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polities, if payment be made in advance All remittances are to be made, and all letters to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to 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, Massachusetts, lemylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Sonot are authorised to receive subscriptions for THE

If The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the atu of the paper, viz:-Frances Jackson, En-TIND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL



death, and an agreement with hell

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

tuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - WILITAM BLURY CHARRING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

VOL. XXX. NO. 32.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1860. WHOLE NUMBER, 5

SELECTIONS.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard. FRUITS OF EMANCIPATION.

LETTER FROM REV. HENRY BLEBY.

BARBADOS, 8th July, 1860.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq.: Dear Sir,-I read with grat interest your report in the Standard of merican Anti-Slavery Society, and was very glad sed that Dr. Cheever had come up now to the nght platform. H. W. Beecher ought to be there His time-serving policy detracts much from reputation in the estimation of right-minded With profound regret I saw in the English per papers the announcement of Theodore Parker's both. His removal will be a loss to the Anti-

Slarery cause, but however the workmen may fall, Ged, whose cause it is, will carry on the work to consummation. It must triumph. lenclose two slips from newspapers for the Stan-dard, if you think fit to insert them.* The Mr. dard, if you think ht to insert them. The Mr. Jorlan referred to in one of them as a colored gentleman, and President of the Privy Council of Jamaics. I am personally acquainted with. He is a elt-made man, whose education was chiefly obmined in our Mission schools; and I remember the mas when his 'anti-slavery proclimities,' as some of our Santhern editors would call them, brought him rahm the shadow of the gibbet. He stanted whe and ant sovery newspaper in the West Indies, in counsels and aid of the Missionsnes and lost the conflict which terminated in the removed of the civil and political disabilities under when the struggle was at its height. In the news-

which the colored people grouned in Jamaica, and placing them on an equality with their white After this, he nobly fought the battle, until emancipation was coneded. But it nearly cost him his life in 1832, ditorial articles : 'We shall be glad, with Mr. B. and other friends of humanity, to give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, to bring down the system by the run, knock off the fetters and let he appressed go free. '. On these simple words was ased a charge of constructive treason, and Mr. Jorian was indicted for a capital felony—the result, as it derwards transpired, of a conspiracy to get rid of the hated opponent of slavery, to which the then Goverably weak tool of the planters, was a party: he having agreed to sign a warrant for Mr. stamed. But the conspirators were baffled. Although Mr. Jordan was suddenly arraigned, and placed on his trial without any notice or warning— the whole proceeding being conducted with profound servey until the Grand Jury had found a true bill was ably and successfully defended by the first colred harrister who practised in the Jamaica courts, Mr. Watkis, a man of eminent talent; and through the stubborn fidelity of Mr. Osborn, a colored partner of Mr Jordan, who refused, though more than once committed for contempt, to answer the questions put to him by the prosecutor, the attempt to prove ed to his present elevation. Since that time Mr. Jordan became more popular with the free colored people than he had ever been; and they, indignant at the villany which had been attempted, and being sufficiently numerous to control the elections, on the occurrence of the next vacancy, chose Mr. J. as their representative in the Legislature, where he pursued an honorable career, commanding respect, and increasing in influence, for many years. was afterwards elevated to the Council, the superior branch of the Legislature; and has been for several years the Prime Minister of the island, in which off w he has exerted the honorable distinction which the Queen has recently conferred upon him.

is a remarkable fact, that Mr. J. has been assocated in the highest offices of the government with the man who, as Acting Advocate-General, took leading part in the prosecution which was intended to cut short his career by an ignominious death. It to a lavorite notion with your South-side gentry that colored men have no administrative or governing talent—taking good care, however, never to influence to prevent it; but here we see a colored man selected from the midst of a large body of whites, many of whom are men of unquestionable government, analogous to that of the British Ministry, which has been eminently succostal It is an acknowledged fact, that the financial condition of the colony has never been so pros-Recently, in Antigna, a colored gentleman has

ren appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council; and in this island, where more of the old-time prouder against color remains than I have found any other British Colony, Mr. Prescott, a colorel man, is one of the leading spirits in the Coloand Parliament, having recently received appointments to more than one lucrative public of Such a reaction in public sentiment has occurred in these islands within my own recollection, resulting from the abolition of slavery and the removal of plored disabilities, that I think it quite within the bounds of possibility that we may yet see such men as our friends Garrison and Wendell Phillips chosen of high offices in the United States, and reaping honors to which their well-tried fidelity to the cause humanity richly entitles them. Twenty-eight mrs ago the gibbet appeared far more likely to be the destiny of Edward Jordan in Jamaica than the remiership which he now so worthily and ably fills.

l am. my dear sir, very truly yours, HENRY BLEBY.

. The extracts alluded to are as follows .- Ed. Stand. The Queen has been graciously pleased to appoint Philip Edmund Wodehouse, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of Britsh Guiana, to be an Ordinary Member of the Civil Division of the Third Class, or Companion of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath. James Walker, Esq. the acting Governor of Trinidad, has also been appointed a C.B., and the Hon. Edward Jordan, Presdept of the Privy Council, Jamaica. Mr. Jordan is a gentleman of color, and though born in Jamaica, is he son of a Barbadian .- Barbados Globe.

RESULTS OF ENANCIPATION IN JAMAICA. - At a pub he meeting held in the city of Kingston on the 3d ult., the Rev. J. Edmonson, Wesleyan Minister, in the chair, E. B. Underhill, Esq., Secretary of the london Baptist Missionary Society, stated as follows: He had ridden for many miles through the settle-ments of the people, had seen lands extensively cleared for provisions, and great numbers of houses erected on every side. Let it be assumed that 50,000 families have so settled; that each family possesses three acres of land; that each family has furniture and clothes to the value of £10, to say nothing of horses, carts, pigs, and other property. Let it be supposed that each acro has cost on the average £3 and each home £5, and then will have been realized, since freedom, property to the amount of nearly a

there be allowed to be 100,000 acres under cultiva-tion, and the value of the produce be reckned at £12 the acre, we have an annual production in pro-visions alone of £1,200,000. The number of acres under cultivation by the black people has been stated at 300,000, and the average value of an acre at from £15 to £20. Thus 200,000 acres are allowed for other productions. But the negroes of Jameies are the productions. But the negroes of Jamaica are the real growers of sugar, coffee, pimento, ginger, &c. The property of much of this product may be in the hands of the white man, but the labor by which they are sent to market is that of the black man. The annual value of these articles of export cannot be less than £600,000, which, added to the value of provisions, gives a total of £1,800.000. Probably not less than two millions are thus raised by the people; so that, since freedom, something short of forty mil-lions of pounds must have been the value of the labor expended on the soil of Jamaica by its enfranchised peasantry.—Jamaica Tribuns.

From the Minneapolis (Min.) State Atlas.

IS MINNESOTA A FREE STATE?

Strange as it may at first appear, the people of Minnesota are, at this early period in their history, and within three years from the adoption of their State Constitution, seriously asking of each other, Is Minnesota a free State? Not but that the constitution which they adopted, and under which they live, in the most clear and rocative language. ive, in the most clear and positive language, forbids the existence of slavery within our borders, but because the provisions of that constitution are openly and boldly set at defiance, not only by citizens of seats, and the perfect stillness of the day allowed the other States, but, as it appears, by those of Minnesota herself—men who, pretending to act as officers under the laws of this State, engage in the disgraceful and detestable business of kidnapping free men for the purpose of forcing them into slavery.

Now, here is the article and section of our constitution relation to this subject. stitution relating to this subject :-

Art. 1. Sec. 2 .- THERE SHALL BE NEITHER SLA-VERY NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE IN THE STATE OTH-ERWISE THAN IN THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIME WHEREOF THE PARTY SHALL HAVE BEEN DULY CONVICTED."

With a full knowledge of this provision of our constitution, and well understanding the sentiment ing with them their human chattels, thus openly of Boston.
disregarding the constitutional law of our State, and bidding defiance to, and insulting the senti-ments and feelings of our people. But it is not of the course of Southern sojourners among us that we most complain. It is of those infamous beings who live in our own State, and who, in order to secure a few dollars of Southern money, are willing to see B. Monny, the constitution of Minnesota trampled under foot, The Pres and the feelings of our people outraged by the in-

troduction of negro slaves in our very midst. For burselves, we have no concealments to make of our views and position upon this question.
MINNESOTA IS A FREE STATE, thank God, and, as one of her citizens, we shall insist upon her remaining so. And we wish Southern ladies and gentlemen to distinctly understand, that when they bring their slaves within the borders of this State they make them, before our constitution and our publication failed, and the case broke down. This laws, their equals, so far as civil rights are concerned. theticabeat with the world-wide ocean without; and while we do not feel it our duty, and shall not so of every philanthropic heart, it beats in unison make it our business to go about informing people of their rights, or advising them to assert them, we

> the law of our State our people upon this question; and you may as which he would read. well understand, that when you voluntarily bring your human chattels into Minnesota they will exercise their own discretion as to remaining with and going back with you.

PUNCH ON CHARLES SUMNER.

The London Punch has the following, under the

head ' Punch's Essence of Congress ' :-Bill for the Admission of Kansas as a Free State doubt not, as men advance in virtue, to take its place Sumper, who about four years ago was brutally as-He showed successively and successfully that the himself are all represented in this act. tone of the arch of the American Constitution. t generates violence, foul vice, cruelty, duelling, and offianism generally-that its advocates in and out Summer would have received the compliments of gentlemen on both sides, upon so remarkable an exhibiat the feet of British aristocracy, craving pity and reaping contempt," called him the "incarnation of malice, mendacity, and cowardice," and declined ripient of punishment howling through the world, nishment in question alludes to the brutal assault with a bludgeon, committed by the now defunct

man. The "slave-masters in the Se rounded Mr. Chosnut, and approved his speech." in justice. Nothing is truer than that injustice, be-The question was postponed. Mr. Punch begs to sides its essential wickedness, is folly also. The un-The question was postponed. Mr. Punch begs to offer his respectful congratulations to Mr. Sumner upon his magnificent speech, and, even more carnestly, upon the ample and perfect testimony that was instantly given by the besitted slave-owners to the truth of his assertion of the barbarism of Slavery. It is not often that an orator's enemies are party rushed together to proclaim themselves the raffians he had painted them; and in the published copy of the oration, Mr. Samner has given at once the calmest and the deadliest blow to the system he lenounces, for he prints Mr. Chestnut's spe All the bludgeons in the hands of all the "chivalry of the South" cannot beat that demonstration of Mr. Sumner's case out of the heads of the public, in and out of the States. The speech should be reprinted in England, and circulated in thousands. What is the Anti-Slavery Society about?

The Liberator.

OBLEBRATION OF THE FIRST OF AUGUST

Until we can celebrate the abolition of our own system of oppression, we must annually repeat the praises of that which was wrought in 1834 by our British brethren. Every celebration of their festival brings ours one step nearer.

One of the cheering indications that Massachusetts men and women are getting more and more to realize that slavery is a sin and a shame, and that its extirpation is needed, alike for the credit and welfare of our country, is the increased numbers that meet from year to year at Abington to celebrate the West Indian Emancipation, and provide for the establishment of a similar festival in America, for American freed-

A very large assembly improved, for these purpose the perfect summer day which was given us on the first of August. Long trains brought passengers from Boston and Plymouth, and the intermediate towns, and an immense number of carriages around the Grove showed the interest felt by the people of Abington and its neighborhood in the celebration. A

At 11 o'clock, the assembly was called to order by E. H. Heywood, who read the following list of offi-

JOHN B. SWASEY, Esq., of Boston.

Vice Presidents-EDNUND QUINCY, of Dedham; FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston; Hon. N. H. WHITING, of Marshfield; Bourne Spooner and Hon. CHARLES G. DAVIS, of Plymouth; RICHARD CLAP, of Dorchester; Elmer Hewitt, of Weymouth; WM. Ashby, of our people upon the question of slavery, citizens of Newburyport; Col. Thos. J. Hunt, of Abington; of slave States have chosen to visit Minnesota, bring- Rev. M. D. Conway, of Cincinnati; Dr. T. P. Knox,

> Secretaries-J. M. W. YERRINTON, of Boston Miss ANNA GARDNER, of Nantucket.

> Finance Committee-B. H. HEYWOOD, Mrs. CAR-DLINE R. PUTNAM. ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, Mrs. J. A. SPOONER, MARY R. WALLCUT, N. B. SPOONER, D.

The President elect, on taking the chair, made a few remarks, expressive of his pleasure in occupying the position assigned him, since it identified him more closely with the anti-slavery cause, and embodying a statement of the object for which the meeting had assembled. He concluded by announcing Mr. Heywood as the first speaker of the day.

Mr. Haywood remarked that it had been said that the water of inland wells rises and falls in sympamanity the world over. The Committee of Arrangesert them, they shall be protected to the full extent ments had addressed letters to various gentlemen whose hearts thus pulsated with the great heart of Gentlemen of the South, you know the feelings of humanity, and had received in answer a few responses,

> LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER. BOSTON, July 30, 1860.

MY DEAR STR :

If I forego the opportunity which you offer me of uniting with the earnest Abolitionists of Massachugetts in celebrating the anniversary of British Emancipation, I pray you not to believe me insensible to the 1860. June 4th, Monday. In the Senate, the magnanimous teachings of that day-destined, I came on for discussion. The Honorable Charles still more and more among the great days of History.

Nothing shows the desperate mendacity of the parby a ruffianty elaveholder named Brooks lead), addressed the House for the first time tisans of slavery more than the unfounded persistence since that outrage. He applied himself to a long with which they call this act 'a failure.' If it be and elaborate argument to show the barbarism of a failure, then is virtue a failure; then is justice a slavery, and proposed to knock out the "black mar-ble block" which the South declares to be the key-self a failure; for virtue, justice, humanity, and God

makes brutes of the slaves. Well-proved facts vindicate completely the policy and worse brutes of the masters-that it checks ed- of emancipation, even if it were not commanded by reation, industry, prosperity, and population-that the simplest rules of morality. All testimony, whether from official documents or from travellers, shows, beyond question, that in all these islands the condimen in America—that it has been condemned by tion of the negro has been improved by emancipa-Washington, Jefferson and Franklin, and by all tion; but this testimony is especially instructive when statesmen and moralists of eminence—and that its we learn that this improvement is most strongly manoisonous influence is actively working toward the lifest in those who have been born in Freedom. Ask destruction of the noble Republic. Mr. Sumner's any person familiar with these islands—as I have speech was chiefly characterized by its closeness of gument and lucidity of diction; but he occasionargument and lucidity of diction; but he occasion-ally introduced a passage of highly-wrought elo-quence, or an image of singular vividness; and in vindicate this Act. Surely, it is enough if men are England, however the orator's sentiments might raised in the scale of being, even though sugar

tion of sustained power and intellectual skill. Mr. ests of these possessions have shared the improvement Chestnut, of South Carolina, (slave-owner) rose, of the population. In some of the islands, as in and after abusing Mr. Summer for "ranging over Barbadoes and Antigua, the advance is positive, while Europe, crawling through the back doors to whine in Jameica itself, which is the instance most constantly cited of 'failure,' the evidence is unanswerable, that the derangement of affairs cannot be charged upon on the part of the slave-ownerism to make any re-ply, because he was not inclined "to send forth the alous condition of that island throughout its history, aggravated by the insane pretensions of the slavemasters. Two different Governors of this island have assured me that, with all their experience there, they looked upon Emancipation as a 'blessing.' Thus is Brooks upon an unarmed and unsuspecting gentle- looked upon Emancipation as a cleaning.

The "slave-masters in the Senate then sur- it shown that the true policy of this world is found. in justice. Nothing is truer than that injustice, bejust man is a fool.

Only recently important testimony on this subsimilar testimony occurs in other quarters, both in n such a desperate hurry to prove his case for him. England and America. And yet, with the Truth sut here he was scarcely down, when the Slave flashing in their faces our slave-masters misrepreflashing in their faces our slave-masters misrepresent this sublime and beautiful act as 'a failure'! This, however, is of a piece with their whole con-

Let me thank you for the invitation with which you have honored me, and for the good wishes with which you cheer me; and believe me, my dear sir, Very faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

WILLIAM LLOTD GARRISON.

