roman palace Raphael was drawing his sure as by creation; by a pulpit proportioned to the hour-broad as humanity, frank as truth, stern as jus-

Here is the place to judge him. In St. Paul's cathedral, the epiteph says, if you would know the genius of Christopher Wren, 'look around.' Do you ask proof how full were the hands, how large the heart, how many-sided the brain, of your teacherlisten, and you will hear it in the glad, triumphant certainty of your enemies, that you must close these doors, since his place can never be filled! Do you ask proof of his efficient labor and the good soil into which that seed fell-cladden your eves by looking back and seeing for how many months the impulse his vigorous hand gave you has sufficed, spite of boding prophecy, to keep these doors open! Yes, he has left those accustomed to use weapons, and not merely to hold up his hands. And not only among yourselves. From another city, I received a letter, full of deep feeling, and the writer, an orthodox churchmember, says-

'I was a convert to Theodore Parker before I was convert to _____. If there is anything of value in the work I am doing to-day, it may, in an important sense, be said to have had its root in Parker's heresy. passing on the empty and rotten pretensions of churches and churchmen, which I learned earliest and more than from any other, from Theodore Parker. He has my love, my respect, my admiration. Yes, his diocese is broader than Massachusetts.

His influence extends very far outside these walls.

Every pulpit in Boston is freer and more real to-day because of the existence of this. The fan of his example scattered the chaff of a hundred sapless years, Our whole city is fresher to-day because of him. The most sickly and timid soul under yonder steeple, hidebound in days and forms and beggarly Jewish elements, little dreams how ten times worse and narrower it was before this sun warmed the general atmosphere around. As was said of Burke's unsuccessful impeachment of Warren Hastings, 'never was the great object of punishment, the prevention of crime, more completely obtained. Hastings was acquitted, but tyranny and injustice were condemned wherever English was spoken.' So we may say of Boston and Theodore Parker. Grant that few adopted his extreme theo-The lesson of this desk is Truth! That your brave | logical views-that not many sympathised in his poli-Siloam the week before, and what men said of it, in

we judge him by his work,-full of labors, if not of the place due to the Bible. Perhaps so. But Wilyears,-a long life crowded into few years; as Bacon liam Crafts, one of the bravest men who ever fied from says, 'Old in hours, for he lost no time.' Truly, he our vulture to Victoria, writes to a friend : 'When lost not an hour, from the early years when, in his the slave-hunters were on our track; and no other sweet, plain phrase, he tells us this father let the minister, except yourself, came to direct our attention baby pick up chips, drive the cows to pesture, and to the God of the oppressed, Mr. Parker came with carry subs of corn to the oxen '-far on to the closing his wise counsel, and told us where and how to go; moment when, faint and dying, he sent us his bless- gave us money but that was not all-he gave me a ing and brave counsel last November, dated fitly from weapon to protect our liberties, and a Bible to guide Rows. God granted him life long enough to see of our souls. I have that Bible now, and shall ever

nation's ear! No man ever needed to read any one of his sentences twice to catch its meaning. None suspected that he thought other than he said, or more than he confessed.

Like all such men, he grew daily-never too old t earn. Mark how closer to actual life, how much bolder in reform, are all his later sermons—especially

forward, persevering to the last, From well to better, daily self-surpassed. There are men whom we measure by their timescontent and expecting to find them subdued to what I stood with lifted stick, in wonder at the new smo- they work in. They are the chameleons of circumtion, till rhodors and tortoise vanished from my sight. stance; they are Eolian harps, toned by the breeze I hastened home, and asked my mother what it was that sweeps over them. There are others, who serve that told me it was wrong. Wiping a tear with her as guide-posts and land-marks-we measure their apron, and taking me in her arms, she said, "Some times by them. Such was Theodore Parker. Heremen call it conscience; but I prefer to call it the voice after the critic will use him as a mete-wand, to measof God in the soul of man. If you listen to it and ure the heart and civilization of Boston. Like the obey it, then it will speak clearer and clearer, and al- Englishman, a year or two ago, who suspected our ways guide you right. But if you turn a deaf ear or great historian could not move in the best circles of disobey, then it will fade out, little by little, and leave the city, when it dropped out that he did not know Theodore Parker, distant men guage us by our toleration and recognition of him. Such men are our Here in words every day in the streets, by deeds, Nilometers; the harvest of the future is according to the height that the flood of our love rises round them. Who cares now that Harvard vouchsafed him no honors! But history will save the fact to measure the

us two weeks ago. It is not for me, even if there | Some speak of him as only a bitter critic and harab were need, to touch on it. Born in that faith, and prophet. Pulpits and journals shelter their plain peech in mentioning him under the example of what the duty of individual investigation and thought, I used | they call his 'unsparing candor.' Do they feel that it to enter other paths. Mine is the old faith of New the strangeness of their free speech, their nusual England. On those points, he and I rarely talked. frankness, needs apology and example ! But he was What he thought, I hardly know. For myself, stand- far other than a bitter critic; though thank God for ing beneath the Gospel rule of 'judging men by their every drop of that bitterness which came like a whole-fruits,' I should have felt stronger in defending my some rebuke on the dead, saltless ses of American life! own faith, could I have pointed to any preacher of it Thank God for every indignant protest, for every who as gently judged and as truly loved his fellow- Christian admonition that the Holy Spirit breathed men. As to doctrines, we both knew that the whole through those manly lips! But if he deserved any of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; single word, it was generous. Generous Vir is the that, of course, a man's conception of truth is only description that leaps to the lip of every scholar. He

was generous of money. Born on a New England farm, in those days when small incomings made tree farm, in those us, a made even dollar a matter of importance, he no sooner had con dollar a matter of the lived with open hands ligmand or weath ambition of a great library tru tempted him to close his ear to need. Od to or Vienna, to Frankfort or to Paris, and ut to or Vienna, to refugees who have gone home, when here friendles refugees who have gone ander whose roof they felt money railes but for name oldest and best teachen with home : One of him once, in the cars, of a young le me, that toung of rare mathematical genius, who could read Laplace but whom narrow means debarred from the University - Let him enter, said Theodore Parker; I will h

No sect, no special study, no one idea bounded is sympathy; but he was generous of judgment when sympathy to be a would have found it hard to be a Though he does not go down to dust without h fame, though Oxford and Germany sent him no. fame, though the still, no word of approlation from the old grand names of our land, no honor to University or learned Academy, greeted his bree, diligent, earnest life; men can confess that they roted against his admission to scientific bodies for his idea sgainst his maile that his brain could furnish half the Academy ;—and yet, thus ostracised, he was the most generous, more than just, interpreter of the motives of those about him, and looked on while other resped where he sowed, with most generous by in their success. Patiently analyzing character and materly in marshalling facts, he stamped with gracous justice the world's final judgment of Webster, and now that the soreness of the battle is over, friend and foe allow it.

He was generous of labor, -books never served to excuse him from any, the humblest work. Though chiving wisdom with each studious year, and passionstely devoted to his desk, as truly as we said of Milton, 'the lowliest duties on himself he laid.' What drudgery of the street did that scholarly and ever refuse? Who so often and constant as he'm the trenches, when a slave case made our city a camp! Loving books, he had no jot of a scholar's indolence or timidity, but joined hands with labor everywhere. Brasmus would have found him good company, and Melanethon got brave help over a Greek manuscript; but the likeliest place to have found him in that age would have been at Zwingle's side, on the battle-field, plerced with a score of fanatic spears. For, above all things, he was terribly in earnest. If I sought to paint him in one word, I should say he was always is earnest.

I spoke once of his diligence, and we call him tireless, unflagging, unresting. But they are commonplace words, and poorly describe him. What se usually call diligence in educated men does not outdo. does not equal the day-laborer in ceaselesaness of toil. No scholar, not even the busiest, but losters out from his weary books, and feels shamed by the hodman or the plough-boy. The society and amusements of ear life eat up and beguile one-half our time. Those on whose lips and motions hang crowds of busy idlen, submit to life-long discipline-almost every hour a lesson. Those on whose tones float the most precious truth, disdain an effort. The table you write on in the fruit of more toilsome and thorough discipline than the brain of most who deem themselves scholar ever knew. Let us not cheat ourselves with words. But no poor and greedy mechanic, no farm tenant on shares, ever distanced this unresting brain. He brought into his study that conscientious, loving industry which six generations had handed down to him on the hard soil of Massachusetts. He lored work, and I doubt if any workman in our empire equalled him in thoroughness of preparation. Before he wrote his review of Prescott, he went conscientiously through all the printed histories of that period in three or four tongues. Before he ventured to paint for you the portrait of John Quincy Adams, he read every line Adams had ever printed, and all the attach upon him that could be found in public or private col-

Portunate man! he lived lone enough to see the eyes of the whole nation turned toward him as to a trusted teacher. Fortunate, indeed, in a life so noble, that even what was seconed from the pulpit, will surely become oracular from the tome! Thrice fortunata, if he loved fame and future influence, that the leaves which bear his thoughts to posterity are not freighted with words penned by sickly embition or wrung from hunger-but with earnest thoughts on dangers that make the ground tremble under our feet, and the heavens black over our head-the only literature our to live. Ambition says, . I will write, and be famous." Tis only a dainty tournament a sham fight, forgotten when the smoke clears away. Real books are like Yorktown or Waterloo, whose cannon shook continents at the moment, and echo down the centures. Through such channels Parker poured his thought

And true hearts leaped to his side. No man's brain ever made him warmer friends; no man's heart ever held them firmer. He loved to speak of how many hands he had, in every city, in every land, ready to work for him. With royal serenity he levied on all. Vassal hearts multiplied the great chief's povers. And at home the gentlest and deepest love, saintly, unequalled devotion, made every hour sunny, held of every care, and left him double liberty to work. God comfort that widowed heart !

