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WM. LLOYD GARRISON. Editor.



BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 17, 1860.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDE

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

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our perticipation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending. - William Burney Channing.

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WHOLE NUMBER, 1547.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

VOL. XXX. NO. 33.

From the Journal of Commerce. MR. HYATT AND THE CLERGY.

In the opinion of Mr. Thaddeus Hyatt and other anti-slavery philanthropists, the clergy of the United States are deemed more or less ignorant of the evils and sins of slavery, and hence has been printed for their special use, and distributed among them, Senator Summer's recent speech, called the 'Barbarism of Slavery.

of Slarery.

If however, the clergy generally have read and heard all that the Abolitionists have, for many years pest, spoken and written on the slavery question, in the ecclesiastical assembly and the pulpit, on the platform, in the newspapers, and magazines, and stary-books, they must be, as is the writer of this well acquainted with this dark-colored topic. Now, granting that slavery is the evil described,

what, we ask, is the remedy? We are ready to act, but how must we act? Do not annoy us with pumphlets reiterating what has been said ten thoupumpilets repeating again and again, Liberate and times, or repeating again and again, Liberate the days.' 'Set them free!' But tell us how to do this. Are any of the following the proper way, or ways? and if not, what is the proper way?

1. Shall all the slaveholders be exterminated,

and the negroes substituted and established the Or shall the reverse take place by terminating the negroes? Shall the slaves be at once and instantly all

not free! and then shall the lands be equally diare buy out the title of the other? or, may them go war and setting the matter? 3 Shall the whites emigrate, or shall the blacks Whither, and how, and when shall the

4. In addition to the land apportioned to the negroes, shall the whites pay for past services?
5. Shall the United States aid the South, or only

ompel, in carrying out any plan of emancipation? Right or wrong, practicable or impracticable, foolish or wise, laughable or execrable, let us have plan or plans, and let the oratory and the elonce on the evil and sin of slavery cease. Let brade and masquerade yield to instruction as to ac-Let the yell of Hyatt, and of Sumner, Garrison and others, ' Free them ! ' be supplanted by some definite direction of Lucy Stone, Esq., or Rev. Dr. Antoinette Brown, or Cheever, telling us

AMERICANS CATECHIZED IN ENGLAND.

A good many of our countrymen complain very justly of an annoyance to which they are subjected a England. Perhaps clergymen are more likely than other men to meet with it, but other men sometimes encounter it. It is a sort of tyrannical, impudent, ultra-radical anti-slavery espionage and tiemen appear upon the platform of any English philanthropic or religious society, is he entertained by them at a dinner or breakfast-straightway he and they are assalled by a class of impertinent scribblers, who warn the public against him because he is not a Carrisonian Abolitionist, and take upon themselves to request him to answer a series of questions respecting his beliefs and disbeliefs. We have seen in some of the English papers the most abusive tirades against respectable New England proachers who hold the sentiments upon slavery which are prevalent here. We are glad to see that Dr. Murray of New Jersey has snubbed one of these conceited fellows by inquiring into his antecedents, and publishing the results of his inquiry as a part of his letter of reply. He learns that the fellow out anything to do, save to annoy persons, and thus to earn a yearly stipend. of these ultra conscientious men declined, a few years ago, to meet at a private breakfast a wellknown divine of this city, because he disapproved of a book which the minister had written. On being questioned subsequently by the latter, the Englishman confessed that he had not read the book, but had heard that it was not strongly enough opposed to slavery. If we choose to recount the expenees which we have heard from our most estimable men, who have been attacked with inquisitorial impertunence in England, our readers might have a ess favorable iden than they now have of English courtesy. But it would not be fair to judge the nation by such instances. Yet the annoyance has become so frequent, that it may not be amiss to allude to it. Dr. Murray has done a service to his friends, in making an example of one of the class of which we have spoken .- Providence Journal.

MR. DALLAS AND LORD BROUGHAM.