LETTER PROM HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Dass Sin-I am much obliged to the Manager of the Massachusetta Anti-Slavery Society for their keep me at home.

the House of Representatives. The only reason give still are able, to withstand the combination of their n is, that the British islands do not produce so many counds of sugar and coffee as they did when they could force them out of the bones and muscles of

It was Sismondi, I think, who first protested against the fallacy of all British writers on political economy who measure the happiness of a people by the gross amount of their material products. A far greater question must always be, Who is overworked? Who suffers wrongfully? Who is deprived of his hard earnings for the benefit of his neighbor? Who looks up to the flag of his country and sees in it no shelter without coffee and sugar. But how can they be happy without good security for their right to seek hapiness in their own way?

n which the mob have burned men for killing their shall be made free ! masters, within the past year.

in this respect, wherein do they differ from their were never content to live on little, but they aldeplore the loss of sugar and coffee., For my part, I and the power. sympathize more with the gain of idleness to the laborer, if it be his pleasure to be idle, and no suffering follow from it to himself or his family. Nobody admires industry more than I do, but it must be of that sort which is not wrung from the unwilling by force and without compensation.

But, when I sat down, I did not intend to get engaged in any long discussion. My object only was to expose the nature of the standard which has been set up, to test the value of emancipation. When will men cease to confound liberty with money?

lately rendered. I remain.

Very truly, your friend and servant,

C. F. ADAMS.

LETTER FROM JOHN A. ANDREW, ESQ.

Boston, July 31st, 1860. MY DEAR SIR-I shall not be able to regulate my ngagements so as to attend the celebration at Ab-

Emancipation,' to which you have invited me.

I should be glad if it were in my power to add emphasis to my declaration of faith in the soisdom as slavery, and lamenting the continuance of the same well as the benepolence which compelled the Christian dreadful system of bondage in our own most guilty people of Great Britain to demand that great meastre of justice from their Government. It is, in my The act of West India Emancipation has been comjudgment, beyond reasonable doubt, that sound po- monly, but absurdly, styled an experiment. An quillity, requires that the people who inhabit every The argument which would enslave the negroes and mulattoes of the West Indies is equally good in kind, less were as sure as the law of gravitation, and as gloif not equally forcible in degree, to justify the main- rious as they were sure. None but the most unthinktenance of servitude in Russia, and the degradation ing, or the most perverse, could believe otherwise. house, open to every citizen's child, and the pub- our slavery-cursed land, every effort has been made,

there would. I verily believe, have been a 'Dred as oracular and conclusive. But I know that all suc QUINCY, July 21, 1860. | Scott decision for whiten as well as for blacks | representations are false, mallelous, mercenary, as-

kind invitation to be present at their celebration, at cerning it is now in a sectional form, it is only acci-West India Emancipation is gravely pronounced a a sentiment of opposition to the perpetuation of alsfailure. At present, few Southern men dare, and fewer State and Rederal Governments in the interest of a only soon cease to have a sectional form, but it will cease even to be called sectional. It will be recognized in its real proportions as a universal question,not sectional, nor even national; but universal, touchthe whole human family.

Into whose souls, even now, does the iron of slavery in America enter with the bitterest pain and the deepest wound? Not into those of black men who never knew liberty searcely so much as even by for himself, or his wife, or his little ones? These name, either in their own persons or in those of their questions will be boldly answered now in the British fathers; but into those of the free, white, native-born West Indies. If any cases could be pointed out, in Americans to whom it is not permitted, under pain tolerable numbers, we should have been very sure to of insult, fine, imprisonment, and even of death, to hear of them. But all that we do hear is about the read the speeches and books of men born and eduabsence of coffee and sugar. Now, mankind may, by cated at the South like themselves, appealing to the possibility, be tolerably well off, and yet do entirely patriotism and the interest of the South against the doctrines of the propagators of slavery.

Powerful men, in large numbers, hold black men and oppress white ones in the fifteen slaveholding Open any book written forty years ago about the States. Powerful men, in large numbers, in the West Indies, and you will see depicted, in glowing eighteen free States, are equally insensible to the erms, the awful horrors which must follow any at rights and wrongs of these white and black men. tempt at emancipation. The never-failing sketch of They affect to treat with indifference the rights of the excesses which were committed in St. Domingo labor everywhere, and the wrongs which it suffers is retouched at every turn with a pleatiful admix- now at the hands of the nation, and with the aggrature of the most glaring colors. Nobody seems to have vation of which it is threatened for the future. If conceived the idea, that when you take away the mo- Slavery, emboldened by the 'Dred Scott decision.' tive to commit violence, you are in the most likely shall, by means of the Lemmon case, be decreed a way to have peace. I greatly doubt whether, since footbold as a sojourning institution in all the free the day of emancipation, there have been one half of States; and,—by means of the Breckenridge audacithe outrages committed among the population of the ty, the Douglas indifference, and the Bell and Everett British West Indice that have taken place within any ignor-ance policies, gain a new lease of National equally populated region in our slaveholding States. power—the necessarily consequent restoration of the never heard of an instance of a man burnt alive foreign trade in negro slaves, and the cheapening of n Jamaica for the commission of murder. The courts human cattle, will at last teach the dumbest tongue could make no such penalty, I am sure, and the peo- to cry out, the coldest heart to feel, and the blindest ple there are not afraid to trust the cause of justice incarnation of respectable nonchalance to see, that with the courts. But, in the United States, I have the only remaining inquiry for the American people certainly read in our own newspapers of several cases is, Whether all poor men shall be slaves, or all slaves

With more particular regard to your invitation to Yet they tell us, that because coffee and sugar fail, me to be present on Wednesday at Abington, perhaps there is no good in emancipation. If, by reason of this it is due to a perfectly frank understanding that I should say, (what I believe you already know,) that famine in the land, that starvation was in a fair way though I am with you and your friends in sympathy to turn the garden into a wilderness, I should be when you rejoice that the British slave is now a free ready to concede something to the argument. But I man, yet I have been so often pained at the unremithear of no such thing as that. I only hear that the ting and I think frequently unjust assaults by persons people decline to work more than enough to gain them upon your platform on men whom I greatly respect, and an easy subsistence. Content with little under a genial climate, they prefer indolence to labor. And, myself an intruder in your midst-unless I should former masters, the planters? Did you ever hear of suppress something I might feel urged to say. My any of these who liked to work? To be sure, they fidelity to the existing institution of Government, its charters, its organization and the duties of its citizenways preferred that what they did live on should be ship, is, ever has been, and, I doubt not, will always got from the labor of some other persons than them- be, unshaken; but, working in the sphere of citizenselves. The present complaint is, briefly, that this ship, and through the instrumentalities it affords, I process cannot be carried on beyond the will of the hope that I ever may remember the lesson of British laborer. Perhaps those may sympathize with it who Emancipation, and apply it wherever I have the right

Yours, respectfully and faithfully. JOHN A. ANDREW.

To Mr. GARRISON.

The first two letters were responded to with hearty applause by the audience. A significant silence followed the last.

Mr. Heywood then said that another letter had beeen received, from one whose presence was always the joy and the inspiration of occasions like this, and who, as Tacitus said of the absence of the images of Brutus and Cassius from the funeral of Junia, is all With many thanks for the kind estimate you make the more present because he is not here to-day. I in your postscript of any public service I may have need not name him; but his radiant apostolic countenance shines so brightly, that you can see it as far as the White Mountains. He sends us greeting :

> NORTHUMBERLAND, N. H., July 30, 1860. MY DEAR HEYWOOD :

Absent from home, seeking invigoration of body and mind among the mountains in New Hampshire, I shall be deprived of the pleasure of participating in the First of August Celebration at Abington ; but the ington of 'The Anniversary of British West Indian day and the occasion will not be forgotten by me. In spirit I shall be with you all, rejoicing in the beneficent results of the abolition of British colonial

country. tical economy, as well as national security and tran- experiment is something, uncertain in itself, which may or may not prove successful, and which is country should be free to enjoy their natural rights. problematical until it is tested. But there was nothing doubtful about the act aforesaid : its consequenof many white populations in Europe; and indeed Those consequences were truthfully predicted ages am well satisfied that nothing but the existence of ago, in their natural order :- the substitution of light universal suffrage in the United States (for white for darkness, of health for disease, of righteousness men) prevents the frank advocacy of the principle of for iniquity, of the glory of the Lord for the reign of he ownership of labor by capital in reference to the Satan, of abundance and prosperity for dearth and free white laborers in our own country. Had not the suffering, of general restoration for universal ruin. ballot-box, open to every citizen, and the school. [See 58th chapter of Isaiah.] I know that, throughout lic press, free to declare itself concerning every sub- by a venal press, by unscrupulous demagogues, by ject, established their authority so firmly among us, the enemies of the Anti-Slavery cause universally, I have no doubt that slavery would be argued by to represent the emancipation of the West India some men in New York and New England to be the proper condition for our laboring classes. Had the theories of many distinguished men, now prevalent, been the doctrines of those who shaped our institutions during the last quarter of the last century, copied into the pro-alavery journals of this country

I do not regard the question of ranges emanciped tanies. They are proved to be such by the testimony tion precisely as you do. It is not, in any some, a of West India governors, magistrates, missionaries, sectional question. So far as the controversy contourists; by the strictest Parliamentary investiga-Abington, of the anniversary of the First of August. dentally and semporarily so. It needs nothing now tions; by the constantly improving condition of the I regret that my present occupations are such as to but a just and honest administration of the National emancipated laborers, physically, intellectually, mo-Government to develope throughout the whole South | rally: BY HUMAN NATURE THELE. The London Times ton Mercury or the New York Herald. It is mante festly the purchased tool of the cottonocracy at home and in the United States; and it grossly and wickedsingle class of capitalists. The controversy will not | ly misrepresents the views and feelings of the British people, who justly glory in their act of negro emand-

To say that emancipation in the West Indies has

proved a failure, is to declare that a state of unlimiting the rights not of a class only, nor of a race, but of | ed concubinage and beastly smallgamation is more onducive to virtue and purity than sacred marriage, ecognized and defended by law; that turning men, romen and children into marketable commodities is better investment than to allow them to develop their faculties and powers as rational and accountable beings; that to substitute the blood-reeking lash for a just compensation, and to drive the laborer to unrequited toil like a beast, is pecuniarily more profitable than the system of mutual contract and the stimulus of the hope of reward; that enforced, unlettered ignorance is better for society than general education; that for an immense mass of human beings to be given over to irresponsible and absolute power, lodged in the hands of mercenary owners and ruthless overcors-to be deprived of all testimony in cases of personal wrong and outrage, which are of daily occurrence-to be stripped of all rights and immunities as completely as though they were on a level with sheep and swine-is better for them, and for the entire community, than though they were protected by law, allowed to testify against those seeking their detriment, and clothed with all the rights of human nature! All auch declarations originate either in diocy or diabolism: they are the subversion of all the rules of morality, all the principles of justice, all the claims of humanity, and indicate either the extinguishment of reason, or a very close approximation to total depravity, on the part of those giving them circulation.

> Rejoice, then, abolitionists, in the downfall of Britsh colonial slavery, and mingle your voices of thanksgiving and praise with those of a million freedmen in he isles of the sea! Labor unceasingly to effect, by the help of God and the power of his truth, a still more extended emancipation, and even a more glorious jubilee, in your own country! Be deterred by no obstacle, deceived by no artifice, allured by no compromise, lulled into security by no partial success, satisfied with no half-way measures; but, 'remembering those who are in bonds as bound with them, and therefore demanding immediate and unc al emancipation in their benalf, as the imperative duty of those who are exercising unjust dominion over them, press onward in the glorious cause you have espoused, assured of final victory-a victory which shall heal every wound, units every breach, reconcile every difference, and bless every portion of the land !

Yours, to break every yoke, WM. MLOYD GARRISON.

SPEECH OF E. H HEYWOOD. MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I think these letters will answer for my speech. Certainly, they discuss the various issues involved in the question that convenes us, with a beauty, force and eloquence which is the admiration and despair of all us youngsters. Indeed, my hands are so full of the business affairs of this meeting, that I hardly feel like talking to you at all.

In these very just and admirable criticisms upon the American view of British Emancipation, Mr. Adams and Mr. Sumner strike the key-note to the politics and religion of this country—the key-note to American life, as you read off its harmonious discords and its discordant harmonies in the sects and parties about you. As Carlyle said of Englishmen, Poverty is the only hell in which Americans believe. A Yankee would object to the theological hell for the cost of brimstone. (Laughter.) Americans do not believe in man, but in money; in liberty, but in license. They have no faith in truth, justice, freedom, God; but in railroads, stocks, traditions, parchments, majorities. Any rescality is right, if it will pay. The idea which underlies the American Church and State is, that it s right to enclave men in behalf of liberty, to lie for the sake of truth, to kill men to make them live. Truth and justice are valued as guano to raise corn and cotton. The Deity is thought a respectable person if he wears broadcloth, patent-leather boots, and can drive a sharp bargain-otherwise not of much

In contrast with this heathenish, golden-calf treachery to the law of God and the rights of man, the royal beauty of England's example makes us ugly. British Emancipation was a concession to justice and liberty, as personified in a proscribed race one fact, at least, contravening Bentham's maxim, that the ruling class never give up a usurped privilege, until they are bullied out of it. British Emsneipation was Parliament, the Court and the Crown in royal livery, descending to the highways and hedges of English life, to rescue its parishs and outcasts. It was the coronation of color, the admission of the Negro to society, to civilization, to equality in the eye of the law ce in the eight of God. In a word, the whole object of the anti-slavery struggle in Great Britain, from 1783, when, in that little room in London, the Bethlehem of the black race, there assembled a half-dozen quakers 'to consider what step they should take for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves of the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa,' to the moment when the last shackle fell amidst the hocannas of the redeemed, and the repentant and re-deeming nation—a period illustrious with examples of eloquence, wisdom and self-escrifice, scarcely peralleied in the annals of legislation or religion; a period when, like the Homeric deities, descending from Mount Ide to resone, in the agony of fate. some stricken hero in the carnage of Troy, British

sie the imperial guard of a de humanity-through a half-century of prayers, tears, ilings, agonies, explications and immerial fri-us, the aim of the anti-playery enterprise was

eimply to show fair play to black men.

This is the lesson which a free Monarchy, from its
throne of justice and mercy, reads to a slaveholding,
haughty, structing Republic to-day. Let us heed it, let us apply it; for these hours are too sacred to spend in mere sulogy of those whe, having fought the good fight,' are now beyond and above the reach of huma We are not here to walk in the green pas tures and beside the still waters of past achievemen not here to be entranced with the elysian music of Hiads won and sung; not here to recite history, but to make it. This event says, didentify yourselves with essed race; be negroes.' Some artist remarks, that no one can paint a tree without in some ing a tree. So no one can be an abolitionist without putting his soul in the slave's soul's stead. When Macaulay was in conversation with Mrs. Stowe, rallying her upon her admiration of the greatest of English dramatists—the greatest of the world's writers-he asked which of Shakspeare's characters she liked hest. 'Desdemona,' she replied Of course, said he, she was the only one who ran after a black man.' (Laughter.) He knew, that to paint 'Uncle Tom' and 'Eliza Harris' she must have forgotten that she herself was white. Mr. Garrison says, the highest compliment ever paid him was when Fowell Buxton, the great English Quaker, receiving him at his own door, exclaimed, with wide-eyed astonishment, 'What, Mr. Garrison ! 'Yes sir.' · Why, bless me, I thought you was a black man. (Applause.) Long as he had fought with British giants for human rights, he had not conceived the heroism in human form sufficient, when not of the enslaved race, to lift up the standard of moral rebellion against seventeen million oppressors. No man, in a country like ours, is entitled to be called an abolitionist, a patriot, or a Christian, until he is honored with the reputation of wanting to marry into a black family, (Laughter.) I hope we all shall learn the lesson of to-day so well as to go home negroes.