Judge him by his friends. No man suffered any. where, who did not feel sure of his sympathy. In sick chambers, and by the side of suffering humanity, he kept his heart soft and young. No man lifted a hand anywhere for truth and right, who did not look on Theodore Parker as his fellow-laborer. When men hoped for the future, this desk was one stone on which they planted their feet. Where, more frequent than around his board, would you find men familiar with Europe's dungeons and the mobs of our next streets? Wherever the fugitive slave might worship, here was his Gibraltar. Over his mantel, however scantily furnished, in this city or elsewhere, you were

sure to find a picture of Parker. But he is gone! So certain was he of his death, that in the still watches of the Italian night, he comforted the sickening hopes of those about him by

whispering— *I hear a voice you cannot hear, Which says I must not stay;

I see a hand you cannot see, Which beckons me away. But where shall we stop? This empty desk! You may fill it, but where is he who called it into being! Who shall make it so emphatically the symbol of free thought? For most men to have stood here was sulficient credentials. Here the young knight earned his spurs. Around it has swelled and tossed the battle of Christian liberty. The debate, whether Theodore Parker should speak in one place or preach in another, has been one of God's chief methods of taching this land the lesson of what bigots style taleration,

and freemen better call Christian liberty. He has passed on-we linger. That other world grows more real to us, as friend after friend enten it. Boon more are there than on this side; soon our hears are more than half there. God tenderly sunders the few ties that still bind us. So live that when called to join that other assembly, we shall feel we me only passing from an apprenticeship of thought and toil to broader fields and a higher teacher above.

The blessings of the poor are his laurels. Say that his words won doubt and murmur into trust in a loring God-let that be his record! Say that to the hatred and friendless, he was shield and bucklet-is that be his epitaph! The glory of children is the fathers. When you voted that Theodore Parks should be heard in Boston, God honored you. have you kept that pledge. In much labor and with many sacrifices he has laid the corner-stone. He work is ended here. God calls you to put on the top stone. Let fearless lips and Christian lives be his monument!

BOSTON, JUNE 22, 1860. THE INSURRECTION OF 17761 The cighty-fifth anniversary of this great Amerithe cignity will be celebrated by a grand MASS VEETING, in the handsome and commodious Grove DELLAG, in Wednesday, July 4th. Turning the abhorrence from the mockery of commemorating the achievements of Freedom by servility to Slavery, it all who hate despotism in the garb of Democracy nd Republicanism as well as of Monarchy, and gold overthrow it by every weapon that may be legimately wielded against it, assemble to consider

and carry them forward to a speedy and enduring Special trains will run upon the different railroads sheretofore. An able corps of eloquent speakers will be in attendance. [Particulars hereafter.]

de solemn and pregnant issues of the hour-how we gay best preserve the principles of the Revolution,

FRANCIS JACKSON, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, E H. HEYWOOD, HENRY O. STONE, CHARLES A. HOVEY, EO. W. STACY,

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Committee Arrangements

THE LATE REV. THEODORE PARKER. Exercises in commemoration of the death of the let Rev. Theopone Panken were held by the Twenre-Eighth Congregational Society, in Music Hall, Sanday forenoon. The capacious hall was crowded to repletion in every part, and hundreds of men and women remained standing through the entire services, isting was dead of two hours. So great was the de-are to be present, that people went to the hall as early n 8 o clock; and by half-past 9 the hall was filled. Among the congregation were many well known citisens, including hundreds who belong to other churches and denominations. Taken altogether, it was a esthering such as is not often witnessed in Boston, and may be regarded as a testimonial of no common character and aignificance to the memory, the talents, abors and life of the distinguished deceased.

The altar at which Mr. Parker was wont to presch was literally covered with flowers in the form of wrestles, bauquete, &c. In front of the altar was suspended a cases, composed of white flowers and regreen. On each side were numerous wreaths of t value sted flowers the rarest and most beautiful of. the season and upon the top at each wing were toquets large in saxs, and placed in vases. Upon thus veret, side of the Bible, was the favorite of Mr. Parker, the Lilly of the Valley, a humble but handsome flower. The wnoie desk was radiant with these forsi tributes, while the fragrance they exhaled was only surpassed by their surpassingly regal hues. The exercises were as follow :- 1. Voluntary upon

the organ. 2. Chant from 139th Psalm. 3. Prayer Rev. John L. Russell, of Hingham. 4. Address by Charles M. Ellis, Esq. 5. Hymn. 6. Reading selections [made by Mr. Parker himself while among the Alpine mountains in September last, in anticipation of the sad event] from the Beatitudes and Paalma, by John R. Manley, Secretary of the Society. 7. Address by Ralph Waldo Emerson. 8. The following ORIGINAL ODE.

BY PRANKLIN B. SANBORN. Fair Summer glides, with face serene, Along the quickening earth to-day; In murmuring woods and pastures green The thrush and sparrow carol gay.

But ours must be the song of wo, And tears and wintry gloom are ours, For one brave heart that lies below The tender grass and laughing flowers.

Across the melancholy wave Our constant thought flies swiftly there, And lingers hovering round his grave, Amid the fragrant Tuscan air.

O, rest in peace! from labors rest! o long thy blest release we weep; Thy body sleeps in Earth's kind breast,

its loftier way thy soul doth keep. With us, with us thy memory dwells, Forbids despair, and hushes strife,-Here most, where every echo tells

The story of thy noble life. Or who more justly weep than we, While Love and Reverence force the tear, And Truth and Freedom mourn for thee?

Address by Wendell Phillips. 10. Hymn. 11. We are indebted to the Boston Atlas & Bee for a full

report of the proceedings, made for that paper by Mr. Yerrinton, and published in its Monday's edition.

W At the meeting of the Friends of Human Progress' held at Waterloo, New York, on the lat. 2nd, and 3d of June, the following resolutions were

Recoived. That in the death of Theodore Parker, we have this day to mourn the loss of a true and tried, a wise and noble man—one greatly distinguished for clear, comprehensive insights; bold, uncompromising, powerful utterance of the truths of absolute religion and the laws of human welfare, and also for his warm catholic philanthropies, embracing in their regards all mankind, and his high unwavering loyalty to Truth,

Justice, Freedom universal.

Resolved, That the solemn imprecations by leading religionists of this land, of evil upon the head of Theo-tore Parker during his active life, their exultation and boasted triumph over his prostration and removal, illustrate afresh the hypocritical character, the bitter malignities and sorceries of the prevailing popular re-ligion, are of a kind and piece with the flerce intoler-ance and bloody inflictions of the middle ages," and also an apt, significant expression, in modern dialect, of the envenomed bigotry and hate that nailed Jesus to the cross, and shouted · Away with the fellow from

Resolved. That as a meeting, we hereby tender assurances of our warm sympathy to those upon whom this loss falls most heavily—the family of our brother, and the religious society wont to listen to his words— and while we condole deeply with them in their betearement and sadness, we would yet remind them that there is consolation amid this sorrow, that the elements of character that shone in his person are in-trinsically imperishable and eternal, that the voice till abides untouched of death, to enrich, quicken and refresh, and that his name and history, fa from empty or fruitless, are vital to all mankind, and must live henceforth unforgotten in the human recol-lection, as of a high prophet and signal benefactor to

A HYEN OF THEODORE PARKER.-The following A HYMN OF THEODOMS PARKER.—The following hymn, says the New York Evening Post, is from the pen of the late Rev. Theodore Parker, and may be found in the Rev. Samuel Longfellow's Book of Hymna, published by Ticknor & Fields, of Boston. This book has been pronounced one of the best collections of sacred poetry extant, and has already reached its tenth edition. Some of its hymns were reached its tenth edition. Some of its hymns were topied into the Rev. Mr. Beecher's hymn-book by permission of the Roy. Mr. Longfellow; and a little anecdote connected with the procurement of this hymn of the Rey. Mr. Parker's will not be out of place. It seems that when Mr. Longfellow applied for it, Mr. Parker at first declined (knowing how unpopular he was with many people;) and said, "It will damn your book." Well, replied Mr. Longfellow, "then let it, but I must have a hymn from you." So Mr. Parker wrote it, and his society adopted and used the book:

'CHRIST, THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE." O thou great Friend to all the sons of men, Who open appeared in humblest guise bole Who once appeared in humblest guise below, Sin to rebuke, to break the captive's chain,

And call the wrotched forth from want and woe: We look to thee! Thy truth is still the Light. Which guides the nations, groping or their was Sumbling and falling in disastrous night, Yet hoping ever for the perfect day.

Tes! thou art still the Life; thou art the Way
The holiess know—Light, Life, and Way of heaven!
And they who dearest hope, and deepest pray,
Toil by the light, life, way, which thou hast given.

ODIOM THEOLOGICUM: When Peter Simple was going to join the Sanglier frigate, he learned from the other midshi his companions, that Capt. Kearney, her con er, was a most inveterate and enormous liar, a report which he afterwards found perfectly correct, the with these two incidents near its close.

on the night which proved the last of his life, and Peter ventured to sak if he should read a chapter in the Bible to him. Capt. Kearney assented, and, being desired to choose what part should be read to him, replied, 'Peter, you may read me that place where Jacob came so eleverly over his brother Bau.'

A few hours later, the remark being made by one of those atanding by his hammook to another—He can't last much longer; don't you hear the death-rattle in his throat?'—Capt. Kearney made signs that he wished to speak, and brought out with difficulty, and at intervals, what proved to be his last words, to the effect that he had known—a man—to live—with the death-rattle—in his throat—ix words?

Notwithstanding this habit of mendacity, carried so consistently through the whole of Capt. Kearney's life, among the few words of counsel which he gave to Peter Simple, when the latter reported himself as having joined the ship, was the following:—He constitution:—It has an extensive powers of the House may be directed against every 'civil officer.' from the President down to the lowest on the list.

This is an extensive powers. It is from the former that the Benator from Virginia has drawn his procedents, and here is his mistace.

To the House of Representatives use given to the Senate. This is expressed in the words, 'The House of Representatives and the words,' The House of Representatives use given to the Senate. The few words in the sone, the words, 'The House of Representatives are given to the Senate. The few words in the senate has more than the powers of the House of Representatives and the powers of the House of Representatives are given to the Senate. The few words in the few words of counsel which he gave to the Senate and the powers of the House may be directed against every 'civil officer.' from the Fresident down to the lowest on the list.