But, to return to the train of thought upon which

passage: as a nation, we have no regard for human rights, for human nature, as such. We hardly believe that man belongs to the human race. If one speaks of love to man, you don't know whether he means a Doctor of Divinity or a Republican Senator selling him upon the auction-block, or a Feejee cannibal roasting him for his dinner. Like the Yankee who, in Italy, stopped a religious procession to light his cigar at one of the holy candles, (laughter,) an American instinctively seeks to desecrate every scheme of philanthropy, every measure of hazardous benevolence, to selfish purposes; to divert it into a political or ecclesisatical channel to turn a sectarian or partisan mill. Our civilization is a conspiracy against justice, speaking from black lips. We have piled the church, the college and the government upon the negro; and when the mergent Titan turns under Ætna we shout, Blood, telvil war, 'anarchy.' The Tribung says, the more opposition a party has from the disunion Abolitionists, the more likely it is to succeed. Certainly. Governor Hutchinson was in much better favor with George III. because James Otis thundered against write of assistance. Laud, undoubtedly, got the primacy from Charles I. for being denounced by Milton and Hampden. Judas, unquestionably, walked into the graces of Pilate by his graceless betrayal of Jesus; and if he had not been virtuous enough to hang himself, would have been appointed postmaster of Jerusalem, (laughter,) as Mr. Greeley hopes to be of New York, if Lincoln gets in. Just so of the Church. The centripetal force overcomes the centrifugal. Its honors can be secured only by infidelity to the black man. I know of no other theory to account for Ward Beecher's appalling retrogression. With such a magnanimous heart,-with impulses so generous and out-gushing that wherever he goes the masses lesp to his side like dust of iron to the magnet, that he, after years of brave testimony against slavery, from his pulpit, should sink under the fire of his brave young disciple, and turn up a dead carcass in the wake of South Side Adams! Perhaps he is aspiring to be a Doctor of Divinity. Pro-slavery is the test of admission to that order. The centralizing force of the Church has demoralized him. In Dr. Cheever's case, it is not, after all, the New isters, or that servile, mendacious sheet misnamed Independent, out of whose mouths he is preaching their bread and butter, that are trying to spike his guns. No. They would be with him if they could afford to be honest. It is the black hand of baptized despotism reaching up from Washington to throttle the Puritan pulpit of Union Square. Ah, yes, Mr. Greeley, it is a sad fact that slavery does and must rule every thing in this Slaveholding Republic. No sect or party can ascend to official distinction except by the path of oppression. Slavery, like buried iron, underlying all parties, inevitably diverts every political magnet from the pole-star of justice. As Curran said of Lord Clare, every aspirant to office, like the chimney-sweep, climbs to its honors by dark and sooty ways, only to display his dirty elevation. (Laughter.) The man who takes for his motto success is a duty,' the motto of Governor Banks and the motto of the Border Ruffians, the motto of the Tribune and the motto of the · Plug Uglies, within the deathful circle of the Pederal Union, is the sworn foe of impartial liberty. Hence the necessary character of the Republica.

party. Sworn upon the altar of Slavery, it affects to fight the battles of freedom. Anti-Slavery in sentiment, it is pro-slavery in principle. So far from endangering the system, as Senator Hale said, Slavery will be safer under its rule than under the Democratic party. Mason of Virginia, or Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, stand with greater security under the flag of Lincoln than under that of Breckinriage. I know it has its radical members. God bless them! Men who intend to reach the system and throttle it-men who, as the old Federalist poet wrote about the Jeffersonians,-

Would blow the villains all sky high, But do it with economy. (Laughter.)

Its abolition voters are represented here to-day, by one who, stepping from the shoemaker's bench to the State Senate, to put liberty above all compromises and all constitutions, will yet make the memory of Marshfield respectable in the annals of Massachusetts (Loud applause.) It has its Sumner, its Adams, its Giddings and its Andrew. But no one of these brave and noble men has made an issue with Slavery, or even proposed a solution of this vexing problem. Mr. Sumner's recent earthquake speech in the Senate, full of excellent, classic vituperation, the most antialayery speech ever delivered in Congress, almost as good and strong as you have heard from this platform for twenty years, looks up to Lysander Spooner's po-But its climax is the endorsement of the Chicago platform; which is a descent from Zenith to Nadir, from Paradise to Perdition. And in his late New York speech, he takes pains to deny the antiction of the Constitution, by admitting the constitutionality of the slave oligarchy, by declaring that we have 'no more political responsibility for Slavery in Charleston than in Constantinople ! and that we cannot oppose it, except " within the landmarks of the Law and the Constitution! Such sen-timents made your abolition blood boil, when, years ago, you read them in Webster, Wayland and Stuart. That will you say to them now, wound from the silver trumpet of one who rides forward to the van of politics to inspire with r pire with purpose the masses lagging the Massachusetts Legislature indorsed that Washington speech by a large majority—the very Legislature that gave fourteen thousand pot praying that slaveholding might cease on the blood sed soil of Bunker Hill and Lexington, leave

its servile knees before the statue of a slave-hunter. Helper, a Hedrick, or an Underwood, and aquivny, if Massachusetts believes that speech, and will, vile brood of tyrania? The blacks less service the brook of tyrania? as the tea of old, hurl that br as the tea of old, hur! that bronse, august alave-hu sr into Boston harbor, and lesp like a bloodhound the though a bloodhound

It is ready to vote for whoever is eligible, Ef on all pints at issoo he'll stay unintellig

His brain and conscience must be in his heels. Thus Lincoln represents nothing higher than the Douglas ides. He is only the 'little giant' 'extended'pieced out with the ostrich at one end and the ourang outang at the other. (Langhter.) A conundrum just now very current in Republican nurseries runs thus: Why is James Buchanan like a harp struck with lightning? Because he is a blasted lyre. (Great merriment.) You Republicans laugh at the apt and witty conceit; but what will save you from and animating spirit'; and as a corollary, added, the ridigule and contempt of abolition children, when, "Justice and liberty, no matter what becomes of the having carried out the infamous compromises you are | Constitution and the Union '-a sentiment upon which pledged to uphold, your party stands before the the Old Man Bloquent' will float further into the country and the world smitten by the thunderblast future than upon any other he ever ultered. But of divine wrath?

Our noble friend, Mr. Andrew, thinks the Aboli-

a request is a mortal insult to an American! I re- (Laughter.) I do not believe in it. Some little boys member the first speech I ever heard from Mr. Pills- in Boston, the other day, playing near a church, one bury made me mad, clear into my boots. (Laughter.) said to his fellows, 'I can jump higher than that He went through our little village like Socrates in church. 'Let us see you.' It had a very high stee-Athens, smiting the idols of the sects and the parties, and of course we would have given him hemlock, if we could have caught him. But a little reflection Let us see you. So the little fellow wanted some taught me that he was only old Jeremiah turned up six inches from the ground, exclaiming, 'I did.' Did. among the modern Jews. A little more than a year ch? 'Yes; for the church did not jump at all. ago he made a speech in New York that frightened (Great laughter.) So of the government-it is aneven the old Abulitionists, the 'very elect.' But twothirds of it is history already. His prophecy that the theatres would preach Anti-Slavery before the church- shackles of the slave. And let us make an issue es shocked even Mr. Phillips. But an analysis of the world's life shows that the redeemers of the race Andrew Governor, by-and-by. I hope so; it would Mr. Adams's and Mr. Sumner's letters furnish me a always come from the bulrushes and the mangersthat the 'voice in the wilderness' summons Jerusalem to repentance, and that 'Uncle Tom' will al- the moment—we have a right to ask that he will imways speak from the street and the market-place, from the boards of the theatre, before he can be heard from metropolitan pulpits. Channing says- As for human favor. I feel more and more that it must be ourselves to that petition with redoubled energy again given up. If I know Christianity, it is so at war with the present condition of society, that it cannot be spoken, or acted out, without giving great offence,' Again- Christian benevolence can speak in piercing and awful tones, and the deeply-moved soul will speak In Whittier's nervous, flery verse, -the poetry of so as to shake nations.' Milton says- When God chain-lightning commands to take the trump and blow a dolorous and jarring blast, it rests not in man's will what he shall declare or what he shall withhold.' If the future thanks the Abolitionists for anything, it will be that God gave them strength to look in the angry countenance of a compromising, huckstering age, and speak the truth. The backbone of human nature is too weak for reformers often to err on the side of severity. But who are these who wince under the strows of the abelition quiver; your Bankses, your Wilsons, and your Sewards? The very men who have ridden into the sunbeams of political favor on their denunciation of Webster, and who now have the impudence, to say nothing of its base wickedness, to offer a statue to the unfortunate statesman whom, to exalt themselves, they exhausted the English language to malign. And when they, with better pretensions, proceed to observe and enforce the same immoral and wicked compromises with tyrants that consigned their great prototype to infamy, what is left for the Abelitionist—the Abelitionist, the co-worker with God and the laws of nature—the Abolitionist, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, who knows no variableness or shadow of turning-the Abolitionist, who can no more connive with slavery than good with evil, than light with darkness, than Christ with Belial-what can he do but strip off this garb of hypocrisy, and say to the world, ' Behold Despotism in the garb of Freedom!' (Loud applause.) His crime is in judging men by their better selves.

> in 'appealing from Philip drunk to Philip sober.' love to think of Mr. Seward standing on Plymont Rock-when, from the mount of historic vision, in the clear blue of absolute truth, he exclaimed, 'All Of a century, bursts, full-blossomed, on the thorny stem of time.' (Loud applause.) open usurpations'; of Seward the historian, the immortalized Washington and Lafayatte in history, less, our disapprobation of the huckstering politician will be the measure of our admiration of the statesmanlike and philosophic historian. I do not like to the Courts and the Legislature; the eminent service great sinner that there is a God in Israel, and that Wm. Lloyd Garrison is his prophet-(great cheer-Brown meeting in Tremont Temple, last year, the Washington, and, like one of these trees, from the gentleman whom every free heart in Boston was glad occasion, said, 'Whether the enterprise of John Brown and his associates in Virginia is wise or foolish, plause.) Well, the newspapers say, that this same our day. I call upon Rev. Mr. Conwar, formerly of gentleman at Chicago, and in Paneuli Hall, has bestowed unmeasured commendation and eulogy upon political platform that denounces John Brown as the 'gravest of criminals,' and upon the presidential candidate standing thereon, who begot a Fugitive one as we begin life by expecting on every hand, but, Slave Bill, whose unprovoked and unconstitutional alas, as we get older, learn to celebrate as unusual atrocity even Senator Mason was not heartless enough and startling. The books of the realm of Faërie, the to copy, and who, if not the open defender, is at least legend of the Mystic Land of History, train in us an the persistent apologist of slavery in the District of ideal which would not be surprised to find on every Columbia, of the interstate slave trade, and of kid- highway a Dragon, in every rider a Prince George,napping by law in the Free States! Now, whatever on every rock an Andromeda, on every wind her Peroccusations of 'severity' may be filed against me, I seus. Why haven't the old fogies who have their cannot help loving the man who, without stint of bolts and bars on the Press, as elsewhere, prohibited to the Warren of the second American Revolu- bility of rescuing the oppressed, of buckling on artion, and, within sight of his scaffold, receives mor to confront oppressors? Can the doctrine of his widowed and orphanes family to his manly Heroism be safely taught? I heard once more told heart, and turning with sadness and dismay from the the other day, the fine old story of the Sleeping one who supports a great political party, pledged to Beauty in the Enchanted Palace. There she lay with consign to the halter all who in future shall imitate the terrible spell upon her; she stirred not, dreamed his sublime virtue and unexampled heroism. (Loud not; and her adherents were also locked in the pa-

thousand fugitives in Canada to run a genutlet of bloodhounds, bowie-knives and revolvers, braving the threat of the Union. (Applause.) Oh, no. The Beothburnts, bowie-knives and revolvers, braving Republican party does not mean to meddle with Sistery. As Mr. Greeley says, 'it nominates to win.'

Hoses Biglow's lines:—

Or those countless numbers who have perished in this perilous 'middle passage,' or are returning to the spectacle to angels and to men? Why, there is nore free blood in the little finger of a Margaret Garner or a Harriet Tubman, than could be wrung from the watery veins of all the oppressed or opp whites in the land. (Applause.)
The author of this letter also adds, that his 'fidel-

ity to the institution of government has been, is, and always will remain, unshaken ';—the government of which John Quincy Adams said, 'The prese propagation and perpetuation of slavery is the vital this refusal to break with organized despotism is only the old doctrine of putting new wine into old bottles; tionists severe, harshly unjust. But the most they of the Irishman's chimney, one brick held up and ever asked is that Americans should be consistent with another put under it (laughter); of the Greek in his their professed principles—though I allow that such tub, swearing by Jupiter he'll lift himself by the ears. ple-almost as tall as some trees out West, which it takes two men and a boy to see the top of. (Laughter.) chored; from its very nature it can't jump at all. Mr. Andrew must go higher, if he ever reaches the here at home. They say the people will make Mr. seem good to have a decent Governor once. (Applause.) And when he is inaugurated-God speed mortalize his administration by the utter and eternal prohibition of slave-hunting on our soil. (Loud applause.) But whether he is or not, we must address this year. Copies will be sent over the State in season for circulation. Let this curse be wiped out of the Bay State. It is not fit that the sons of Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill should bear the shame longer.

> Must we of Massachusetts from truth and duty turn We hunt their bondmen flying from slavery's baleful hell ? Our voices at their bidding take up the bloodhound's

> We gather, at their summons, above our fathers' graves, From Freedom's holy altar horns to tear their wretched

rell?

slaves? No slave-hunt in our borders, no pirate on our strand No fetters in the Bay State, no slave upon our land! And we must go further. This day lifts us above States and nations, and links us with universal humanity. We must make freedom national and worldwide. No man has a right to wear upon his brow the sacred word 'Liberty,' who does not ground the right and duty of revolting against oppression upon a higher plane of action than existing blood-stained compacts; who does not declare to the world that, under God, there is no master, no slave, no sex, no tribe, no nation; but, in Mazzini's noble maxim, * One humanity, one law, one love, from all and for all." It is said, a note sounded among the Alps echoes from peak to peak, and still re-echoes on forever. So one heart-beat like that we have felt from the free hills of

the coast of Japan; so-When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east

universe. Mathematicians will tell you that a peb-

to west;
And the slave, where ere he cowers, feels the soul To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime,

THE PRESIDENT. It is a singular fact, that from statesman, the philosopher; not of Seward the Pres- the period when the mind of man threw off the idential aspirant, pledging himself to abide by all shackles of superstition, the Roman intellect has the horrible compromises of this slaveholding govern- found such vast sources of interest and of power in ment. Why, the footsteps of Edward Everett have opening up all the material resources of nature, in been dogged, for thirty years, by the derisive scorn ploughing its pathless way across the ocean, in peoand pitying contempt of the North,-and his name pling continents, in building up mighty empires, that has become a by-word and hissing in every free heart, at length the intellect has become superior, in the esbecause he agreed to shoulder his musket and buckle timation of men, to the moral instincts, and the on his knapsack to put down insurgent slaves. And higher and more sublime teachings which belong to when we point to Seward in the Senate, swearing by our religious sentiments; so that to-day we stand the Republican party to 'crush out,' with the amongst a people who, of all men, boast of their reawhole power of the government, the same godlike up- son, of their intellectual capacity, of their material rising of the human soul against despotism that has means, of their ability to build up great empires and extend themselves over continents, with new forms we are accused here to-day of 'severity.' Neverthe- of government. In other words, we stand amongst a people who to-day have dethroned God, have overturned the moral Governor, and set up their own work, and declared, Voz populi, cox Dei. Yes, the be personal ;-you remember with gratitude Mr. popular will is our Pope, and according to the gene-Andrew's brave and able advocacy of this cause in ral idea, there is no God higher than the popular will asserts to be God. So, therefore, our popular God of he rendered in chopping off the judicial head of to-day is our government, our Union, our arrange-Judge Loring, (applause,) when he entered the arena ments, our pieces of parchment which we call Conof debate against Caleb Cushing, and taught that stitutions. Our Pope to-day is the Union; and, thank God! we have our Luthers, our Melancthons, our Zwingles, our Calvins, to deah that Pope into the ing)-but this letter reminds me of a little contrast, dust. One of these reformers, who is sufficient for which perhaps I should state here. At the first John the occasion, who could stand amid the darkness of dirt around him, grow straight up into the aunlight, to see in the chair on that memorable and historic to catch the inspiration of God, and stand erect as these trees, such an one we have with us to-day. and he is now about to address you; one who could right or wrong, I pause not here to inquire; but one stand there, almost alone, and denounce and arraign thing I know, that John Brown himself is right '-and this great crime of slavery, supported only by his you who were present remember how grandly that consciousness of right and duty. Well may he be Apollo in spectacles' looked when he said it. (Ap- classed among the Luthers, among the reformers, of

' SPEECH OF REV. M. D. CONWAY. The event which gives this day its lustre is such an noney or time strives to secure an impartial trial these formidable children's books which hint the noralysis of the evil spell. But after many had tried I have already floated too for into this meeting, but vainly to penetrate the thick hedges about her palace,

Washington, but now of Cincinnati.

rtal sculs! This is what Caribaldi is trying to do alumbering Sicily to-day. This is what John frown tried to do for the fair South. And so long as Hamsnity anywhere is locked in the deadly spel By the way, I attended a Garibaldi sympathy meet-ng the other evening. I was not only interested but

amused; the speakers were generally conservatives about America, but magnificent radicals about Italy. I could not keep out of my mind all the time the nection, who are those martyrs and heroes in the ungeons and on the souffolds of the Pope and the King of Naples? They are the John Browns of rn Europe. Garibaldi is a John Brown : his followers are traitors and rebels to their own governnt. Sicily is their Harper's Ferry. The praise pestowed on them, and the maledictions of Pius, Bomba & Co., reminded me of the story of the curate of an Episcopal Church, who had always been in the habit of praying against the Catholics; one day the High Church, even inclined to Romanism. The cura: in his prayer fell into the old formula: .O

Lord, we beseech thee to save us from the pernicious principles and perilous practices of the-the (a look at the Bishop)-Hottentots.' (Laughter.) I hope our method will be different, and that we will only go abroad in our sympathies, whether to Italian or Hottentot, to return with all that we have witnessed there transmuted into light and glow, for our own,

prospect of success which it undoubtedly has at pres-

My friends, how do we stand here and now before this task? Many good friends of the slave will at

ent. This Republican party is the child of Frank Pierce and James Buchanan-before their time it was not an organized party. I know that this claim has been disputed by some of the Abolitionists, who say that Garrison and Phillips are the parents of that party. I must think otherwise. The crimes which the Democratic party has perpetrated within the last eight years; its outrage upon all good faith, upon even rudimentary justice; and lately its violation even of that kind of honor supposed to exist among thievesthese have given the American people a faint glimpse of slavery's abyes: the Republican party is their instinctive recoil. For a while we expected much of this party; but lately it has developed a certain special sign-a bad sign-one that is the unmistakeable indication of advancing decay. It is corrupting its best men. This is always a terrible sign. Why, what is amongst a people? It is not that it can crucify freedom! life enough must ever remain in freedom to break the seal and roll away the stone of any sepulchre, and come forth triumphant. No weapon formed against freedom can prosper. We have already seen that Freedom had never made such immense strides as under the two Administrations hostile to her. What then is the evil? It is, that it rots great and nuble hearts to the core. It is, that all the manhood of Choate and Webster and Everett and Winthrop is dragged behind its chariot. Now observe this terrible tendency in the Republican party. We all know that the cause of Justice, the cause of God, will go on with or without it; but I say that if the Republican party were in power for three terms it could never repay us for the loss from the circle of the brave and tiue, of William H. Seward. Nothing they could do can repay their having wrung from the tongue on which the words 'irrepressible conflict' and 'higher law' had once burned as live coals from God's altar, the falsehood that John Brown was justly hung. Alas, alas! That was the noblest man in the Senate; long time the conserver of a pure statesmanship; with a great brow, and a thought true as steel sheathed New Hampshire, this morning, throbs through the ble, dropped in yonder lakelet, pulses the waters on when you embarked with it.

> the Puture) is so bad and timid. I at least can speak I think they are honest men. inquiry, but five where the slavery question is ignored. I think there are some things not sufficiently consid country there is going on another chaos and another Remond is here, who will follow me. He is here a away : essences are surviving. We are to have an anti-slavery community, an anti-slavery organization of events. I see no danger to Christianity, no more speakers, who for years, amid ill report and good re with the old wine, the new coming forth at the de- the slave. I honor them for it. I believe that wher mand of the ever-growing vineyard of God. And Wm. Lloyd Garrison is brought to his last account what are the signs of this new American Christianity? future ages, into far distant times, will never dig out They are, that it will be a Gospel of Labor, a King-marble white enough to bear his name, or record his dom of Use. Christianity must lay saide that old glory. (Loud cheers.) But I do not believe that speculative costume which was given her at Nice, or William Lloyd Garrison, or Wendell Phillips, or all Constantinuple, or Geneva. It won't prove comfortathose gentlemen, much as I respect them, I do not ble in such weather as she is to have here. But there believe that they exhaust the anti-slavery of this nais preparing for her a great seamless vesture, on this tion or the world. I believe that there are men who for warp our magnificent lakes, and prairies broaden- sentiment, who just as truly-perhaps not as greatly, ing to the sunset, and rivers which never weary of perhaps not as heroically, perhaps not as thoroughly, their munificence; and every steamer that floats on as the result may prove, but who are just as truly and them, every engine that bounds over them, every tel- honestly anti-slavery as they are. All I ask of them egraphic flash, is a shuttle bearing some thread to is, all I ask of my anti-slavery friends is, that upon that warp; and forever they weave the white raiment occasions like this, they shall admit that, with reof the carpenter's son (applause)—the Gospel of gard to those who differ from them. I do not find Work. First of all, it will redeem the laborer from that they do. all degradations, be he black or white. It will carry now, here is the great anti-slavery cause,—a cause public justice and morality on to a pitch equal to with which thousands who are not known as within that of steam and electricity. This is announced by it sympathize with as fully as those who are known all the trumpets of the earth and sky; and happy are they who are ready to scatter their palm-branches in the path of him who loveth to fulfil every high eminently practical in every thing. Give them an

Shortly after two o'clock. called to order, and H. Forn observed, of Chicago, was introduced. His excel-nt speech, with those of Hon. N. H. Whiting, of Marabifold, and Wm. Wells Brown, will be given next

SPERCH OF HON. CHARLES G. DAVIS.

I have been invited by the Committee of Arran ments for this celebration to say a few words to you this afternoon; and I assure you that, so far as I shall be able to express anything, those words shall be few.

I came here, ladies and gentlemen, to join with all he they Abolitioniats, Liberty-Party men. Free-Soil men. Republicans, or any men but dead men, to cel ebrate the great life-set of this century, the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies; and I came here to draw with you, and in common with all, from the contemplation of that event, such lessons, such experience, for the future, as might aid us all in bringing on that good time, which, sconer or later, be it in this century or the next, or the next, shall surely come, of universal emancipation-not in this country Bishop visited this church, one who was exceedingly slone, but in all countries—when man every where shall be freed from the bondage of his fellow-man Coming here with these sentiments, ladies and gentlemen, I supposed it was the desire and expectation of those who invited those of us who do not agree fully with what are called the anti-slavery men in this assembly, that we should not withhold our sentiments any more than they should withhold theirs; and therefore if, in the course of my remarks, I shall say any thing that does not agree with the sentiments of the speakers who have preceded me, I know that, coming upon this platform, they are open to comment. In fact, I might almost say, ladies and gentlemen, once point to the Republican party, and rejoice in the that I have sometimes been tempted to think that it was the desire of the so-called Garrisonian Abolitionists to act, in regard to those of their friends who differ from them in sentiment, the part of the spider in the old fable of 'The Spider and the Fly :

· Will you walk into my parlor,

Fays the spider to the fly; in order that any expression of disagreement as to the mode of operating against the great curse of this country may be freely criticised upon their part. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I for one do not object to that course, but I cannot rise for the first time before an anti-slavery audience, without putting in, as I hope I always shall, my protest-let it go, gentlemen, for what it is worth-against that extreme freedom as I deem it, that libertinism, as I should call it, of sperch, which comments, not alone upon the measures, the modus operands, which is advocated by other the chief evil that slavery itself has done or can do men, but stamps the man and his motives with crime and dishonesty. (Applause.) I have investigated this question, so far as it is a question, for years, and I cannot be made to believe that any cause has been or ever will be promoted by such freedom of criti-Now, ladies and gentlemen, what should we say

was the great lesson of this hour? It seems to me that if we are to learn any thing from the results of West India emancipation, we are to learn this : to believe in the union of all men who agree in a common motive and in a common principle. How was West India emancipation brought about? It was brought about by legislation. Who brought it about? Were they men who said the first step to bring it about shall be the destruction and annihilation of the Constitution of Great Britain? No; they were men who differed in opinion as to the modus operandi, but who united at last in that most beneficent act of legislation by which eight hundred thousand of their fellow-beings, who, as the sun fell upon them at its setting were slaves, when it dawned again upon them were freemen. (Applause.) But now, ladies and gentlemen, what do we hear to-day? When I reached this platform, I heard a gentleman whom I very in it. Lost thus! Oh, that I could weep rather over much respect-and what distinguished man in the his grave by some brave one in Florence, or his scaf- anti-slavery cause is there whom we do not all refold in Virginia. And he is not the only one who spect?-assail first the principles and policy of Mr. has been tainted by that party. Who can feel that Seward, then of Mr. Beecher, then of Mr. Andrew, the brave old socialist and outright warrior for free- and then of other distinguished gentlemen, who difdom, Horace Greeley, is now as he once was ? Well, fer from him upon questions connected with the mo-I might add others, but will not. Only a wise man dus operands in regard to the abolition of slavery. will see this sign and take care that he doesn't go Now, I wish to put this question to this assembly, next. Two old rate swam away from sahip at sea, whether, with reference to the lesson we are learning whose provisions were rather short, and as they swam to-day, it should not be our desire to bring the one asked the other why he had left. The reply was whole country upon the simple sentiment (if I may that all the cheese had given out. But why did you so express it) of opposition to slavery? Why comleave? Why, replied the other, that cook took all ment in terms like this, that the man who can enmy cousins for a veal-pie, and I was pretty sure he'd tertain certain sentiments, such as are expressed in a catch me next. (Laughter.) Moral: when any par- certain passage in Mr. Andrew's letter, is not to be ty has started on a voyage, and has no other aim than trusted in the long run? Why comment upon men that of reaching port, it will, in emergencies, catch in discussing measures? Is there a man or woman you up for many services that you did not anticipate here, with the sentiment or idea of anti-slavery in their breasts, who does not know that if the people I am confident that some new and higher modifica- of the North were as much imbued with anti-slavery tion of anti-slavery philosophy and action than any as William H. Seward, the breath of Freedom would which has yet arisen, is to come forth and lead be- blow away slavery in a year? (Applause.) Is there yond this Republican party. And here let me say, a man or woman here who does not know that if we that the only thing about these anti-slavery gather- were as much anti-slavery in sentiment-however ings which I am disposed to criticise, is the gloomy much we might differ in regard to measures, however view too often taken of the state of things. When I much we might differ about the American Tract Sohear a speaker deploring that the Church does this ciety, or any religious notion—is there a man here and the State that, I wonder that he does not see a who does not believe that if the whole North were as face that is just over him trying to catch his eye one good anti-slavery men as Henry Ward Beecher, slathat would say, 'Be not deceived by these their dis- very would die? Is there a man here who does not guises. The people do not love oppression nor lies, believe that if all the North were willing to work as their hearts are yearning for liberty. These vile hard and sacrifice as much, and do as much, as measures and men they go for, because some smooth Horace Greeley, that slavery would die in an hour tongue has gilded them with truth's guise; but they [Voices- No, - I dont, - Yes.'] Well, ladies will soon find out the deception, and their retribution and gentlemen, there are some here who differ from will be swift and terrible." Why, I don't think the me in opinion. I shall not call them names; I don't Church out West (and that is to be the Church of believe they are not anti-slavery men. (Applause.)

for the liberal churches, and assure you that, out of Now, I wish to say one word to those who are between thirty and forty of these, I have found, on anti-slavery persons proper in regard to this matter But my special point is, that it is evident that in this ered. And here I will remind you that my friend creation, in the religious world. Forms are passing the spider, and I am the fly. (Laughter.) Here is an American Religion : such is the unanswerable 'logic in these Northern States. Here are the anti-slavery than to the granite stratum underlying the upper port, amid storm and sunshine, over mountain and crust of the earth; but I see that theology must be valley, over hill and river, across the ocean, every perpetually changing—the old bottles passing away where, have devoted themselves solely to the cause of atinent. For its weaving, God has stretched out differ from them, I might almost say, heaven-wide in

hope and noble prophecy. [Loud applause,] idea, they put it into a new machine; give them a

At the conclusion of Mr. Conway's speech, an sentiment, they express it in new language; give them I wish to call attention to one or two other points in this remarkable letter, without, however, calarging upon them. It says the processed whites of the South have a keener sense of their wrongs than the blacks. It says the processed whites of the south have a keener sense of their wrongs than the blacks. If so, in an almost infinite majority, with the laws on the south of the south have a keener sense of their wrongs than the blacks. If so, in an almost infinite majority, with the laws on the south of the

amount of good, the creator, as I believe, of anti-invery in the North, the originator of the anti-slavery party which it condemna, the originator of every ining anti-slavery sentiment in the country, which is ing anni-states, condemns as it buds, and will only acknowledge when condemns as it could be great association of gentlems. who have never suggested any practical act with the who have never took. Let me say here, ladies an gentlemen, for fear of being misunderstood, that [gentlemen, for that this Society has done rait god. I think we could not do without these gent I think that what they have done, all they havedone and all they can do is to bring out and encourage the anti-Mavery continuent of the nation, and eres of the world. They have done it. Should Wendell Phy. lips change his course to morrow, should Wm. Llord Garrison be struck with the frenzy of a Breckenides. the words they have spoken, the principles they ber adhered to, would live, not to influence this general tion glone, but to actuate many generations of our fellow-men in centuries to come. Their work a to convert us all to the anti-slavery sentiment, and is that principle be as radical as it may, I care not : but it seems to me that they ought to remember the there are others who think, as the sentiment was r. pressed by my friend who just sat down, that they should make use of the scenery and pictures of the stage on which they are placed; that there are other who are inclined to act. Now, we all know, that whenever any of us have met together, under our common sentiment, the moment we began to art, to put it in force, we differed in opinion; and therefore it seems to me that our friends who are so accustoned to criticise, and criticise so sharply, those who thisk it not inconsistent with duty to vote at the heliothor. should remember the differences and difficulties tader which-those labor who, in any way, undertake to pot any great idea into action.

I told you, ladies and gentlemen, that I had but very few words to say, and what I did have to say, I wished to express frankly, without any circumlers. tion whatsoever, just as the idea lay in my mind, and I trust I have done it.

The remark was made by Mr. Seward, in Plymouth, a few years ago, in a conversation which I had with him-which I suppose it will not be improper to n. peat—that he had no fault to find with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrison, none whatever; that he believed he had his sphere and they had their sphere; and his sphere, as he believed, was that of a statemen, and theirs was that of radical reformers. He had no quarrel with them, and all that he asked was that they should let him alone. Now, I do not claim that they should let him, or any other public man, alone; but I do claim this-that if William H. Seward is an honest anti-slavery man, we ought to have the charity not to condemn his motives with his act, or stamp him as a knave, a compromiser, or traitor, I say that there is such a thing as charity in judging men, and we ought to exercise it. I do not mean to say that Wm. H. Seward may not have been a traitor: I am not setting myself up to condemn him or to praise him; I do not say he may not be any thing they choose to call him; but I do say that he may honestly believe that he can do more good as a statesman, and that if he can, by any means that he deems not dishonest, become President of the United States, we ought to give him credit for it, if he believes that he can, in that position, advance the anti-slavery cause materially in this nation. And so with regard to all the rest of us.