This is an extensive are an another in the cases under the Constitution:—

The Congregationalist, (one of the most unscruption of the senate and qualificative powers. It It was Peter's turn to watch with his on the night which proved the last of his life, and Peter ventured to sak if he should read a chapter in

The Congregationalist, (one of the most unscrupulous even of those papers which call themselves is religious,') in an editorial article-June 15th-purporting to describe the character of Theodore Parker, gives the following repetition of its accustomed mis-

We think that—now that he is gone—the press, in general, by a not unnatural kindness of heart, has greatly over-estimated him in several particulars. He was a man of scal in the acquisition of knowledge, and of great tenacity of purpose; having strong conceptions of certain favorite truths, and violent prejudices against certain theories which he did not accept. He was a great gormandizer of books, and, with tenacious memory, held his wide stores of accumulation from them always ready for effective use. But it never seemed to us that he was either a thorough scholar, or, in any just seemed the phrase, a learned was a man of zeal in the acquisition of knowledge, and scholar, or, in any just sense of the phrase, a learned man. His investigations seemed partial and incomplete, and he seldom gave any evidence of having exhausted any topic on which he touched. Moreover, he lacked that calm completeners of nature which is essential to the thorough mastery of the various departments of human knowledge. Many things he de-spised so utterly that he was wholly unfitted to know them, or topics related to them, either fairly or comthem, or topics related to them, either fairly or com-pletely. His learning, moreover, was mostly at sec-ond hand; a re-issue of the crudities of German ra-tionalism. He never sufficiently understood the He-brew or Greek Scriptures to fit him for independent critical judgment upon them; nor have we the evi-dence that he ever mastered the science of Ethics so far as to qualify him to speak, at first hand, of its sublime verities.

The other fault, and the one that afflicted us with the most painful doubts in regard to the essential honesty of the man's own life, was that of a want of carnest and conscientious truth in speaking of others. He was more anxious to emphasize a strong period than to deal candidly with those whose opinions he assailing. We have, more than once, known him to repeat an effective public appeal founded on some alleged fact in the conduct others, after he had been otified of the falseness of his premises, and had admitted the justice of the correction."

Lies of this sort are such as the Congregationalist has long been accustomed to tell of Mr. Parker. But the peculiar characteristics of Capt Kearney were brought to my mind by the fact that this very article begins with saying-

No man ever more deserved to have the truth told of him than Theodore Parker'and ends with saving-

· We have written this in the sorrowful conviction that the truth needed to be spoken. 'The truth,' indeed! The clerical Kearney

does the secular one .- c. K. W.

Columbia is not, therefore, included in the terms of the Fugitive Slave clause. Whoever tries to extend the dominion of that clause over the District of Columbia, exhibits only his own voluntary baseness, can have no pretence of constitutional obligation, out-

30th Congress, p. 212.)

the Committee on the District of Columbia to report a Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade therein. To this request, Bingham, Dickenson, Giddings, Greeley, Horace Mann, Palfrey, Hudson, Wentworth, Wilmot, voted NAY. While Albert G. Brown, (now the slave-code and slave-trading Senator,) Butler, (of Bully Brooks infamy,) Howell Cobb, Goggin, Rhett, Iverson, LINCOLN, Toombe, voted YEA.

Mr. Lincoln, in urging his request, said he had submitted his proposition to various leading citizens of the District of Columbia, who gave it their unanimous approval.

No wonder Mr. Lincoln is unwilling to make any opposition to the Fugitive Slave Bill! No wonder the Chicago Convention omitted that point in their Resolutions! Their standard-bearer has a worse Bill to answer for than even Mr. Mason.

their candidate. W. P.

SUMMER'S SPRECH AND TRADDEUS HYATT. Our readers will see by an advertisement in another colworks. By his zeal and activity, he raised over twenty-four hundred dollars for the afflicted family of the law, on the plea of their own dignity and power, the only limit to their encroachments will be that for freedom and human rights, by submitting to for umn, that THADDBUS HYATT is never weary in Bood for freedom and human rights, by submitting to imprisonment in Washington rather than become a witness before an illegal inquisition, created by the United States Senate. Before his discharge, he had sent to Boston a copy of the advertisement referred to. We do not doubt that his appear will be promptly responded to.

ANNIVERSARY AT NEWPORT. The Friends' Board-ANNIVERSARY AT NEWFORY. 150 2 ... In School Association held their second meeting is politic p. 344. since the organization of the Association at Newport on the 12th inst. There was a full and interesting assembly. Pliny Earle of Leicester, Mass., President, made a nest and appropriate address, which was followed by other exercises, among which was a Poem, by John G. Whittier, read by S. G. Chase, nephew of the poet, the latter suffering somewhat nephew of the poet, the latter suffering somewhat of our friends who have them to spare will greatly from ill-health. We give it entire, in our poetical oblige by sending them to 'Liberator,' 221 Washing-

* SPEECH OF SENATOR SUMMER, deus Hysti, in the U. S. Senste, June 18.

deus Hyste, in the U. S.

deus Hyste, in the Ms. PERSONNY: I wilcome with per-position for the discharge of Mr. Hysit-ing incorrection in the filthy jail where he trined by the order of the Senate. But lling that this act of justice should be one injured citizen, without for one money the injustice which he has received at you

1. To try impeachments,
2. To judge the elections, returns and qualifica 3. To punish its members for disorderly behavior and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel-

member.

In the execution of these powers, the Senate has the attributes of a court, and, according to established precedents, it may summon witnesses and competheir testimony, although it may well be doubted in law be not necessary, even to the execution of this

Besides these three cases, expressly named in the Constitution, there are two others, where it has al-ready undertaken to exercise judicial powers, not by virtue of express words, but in self-defence; 1. With regard to the conduct of its servants, as of

its printer.
2. When its privileges have been violated, as in the case of William Duane, by a libel, or in the case of Nugent, by stealing and divulging a treaty while

still under the seal of secrecy.

It will be observed that these two classes of case are not sustained by the text of the Constitution, but if sustained at all, it must be by that principle of unirersal jurisprudence, and also of natural law, which gives to every body, whether natural or artificial the right to protect its own existence—in other words, the great right of self-defence. And I submit that no principle less solid could sustain this exercise of power. It is not enough to say that such a power would be consenient, highly convenient, or important. It must be absolutely essential to the self-preser vation of the body; and even then, in the absence of any law, it may be open to the gravest doubts.

Doubtless, says Blackstone, 'all arbitrary mea sures, well executed, are the most convenient, mentaries, vol. 4, p. 350.) But mere convenience is not a proper reason, under a free government, for the assumption of powers not granted; and this is especially the case where the powers are arbitrary and despotie,

and touch the liberty of the citizen.

Now, if the present inquiry were in the House of Representatives, and were directed against the President or the Secretary of War, on the ground of negligence or malfeasance at an important moment, it would be clearly within the jurisdiction of that body which has the sole power of impeachment; but it would not come within the jurisdiction of the Senate

would not come within the jurisdiction of the Senate until it became the duty of the latter body to try the impeachment instituted by the House.

But the present inquiry is neither preliminary to an impeachment, nor on the trial of an impeachment. It has no such element to sustain it. It is precisely the same as if an inquiry should be instituted into the same as if the Royald in New York—or into the of Dr. Burdell in New York-or into the burning of slaves in Alabama-or into the banks of New York—or into the conduct of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin in alleged obstructions of the Fugitive Slave Bill—with regard to all which the Senate has

Slave Bill—with regard to all which the Senate has no judicial powers. And yet, it has judicial powers in all these cases, precisely to the same extent that it has in the case of John Brown at Harper's Ferry.

I know it is said that this power is necessary in aid of legislation. I deny the necessity. Concenient, at times, it may be, but necessary, never. We do not drag the members of the Cabinet or the President to testify before a committee in aid of legislation. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE SLAVE-HOUND drag the members of the Cabinet or the President to testify before a committee, in aid of legislation; but I say, without hesitation, they can claim no immunity which does not belong equally to the humblest citizen. Mr. Hyatt and Mr. Sanborn have rights as ample as if they were office-holders. Such a power as this, which, without the sanction of law, and merely at the will off a partian majority, may be employed to ransack the most distant States, and to drag citizens before the Senate all the way from Wisconsin or from South Carolina—may be convenient, and to carolina—may be convenient, and to carolina—may be convenient. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the District of Columbia is not a State within the meaning of the Constitution. See Hepburn vs. Ellzey, 2 Cranch 446. The District of apology for wrong.

nake the flend, and with necessity The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deeds." Such, according to Milton, was the practice among

the fallen angels.

Let me be understood as admitting the power of

Mason's Mason, and stamps himself a hound of special carrier.

This deed Abraham Lincoln, Republican candidate for Fresident, has done! Here are the facts: Extract of a Bill introduced by Hon. Abraham Lincoln, in the U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 10, 1849. (See Congressional Globe, appendix, 2d Session 1999). Let me be understood as admitting the power of the Senate, where it is essential to its own protection of the protection of its privileges, but not where it is required merely in aid of legislation. The difference is world-wide between what is required merely for aid; and here I part count, in the U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 10, 1849. (See Congressional Globe, appendix, 2d Session 2004). Senate, but also for its aid in framing a bill or in maturing any piece of legislation. To aid a committee turing any piece of legislation. To aid a committee of this body merely in a legislative purpose, a citizen. Section 5. That the municipal authorities of Washington and Georgetown, within their respective jurisdictional limits, are hereby empowered and nequined hood, may be seized, handcuffed, kidnapped, and dictional lumits, are neredy empowered and negutiaed nood, may be seized, handculed, kidnapped, and to provide active and efficient means to arrest and deliver up to their owners, ALL FUGITIVE SLAVES lines, brought here as a criminal, and then thrust into jail. The mere attatement of the case shows the dangerous absurdity of such a claim. 'Nephew,' said

Mr. Lincoln, in order to introduce this Bill, requested the House to reconsider the vote, instructing execution, I value not my own life a chip; but what
the Committee on the District of Columbia to report life may hang every one of you, whenever it is though convenient. It was a dangerous law that aroused the indignation of the English Patriot. But in the present indignation of the English Patriot. But in the present case, there is not even a law—nothing but an order made by a fractional part of Congress.