Now, how is it? Here is the great Republican party, as it is called. I do not care to defend the Republican party, by any means; I do not think all its positions are by any means defensible; but I say this, that practically, the cause of anti-slavery in this country, for the time being, depends upon a political party. That political party is now termed the Republican party; and I say that if any party, even a party failing to be anti-slavery, but holding itself out to the South as anti-slavery, can, in a contest with the South, obtain the reins of government in this country, it is a great step towards the abolition of slavery, and I think what these very gentlemen say in privatethough they do not often say it on the platformmust be true, that there are no men among them who would rejoice more over a Republican victory than those who come upon this platform and argue that the Republican party is worse than the Democratic party. (Applause.) And why is it so, ladies and gentlemen? It is because it cannot be helped. It is be cause they know that there is more anti-slavery sentiment (whether it is such a pure sentiment as they agree with or not) in one party than in another, and they must rejoice when there is a Republican victory. Do we not all feel that any national Republican victory, any victory whatsoever, in which the South may be beaten by the North, in any issue involving the question of slavery or anta-slavery, would emancipate eight hundred thousand voters, at least, at the South? Do we not all know that in four years, or at most, in eight years, there would be as much free dom of discussion in Virginia as there is now in the State of Missouri?

I said that I would be brief. I thank you for listening to me so attentively as you have in the fer blunt words I have presented, and will now take my

SPEECH OF CHARLES L. REMOND.

CHAS. LENOX REMOND, of Salem, then took the platform, and after a few preliminary remarks, in the course of which he said that the time allotted to him was too short to enable him to refer to all the points raised by Mr. Davis, further than to say that h agreed with the minority of them, but disagreed with the majority, he continued as follows :-

I know, sir, that I not only stand in the presence of negro-haters this afternoon, in old Plymouth county, but I stand before slaveholders; and if you were not mean, and base, and cowardly, the slaveholder does not breathe who would dare to come into your presence. And this is the reason why we are here to day; not to pride ourselves on emancipation in the West India Islands, not to speak of the intellect and the genius of the black man there, but to speak of that retrogression which may be seen in the sons of New England, as compared with those who did battle for American liberty and independence. And I wish to state here, also, in the outset, in reference to the fact, that a man originating in this community, goes down to the State of South Carolina, and there ecomes a slaveholder, and then returns to the place of his nativity, and to the hearthstones of his assetates, and is recognized as a gentleman in their midst, -I wish to state, in view of this fact, that I have praises to bestow upon the South Carolina slave holder, while I look with loathing upon those men of Abington who can recognize the renegade from their own community who becomes a slaveholder. (Applause and hissing.) Sir, I hear a hiss, and I sup pose it comes from some friend of the slaveholder to whom I have referred. If he sympathizes with him, and thinks he would like to become a slaveholder in South Carolina, would to God that he could purchase the humble individual who is speaking upon this platform, and I would give him to understand that I believed the American Revolution meant somethir; (applause;) and if he was not a better man than I was, I would, in the language of Andrew T. Fost see daylight through his cowardly body. (Loud theers, and cries of 'Good.')

I have to say one word in reply to our friend, Mr. Davis, who calls upon those who occupy this platform to exercise their charity towards those who, with an anti-slavery name, differ from us in our measures. Sir, I can only know an anti-slavery man by his act, at the present moment, by the demonstration of his moral herolem; and I find people in this very sudience who feel that Mr. Dallas was just and manly in his feelings when he felt himself to be insulted by the announcement of Lord Brougham that there was serro present, and an equal, in the convention in

thich he was sitting. Yes, American negrocrats and ich he was strang. The with Mr. Dallas, but they py no insult in the fact that George M. Dallar

bet the impudence and hardihood to introduce Mr. wiles, a New York editor, to the Queen, whe sed the Atlantic for no other purpose than to re-

and the recent bull-fight, in human form, between

Heenin and Sayers. There was no insult to the queen when Mr. Dallas introduced that character,

plexion, in view of the baseness of the pale faces of

do we see! Dr. Delany, although a black man, is an

do we see

out the West and the East; and, sir, he was in Engand upon an errand that ought to have put to shame

George M. Dallas. The fact that his rights are not

recognized in full in this country, that his children

eansot be educated here, is the reason why he was

there. I recognize the Hon. Wm. H. Seward as a

reutleman and a statesman, after American parlance;

and that he is so, is his condemnation, in the sentiment of the black man. What does Mr. Seward save

That he owes his first obligation to the Constitution and to the American Union." What does he say

further? That John Brown 'deserved his fate.' What

do you, true Abolitionists, say in regard to that mat-

ter And yet, we must exercise charity towards

ha! There was a time when no man was more elo-

quent in defence of a supposed culprit than Mr.

Sward, and he showed his manhood on that occasion.

He effort in behalf of James Freeman was very well;

I am willing to respect him for that act. But when

I se him getting down upon his knees, and allowing

home if to be ridden goose-back by the slaveholders,

that he may receive the nomination for the Presi-

dency, I must, with every other black man, condemn

him, notwithstanding his past virtuous acts. For how

do we stand? If I go to Washington, where shall I

and the Northern Senators and Representatives in

that city standing? I am glad, in view of the ap-

prosching election; I am glad of the crisis to which

reference has been made; and this is why I am glad.

It the slaveholders shall carry out their threats,

shall say, God speed the triumph of the Republican

party; but if they shall not, then I am among that

number to whom my friend Davis referred when he

and that we believed the Republican to be the worst

of the three parties, or more, and yet glory in their

in cest. It was a misrepresentation ;-I do not say it

was intentional. Stephen S. Foster and two or three

cars have made the declaration to which he has

certed, but he has never heard Mr. Foster triumsph

of orer Republican successes. This was a misrep-

but to return by Washington. Mr. Davis tellions

wide. Now, in Washington, the Garrisonians are

prognized, not so he would recognize them, but as

surcholders almost always recognize them. I want

that same work to be done all over our common

country; for while I do not shrink from the thought

of an imitation, on the part of the slaves, of revolu-

bousts. I know the influence that can be exerted by

ce opposite opinion. I differ from Mr. Quincy and

lames Freeman Clarke, who look upon every effort of

the black man to secure his freedom by force as a great

motake. I believe that every such effort made by

the black man has done more than words can express

but be that as it may, I long for the time when our

spared the trouble of coming to this platform to make

mong the black men by the positions they assume.

offices to be considered among us, it is, what consti-

the doctrine at which some of you hissed to-day.

Abolitionist, as the world goes-what Mr. Garrison

calls, 'a certain kind of Abolitionist.' That is a very

this platform and say, that that which is law and con-

satution for me, that which is Union for me, shall

be law and constitution and Union for him?-that

that which is government for me shall be government

for him? If he is not prepared to take that ground,

then I am here to criticize him, and criticize him

'uncharitably.' I say, before God and the world,

that my rights are as good as his, here or anywhere

ese; and so long as I shall live, I will insist upon ex-

ercising the same rights that he shall assert and exer-

ese, though I be black as murky night, and he be

Mr. Davis. I think I deserve a vote of thanks, for

the best anti-slavery speech that has been made here

biday. (Laughter and applause.) In response to

the questions Mr. Remond has put me. I say, heartily.

Yes, always yes, to every one of them. And this I

will say, in addition; we have no Union now; I

want a Union ; and there is where I think we Repub-

Mr. Davis's voice here failed him, and after one or

two meffectual efforts to speak, he found it impossi-

Mr. REMOND. I have only one further remark to

make. Reterence was made by my friend Davis to

the criticisms upon the letter of Mr. Andrew. I am

sorry that any thing should come to my ears to-day,

reference to that gentleman, so well calculated to

affect the regard which I have all along entertained

for him; but I wish to say here, that if Mr. Andrew

represented himself in the letter which has been rend

here, I can no longer recognize him as an Abolitionist,

her any other man who shall apologize, directly or

indirectly, for this Government and Union, and for

savery, by talking about the large sensibility of the

Anglo-Saxon, and the small sensibility of the colored

man,-implying that yokes, and whips, and chains,

and thumb-screws, and gags, disturb us but little,

while they might keenly afflict a white man. In

find's name, I ask, does not that water drown a black

man as readily as a white man? Does not fire con-

tume him just as quickly? May he not be frozen

ty the same degree of coldness? And yet a man a

enlightened as Mr. Andrew talks about want of sen-

white man would! What mean, then, these affec-

for his freedom, was wanting in sensibility? Was

Madison Washington wanting in sensibility, when,

upon the deck of the Creole, he said to his few com-

rades that the moment had come for them to act, and

at the cost of their lives they did it ? Was Margaret

Garner wanting in sensibility, as a mother, when,

tacher than see her own daughter violated, she pre-

ferred to take her life? Colored men wanting in sen-

sibility! Gracious God! The black man of this

country, unlike that philosopher who was made to

drink hemlock one instant, and died the next, is

drinking hemlock from his cradle to his grave; and

yet you talk about his being wanting in sensibility I

I had supposed that John A. Andrew's interviews

done a better work than this for him; but if these

are the fruits of anti-slavery labor in Massachusetts,

if these are the fruits of the preaching of the Garri-

onians, then God hasten on the day when another

class of men shall be raised up, who may be better

with colored men and colored women in Boston, had

white as alabaster. (Loud applause.)

beans differ from the Abolitionists.

be to proceed, and took his sent.

of

resention, and I wished to correct it here.

s great insult was offered to the American nation, in the person of its representative, when Lord Brougham announced the presence of Martin R. Dehougham and the Statistical Congress | Now, Mr. Presiiny in the control of the complexion, but I some-dent, I have no pride in my complexion, but I some-times think that I ought to pride myself in my com-

Murfreesbore', Tennessee.

Madam—I would state, that some time last spring "MADAM—I would state, that some time last spring I found my main made or. I concluded to purchase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer, '&c., and give it a trial. I commenced using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irregularity, I found that its influence was distinctly visible, the palegned or or main coarses, and my locks, which before were quite guar, were changed to ble, THE FALLING OFF OF HATE CRASH, and my locks, which before were quite cally, were character is started by allace. 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 capable of accomplishing what it purports to do, viz., FRE-YENT THE HAIR FROM FALLING OFF, and to MESTORE GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR."

nave been using arts. S. A. Allen 2 yoursermum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles mahufactured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recommending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK,

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

Mass.

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 Zylobaleffect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bald nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has re-gained 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 the evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its

. 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 BE-COME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANT-LY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We are thankful to you, and feel that we have full val-GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOB, Prescot, Lancashire,

having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hai was restored to its natural color 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.

HAVTI. to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. Y.

island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealth y condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mes. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,"—'I have derived

Brooklyn.

Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyterian Wit-

pleased to insert adversisement, &c. face to a f

Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Ed-ucation R. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y., and New Baltimore, Greene county, N. Y.

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. Dulch 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 advertisement, in restoring the color and incres growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully rec-

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattaburg, N. Y.

Rev. M. C. KLING, Lewistonen, 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.

NSIST on having these:

These are the only preparations exported in any

SOLD BY SYMMY DRUG AND PANCY GOODS DEALER. Oct lye op

calculated to convert such men! If John A. Andrew But it could not fail to be remarked, as another cheeris a true representative of the anti-alsvery of Massachusetts, I am not of him, and do not wish to be of
cause, that whereas these men (with a few others, abmen and things as I am now at liberty to view them, will I believe that slavery will be seen in this country twenty-five years from to-day. I do not say that it will go down as we may wish it to go down, but it will go down as we may wish it to go down, but it will go down; and if anti-slavery does not destroy it, sure I am that pro-slavery will. In the language of Byron I say, may all the curses of life be on the inthis country. (Laughter and applause.) For what tank when a voice shall be compelled to go out from New Ragland that shall put a stop to it; but neve will it be while such men as Stephen A. Douglas are recognized and honored in Cambridge and Boston, and such men as our friend Henry Ford Douglass are

distranchised in Ohio. I will not say more, but simply express the hope, that these who are present here to-day, who wish to do something * practical, in which friend Davis seems to think this Society has been delicient, though it say, I hope those who desire to do something * practi- sions) is a thoroughly Anti-Slavery body; its organ cal, will sign the petitions for the adoption of a Per-Democrats, certainly not of Christians. We shall recognize the fact either that the American Church deserve no other name but that of a nation of op. is the great bulwark of slavery, or that the Southe pressors, liars and hypocrites, so long as a slave can be taken from our borders, or a slaveholder can walk upon our soil. (Loud applause.)

REMARKS OF HON. F. W. BIRD.

The President then said that Hon. Francis W Bird, of Walpole, was in the audience, and that the desire had been expressed by several persons to heat from him. He hoped, therefore, that Mr. Bird would take the platform, and say at least a few words.

In response to this invitation, Mr. Bird briefly addressed the assembly. He said :-

I do not know, Mr. President, what friend or eneto exhibit a specimen of a Republican who is also an have always done. It is only their position towards

A Voice-A rara avis.

Mr. Bind-Not so rare as I think some of our friends seem disposed to assume; rarer, I admit, than I wish they were. I am one of that class; and that we are doing worthing, and yet he says he would to find that our softwence could be spread far and anti-slavery localities, to get votes for the Whig such speeches, and humiliate every would-be freeman If there is one thing more than another that retutes an Abolitionist. My friend Heywood expressed publican party goes into power, we find ourselves st this morning-not that I care the snap of my finger whistled down the wind, as the Whigs did who anabout smalgamation; but, in the light of principle, you would be free yourselves, you must recognize did-to do the next best thing. Now, I recognize my friend Davis as a very good

friend (Mr. Davis), in regard to the criticisms which publican party does not claim to be an anti-slavery other anti-slavery ministers in that State. It says:party -that should be said, in all honesty; and the Republican who entertains the idea that in belonging and political relations of slavery exists at I am willing to say, that the only good thing I expect from the Republican party, if it should be sucdomain of national politica. The Republican party, I take it, may be regarded as unanimous upon that, of opinion in the South. as wholly opposed to the extension of slavery. I don't care what the Chicago Convention said about the Republicans not meaning to interfere with slavery in the States. It was none of their business. The the extension of slavery into the territories; but what they say they do not propose to do is of no account at all. The Republicans of that year will take care of 1864. We go into the fight this year to oppose the extension of slavery, and, I take it, there is not a member of the party who will not sustain the Administration, and putting the whole power of the Federal Government in opposition to such extension. I think it is a small matter-little more than an abstraction : but the influence of the Federal Government on the side of freedom in the Territories for four years practically settles that matter. But, what next? Our Republican friends say- Nothing. We don't mean to meddle with slavery in the States; constitutional, to meddle with slavery in the District of Columbia, or with the slave trade between the States. There is nothing to be done.' Who believes that the anti-slavery sentiment of the free States, in 1864, after the question of slavery in the territories is settled, will find nothing to do? I am willing, as a shifty on the part of the colored man, and declares Republican to leave that question open, and, when that he cannot realize his condition in slavery as the the time comes, trust to the instincts of the people to settle it right. At any rate, whatever the white man tional demonstrations on the part of the slave? Will does, or does not, I am willing to leave the question he tell me that the young man who came from the with the slaves themselves. South on the shaft of a steamboat, in dead winter,

I appear here to-day, not because I expect to do you, or anybody, any good, but because I expect to get some good for myself. I find that the radicalism of the extreme wing of the Republican party is necessary, and even that such men are in danger of becoming popular; and I find that whenever this danger becomes imminent, all they need to do is to go to a Garrisonian meeting, and the danger is averted at once. (Laughter and applause.)

A hymn was then sung, and the meeting (the time for the departure of the cars having nearly arrived) and of ignoring, not only the fact of their leading adjourned.

Those who celebrate the First of August at Abington have been accustomed, for many years, to be cheered by the sight and hearing of Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd, Garrison, and Samuel May, Jr., on the platform. Various circumstances had prevented all of them from attending on this occasion Of course, all regretted their absence, and many spoke of them with grateful and affectionate interest. dressed.