There are Senators here who pretend to find in the Constitution the right to carry slaves into the nation-

d Territories. That such Senators should also find at Territories. That such Senators should also find in the same Constitution the right to make a slave of Mr. Hyatt, or Mr. Sanborn, or any body else, merely to aid legislation, is not astonishing; but I am at a loss how any Senator who loves freedom can find any such right in the Constitution.

I say nothing now of the precedents of the British Parliament, for they are all more or less inapplicable. We live under a written Constitution, with certain received reverse and all these are restrained by the

specified powers, and all these are restrained by the specified powers, and all these are restrained by 10th amendment, declaring that *The powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to to answer for than even Mr. Mason.

The New York Tribuns affirms that Mr. Lincoln stands on his record, and has no wish to alter any part of it. We wait to know of Republican journals where to draw that line which shall allow us all our indignation against Mason, and yet save the fame of the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are distributed in the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are distributed in the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are distributed in the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are distributed in the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are distributed in the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are distributed in the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are distributed in the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are distributed in the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliament; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments; I are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments are the control of the two Houses of Parliaments are refer to Lord Mahon, now the Earl Stanhope, wh his History of England, vol. 4, page 30, thus remarks :

'I may observe, in passing, that throughout the reign of George II., the privileges of the House Commons flourished in the rankest luxuriance.

Nothing can be more true than this remark. Lord Brougham has expressed himself in words yet stronger, and, if possible, still more applicable to the present case:

'All rights,' says this consummate orator, 'are now entirely disregarded by the advocates of privi-lege, excepting that of exposing their own short-sighted impolicy and thoughtless inconsistency. Nor would there be any safety for the people under their guidance, if, unhappily, their powers of doing mis-chief bors any proportion to their disregard of what is politic and just.—Lord Brougham's Speeches, vol. 4,

With these remarks I quit this question, anxious only that the recent usurpation of the Senate may not be drawn into a precedent hereafter.

WANTED-Copies of Liberator of June 8th. Any

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH - LETTER FROM JOSIAH QUINCY.

Roston, June 8, 1860.

Dear Sir.—I have read a few abstracts from your noble speech, but must wait for it in pamphlet form, that I may read it in such type as eyes, in the eighty-ninth year of their age, will permit. But I have read emough to approve, and rejoice that you have been permitted, thus truly, fully, and faithfully, to expose the 'Barbariam' of Slavery on that very floor on which you were so cruelly and brutally stricken down by the spirit of that Barbariam.

I only hope that in an appendix you will preserve the every efficies of that insect that attempted to sting you. Remember that the value of amber is increased by the insect it preserves.

Yours, very truly.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

So the South Carolina Senator goes down to pes-

So the South Carolina Senator goes down to pos erity as a preserved Chestnut. - Boston Atlas.

A correspondent of the Boston Traveller, who had the pleasure of hearing the great and masterly speech of Mr. Sumner, thus speaks of it:—The four hours which we listened to him can never pass from our memory. An arraignment of slavery so exhaustive memory. An arraignment of slavery so exhaustive has never before been made in our history, and it will superseds the necessity of another. Hereafter, when one desires to prove slavery irrational and unconstitutional, he will go to that speech as to an arsenal. Near Mr. Sumner, throughout his speech, sat his colleague, Gen. Wilson, also Mr. Burlingame and Owen Lovejoy; and had any Southern member attempted a repetition of the Brooks assault, he would have found repetition of the Brooks assault, he would have found in either of them a forman worthy of his steel.

SENATOR MASON'S REPORT.

morialists. Laid over.

Mr. Doolittle made a minority report, that the right of petition could not be denied to any one.

Mr. Mason, from the same committee, made a re-

port discharging Hyatt from custody.

Mr. Sumner welcomed with pleasure the release of
Mr. Hyatt from a filthy jail, but could not refrain from commenting on the action of the Senate. Mr. Mason had derived precedents for the committee from the House, which had inquisitorial powers. The Senate had no such power. He argued at length against the action of the Senate being hereafter regarded as a precedent.

The resolution for Hyatt's discharge was agreed to.

ART MATTERS. Since the illness of the late Rev. Theodore Parker began to forbid the hope of his recovery, several of our sculptors have been engaged in preserving for us his lineaments. Mr. William W. Story, it is generally known, executed a marble bust of Mr. Parker, in Italy, which has not yet reached this country, and a lady of our city is said to have sometime ago begun to model one which promised to be very successful, but which remains unfinished. It be very successful, but which remains unitarity is by a statuette bust, however, that the larger number of Mr. Parker's friends would probably prefer to remember his features. Mr. Jas. A. Jackson's is already before the public; and we have had an opportunity to see another just finished by Miss Marguerite. F. Foley, which has received the highest ence from the intimate associates of Mr. Parker. T ness is, to our eye, the most just and striking of any portrait of him that we have seen, and the expression, chosen out of the many aspects of the original face, is general satisfaction to his friends. Miss Foley has al-ready won a reputation unrivalled in this country, as an artist in cameos; and she has carried into this work the same just perception of character, which have characterized her other portraits, among which, by the way, has been one of Mr. Parker, taken durng his lifetime. Copies of the bust, we learn, will be for sale in a few days. So far as we are aware, all the activity in this direction is in plastic art; we do not hear that any of our painters are sugaged upon a portrait of Mr. Parker.—Boston Atlas.

HELPER'S 'IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH. Enlarged Edition. One hundred and fortieth thousand. New York : A. B. Burdick, 145 Nassau St. 1860.

It is delightful to witness the success of this book, one of the most important that has been written in our this, time. Success in being bought and read is all that THE GREAT SPEECH OF THE COUNTRY! could be hoped for it at once. But wherever read, it must make its mark, hastening, in one way or another, the great struggle that is to overthrow slavery. The hundred and forty thousands, widely scat-

tered, and many of them among the non-slaveholding Southrons for whom the book was written, are now germinating and springing up. And the next great and startling event in the decline and fail of slavery, of which we may hear at any moment, the next MOVEMENT (Brown, or of some other color,) towards taking the foot of the slaveholder off the neck of the alave, will give a mighty impulse to the growth of these shoots of liberty, and perhaps show a harvest already ripened for practical use in the cause of freedom.

This edition is considerably enlarged, not by a supelement, but by additions in various places through its others. ourse. I rejoice to say that these additions are not dilution of the book, but that the portions added, and the preface to the enlarged edition, have the true nasculine ring which distinguished the first edition. The table of contents, alphabetically arranged, is great improvement; but the other table of con-

tents, stating the leading idea and the principal features of the successive chapters, in their order, should have been retained. Both are useful. Let this e cared for in the next edition. Many friends of freedom, old and new, will rejoice to see the features of the author, whose portrait em-

bellishes the enlarged edition. - c. K. W. A meeting of the colored citizens of Boston was held on Monday evening last, which passed resolutions commending the recent speech of Hon. Charles

Sumner, and also paying a tribute to the late Rev. Theodore Parker. Particulars next week. Connection. Mr. Reprart objects that the state ment of his views with reference to *peaceful agitation, is not correctly made in the report of the Political Anti-Slavery meeting as copied into the Libera-

tor of lest wook, med-part Landson's suit from A black man, and woman, brother and sister lugitives from North Carolina, have passed through Lowell, Mass., within a day or two, on their way to ereier differen untrepregen fortik.

Seventeen slaves and a white man have be arrested at New Orleans, on suspicion of having set the fire which destroyed the steamers D. F. Kenner and B. F. Clark, and a barge, on the 30th ult.

1 Barre 4 38, Petersham 5 48, Athol 2, South c 4, Gardese 1 78, Hubbardaton 5, Westain Holden 2 50, Baldwinville 1 63, Templeton sat Templeton 5 25, Fitzwilliam 5, Keene 12 63, pc 5 57, Dublin 4, Peterboro 10, Milford 10 5 2 31, Luther Malendy 5, Manchester 9 dford, 3 18;

H. Ober, to rec BY ANDREW TO P

am, Mass., 30 ; in Huntington I. G. Dodge, West Cambridge, to pledges, Reading Anti-Slavery Society, by Mrs. E. H.

EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer. Boston, June 1, 1860.

Among the many restoratives which nature has supplied to relieve the afflictions of humanity, there is no more favorite one for a certain class of discass than the 'medicinal gum' of the Wild Cherry Tree but however valuable it is, its power to heal, to soothe to relieve, and to cure, is enhanced ten fold by scientific and judicious combination with other ingredients in themselves of equal worth. This happy mingling exists in that

Combination and a form indeed Of medicine known as

DR.WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY. Whose value in curing Coughs, Colds, Bronchitis Whooping Cough, Croup, Asthma, Pulmonary Affection and Incipient Consumption, is inestimable.

Strong Testimony From BENJAMIN WHEELER, Req., Depot Master South Royalton, Muss. SOUTH ROTALTON, Jan. 4, 1860.

SENATOR MASON'S REPORT.

The ponderous Senator Mason has made a long report from the Committee on the Harper's Perry Insurrection, but the labor of the mountain has produced only a ridiculous mouse. A more flagrant failure, after so sounding a manifesto, never before occurred; and if the haughty Virginian had a proper sense of his ludicrous position, he would have been ashamed to make any report.

Mr. Doolittle presented a minority report, which was not read, and the committee was discharged.

Mr. Mason, from the same committee, asked to be discharged from the further consideration of the bill relating to the invasion of States, and the memorial for the release of Hyatt. Agreed to.

He also made a special report on the petition of the negroes of Massachusetts for the release of Hyatt, recommending the return of the petition to the memorialists. Laid over.

Messra. Sami W. Fowler & Co., Boston:

Gents.,—Although unsolicited by you, I cannot refrain from adding my testimony to the many already given in favor of your Wister's Balsam of Yill Cherry.