The Liberator. NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, AUGUST 10, 1860. LIMITATIONS OF CHURCH ANTI-SLA-

The American Missionary Association (estabseems to me that every petition and resolution we lished by men who despaired of the reform of the have ever offered meant something 'practical.'—I American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missonal Liberty Bill by the next Legislature of our active testimony against our country's great sin; and State, that shall make the soil of Massachusetts as yet its concern for the credit of the church is so free, at leasts as the soil of Canada. Not until we do strong, its alliance with the church exerts upon it this shall we deserve the name of Republicans or such a restraining influence, that it cannot bear to Church is as actively and heartily engaged in the support of that sin as the slave-trader, foreign or domestic, himself. It says, in its August number- The evidences are accumulating that the mass of the Southern churches are drifting toward the unconditional support of slavery as it is.

Instead of drifting towards the support of slavery, the Southern churches are, and have been for the last fifty years, anchored and fortified in the actual and efficient support of it. The evidence, to be sure, is accumulating; but at no time for the last fifty years has it fallen short of absolute demonstration. The position of the Southern churches towards slavery remains precisely where it has been throughout the my of mine has been the means of bringing me bere, lives of all of us, as shown by its practice. They and I hardly know what I am brought here for, unless, buy, sell, hold, flog and breed slaves, exactly as they hypocrisy to impudence.

At first, when remonstrated with respecting slavery, they said- We see, feel, and lament the great evils connected with it; we trust that God, in his own believe me. Mr. President, we answer a very useful good time, will open to us a way of escape from it; purpose in the Republican organization. I remem-4 but in the mean time, we find it entailed upon us, and ber that, twelve or sixteen years ago, the same class | we cannot get rid of it.' Of course they lied when of men answered a very useful purpose in the Whig they said these things, for, had they been honest in party. The Whig national party had aspirations sim - saying them, thirty years ago, they would have apilar to those of the Republican national party of the plied themselves to the forming of some plan for the present day. They were especially afraid of being removal of these 'evils.' They never even attempted regarded as sectional, and at the same time, they this; never formed any plan; never commenced any efforts ! They told these lies because that seemed the slavery than they did about gesting into the custom- readiest way to quiet their Northern brethren, and souse, and therefore the names of the most radical thus to escape from the demand made upon them. anti-slavery men were constantly used, in radical And this plan was, for a long course of years, successful. So far as the objectors to slavery were members party. Well, that was a good purpose, Mr. Presi- of the Northern churches, they were quieted. But dent. It was very desirable that the Whig party the Anti-Slavery people outside the church continued should carry a given election against that terribly their agitation, which, extending by degrees to all wicked pro-slavery Democratic party. Well, my the departments of business, enterprise and action in friends, allow me to say that, in the judgment of our the country, compelled these hypocritical Southern national friends at Washington, it is equally desira- church-members to take new ground. It became ble now that the Republican party should carry the necessary, if they would retain, extend and perpetuate election against these various pro-slavery parties, and slavery, to act in defence of it. And then the clergy therefore they need all the anti-slavery capital they and the churches dropped their deceptive cant about can get; and therefore it is that Republican Aboli- regret, and unfortunate necessity, and boldly declared tionists answer a very useful purpose in the Republi- that slavery was good, and not evil, and that they can organization ; and if, by and by, when the Re- were determined to maintain it. Audacity now serves their purpose better than hypocrisy.

Yet, even the enormous impudence shown in this swered the same purpose a dozen years ago, all we last position does not suffice to remove the scales from have got to do is to do what the Whigs of that day eyes blinded by the church. The feeble utterance of the American Missionary, quoted above, is given ex-Now, as a Republican, I must say that I have none pressly in view of the following perspicuous and thorof the sensitiveness of my friend, my very excellent ough-going declaration of the North Carolina Presbyterian, and organ of the Old School Presbyterian are constantly uttered by our friends the radical ab- | Church, the editor of which was the pioneer mover olitionists. They are just what we want. The Re- in the persecutions of Rev. Daniel Worth, and of

· Whilst a diversity of views concerning the moral to the Republican party, he belongs to an anti-slave- | and is patent to the most careless observer, there is ry party, simply deceives himself, that's all. I think unity of sentiment at the South which is as hopeful that, as a Republican, I may be doing anti-slavery divided on every other subject, social, moral, and powork; you may think otherwise, or you may say it litical, on slavery it is a unit. That slaveholding is the very lowest form of anti-slavery work; still it both right and righteous, justifiable in the sight of is, with me, a step that is to be taken, and I confess, man and God; that the relation of master and slave s neither sinful nor unnatural; that the system was designed for good, and has resulted in untold and in conceivable blessings to the negro race; that it is the cessful in the next election, is this -that it will take duty of our people to pass and execute laws for the the question of slavery in the territories out of the protection of their property, the maintenance of their the question of slavery in the territories out of the institutions, and the punishment of intermeddlers and incendiaries; on all these points there is no division

·Our citizens are prepared, as with the heart and hand of one man, to assert and defend these princi-ples in the halls of legislation, at the polls, and with arms, if need bo, against invaders of their homes. They do not ask or expect the North to be pro-slave-Convention at Chicago did not make the platform for ry, to introduce the system on their boasted "free the Republican party of 1864. They had a right to lished by law. They merely insist that they shall be say what they proposed to do, and it was, to oppose let alone, and allowed to live in peace and security. This is what the American Missionary calls 'drift-

ing towards the unconditional support of slavery as

So thoroughly has the popular religion of this country become corrupted by the pro-slavery spirit, that, even after its professors have been converted to anti-slavery, and been brought to realize the enormous guilt and the enormous evil of making merchandize of human beings, after they have fully understood the wickedness of slaveholding and slave-trading when carried on by unregenerate men, they involuntarily and unconsciously form a more lenient judgment of it when pursued by ministers and churchmembers; and they seem positively unable to underwe don't think it is quite fair, although it may be stand that the practice of this sin is incompatible with the Christian state.

The use of the word Christian has brought to mind the explanation-at least a partial explanation-of this strange delusion; for this word also has been so perverted as to bear a popular signification almost entirely different from its original one. A churchmember is called a Christian, even if his life shows's habitual violation of all the rules of living given by Christ; though he lives upon robbery, breathes deceit, practises cruelty and violence in his daily occupation, and makes active exertions to uphold the sum of all villanies, if he has, at some time in his life, become a member of a church, its other members thenceforth think and speak of him as a Christian; and its anti-slavery members stultify themselves by continuing to give him the Christian name, in defiance of the restimony of a life openly devoted to the world, the flesh and the devil. Nay, so strong is their aversion to losing, from the ranks of the church, any of those who have 'a name to live' in it, that they insist on holding them by this slender thread, vicious lives, but their own expression of a determination to persist in them, as the evidence of their utter unworthiness to be ranked as Christians, - c. x. w.

that the wrongs of women should be redressed, but volunteers the opinion that the women themselves also, now-a-days, might advantageously be re-

diana, an account, by its Editor, of a meeting be attended, at which Blder Solomon McKinney gave an ecount of his expulsion from Texas, and the reasons

against slavery. He had however attempted to coldrew up a statement that the charge was false, and holding country, are often speedily executed, and the North. They were speedily overtaken, robbed of all their money, and put in jail in the county town for the night. Early the next morning they were taken out by a party led by a Dr. Pryor- who was more a Doctor of a whiskey-barrel than of anything else'upon each of these old men, cutting their shirts into ribbons, and marking their backs with gashes from five to six inches long. This happened on the 25th anti-slavery that is changed, and the change is from of last August. The Editor of the Journal says, in closing-

> The cause of his whipping and expulsion was simply this; Sprowel, in order to get clear of the debt, raised the cry of abolition against him. Blunt incurred their displeasure because he defended Mo-Kinney—and all that was necessary to warrant them brutally treating them, was to socuse them of entertaining opinions adverse to the institution of slavery. If slavery is not responsible for these outrages against the liberty of opinion and of speech, how does come that these scenes of violence occur only where slavery exists?"

Such is one of the incidents which is expressly referred to as the origin of the present Texas fright. When we remember that much of the 'testimony said to be elicited comes from slaves under the lash, and that a slave, once suspected, is flogged until he accuses some one else, it is obvious that the details are as unworthy of credit as the sum total .- c. K. W.

KIDNAPPING IN MINNESOTA.

Letters from our faithful friends Lewis Fords and S. H. King of Minnespolis communicate the following

Mrs. Prince, a Southern lady who intended to spend e summer at St. Paul, brought with her Henry Sparks, a slave. He chose to claim his liberty, acording to the laws of Minnesota, and left her. But trusted too much to the protection afforded by those laws, and did not remove far enough for his own safety; for, only a few days afterwards, he was seized by ten or twelve armed ruffians, who forced him into a carriage and drove away, since which nothing has been seen or heard of him. Probably he was carried 'down the river.'

A writ of Aabeas corpus was served on Mrs. Prince. but it could not be proved that she had anything to do with the kidnapping. The probability seems to Democrats, in connection with the hotel-keepers of St. Paul, for the purpose of encouraging Southern people to spend the summer in that region. It was in relation to this case that the Editor of the Minne apolis State Atlas asked, 'Is Minnesous a Free State? His spirited article, under this title, may be found upon our first page. If all editors would speak out thus promptly and strongly, the downfall of slavery would be rapidly hastened -c. x. w.

LORD BROUGHAM AND THE UNITED STATES MINIS-TER In the last Liberator, reference was made to some remarks pointedly addressed by Lord Broug ham to Mr. Dallas, the American Minister, in reference to the presence of a colored gentleman from Canada as a member of the Statistical Congress, whose session s Mr. Dallas was attending. Some of the newspapers having commented severely upon this incident, Lord Brougham explained, the next day, as follows :-

At the meeting of the Statistical Congress, on Wednesday, Lord Brougham said: I exceedingly regret that the observations I made on the first day have been interpreted into something disrespectful to the United States. No one who has known me will accuse me of such an intention. I respect our breth-ren of the United States, even when I differ from them. When I called attention, in the presence of our friend, Mr. Dallas, to the, in my opinion, important statistical fact, that a most respectable colored gentleman, from Canada, was a member of the Congress, I only called his attention to it, just as I would tive of the Brazils, who is here to-day; and, God the Brazils. I ought also to have called the attention to brazis. I ought also to have called his attention of the Count de Ripalda (the Spanish Representative) to the same subject; they have colonies, and they have persons of various colors in their possessions. I call his attention to it hereby. (Applause.)

PANORAMA OF SLAVERY.

This exhibition at the Melodeon, which is advertised to remain in Boston this week only, is a picto rial representation of the Slave Trade and Slavery. It is divided into three sections. The first represent the negro in Africa, in his natural condition, and proceeds to the various incidents connected with his en slavement, transportation across the ocean, sale as a slave in America among people who call themselves Christians, and servitude in field-labor on a Southern plantation. The second presents various incidents of the war for liberty in Kansas, showing principally Burlington, Vt., the second and third Sundays in those scenes with which John Brown was connected; August, 12th and 19th; and, August 24th, 25th and and the third shows he was a liberty to the control of John Brown was connected; 26th, will attend a Convention in South Royalton, Vt. and the third shows the successive steps of John Brown's enterprise at Harper's Ferry, ending with the legal murder which was perpetrated upon him by the State of Virginia.

hibitor gives an explanatory lecture. Both the lec-undersigned has determined to supply the Clergy ture and the painting are well suited to show the of the country, each one of them, with a copy of wicked and inhuman character of slavery and the slave-trade, though in neither is an attempt made particularly to delineate their 'horrors.' The ordinary one can be seential features only of the slave-trade and slavery are represented, and these are shocking enough subscriptions to my friend, the Hon. SAMUEL E. to the humane mind,—o. x. w.s.

SEWALL, No. 66 Washington street, Boston.

The official Report of the First of August

meeting at Milford—a well attended and highly interesting meeting—has been received, and will appear next week. The resolutions offered there, and unanimously adopted, make a vigorous application of the lesson of that day to the needs of our own age of that day to the needs of our own age.

MARRIED—In St. Philip's Church, New York MARRIED—In St. Philip's Church, New York Chy, July 31at, by Rev. William Douglass, Rector of St. Thomas's Church, Philiadelphia, Rev. William Douglass, Rector of the lesson of that day to the needs of our own age.

N. Y.

lect money due to one of his Northern friends from a principles of Human Rights were to be re-planted, certain William Sprowel, then in Texas, who had the justice and necessity of their cause as against Sisleft the North, between two days, deeply in debt. very to be proved, the prevailing apathy to be broken, Sprowel immediately circulated the report that Me- the public mind to be awakened and enkindled, the Kinney was an abolitionist. A self-constituted com- insufficiency of a Church and State controlled by Slaabout three miles off. When he and his beavers were This is the initiatory work that h informed of these proceedings, the latter immediately, by it, abundant opportunities of direct action have preacher. But "the editor of their paper in Dallas it has been to make ready for it. The despotism i Co. was not permitted to publish the certificate, un- driven into open day. To meet it, requires devotion, der penalty of being burned out. Mr. McKinney re- industry, and the sacred fire of a true enthusiasm. It

requires energy, cooperation, and the discipline of Blunt were to be hanged. Such threats, in a slave- self-control. It requires generous contributions of money. We trust that all these indispensable requi two friends starled at once, with their families, for the sites are now, as ever ready.

North. They were speedily overtaken, robbed of all We samestly and cordially entreat all who love our native land in sincerity, whether Europeans or

which was going West.

National Anti-Slavery Anniversary.

Americans, to unite with us more numerously and more generously than ever to meet the demands of a period of crisis unparalleled in the history of our country-new, indeed, in the history of the world. For when before has it ever happened that Freedom has been sought from among a dominant people for a down-trodden one, on so grand a scale as this? We ask aid of Europeans, while we bid them ob serve that their freedom makes progress only in exact proportion as our slavery is brought into discredit. We ask aid of Americans; for where is the American to whom this Cause of ours is not the supreme interest of the present hour as affording the only hope of Futurity? The work before us is ever that primary one contemplated by no other existing body. political or religious; the work that Church and Government are always tempted by the necessities of their position as such to neglect, adjourn, suppress And the stronger the desire of their members to promote the cause, the stronger the temptation, being so placed, to temporise and to compromise.

To all these we confidently appeal for sid in the rork they can neither do, nor do without.

We comitally invite all who love Liberty the world over, to meet us at the Music Hall, Boston, in the month of January next, in person or by letter, uniting their sympathies and contributions with ours in the great work of the time-the peaceful extinction of American Slavery.

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

ESSEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY. The next quarterly meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at NEWBURY-PORT, Sunday, August 26, day and evening.
PARKER PILLSBURY, CHAS. L. REMOND, H. FORD DopoLass and others will address the meeting. CHAS, LENOX REMOND, President.

MARY E. STEARNS.

Lydia M. Tenney, Sec y. WORCESTER SOUTH A. S. SOCIETY. The next quarterly meeting of the Worcester South A. S. Society will be held at Washburn Hall, in Wor-

cester, Sunday, Aug. 12th, day and evening. Paswood, and other speakers, will be presen JOSIAH HENSHAW, President.
JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Sec'y. WORCESTER NORTH A. S. SOCIETY.

The next quarterly meeting of the Worcester North Anti-Slavery Society will be held at LEOMINSTER, Sunday, August 19, day and evening. PARKER PILLEBURY and H. PORD DOUGLASS will speak. JOSHUA T. EVERETT, President.

ASHBURNHAM. WM. WHILE BROWN WIL

lecture at Ashburuham, Mass., on Saturday evening, Aug. 11, and Sunday, the 12th. SALLIR HOLLEY, an Agent of the Massa-chusetts A. S. Society, will speak in the Methodist Church, Diamond Plain, R. L., on Sunday next, at

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in

EF WM. WELLS BROWN will lecture at Me.

does Falls, Vt., on Friday, Aug. 17. While these scenes are passing in review, the ex-

> THE GREAT SPEECH OF THE COUNTRY! THADDEUS HYATT. Washington Jail, June 12, 1869.

HAIR RESTORER?

TIONS. My heir ceases to fall, which is certainly a advantage to one who was in danger of becomin hald. Hev. M. THACHER, Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1856.

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

Editor ' Ladies' Repository,' Cincinnati, Ohio.
'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsa-

the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in any position desired. Rev. JOHN B. ROBIE, Editor Christian Adec-cate, Buffalo, N. Y.