In the spring of 1858, I was most severely afflicted with a brid, dry cough, with its usual secompaniments of night sweats, completely prostrating my nervous system, and producing such a debilitated state of health, that after trying medical aid to no purpose, I had given up all hopes of over recovering, as had also my friends. At this stage of matters, I was prevailed with a brid, dry cough, with its usual secompaniments of night sweats, completely prostrating my nervous system, and producing such a debilitated state of health, that after trying medical aid to no purpose, I had given up all hopes of over recovering, as had also my friends. At this stage of matters, I was prevailed with a brid, dry cough, with its usual secompaniments of night sweats, completely prostrating my nervous system, and producing such a debilitated with a brid, dry cough, with its usual secompaniments of night sweats, completely prostrating my nervous of night sweats, completely prostrating m Messis. SETH W. FOWLE & Co., Boston :

Thus has this Balsam, as has often been remarked by persons conversant with the above facts in this vicinity, literally snatched me from the yawning grave. You are at liberty to use this for the benefit of the afflicted. Very respectfully yours,
BENJ. WHEELER.

Prepared by S. W. POWLE & CO., Boston, and for sale by druggists and dealers everywhere. May 25th.

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 sim-ple Vegetable Balm, that will, in from two to eight days, remove Pimples. Blotches, Tsn, Freckles, Sal-lowness, and all impurities and roughness of the Skin, leaving the same—as Nature intended it should be— self, deep, smooth and beautiful. This is no humbug soft, clear, smooth and beautiful. This is no humbus or catch-penny affair, and those who think it such will please not notice the advertisement. Those desiring the Recipe, with full instructions, directions and advice, will please call on or address (with return the control of the control not notice the advertisement. Those de-JAS. S. MARSHALL, postage).

No. 32 City Buildings, New York. New York. June 6.

the lower Town Hall, in Andover, Sunday, June 24, at half-past 14 and 5 o'clock, P. M. FALL RIVER .- PARKER PILLSBURY and H FORD Douglass will speak in Fall River, Sunday, June 24, They will also so Bedford, Tuesday evening, June 26.

MILFORD, N. H .- E. H. HEYWOOD will spe ak n Milford, N. H., Sunday, June 24.

MILFORD. H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak in Milford, (Mass.) Sunday, July 1st. DIED-In Cambridgeport, May 4, much lamented by friends and relatives, Mr. Charles A. Revalson,

aged 42. In this city, June 17, THEODORE PARKER, youngest child of John C. and Fanny S. Haynes, aged 1 year and 11 months.

40,000 COPIES OF CHARLES SUMundersigned has determined to supply the Clergy of the country, each one of them, with a copy of

ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS is required for this purpose. Such friends of freedom as desire to share with me the pleasure of this undertaking, may enclose their subscriptions to my friend, the Hon. SAMUEL E. SEWALL, No. 46 Washington street, Boston.

THADDEUS HYATT. Washington Jail, June 13, 1860.

Anti-Tobacco Publications.

THE Publications of the American Anti-Tobacco Society are for sale at Nos. 5, 9 and 13, Corn-hill, Boston, and also at the Depository, Fitchburg, Mass.

Among them are the following:

Six Tracts for Young America, or Boys.

A variety of Tracts for Kalsers, Sellers, Smokers,

Chewers, and Snuffers. A variety for Ladies, Clergymen, Physicians and

others.
The Zoological Temperance Convention; The Rev.
Solomon Spittle; Uncle Tobey's Stories about Tobacco, for Youth and Schools of all sorts; Anti-Tobacco
Envelopes, and a variety of handsome Cards, large
and small, for Bands of Hope.

June 22.

READ THIS.

THE subscriber will furnish copies of the follow-ing Likenesses in response to orders accompanied with the cash, viz:— Lithograph of THEODORE PARKER.

" JOHN BROWN,
" WM. LLOYD GARRISON. ALBO,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

now in press, and soon to be published by C. H. Brainard, both in the highest style of the celebrated artist D'Avignon, each of these for one dollar.

Also on hand, a few copies each of the Photographs of John Brown, Lydia Maria Child, and Theodore Parker, each for 50 cents. These will be safely mailed without additional cost.

Send your orders to WILLIAM C. NELL, 221 Washington street.

Washington street, he services company streets and June 16 and a service of the services of th

A thing of beauty is a joy forever.

THE LIGHT OF OUR HOME A BEAUTIPUL picture of a beautiful female A child, drawn from life by Thomas M. Johnston, and photographed by Black & Batchelder. Price, One Dollar.

Sent by mail, free of pusage, on receipt of the price.

Published by C. H. BRAINARD, 322 Wathington street, at the store of Elliot & White.

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

HAIR RESTORER?

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR

YOURSELF.

To TRE ED's OF EVANDREST: - My sge is six One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had become quite thin. About the 1st of March, of the present quite thin. About the 1st of March, of the present year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's 'Restorer,' No. 1, according to the directions, and have continued to apply a slight dressing of the same once in three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair is now almost restored to its original color, and the hus appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIKE ADYR, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRETIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly an advantage to one who was in danger of becoming bald.

Rev. M. THACHER,

Bridgewater, Oncids Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1865.

President J. J., RATON, LL. D., Union University, Murfressboro , Tennessee.

· Manan-I would state, that some time last spring found ME HAIR PALLING OFF. I concluded to pur-hase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer, &c., and give it a triel. I commenced using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irregularity; I found that its influence was distinctly visible, fur falling opy of half crased, and my locks, ble, THE FALLING OFF OF HAIR CRARD, and my locks, which before were quite char, were character it a fair brack. I do not consider that I have given it a fair trial, but, from what I have seen of its effects in my own case, I have reason to believe that it is espable of accomplishing what it purports to do, viz., FRE-YENT THE HAIR PHON FALLING OFF, and to RESTORE ORAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR. Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK.

Editor ' Ladies' Repository, Cincinnati, Ohio. I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsa-mum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles manu-factured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recom-mending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and ratalia is to 'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsathe hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in any position desired. Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor Christian Adec.

cate. Buffalo, N. Y. Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum is the best I have ever known. It has restored my hair to its natural color, &c.

Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa-

mum have been used in my family with beneficial

effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparations. Rev. 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 Zylobal-samum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with good effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bald 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,' Boston. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found among our other advertisements, we insert from act-ual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now tne evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its good effects. Rev. S. B. MURLEY, Pastor Congregational Church,

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

storer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the Hair Re-storer 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 direc-tions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair. Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

· My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and put on a very lively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BECOME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANTLY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We are thankful to you, and feel that we have full value of our money.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Prescot, Lancashire,

Vour Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hair was restored to its natural color,—not the wig-like appearance produced by dyes, but to its own natural color, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dye, I can strongly recommend it, and shall feel happy in answering the queries of any you may refer to me.

[The above clergyman is well known throughout Great Britain, and to many in the United States.] HAVTI.

Rev. Mrs. E. S. ANDRUS, (many years Missionary to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. Y.

In consequence of her long residence in aforenamed island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealthy condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,'—'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum; I have tried many other remodies for my hair, but never any thing that so materially and permanently benefitted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen.

Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,)

Brooklyn.

'I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the use of it in curing my baldness and grayness. Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyterian Wit-It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till se

kelle it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A, Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobslsamum, I would be pleased to insert adversisement, &c. Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Ed-

ucation R. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y., and New Ballimore, Greens county, N. Y. 'Some time since, I procured a bottle of your World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relative; and I am happy to say, that it prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it from being gray to its original glossy and beautiful black.'

Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Pastor Prot. Dutch Church Esopus, Ulster county, N. Y. I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum have produced all the effects described in her adver-

tisement, in restoring the color and increasing the growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fail in color or decrease in luxuriance. Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattaburg, N. Y.

'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon turned as black as when I was a young man. Bev. M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvania.

It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth, although I did not attend to it as your directions require.

Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H. We think very highly of your preparations, and have no doubt, if you had an agent in this vicinity, a large quantity might be disposed of."

less than a trial will. Some few dealers try to collaricles on which they make more profit than on these; always many on howing these.

These seasthe only preparations exported in any quantity to Lurope.

We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1 50 a bottle. Balsam, 574 cents per bottle.

Address all letters for information, &c., to 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 365 Broome Street, New York.' The Gesseins has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles—none other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a crim'incoffence.

SOLD BY EVERY DRUG AND FANCE GOOD USKALER

eath, com-

You have pul-tree pul-tree, and the said a

PORTRY

THE QUARER ALUMNI.

BY JOHN O. WHITTER. Read at the recent annual Re-Union of Quaker Frien as Newport, R. I.

From the well-springs of Hudson, the Maine, Grave men, sober matrons, you gather again; And with hearts warmer grown as your heads gro Play over the old game of going to school.

All your strifes and vexations, your whims and com plaints,
(You are not saints yourselves, if the children of

All your petty self-seekings and rivalries done, Round the dear Alma Mater your hearts beat as one

How widely soe'er you have strayed from the fold, Though your 'thee' has grown 'you,' and your drab blue and gold.

To the old friendly speech and the garb's sober form, Like the heart of Argyle to the fartan, you warm.

But, the first greeting over, you glance round the Your hearts call the roll, but they answer not all; Through the turf green above them the dead cann

Name by name, in the silence, falls sad as a tear!

In love, let us trust, they were summoned so soon From the morning of life, while we toll through it noon: They were frail like ourselves, they had needs like

And they rest as we rest, in God's mercy alone. Unchanged by our changes of spirit and fame.

Past, now and henceforward, the Lord is the same.

Though we sink in the darkness, his arms break our

And in death as in life, he's Pather of all! We are older; our footsteps, so light in the play Of the far-away school-time, more slower to-day;— Here, a beard touched with frost, there, a bald,

shining crown,
And beneath the cap's border gray mingles with

But faith should be cheerful, and trust should be glad.
And our follies and sins, not our years, make us sad

Should the heart closer shut as the bonnet grows prim And the face grow in length as the hat grows in brim Life is brief, duty grave; but, with rain-folded wings Of yesterday's sunshine, the grateful heart sings; And we of all people have reason to pay The tribute of thanks, and rejoice on our way:

For the counsels that turned from the follies of

youth;
For the beauty of patience, the witness of truth;
For the wounds of rebuke, when love tempered its For the kuusehold's restraint, and the discipline's

For the lessons of kindness voucheafed to the least Of the creatures of God, whether human or beast, Bringing hope to the poor, lending strength to the frail In the lanes of the city, the slave-hut and jail; For a womanhood higher and holier, by all

Her knowledge of good, than was Eve ere her fall. Whose task-work of duty moves lightly as play. Serene as the moon-light, and warm as the day; And, yet more, for the faith which embraces the whole

f the creeds of the ages, the life and the soul, Wherein letter and spirit the same channel run. And man has not severed what God has made one: For a sense of the goodness revealed everywhere,

As sunshine, impartial and free as the air;
For a trust in humanity, Heathen or Jew,
And a hope for all darkness the light shineth through Who scoffs at our birthright? The words of the seers

And the songs of the bards in the twilight of years, And the fore-gleams of wisdom in saint and in sage, In prophet and priest, are our true heritage. The word which the reason of Plato discerned,

The truth as whose symbol the Mithra bre burned. The soul of the world which the Stoic but guessed, In the light universal, the Quaker confessed!