'Your Hair Hestorer and Zylobalsamum is the beat I have ever known. It has restored my hair to its

Rev. E. R. PAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City.

Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor ' Christian Era,' Boston

I regarded your World's train needed on me to use samum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with good

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Paster Congregational Church

Attleboro', Mass.

'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the Hair Restorer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to 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.

Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After

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

Rev. Mrs. B. S. ANDRUS, (many years Missionary In consequence of her long residence in aforename d

much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum; I have tried many other remedies for my hair, but never any thing that so materially and permanently benefit-ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen. Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,)

"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."

It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till see those it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be

Some time since, I procured a bottle of your

mend it to those whose hair may either begin to fail in color or decrease in luxuriance.

'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon turned as black as when I was a young man.'

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.

We think that if these fail to convince, nothing less than a trial will. Some few dealers try to sell articles on which they make more profit than on these; always

We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1 60 a bottle. Balsam, 375 certs per bottle.

Address all letters for information, &c., to 'Mrss S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Dept, No. 355 Broome Street, New York.' The Genusiae has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen,' agned in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottless—none other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a arm irreoffence.

POETRY.

From the Boston Journal. THE LAST PRAYER. All prayers I ever offered, Lord, For any earthly blist, I merge at last in this; Wilt Thou thy gracious help afford, And while the shedows round me throng Let me be loving, true and strong; Keeping the child's faith in my breakt. Mid the world's falseness and unrest, Each bitter word and thought represt.

Full oft I weary am and weak, And sometimes fails my trust, I cannot lift me from the dust, And thy sweet smile seems far to seek; And I know watching hours of grief, When human love gives no relief; Yet I believe in each affliction There lies a hidden benediction ; Though light fades sometimes from my view. I would keep my own spirit true.

The world keeps on its flerce, hot strife For pleasure, wealth and fame; A great and lauded name Is prized above a noble life; Yet far more glorious in Thy sight Is he, who, with faith's armor bright, Contends against the hosts of wrong, Loving, yet fearless; meek, yet strong.

For this I pray my God, at last, So claiming Thy best gift, While my full heart I lift, And all its care and sorrow cast On Him who came on earth to prove The depths of human grief and love.

Perchance some later day may bring

My spirit's long-lost music back, The sunshine, faded from life's track, May smile once more ;-till then I'll sing Still unto Thee a song of love : I still will strive to look above :-These clouds shall pass from heart and brow, In thine own time; I know not how, But while the shadows round me throng, Let me be trusting, true and strong. L. H. F.

From the Atlantic Monthly. MIDSUMMER. Around this lovely valley rise The purple hills of Paradise. Oh, softly on you banks of haze Her rosy face the Summer lays !

Becalmed along the azure sky, The argosies of cloudland lie, Whose shores, with many a shining reft, Par off their poarl-white peaks uplift. Through all the long mid-summer day

The meaning-sides are sweet with bay. I seek the cookest sheltered seat Just where the field and forest meet,-Where grow the pine-trees tall and bland, The ancient cak's austere and grand, And fringy roots and pebbles fret The ripples of the rivulet .-I watch the mowers as they go

Through the tall grass, a white-sleeved row; With even stroke their scythes they swing, In tune their merry whetstones ring; Behind, the nimble youngsters run, And toes the thick swaths in the sun : The cattle graze, while, warm and still, Slopes the broad pasture, basks the hill. And bright, when summer breezes break. The green wheat crinkles like a lake.

The butterfly and humble bee Come to the pleasant woods with me; Quickly before me runs the quail, The chickens skulk behind the rail. High up the lone wood-pigeon sits, And the wood-pecker pecks and flits. Sweet woodland music sinks and swells The brooklet rings its tinkling halls. The swarming insects drone and hum. The partridge beats his throbbing drum, The squirrel leaps among the boughs, And chatters in his leafy house; The oriole flashes by; and, look ! Into the mirror of the brook. Where the vain bluebird trims his coat, Two tiny feathers fall and float.

As silently, as tenderly, The down of peace descends on me. Oh, this is peace! I have no need Of friend to talk, or book to read: A dear Companion here abides; Close to my thrilling heart He hides; The holy silence is His Voice: I lie and listen, and rejoice.

> THE TIDES. BY WM. C. BRYANT.

The moon is at her full, and, riding high, Floods the calm fields with light; The airs that hover in the summer sky Are all asleep tonight.

There comes no voice from the great woodland round That murmured all the day; Beneath the shadow of their boughs, the ground Is not more still than they.

But ever heaves and moans the restless Deep; His rising tides I hear; Afar I see the glimmering billows leap ; I see them breaking near. Each wave springs upward, climbing toward the fair.

Pure light that sits on high; Springs eagerly, and faintly sinks to where The mother waters lie.

Upward again it swells; the moonbeams show Again its glimmering crest; Again it feels the fatal weight below. And sinks, but not to rest.

Again, and yet again; until the deep Recalls his brood of waves, And, with a sullen moan, abashed, they creep Back to his inner caves.

Brief respite! they shall rush from that recess With noise and tumult soon, And fling themselves, with unavailing stress, Up toward the placid moon.

Oh, restless sea, that in thy prison here Doet struggle and complain; Through the slow centuries yearning to be near To that fair orb, in vain.

The glorious source of light and heat must warm. Thy bosom with its glow, And on those mounting waves a nobler form, And freer life bestow.

Then only may they leave the waste of brine In which they welter here, And rise above the hills of earth, and shine In a serener sphere.

BEFIRM. Difficulties big with gloom, In their rear are wreaths of glory For the hences who o'ercome. Valor's born from self-denial; Wisdom, from each stern rebuke; Power, from every pain and trial That the human soul may brook

THE LIBERATOR.

CALUMNY AND REPUTATION CALUMEY AND REFUTATION.

Pinding in the (Baptist) Christies Watchman and Reflector an editorial article making grossly unjust statements in regard to Theodore Parker, I wrote a brief note to the Editor, apecifying one of them, and saking for proof of it. Below is the reply of the Editor, introducing what he calls proof, and repeating the unjust charges; and appended to it will be found my rejoinder to his reply, exposing the falseness of his pretended proof, as well as of his original charge, and published here because refused admission to the columns of the Watchman.—C. K. W.

·CHRISTIANITY FALSE AND HURTPUL. To the Editor of the Christian Watchman and Re-

Sin,-In a leading article, June 14th, entitled Su.—In a leading article, June 14th, entitled, "Theodore Parker," you say of that eminent and excellent man that "He boldly avowed... that he believed Christianity to be false and hurtful." Will you have the kindness to refer (for my benefit and that of the readers of the Watchman) to some passage in Mr. Parker's writings containing the "bold avowal" thus calumniously attributed to him. Please give us the words, and the place where they are to be found. Your obedient servant,

June, 1860. CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

. The foregoing note deserves no reply, and it was our first impulse to let it pass in silence. In attributing to Mr. Parker a rejection of Christianity, and opposition to it, we referred to something that has been notorious for eighteen years. It is idle to ask documentary proof for the benefit of our readers, or of Mr. Whipple. Our readers do not need the information, and Mr. Whipple has already dethe information, and Mr. Whipple has already decided that our statement is calumnious. He asks for evidence, but gives notice that his mind is made up. The modesty and candor of such a request are well matched. Not from any sense of duty to him, therefore, but solely in consideration of what is due to one who is no longer among the living to speak for himself, we undertake the supercrogatory task

In his 'Experience as a Minister,' Mr. Parker says that 'all the six great historic forms of reli-gion—the Brahminic, Hebrew, Classic, Buddhistic, gion—the Brahminic, Hebrew, Classic, Buddhistic, Christian, Mohammedan—profess to have come mi-raculously from God, not normally from man.'—p. 85. But he pronounces the claim unfounded in fact. In other words, he accuses Christianity of making a false pretension. 'I have departed from the fundamental principle of the Catholics and Protestants, denied the fact of a miraculous revelation, given exclusively to Jews and Christians, de-nied the claim to supernatural authority, &c. -p. 149.

Some men might say that this pretension to supernatural authority is not made by Christianity, but only asserted for it by its unwise friends. But such a plea cannot be made in behalf of Mr. Parker. He distinctly charges that Christianity makes the pretension, and that it is untrue. Moreover, he plainly intimates that Christianity, equally with Brahminism and Mohammedanism, is a merely hu-man fabrication. We might go into detail, and prove that he denied every characteristic doctrine of the Christian religion, but a denial of the author-ity of Christ strikes at the root of the whole. If

the trunk is felled, the branches fall with it.

There is equally explicit proof that he regarded Christianity as hurtful. Indeed, it would be a strange feeling that should make a man oppose so strange feeling that should make a man oppose so strenuously through many years something which he did not esteem hurtful. A reference to the paragraph on page 85 of his 'Experience,' already cited, respecting the 'six historic forms of religion,' discovers that in his judgment, 'each' of them (including Christianity) 'must ere long prove a hindred of the course that the course the course that the course the course that the course that the course that the course that the course the course the course that the course that the course the course that the course that the course the course that the course that the course that the course the course that the course that the course that the course the course the course that the course the course the course that the course the cours drance to human welfare. That is to accuse the Gospel of a hurtful tendency. But he goes further, and charges upon it a present hurtful effect. He

'If I wished to teach the nobleness of man, the Old Testament AND NEW were there with dreadful con-demnations of human nature; did I speak of God's his hearers. The system found in the life of the peo-love for all men, the Bible was full of ghastly things—ple (and I do not mean the openly irreligious part of Chosen People, Hell, Devil, Damnation—to prove that He loved only a few, and them not overmuch; did I encourage free individuality of soul, such as the great Bible-men themselves had, asking all to be Christians, as Jesus was a Christ, there were texts of bondage, commanding a belief in this or that absurdity. There was no virtue, but the Scriptures could furnish an armument access the

Here again, be it observed, he does not oppose wrong interpretations of the Scriptures, but the Scriptures themselves. The New Testament was in his way at every step! With great propriety, therefore, he renounced the Christian name and profession. Jesus says to His disciples, 'One is your Master, even Christ.' Mr. Parker said, 'He that was greater than the Temple, whose soul burst appears in the preaching of the clergy and the prac-out its walls, is also greater than the Testament, tice of their churches and themselves. And not only but yet no Master over you or ME. '-p. 146. We, then, are not false to his memory, when we say that many minor differences, occasioned by the disagreehe opposed Christianity. They misrepresent his character and life who have the hardihood to deny it.

VINDICATION OF THEODORE PARKER

To the Editor of the Christian Watchman and Reflector: Sin,-I regret that business has prevented me from answering your comments upon my note in season for the paper following that in which they appeared.

I was about to say that I knew no rule that would authorize your remark that my note (requesting you to quote, from Theodore Parker's writings, the grounds of your calumnious charge against him,) 'deserves no reply.' But I remember that it is the custom of your paper-as of the class to which it belongs-to ignore or deny such truth as tends to discredit your sect or your system, and equally that which tends to show that your opponents are right in their points of difference with you. I need only remind you of your utter refusal to publish the proof (which I myself brought to you, and urged you to print,) of the direct maintenance of caste in the customs and the printed laws of one of the churches of your denomination in Boston, namely, Rev. Baron Stow's church of 'respectable warra persons,' although you freely and strongly condemn casts when it is practised so far off as India.

After taking a month to search, (a delay which by no means surprised me, since I knew the thing did not exist for which you were searching.) you quote five passages from Mr. Parker's writings, presenting them as proof of your assertion (June 14th) that he boldly avowed that he believed Christianity to be false and hurtful.' Let us look at these passages. Here they are, all from Mr. Parker's 'Experience as a Minister, and presented, with your italies, in the following order :-

tian, Mohammedan—profess to have come miracu-lously from God, not normally from man. -p. 85. 2. 'I have departed from the fundamental principle of the Catholics and Protestants, denied the fact of a miraculous revelation, given exclusively to Jews and Christians, denied the claim to supernatural authority, &c.-p. 149.
3. 'Each' [of the historic forms of religion]

must ere long prove a hindrance to human welfare.

Old Testament and Naw were there with dreadful binding upon the faith and practice of mankind. condemnations of human nature; did I speak of God's love for all men, the Bible was full of ghastly things—Chosen People, Hell, Devil, Damnation—to the plain and obvious meaning of which, (not the prove that He loved only a few, and them not overletter only) is universally disregarded by those who much; did I encourage free individuality of soul, such as the great Bible-men themselves had, asking all to be Christians, as Jesus was a Christ, there were tests of bondage, commanding a belief in this or that absurdity. There was no virtue, but the Scriptures

could furnish an argument against it. p. 63.

5. He that was greater than the Temple, whose soul burst out its walls, is also greater than the Testament, but yet no MASTER OVER YOU OR ME. ?—p. 146.

that sacribed to them in your deceptive alternating comments—do sof proce your point, the pretended avowal of Mr. Parker - that he believed Christianity o be false and buriful."

is dispressed by a passage in one of your own quotations, (the 4th, above cited,) in which Mr. Parker says that he saked his hearers 'to be Christians'; and that it is also disproved by snother passage, (which you took care not to quote, though it is on the same page with the last of your assumed proofs,) namely—To me the name of Christianity is most exceeding dear.'-p. 146.

But, since your article is a good specimen of the double falseness of the assaults made by clergymen or Mr. Parker-first, statements directly false resp his position, and next, a dishonest garbling of hi language in the attempt to prove those statements—I prefer to place before your readers, in their propes order and connection, those same words of Mr. Par ker which you have dislocated and garbled, in order to misrepresent them.

Before doing this, however, I wish to remind you of a fact which, though very obvious, and very ma terial to the present discussion, you have overlooke in your comments. It is this: In every religion which has a written basis, that is, which appeals to certain sacred books as its authority—as containing correct statement of its principles, ideas and rules of life—there will be found a material discrepancy be tween the system as stated in these books, and the system, called by the same name, which is taught by the mass of its priests and practised by the mass of it religious people. Let us look at the illustration of this fact given by Judaism.

Not only did the Hebrew prophets frequently tes tify against the priests of their time, as corrupters o religion, but Jesus of Nazareth, born a Jew, and speaking to Jews, warned them against the Scribes and Pharisees, (the clergy and principal church-members,) as corrupt and vicious, even while he was quot ing, as just and true, the sacred books under whose sanction these Scribes and Pharisees pretended to be acting.

The historian who should depict to us Judaism it existed in the time of Jesus, would show us (would he not?) the practical working of that corrupt system taught by the chief Priests and Scribes, and practise by the Pharisees, which Jesus rebuked and condemned; that is to say, something very different from the system enjoined by Moses and the Prophets in the Old Testament, which Jesus at the same time reforred to with approval. There are then two widely different things, each properly described by the name Judaism; respecting each of which the name of Juda ism must be used in ordinary speech and writing, unless we use a cumbrous and awkward periphrasis; and such periphrasis is unnecessary, because the connec tion will always show a candid inquirer in which sense the word is used.

The same distinction holds in all those religions o Asia which have a written basis; which refer to cer tain sacred books as containing their principles and rules. Every one of the systems thus written proba bly contains more truth than falsehood; more good rules than bad ones; I think it would be safe to say (taking the Mohammedan faith as an illustration) that if its professors faithfully lived in accordance with the rules of the Koran, they would lead better lives than any of the nations now called Christian in spite of the far greater light enjoyed by the latter Yet every one of these systems, as written in the books, will be found to vary materially from the system bearing the same name which is orally taught by the Mussulman, Hindoo or Chinese priest, and acted the people, but the actual teaching of the priests, and the following of that teaching by priests and people)-is materially different from the system bearing the same name, found in the sacred books. And yet these two things are appropriately called by the same name, and the different meanings of that name are always made plain to the candid inquirer by the con-

The same great difference exists-and exists in ar equal degree—between the system called Christianity as it is described in the writings of the New Testament, and the system (also called Christianity) which ment of sects, yet all covered by, and admitting, and generally allowed to admit, the word Christianity to designate them.