No honors of war to our worthies belong: Their plain stem of life never flower'd into song; But the fountains they opened still gush by the w And the world for their healing is better to-day. He who lies where the minster's groin'd arches curve

down, To the tomb-crowded transept of England's reno The glorious essayist, by genius enthron'd, Whose pen as a sceptre the Muses all own'd-

Who through the world's pantheon walk'd in hi pride. Setting new statues up, thrusting old ones aside, And infliction the pencil of history dipp'd, To gild o'er or blacken each saint in his crypt-

How vainly he labor'd to sully with blame The white bust of Penn, in the niche of his fame! Self-will is self-wounding, perversity blind; On himself fell the stain for the Quaker design'd!

For the sake of his true-hearted father before him; For the sake of the dear Quaker mother that bore

For the sake of his gifts, and the works that outlive And his brave words for freedom, we freely forgive

There are those who take note that our numbers are small; New Gibbons, who write our decline and our fall; But the Lord of the seed-field takes care of his own, And the world shall yet resp what our sowers have

The last of the sect to his fathers may go, Leaving only his coat for some Barnum to show; But the truth will outlive him, and broaden with

years, Till the false dies away, and the wrong disappears. Nothing fails of its end. Out of sight sinks the stone In the deep sea of time; but the circles aweep on Till the low-rippled murniurs along the shores run,

And the dark and dead waters leap glad in the su Meanwhile, shall we learn, in our case, to forget
To the martyrs of Truth and of Freedom our debt?
Hide their words out of sight, like the garb that they

And for Barclay's Apology offer one more?

Shall we fawn round the priestcraft that glutted the shears,
And festcon'd the stocks with our grandfathers' ears?
Talk of Woolman's unsoundness? count Penn heterodox, And take Cotton Mather in place of George Fox?

Make our preachers war-chaplains? quote Scripture The hunted slave back for Onesimus' sake?

Go to burning church-candles and chanting in choir. And on the old meeting-house stick up a spire? No! the old paths we'll keep until better are shown, Credit good where we find it, abroad or our own; And while 'Lo here!' and 'Lo there!' the multi-

tude call, Be true to ourselves, and do justice to all ! The good round about us we need not refuse. Nor talk of our Zion as if we were Jews: But why shirk the badge which our fathers have

worn, Or beg the world's pardon for having been born?

We need not pray over the Pharisee's prayer, Nor claim that our wisdom is Benjamin's share; Truth to us and to others is equal and one: Shall we bottle the free air, or hoard up the sun?

Well know we our birthright may serve but to show How the meanest of weeds in the richest soil grow; But we need not disparage the good which we hold. Though the vessels be earthen, the treasure is gold !

Brough and too much of the sect and the name; What matters our label, so truth be out ?

The creed may be wrong, but the life may be true,
And hearts beat, the same under drab costs or blue.

So the man be a man, let him worship at will, In Jerusalem's courts, or on Gerisim's hill! When she makes up her jewels, what cares you good

For the Bapths of WAYLAND, the Quaker of BROWN And this green, favored island, so fresh and see

When she counts up the worthles her annals have known,
Never waits for the pitiful gaugers of sect
To measure her love, and mote out her respect.

Wise Berkley, grave Hopkins, and, smiling a On prelate and puritan, Channing is seen.

One holy name bearing, no longer they need.
Credentials of party, and pass-words of creed;
The new song they sing bath a three-fold accord,
And they own one baptism, one faith, and one Leed.

Forgive me, dear friends, if my vagrant thoughts theme;
Forgive the light measure, whose changes display
The sunshine and rain of our brief April day.

There are moments in life when the lip and the eye Try the question of whether to smile or to cry; And scenes and re-unions that prompt like our own, The tender in feeling, the playful in tone.

I, who never est down with the boys and the girls,
With your Austine and Slocumbs, your Cardands
and Earles,
By courtesy only permitted to lay
On your festival's alter my poor gift to-day—

I would joy in your joy; let me have a friend's part, In the warmth of your welcome of hand and of heart; On your play-ground of boyhood unbend the brow's And shift the old burdens our shoulders must bear.

Long live the good school! giving out, year by year Recruits to true manhood, and womanhood dear; Brave boys, modest maidens, in beauty sent forth, The living epistles and proofs of its worth!

In and out let the young life as steadily flow
As in the broad Narraganest the tides come and go;
And its sons and its daughters, in prairie and lown,
Remember its honor, and guard its renown.

Not vainly the gift of its Founder was made; Not prayerless the stones of its corner were laid: The blessing of Him whom in secret they sought, Has owned the good work which the fathers have wrought. To Him be the glory forever!—we bear
To the Lord of the hervest our wheat with the tare.
What we lack in our work may He find in our will,
And winnow in mercy the good from the ill!

THE LIBERATOR.

CRITICISM ON NON-RESISTANCE, AND REJOINDER.

Having read the remarks of my friend Dr. Mann, making exceptions to my plea for Non-Resistance in the Liberator of April 6th, I append to his article what I have to say by way of reply .- c. x. w.

DR. MANN'S LETTER.

DEAR MR. GARRISON-I have read carefully Mr. Whipple's essay upon the Non-Resistance principle. been censured therefor by Non-Resistance brethren. I admire its clearness, its elevation of sentiment, its The whole of my article, but especially the latter porfidelity to principle. I doubt not that it will promote tion of it, will show that I have shown no elavish the essential aim of the writer, by imparting more subservience to 'the letter.' I did not quote, nor confidence in the power of love to overcome evil, and rely upon, one of the passages of Scripture here ream glad to have provoked him to the good work of ferred to. Still, I think Mr. W. fails, as all argument must

fail, to prove the unlawfulness of resisting extreme necessary to repel it. I agree with Mr. W. that them (when the 'extreme case' arises) lest he should we are justly limited in self-defence, as in all transac- be prevented from teaching the rest not to kill each tions, to the use of means that are right, and that no other! He speaks of his duty to the other savages lieves that God requires abstinence from labor on the or conceive of,") the law of love to the injurer—the tist who believes immersion a Christian obligation, or ticular savage is the very one whom the true mission dered than to kill the murderer, are all equally bound most. low the light which my limited vision allows me to Such a missionary might as well have stayed at home. reach. I agree with Mr. W. in choosing Christianity (7.) I admit that to kill a man from the hasty imas my rule of life, 'because it is the best that I can find or conceive of.' (3)

(1.) When the right rule in morals is once estabthe greater as well as the less. The thief is not ex- as identical. To kill your assailant is not, in any cused on account of his 'extreme case,' the coinci- sense, to overcome his evil with good. dence of great destitution on his part with the chance of stealing a larger sum than ever fell in his way be- ought to distinguish. The circumstances, that he is fore, great enough to enable him to leave off stealing acting 'in just self-defence, and also in defence of and commence an honest life! This is not the right justice,' do not authorize him to kill the assailant way to commence an honest life. If honesty is the Retaliation is not an exercise of justice, but a depar right rule, it must control one's relation to a hundred ture from it. The man who receives a blow may have thousand dollars not less stringently than to half-a- been entirely in the right, up to that point; but a

(2.) I am not a legislator, but a subject, under the overcoming of evil with good, be the right rule of God's government. I, therefore, do not pretend to action,) he relinquishes his advantage, and puts him. decide what is 'universally obligatory.' All I can do self also in the wrong. In his next sentence, my is to strive for conformity in my own heart and life to friend speaks of a blow which the unjust violence of the rule which I recognize as right and best; and, as the assailant 'made necessary.' There is no such far as possible, to help others to recognition of the necessity. This is one of the flimsy excuses, one of same rule, adoption of it as their rule, and unflinching obedience to it. But when an intelligent person that we use to palliate our errors of conduct. The adopts this as his rule, I expect him to adhere to it. duellist is accustomed to say that, having been in-If this is the best rule on the whole, let it be used in every individual case, and thus have a chance to show itself the best on the whole. When we are speaking of a rule of morals, it is absurd to say that though it is right and best in the great majority of cases, the very opposite rule will be right and best in 'extreme

A rule is established as my rule, by my perception of its rectitude. I pretend not to claim for it the allegiance of those who do not see it to be right and make us right in treating him otherwise than by the best. My rule, as I have said in the article abovementioned, is the law of love. To me it seems selfevident that this is the right method, and the best method, of overcoming the evils of the world. I injury is another sin; the person assailed may have know it always fends to overcome them; and my as- been entirely in the right so far; but if he meets the surance of this is undiminished by the fact that it injurer with acts inconsistent with love to him, if he does not always succeed in overcoming them at once, returns the offered evil with anything but good, he or in a short specified time. God works by means, puts himself also in the wrong. and it is obviously a part of his plan to allow and require time for those means to produce their natural this, and the preceding, and some following pararesult. While I use God's instruments, I am on his graphs, shows some remaining traces of that vicious side, and I need not fear the result of trusting my permanent welfare to their use. On the other hand, and which still shows in the tree what inclination was am equally assured that violence tends to beget violence, that injury excites to the infliction of counter ing vindictive retalistion with justice; of recognizing injury; and that therefore this is not the best rule, as real and unquestionable types of justice, hell for nor a right rule, either for the whole of our lives or sinners in the next world, and the gallows for murfor any part of them. And this assurance is not derers in this." shaken by the fact that violence on the right side sometimes overcomes violence on the wrong side. I admit that the temptation to use it in a particular in- in the course of eighteen centuries, had they not been stance—' just this once '—is sometimes very great. I so systematically misinterpreted and perverted by the believe, no less, that the use of injurious force, for an priesthood. end however good, is always an error, a blunder. It is loss of faith. It is an assumption that God is to be of love when he said to Peter, in regard to a case of helped by using the devil's weapons.

(3.) My friend agrees with me in choosing Chris-

tianity, the law of love, as his rule. I must therefore using the sword, even to the death of the assails hold him to it. It is now for him to show why he takes the responsibility of departing from his accepted this example of Jesus—why does he represent himself rule, that which he recognises as 'best,' and acting. It is follower of the law of love? Why does he not for a time, upon the very opposite rule, merely be- avow his preference for the Jewish retalistory system

two miles when unjustly compelled to go one, give a clock to the robber who has already sto cost. 'Resist not eril,' and 'take no thought for morrow,' have a real meaning very different their literal sense. Self-control, forgiveness, manimity, and confidence in divine protection, are its meant. Every enlightened Christian understiths. Christianary, audeed, requires me to love is meent. Every enlightened Christian understands this. Christianity, indeed, requires me to love my enemies, but it does not follow (5) that I must in no case kill, wound, or strike them. I might be moved by Christian love to go among a tribe of cannibals, and devote my life to their reformation; but if, in the midst of my hopeful labors, one man, more incorrigible or more hungry than the others, should attempt to kill me, my duty to the others is well as to myself might roomed as to also him for myself might compet mg to slay him.(6)

"What, says Mr. W., 'do the very thing which I ensure in his conduct to me! Perpetrate a second wrong by way of redressing the first! Show that I am as ready to commit violence as he, when my sup-posed advantage requires it?

Mr. W. does not take into account how the different circumstances of myself and my assailant modify and decide the moral nature of our respective acts. I do not 'do the very thing' which I censure in him. He kills me unjustly, and from wrong motives. I kill him in just self-defence, and also in defence of justice. This makes it a very different thing. (7) I do not ' perpetrate a second serong by way of redressing the first.' The man who receives a blow, fatal or otherwise, which his own unjust violence made necessary, receives no wrong, and therefore the man who gives it perpetrates no wrong.

The wrong of the slave consists not in his violence

abstractly considered, but in the injustice of his violence (8)-in his invasion of the rights of another; but, if he kills in necessary defence of his own life, unjustly assailed by another, he does no wrong, since he invades no rights—for the murderer has no rights incompatible with another's right of self-defence.

Mr. W. asks, 'If the mere attempt [of the murderer] to kill me showed wickedness in him, what haracter does the actual killing him show in me?" answer, it shows promptitude to prevent wickedness. Mr. W. does not make the proper distinction between the murderer's wicked attempt to kill, and the just man's righteous act of killing in necessary self-defence, and in defence of justice. To make this distinction is to answer the question.

(4.) My friend here labors under a mistake. I have no where enjoined or recommended such literal conformity. Seeking always to adhere to the spirit of this rule, I have so far disregarded its letter as to have

(5.) I think it does follow !

(6.) My friend here loses sight of the spirit of the rule as well as of its letter. He proposes to sacrifice cases (1) of wrong by whatsoever violence may be one savage to the welfare of the rest; to kill one of

exigency can justify us in violating our settled con- and to himself, and drops the welfare of the assailing victions: and this is truet whether our convictions be savage quite out of sight, dropping at the same time founded on truth or error. A Sabbatarian, who be- his allegiance to the rule, (the best that he can find seventh or on the first day of the week, or the Bap- overcoming of his evil with good to him ! This para Catholic who believes it a sin to eat flesh on Friday, ary is most concerned not to leave out of sight. If or a Non-Resistant who believes it better to be mur- they all need conversion and reformation, he needs it

to obey their honest convictions. But I, who believe In the case supposed by Dr. Mann, the missionary, none of these things, am not bound by those rules, as far as the present emergency and the particular savuntil they shall be shown to be universally (2) ob- age in question are concerned, lays aside his own rule ligatory. I am indeed bound to use my best diligence and adopts the savage rule—the very one from which to examine the reason of those principles which gain he proposes to convert the savages! This course the assent of any respectable portion of the world, seems to me at once a departure from duty and from and if, through negligence or perverseness, or even wisdom. In so far as the missionary lays aside his rule from lack of capacity, I fail to find the right way, and method of love, and adopts the savage rule and I must suffer the consequences, until I shall learn method, so far it seems to me he is faithless to his miswisdom from experience. At present, I can only fol. sionary work, and pulls down that which he had built.

of guilt, from killing him by a purposed and unprowoked assault. I have never said or thought otherwise. In both these cases, however, a man is violentlished, it avails nothing to plead that a case of the ly killed. In this respect, the two deeds are the same, class described and contemplated by it is an 'extreme and each of them is a violation of the law of love. case.' The rule was made for all cases of that sort, It was only in this view that I spoke of the two acts

My friend here confounds things which I think he soon as he returns the blow, (if the law of love, and the self-contradictory, self-refuting forms of speech sulted, he has no alternative but to send a challenge; having been challenged, he has no alternative but to fight. The sooner we clear our minds of such cant as this, the sooner shall we be able to see things as they are. It has been well said that insults are like coun terfeit money; any body may offer them, but no one is obliged to take them. It is always at our option t give blessing for cursing, and a benefit for a blow and the wrong position of our antagonist does not law of love.

(8.) I think it consists in both. The wish of the assailant to injure is one sin; his proceeding to actual

I think my friend's use of the word 'justice' in theology by which we were both misled in early life forced upon the twig-I mean the habit of confound

Surely the precepts of Jesus, so beautifully illutrated by his life, would have brought forth more fruit Jesus showed the practical bearing of his own law

unjust amount, with murderous purpose. Put up thy sword into the abeath 1. If my friend limits upon upon acting in direct opposition to this injunction and which Jesus opposed?

doubtful ground, and only use his right in extreme and justifiable cases. But, when the apparently inevitable murder of himself, or family, or neighbor can be obviated only by killing the murderer, he will not heeitate. A hundred anecdotes might illustrate

A man attempted to cross the Niegars river at safe distance above the falls. He was accompanied Orkney Islander.) by a neighbor who was partly intoxicated, and whom he was kindly endeavoring to take home to his family. insisted on possession of the cars, and by his obstiger. The soher man, seeing no other chance of saving offender. either of their lives, pushed the drunkard overboard. and then, by using his utmost efforts, was barely able sions to the spirit of violence, and the difficulty of instifiable homicide.

In an account of the Orkney islands, there is a story of a father and his two sons, who were let frugality. down by a rope over the brink of a precipice to gath- I admit the obligation of every one to live up to the er the eggs which the sea-birds deposite in the crev ices of the rocks. The father, who was below his sons, ble; but I deny the obligation of others to obey that on looking upwards, saw that the rope was about to rule until it can be proved of divine authority, or part near the brink, one of the strands being cut, and otherwise obligatory on all. rapidly untwisting towards another defective part. Being unable to detach himself, he called to his son. self and brother. 'But,' replied the son, 'the rope will not hold us two.' 'Then cut the rope above | I assert that life, although the gift of God, is no you, and let your brother be saved to comfort his feet below, while the other was drawn safely up. of God-except his love and our immortality. Here were suicide and parricide in the same act. But how clearly noble and right!

but which Mr. W. must, on his principle, condemn. to mere non-obedience and non-resistance, but to In the 'Historical Collections of Ohio' is an account, bloody blows, till their freedom shall be secured. In surprised by a party of hostile Indians, who burned cause, the slaves shall have my sympathy, and, so his dwelling, massacred his family, and reserved him far as I can, my help. to suffer death by torture. It was the plan of the party, also, to surprise and massacre other families in the vicinity; but, while on their way, the prisoner contrived to losen his bonds, and kill two of the and its opposite at the same moment. If he choose their guard, and the massacre of several families pre- evil with good .- c. x. w.

From the first two of the above cases, I think Mr. THE 'SACRIFICE' OF WM. H. SEWARD. W. must admit the possibility of justifiable homicide. The recent defeat of Gov. Seward at Chicagosomething equally precious, cannot otherwise be proeach individual's best light. I would not kill a person to protect my property from depredation, or my person from blows not endangering life, but I should or slavery by means endangering the life of the ag-

Perhaps, by sufficient diligence, an exact rule may be found or framed, applicable to all cases of the kind : hut, when promulgated, it must be demonstrated to be the right one, before its authority can be acknowledged. In the mean time, Mr. W's rule gains no strength from the insufficiency of other rules, till his is demonstrated to be the right one.

This, Mr. W. has not even attempted to do. He has shown the beauty, the sublimity, and, in some sense, the expediency and excellency of the non-resistance principle; but he has not demonstrated its claim of inherent authority, nor sufficiently obviated the grave objections to its practical application in those cases where extreme wrong can be repelled rival. only by smiting down the offender.

It is remarkable that the essay to which I refer assumes as a settled principle the inviolability of human life. This is the very assertion for which proof is demanded. To assume it as a self-evident truth is had also been sacrificing to the obscene god. The o beg the whole question. Having taken this ground, gilded bauble of the presidency of these States had the author proceeds to prove, by extensive argument, what no one can seriously deny, that no exigency can justify the violation of an inviolable principle. He should first have proved his principle inviolable, and culture, gifted with a rare range of vision, and a this conclusively. It is not enough to say that 'the claim of a right to take the life of a man become preposterous in view of the fact that God gave him his life, and that the taking of it by another is a presumptuous interference with God's power and prerogative.' God also gave to man his liberty, and the right to possess the avails of his industry, but Mr. W. does not deny the right to restrain a violent man's liberty, or to take from him the sword which he has forged for murder. Life possesses no peculiar sanctity or inviolability because God gave it, for God gave us all that we possess.

The only claim to superior consideration for human life above other possessions is because of its superior value to most possessions. But mere life is not the highest even of worldly possessions. Property, or reputation, is to many of more value. Many people value liberty more than life. For myself, I should think the liberty of two or three slaves cheaply purchased by the death of one kidnapper.