For instance. It is an unquestionable fact that the New Testament-which is admitted to be the true exponent of the ideas, principles and rules of Christianity—represents baptism as belonging exclusively to Christian believers; to those who intelligently adopt Christianity as their rule of life. Nevertheless, the immense majority of those who call themselves Christians, and who are called so by others, teach and practise something materially different from this; affirming that the sprinkling of infants with water by minister, at the request of a believing parent, is Christian baptism. Here is a material difference between the Christianity of the New Testament, and the thing which is called Christianity in the preaching and practice of Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Orthodox Congregationalists. Yet you make no acruple of calling these people Christians, and their system Christianity. And, since every candid reader understands what you mean by the word thus applied, and knows that, in all proper places, you make protest against the particular perversion of New Testament Christianity in question, and since the consection in which the word is used always shows such candid reader in which sense you use it, it would be absurd to make the periphrastic exception of their errors in regard to Baptism, every time you have occasion to speak of Christianity as existing among Episcopalians, Presbyterians, &c. Why should you not treat Mr. Parker's use of the word Christianity in these two customary and legitimate senses with the same candor?

But there is a difference still more aweeping and 1. All the six great historic forms of religion—emphatic; a difference which places the Christianity the Brahminic, Hebrew, Classic, Beddhistic, Christopher of all the sects, Baptists as well as others, in direct emphatic; a difference which places the Christianity contrast with the Christianity of the New Testament It is this: There are some precepts in that book, precepts as strongly expressed and as manifestly taught there as any others, which none of the sects either preach, or attempt to reduce to practice. They ignore them, disregard them, live in the open violation of them; and this although they pretend to believe that the New Testament, which contains them, is given by direct inspiration of God, and is, as they are accustomed to call it, 'God's Word,' authoritatively

> call themselves Christians, both by ministers in their preaching and by church-members in their lives. Th first of these is repeated in all the following differen forms, showing the importance which Jesus attached to it:

'Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth!'
Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat or
what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye

Here is the whole of your evidence. What is to

Here is the whole of your evidence. What is to
be said of it?

It might be sufficient to say, first, that even these
seages, thus dislocated from their order in the book
skipping from p. 85 forward to 149, then best to 85,
heu back to 83, then forward to 146, —and wrenebed,
heu back to 83, then forward to 146, —and wrenebed,
sail shall show hereafter, from their connection, a
connection proving a meaning precisely opposite to

Beek ye first the kingdom of God, and His right Here are not only direct and explicit commands not to labor for, or to take thought for, any store of food or clothing, but a direct and explicit promise that God would give those things to men, without

'Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord! And the prayer of faith shall save the nick, and the Lord shall raise him up! And if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him!

The clergy utterly neglect to preach, and the and explicit command. And they utterly disregard the promise annexed to it. It is necessary, then, to distinguish between so much of Christianity as is contained in their preaching and practice, and the Chris-

in any particular case. And I think it is equally no more required to specify the distinction between Nature. these two meanings, every time he uses the words in question, than you, Mr. Editor, are required, every time you apply those words to Episcopalians or Pres-byterians, to specifyy our objection to their pedobaptist errors of doctrine and practice.

It is plain, I think, moreover, that when a missionary writes from his field of labor respecting the evils of Mohammedanism or Hindooism, he means the actual teaching of that system by the priests, and the lives led under that system by the people quite as much as the erroneous ideas contained in the Koran or the Vedas; and that the actual condition of Mohammedans or Hindoos, in regard to the preaching and practice of their respective religious, would be appropriately called Mohammedanism or Hindooism, even though it should be found to vary considerably from the system laid down in the Koran and

Having thus, as I think, established Mr. Parker' right to use the words Christian and Christianity to describe the preaching and practice of those who call themselves Christian-including the teaching of the clergy, the reception of that teaching by the people, and the course of life led, at the same time, by both preachers and people-I proceed to quote the full passage from Mr. Parker's 'Experience as a Minister, a garbled extract from which you have given, and to show, by the connection in which this extrac appears, that your representation of its meaning was incorrect, and that your remarks respecting it were

'The critical study of the Bible only enhanced my reverence for the great and good things I found in the Old Testament and New. They were not the man. The Absolute Religion which belongs to man's nature, and is gradually unfolded thence, like miraculous and infallible inspiration,' and better the high achievements of art, science, literature and second them miraculous are infallible inspiration, and better the high achievements of art, science, literature and second them miraculous are infallible inspiration, and better the high achievements of art, science, literature and second them miraculous are infallible inspiration, and better the work of the work of the work of the miraculous and infallible inspiration, and better the work of the wo miraculous and infallible inspiration, and because I found them mixed with some of the worst
doctrines ever taught by men; it was no strange
thing to find pearls surrounded by sand, and roses
beset with thorns. I liked the Bible better when I
could consciously take its contradictory books each
contradictory books ea could consciously take its contradictory books each for what it is, and felt nothing commanding me to accept it for what it is not; and could freely use it as a help, not slavishly serve it as a master, or worship it as an idol. I took no doctrine for true, ship it as an idol. I took no doctrine for true, simply because it was in the Bible; what therein seemed false or wrong, I rejected as freely as if I had found it in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists or Mormons.

I had not preached long before I found, as never before, that practically, the ecclesiastical worship fail before this, fading as it flowers, each one of the Bible hindered the religious welfare and prothem has yet been help towards it, probably indisgress of the Christians more than any other cause. the state of the s

had never heard of. Ministers take the Bible in the lump as divine; all between the lids of the book is equally the 'Word of God,' infallible and miraculous; he that believeth it shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned; no amount of Piety and Morality can make up for not believing this. No Doctor is ever so subordinate to his Drug, no Lawyer lies so prone before Statute and Custom, as the mass of Ministers before the Bible, the great Fetish of Protestant Christendom. The Ephesians did not so worship' their great goddess Diana and the meteoric stone which fell down from Jupiter. 'We can believe anything,' say they,

Diana and the meteoric stone which fell down from Jupiter. 'We can believe anything,' say they, 'which has a 'Thus saith the Lord' before or after it.' The Bible is not only Master of the Soul, it is also a talisman to keep men from harm; bodily contact with it, through hand or eye, is a part of Religion;—so it lies in railroad stations, in the parlors and sleeping chambers of taverns, and the seventh and the s parlors and sleeping chambers of taverns, and the cabins of ships, only to be seen and touched, not read. The pious mother puts it in the tronk of her prodigal son, about to travel, and while she knows he is wasting her substance upon barlots and in riotous living, she contents herself with the thought that 'he has got his Bible with him, and promised to read a chapter every day! So the Catholic mother uses an image of the 'Virgin Mother of God,' and the Rocky Mountain savage a bundle of grass: It is a Fetish.

But with this general worship of the Bible, there is vet a cunning use of it: as the lawyers twist a stead of against the false pretensions and wrong in

the first chapter of the first book in the Bible; nay, yet others can find no Devil, no Wrathful God, and explained with such sophistry. yet others can and no Devil, no Wrathful God, and no Eternal Damnation, even in the New Testament.

The sixth extract shows—in direct contrariety to But all these ministers agree that the Bible is the your representation of the meaning of the small frag-

Christianity, and continually preach this to the people.

I had not been long a minister, before I found this worship of the Bible as a Fetish, hindering me at each progressive step. If I wished to teach the nobleness of man, the Old Testament and New were there with dreadful coodemnations of Human Nature; did I speak of God's Love for all men, the Bible was full of ghastly things—Chosen People, Hell, Devil, Dannation—to prove that he loved only a few, and them not overmuch; did I encourage free individuality of soul, such as the great Bible-mon themselves had, asking all to be Christians as Jesus was a Christ, there were texts of bondage, commanding a helief in this or that absurdity. There was no virtue, but the Scriptures could furnish an argument against it. I could not demons, haunting the earth, but revelation could Permanent in Christianity,' in which he declares the

from the Christianity of the New Testament.

The second example which I shall give, contains, in like manner, a command and a promise. This is but a single passage. Yet, if given by direct inspiration of God, and perfectly clear and explicit, it is as absolutely binding as any other.

"I set myself ecriously to consider how I could best oppose this monstrous evil: it required great caution. I feared lest I should weaken men's natural trust in God, and their respect for true Religion, by rudely showing them that they worshipped an idol, and were misled into gross superstition. —p. 64.

However, when I saw the evil which came from this superstition. I could not be silent. In conversation and preaching, I explained little details—this was poetry in the Bible, and not matter of fact; that was only the drew of the doctrine, not truth itself; the authors of Scripture were mistaken here and there; they believed in a Devil, which was a popular fancy of their times; a particular prophecy has never been fulfilled.

has never been fulfilled.

But the whole matter must be treated more philosophically, and set on its tree foundation. So, designing to save men's reverence for the grand truths of the Bible, while I abould wean them away tianity of the New Testament.

I think I have now shown that the words Christian and Christianity are customarily, and appropriately, and necessarily used in both these senses; and that any writer is authorized so to use them, letting the connection show which of these meanings he uses the connection show which of these meanings he uses of the material universe; and of Moral and Religious marginals case. And I think it is equally in any particular case. And I think it is equally gious Contradictions, passages which were hostile plain that Mr. Parker, in using this common right, is to the highest intuitions and reflections of Human Nature. I made the discourses as perfect as I then could at that carly stage of my life: very imperfect and incomplete I should, doubtless, find them now.

—p. 66.

I kept my sermons more than a year, doubting whether the little congregation would be able to choose between Truth and Error when both were choose between Truth and Error when both were set before them, and fearing lest I should weaken their faith in pure religion, when I showed it was not responsible for the contradictions in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures! But at length I could wait no longer; and to ease my own conscience, I preached the two sermons, yet not venturing to look the audience in the face and see the immediate result. In the course of the week, men and women of the commonest education, but of carnest character and profound religious feeling, took pains to tell me of the great comfort I had given them, by showing, what they had long felt, that the Bible is one thing and Religion another; that the two had no necessary connection; that the faults of the Old Testament or the New need not hinder any man from reent or the New need not hinder any man from religious development; and that he never need try to believe a statement in the Bible which was at varibelieve a statement in the Bible which was at variance with his reason and his conscience. They thanked me for the attempt to apply Common Sense to Religion and the Bible. The most thoughtful and religious seemed the most instructed. I could not learn that any one felt less reverence for God, or less love for Piety and Morality. It was plain I had removed a stone of stumbling from the public rath '___nn_63_0 path.'--pp. 68-9.

All the six great historic forms of religion—the Brahmanic, Hebrew, Classic, Buddhistic, Christian, unjust. This, though the fourth in order of your quotations, stands first in order in the book, and its meaning explains the meaning of subsequent pasere long prove a hindrance to human welfare, for it claims to be a Finality, and makes the whole of hu-

the former days were better than these. But while all the other forms of religion must ultimately peneable to the development of mankind.'-p. 85.

With Protestant ministers, the Bible is a Fetish; it is so with Catholic priests, likewise, only to them the Roman Church is the Master-Fetish; the Big Thunder, while the Bible is but an interior and subservient idol. For ultimate authority, the minister does not appeal to God, manifesting himself in the world of matter and the world of man, but only to the Bible; to that he prostitutes his mind and conscience, heart and soul; on the authority of an anonymous Hebrew book, he will justify the slaughter of innocent men, women and children, by the thousand; and, on that of an anonymous Greek book, he will believe, or at least command others to believe, that man is born totally depraved, and God will perpetually slaughter men in hell by the million, though they had committed no fault, except that of not believing an absurd doctrine they had never heard of. Ministers take the Bible in the lump as divine; all between the lids of the book.

But with this general worship of the Bible, there is yet a cunning use of it; as the lawyers twist a statute to wring out a meaning they know it does not contain, but themselves put in, or warp a decision till it fits their purpose, so, with equal sophistry, and perhaps self-deceit, do the ministers twist the Bible to support their special doctrine; no book has been explained with such sophistry. Thus, some make the Apostle Paul a Unitarian, and find neither Divinity nor the Previstance as and find neither Divinity nor the Preexistence as-cribed to Jesus in the fourth Gospel; while others discover the full-blown Trinity in the first verse of the first chapter of the first book in the Bible; pay,

Word of God, 'His only Word,' miraculous and ment you quote from it—that when Mr. Parker infallible, and that belief in it is indispensable to Christianity, and continually preach this to the forms of religious the Brahmanic Hebrer Christian

free Christianity, the religion first proclaimed by Jesus, and summed up by him as viore to God mi love to man, to be identical with 'The Absolute Re-ligion.' Here is the evidence.

No doubt, an age will come, in which our shall be reckoned a period of darkness—like the sun century—when men groped for the wall bet tunnolled and fell, because they trusted a transient notion, not an eternal truth; an age when temple were full of idols set up by human folly, an age in which Christian light had scarce begun to shire into the control of the contro rises up; Christianity itself, that pure Religia, which exists eternal in the constitution of the sea and the mind of God, is always the same. To word that was before Abraham, in the very beginning, will not change, for that word is Truth. From this, Jesus substracted nothing; to this he added nothing. But he came to reveal it as the secret of God, that cunning men could not under stand, but which filled the souls of men meek and lowly of heart. This truth we owe to God; the revelation thereof to Jesus, our elder brother, God chosen son.

To turn away from the disputes of the Catholic and the Protestants, of the Unitarian and the Tra-itarian, of Old School and New School, and come to itarian, of Old School and New School, and come to the plain words of Jesus of Nazareth, Christianing is a simple thing; very simple. It is absolute, pur Morality; absolute, pure Religion; the love of man; the love of God acting without let or hindrance.—pp. 159, 60.

Examine the particular duties it enjoins; bunil-Examine the particular duties it enjoins; bunility, reverence, sobriety, gentleness, charity, for giveness, fortitude, resignation, faith, and active love; try the whole extent of Christianity so well summed up in the command, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind—thou shalt love they neighbor as thyself;" and is there anything theren that can perish?"—p. 160.

Compare the simpleness of Christianity, a Christ sets it forth on the Mount, with what is sometimes taught and accepted in that bonored sometimes taught and accepted in that boosed name; and what a difference. One is of God; one is of man. There is something in Christianity which seets have not reached; something that will not be won, we fear, by theological battles, or be quarrels of pious men; still we may rejoice that Christ is preached in any way. The Christianity of seets, of the pulpit, of society, is ephemeral—a transitory fly. It will pass off and be forgot! Some new form will take its place, suited to the aspect of the changing times. Each will represent something new form will take its pince, suited to the aspect of the changing times. Each will represent something of truth; but no one the whole. It seems the whole race of man is needed to do justice to the whole of truth, as "the whole church, to prach whole of truth, as "Truth is entrusted for the time whole or truth, as "the whole church, to preach the whole gospel." Truth is entrusted for the time to a perishable Ark of human contrivance. Though often shipwrecked, she always comes safe to land, and is not changed by her mishap. That pure ideal Religion which Jesus saw on the mount of his vision, and lived out in the lowly life of a Galilean peasant; which transforms his cross into an emblem of all that is holiest on earth; which makes sacred the ground he trod, and is dearest to the best of most true to what is truest in them, cannot pass away. Let men improve never so far in civilination, or soar never so high on the wings of Religion and Love, they can never outgo the flight of truth and Christianity. It will always be above hem.'-p. 164.

In this last passage, the two sorts of 'Christianity' are contrasted, showing that which Mr. Parker accepts, and declares permanent, to be the Christianity of Christ; and that which he rejects, and declares ephemeral, to be 'the Christianity of sects, of the pulpit, of society."

I have shown, Mr. Editor, the following things in regard to your declaration that Mr. Parker boldly avowed that he believed Christianity to be false and hurtful'; namely:

1. That it is unproved by your quotations from him, (one of which virtually disproves it.) 2. That those quotations are garbled, making an

incorrect representation of his meaning. 3. That your comments upon these garbled extracts

still further distort and pervert his meaning. 4. That other passages in the very book (one of

them on the very page) you were quoting, show the ntter falsehood of the charge you make, and that the falsehood of it is further made manifest by explicit declarations in Mr. Parker's first published work, as well as in his last.

Holding that the evidence thus adduced justifies my original statement that your charge was ' calumnious,' I now call upon you to retract that charge. Your friend and servant for the truth,

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE. Boston, July 29, 1860.

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