I think that Christ did not consider this mortal life of ours a matter of such great value and eancti- of the American Union, glorifies Clay and Webster ty, (10) for he did not inculcate extreme care for it. but rather the contrary. If life be a matter of para-their support of the Compromise measures of 1850, mount value and sacredness, our own lives are so, equally with others', and should therefore never be put in peril; but Christ avowedly put his own life and the lives of his followers in peril, and when he forbade the use of the sword in defence, he gave a white men are bound to respect, flouts the sacred reason of expediency, and not of principle.

ever, it is to be settled by reference to a law, the law of good for his evil, (a law, be it observed, to which we both have declared our allegiance,) his decision in regard to the first and third of those cases shows only his own unfaithfulness to his rule. (The second case is of an entirely different sort, a case of mutual con-

sent, with no opposition of feeling.)
(10.) In all this discussion, I have insisted less the value and senctity of bodily life, than on the duty of guiding our conduct by the law of love.

Mr. W. fortifies his argument by the consideration In such a case, the self-delegee (and delegee of junctics) estimate he above to have "taken the responsibility of thrusting his brother from the sphere which God assigned him"—or, that he has "rashly and wrongfully saumed an authority never committed to him"—or, that he has "reballed against God"s rule, and demanded a better destiny than that afforded us in God's world, under his laws." I assume that the man who prevents murder, by slaying the assailant, and from a divine impulse. The power, and the will, and the moral instinct in behalf of justice, were given him by God for this very purpose. He is God's instrument. He does not "invide the Power who placed by here, nor interfere with His decision loss from a character of the power who placed by here, nor interfere with His decision loss from a character of freedom, and long he shall remain." No one can do that. long he shall remain. No one can do that.

It is no fair argument against the admission that homicide may sometimes be justifiable, that some may take advantage of that admission to commit unjustifiable homicide. To decide 'where shall the line be drawn' may be difficult, but I am not to forego that

which is a clear right and duty now, because a dif- complishing right ends, to use only right means, but ference of circumstances would make the right and I insist that it is right to protect the life of the innoduty less clear. If the line be difficult to define, a cent by sacrificing, if necessary, the life of the ag-conscientions man will be careful to keep off the greater. (11)

I admit the excellency and perfection of Christ doctrine, but I deny that, fairly interpreted, it teaches

I admit the obligation to love our neighbor as ou selves, but say that this is compatible with killing cases of intentional homicide clearly justifiable. I him to prevent his doing worse injury. I would (or select two, which also show that killing does not should) kill myself, if by that means only I could necessarly imply malice, but may be compatible with avoid killing the innocent-(for instance, if about to fall into a fit of canine madness in the presence of unprotected children, or if in the situation of the

I admit the sacredness of human life, and that i should not be taken, even from the guilty aggressor In the middle of the stream, the intoxicated person except where the lives or equally essential interests of others absolutely require it. But the life or liberty nate interference she boat was rapidly swept towards or chastity of the innocent should be effectually prothe falls, into a position of the most imminent dan- teeted, and, if need be, by the destruction of the

I admit the danger of making unguarded conce to save himself. This was unquestionably a case of making safe rules applicable to all cases. But this danger and difficulty no more forbid fighting in a clear cause, than the danger of avarice forbids a wise

> rule which his faith or his reason accepts as inviola-I assert that the attempt of an unjust aggressor

kill me, shows great wickedness in him; but the acnext above him, to cut the rope below, and save him- tual killing of him in necessary self-defence (and defence of justice) is not wicked.

therefore any more inviolable and inalicnable than any mother.' The son did as directed, and, with his fa- other of his gifts, except in proportion to its value ther, was dashed to pieces among the rocks a thousand. It is in our power to alienate and forfeit all the gifts I assert that the 'voice of history' proves the dom of resistance to tyranny, even unto blood; and,

I will add one more case, to me clearly justifiable, reasoning from the past, I would not advise the slaves of one of the first settlers, who, with his family, was such a struggle, as in every other attitude of their DANIEL MANN. Painesville, (O.) May 8, 1860.

(11.) My friend cannot possibly occupy a position most active of his captors, and make good his escape. to take the life of the aggressor, he must violate the By his timely warning, his neighbors were put upon rule of love to the aggressor, and of overcoming his

So much admitted on the one hand, I am also ready surprise to all, and a stunning disappointment to his to admit the difficulty of drawing a line to suit all especial admirers and friends-must be a source of cases. As a general rule, I should say that life should deep and bitter mortification to himself. His nominot be taken except in self-defence, where life, or nation had been long and quite generally expected. His was the most prominent name of any before the tected. The defects of this rule must be supplied by country, within the ranks of the Republican party. He had been identified from the beginning with its interests, and had come to be recognized as the almost authoritative expounder of its views and principles. feel justified in saying myself or neighbor from death And his claims were urgently pressed before the Convention by a strong array of ardent and determined friends, and with such indications of success, that, accounted by them a certainty.

Mr. Seward's own expectations were hardly less sanguine. He had played hard for the stake, and it now seemed fairly won. He had recently made the largest bid it seemed possible to offer, and how could he well fail of the prize? In anticipation of the auspicious result, he had retired, for the time being, from the public eye, and was now awaiting in his quiet domestic retreat at Auburn the announcement. But after all, singularly enough, the choice fell upon another, and 'the distinguished son of New York' was thrust aside to make way for a more favored

But this defeat-must we not pronounce it, to borrow the Senator's own words, employed in reference to the execution of noble John Brown and his associales, 'necessary and just'? For Wm. H. Seward filled his eye, and covered from view all else beside Wielding talents far beyond the possession of most men, and having these enriched by a broad and varied striking felicity of statement, able always to charm with his brilliant generalizations and polished utterances, stirred moreover, ofttimes, with humane impulse and rising to some lofty word for freedom, he has ye laid all upon the altar of his ambition. Bloquent or set occasions for 'the rights of human nature,' he has ever ignored those rights in the person of the Ameri-

Of late, especially, his subserviency has seemed to reach its utmost culmination. Since his return from Europe, he has omitted no opportunity to testify his loyalty to slavery as against all who seek its overthrow. To the high-handed measures employed by the Senate for hunting down and crushing out the friends of John Brown, he has given unhesitating support. He has recorded his vote promptly for the seizure of John Brown, Jr., Redpath, Sanborn, and Heatt. In his memorable speech of February lest-a speech

distinguished throughout for its cold heartlesenes its solemn cant, its adroit, jesuitical tergiversations including the infamous Fugitive Slave bill; commends the Republican party as 'the white man's party, more than intimating its entire assent to the strocious dogma that ' black men have no rights which memory of John Brown, and pledges to the slave States, whose exactions and outrages he touches upor (9.) My friend's three cases are adapted strongly only in the careful, choice language of euphemisia to impress the feelings, and would avail him much if the full support and protection of the Republican the matter were to be settled by feeling. Since, how- party against any who may interfere for the subversion of slavery, Could sycophancy stoop lower, or venality of love to the enemy and injurer, requiring the return crawl farther, certainly while affecting any vestige of decency or self-respect i What lover of Truth and Justice may regret, the

whoever else is nominated, he is not, who could thus tride with conviction, and trample on duty !- who

in a Washington jall, the chosen victim of emajoring malignity? How should he not expect trischer, even at the hands of his associates, who prove that

to human nature?

Not that the Republican party occupies, in livids Hot that the republic and rule attitude than does we tion to freedom, any truer attitude than does we H. H. Seward. Far from it. The plane upon which is members stand is hardly so high as his. bowing down all together before the pitiful ide if availability. As is the wont with idelators at availability. As is the wont with monators, when it suits their purposes, they fall upon and derous sate other. For the sake of his own personal second offered up his priceless birthright and the party in turn, for the sake of its success, inne. lates him upon the same alter. Under the ten Nemeric that presides in all the affairs of this well. Nemeria that present a long whatever put be men are often made the instruments of reco men are otten mane. Howbeit be meaneth at a neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his bear to destroy and cut off nations not a few."

Nor is the Republican party to be charged is relie of any new or unwonted dereliction from principle is of any new of their time-honored ader, a km of the prominent names in it, warm friends of M. Seward, are disposed to aver. Whatever is ind. Seward, are dispersion in this matter, acted inconsistently with itself. That party is constitutionally, and from its birth, a vacillating, truckling, time-serving party. its birth, a vaccived in timidity, and brought forh in to was compromise, and it has never drawn the first bresh in any other air. False at the outset to human anture, ignoring the despised black man, it has no reaco in its code of ethics for refusing to sacrifice any white man, even though he should be the most gifted and man, even blood, worthy name in its ranks, for its own party objects. Let no one who worships in this cannibal temple complain.

Prospectively, too, the friends of Predon here nothing to regret in this defeat. Probably there is no man in our country to-day, of such capacity fir isjury, so well able to bewilder and bewitch, to stakify and seduce, to debauch the conscience of the nation, and hinder the day of its deliverance, as Wm. H. Seward. His magnetic manner, his specious erge. mentation, his apparent elevation and catholic breadth, the prestige of his name, his wide reputation for statesmanship, sagacity, skill, all are made to contribute to this end. He is the jesuit of our America politics. Where he speaks there is incantation, when he breathes there is subtle poison. Mr. Lincoln may be by natural gift much less of a

man, in character much less of 'a progressive.' With whatever impulses towards humanity, he must of course be powerless enough upon a platform that does abject worship to the Union and the Slave Power of this country; a platform that, ominously silent a it is upon the Dred Scott decision, the Fugitive Siave bill, and the prospective multiplication of slave States, is yet stupidly emphatic in proclaiming the supreme rights of the States over ' their own domestic institutions,' and in pronouncing its curse and threat upon any who may presume to interpose in behalf of their crushed victims. Mr. Lincoln's administration, in the event of his election, may be an imbecility-may be a malignity; but it is hardly possible that in cowardice, corruptions and betrayals should be so speciously masked, so artfully baptized into the sacred name of Philanthropy, Integrity and Virtue, as in the case of Mr. Seward's elevation-would be sure to CHARLES D. B. MILLS. happen. Syracuse, May 31, 1860.

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