Another Scientific Association has been holding annual meeting in England. It is the STATIS-TICAL SOCIETY—not of English origin, nor for England, but for the world. It is the first time that it met in the British Isles,-having hitherto met at Brussels, Paris, and other cities on the Continent. This year it met in London. Prince Albert presided, for in England nothing can be done without having a great Lord (who may sometimes be nothing more than a great blockhead) to preside. But Prince Albert is no blockhead; he made a very respeciable speech at the opening. At this meeting, Lord Brougham, who is a very old man, and acts and speaks in all matters, excepting those which occupied his mind in his earliest and best years, like a detard, took occasion to insult in the most gratulous and wanton manner Mr. Dallas, our American Ambassador, reminding him that a negro was on the platform, (a Dr. Delany, from the United States, who was wondrously gratified; and must needs attempt to say a smart thing, and therefore begged leave to inform the audience that he, too, was a an unnecessary announcement.) At this there was the usual clap-trap applause of an English audience, unchecked by the princely President. We only wonder that Mr. Dallas did not instantly rise, and addressing the President, say: - Sir! it would be a matter of entire indifference to me if the noble Lord who has just spoken were himself a negro, or if this entire association were black ; I should think not a whit the more of them, nor a whit the less, if they were. But, inasmuch as the remark of the noble Lord was wholly uncalled for and uncivil, I deem it an insult, as it was intended to be, and act accordingly.' He should then have retired, unless a per apology was made instantly by Lord Broug-This is the way in which the matter ought to have been treated, in our judgment. Nothing is gained by yielding to British insolence. Give them an inch, and they will take an ell. The English are a noble race; but, with few exceptions, they need, like their favorite dog, a good kick new and then,—

we creak metaphorically!

But who were the applauders on this occasion?

Not the English gentlemen of Science, nor the statisticians from the Continent. They had too much civilization for that. But they were the real cockneys of London, who were there, not to hear anything about Statistics, or any other matter of Sci-

What a contrast between the politeness—the in-nate civility, if we may so term it—of the French and the unmannerly conduct of our English cousins, idea that, in the long run, if things be left to take in a case where a nice sense of propriety is de-manded! We have seen a whole French audience, there will be an extensive set-manded! We have seen a whole French audience, even in the most exciting scenes, desist in an in-stant from every manifestation of applause, when which Providence has provided to supply the fierce

SELECTIONS.

From the London Patriot, July 26th. 'I ALSO AM A MAN.'

The Statistical Congress had a notable fact in statistics submitted to its considerations in a somewhat unexpected way. It was ascertained that the American Ambassador, assisting at a scientific scance, regarded it as a deliberate insolt that his atgentleman in the room. Dr. Delany, who has recently landed in England, has been engaged in the public opinion in the United States; but, if we are public opinion in the United States; but, if we are exploration of the Niger Valley, with a view to promote the emigration of free negroes from America to their original home, that they may bear with them the germs of European civilization, and help to develop, by encouraging systematic industry, the vast resources of the African Continent. It is a hopeful and important enterprise, and the tidings which Dr. Delany brings are most cheering. Such movement as that which he and his coadjutors seek to inaugurate, will be vastly more influential on the diminution and ultimate annihilation of the slave trade, than the most complete preventive service which we can organize on the coast. Dr. De lany was just the man to attend the Statistical Con- At the Celebration of the First of August at Abington. gress; and Lord Brougham's pleasant allusion to his presence in the same room with the American the case where the conscience is at war with the interests, and the professions and practice walk differ-

race in our colonies may play in the drama of the future history of the world. but had her meals served to her, to her great discomfort, in some private cabin, which was made the negro pen for the time. Some English gentlemen on board, bitterly indignant that this should happen inder the British flag, laid the facts before Sir S. them, but in vain: We hope to see the matter taken up and thoroughly sifted in the British House f Commons. We regard it as a stain upon our lag, and we cannot but think that an action would

and to be set thinking as to what high part such manhood as is being developed among the free negro

Again, a controversy is beginning to attract some attention which has recently arisen in our new colony of Victoria, Vancouver's Island, between two of the agents of the Colonial Missionary Society, one of whom, Mr. Macfie, seems to have conemplated the establishment of something like the American Negro Pew, in the Congregational Church against the institution with great carnestness, offered the 'pew' to the whites instead of the blacks, and not being supported as he conceived he ought to be by the Society at home, threw up his appointment and retired to Canada in disgust. The then, very significant signs that this question, the last to reach the home of the eternal Father. (Apadmission of the black race to social equality with plause.) the white, is becoming no longer an American, but a world-wide question. Indeed, it is not long since, in the Louvre Hotel, at Paris, the same difficulty

a heavy burden through our strong sense of what righteousness demanded of us in this matter, and gave sion, be the causes what they may; but we have never repented for one moment that great act of Emuncipation. If it had to be done over again, it would be done heartily, even at a far higher cost.

There is no martin our civilized. Christian growth. But a further question now opens on us—that it is There is no merit in our civilized, Christian growth the terms mere terms of courtesy. Dr. Delany, for instance, is as black as a coal, but he is a thoroughly educated man, he bears a diploma, he is an excel-to be hated and resisted. their own. This position, with all our professions, is not yet won for them. On board a British mail- tion. ship they cannot dine in the State-cabin, and even in our new colony it would seem that they cannot to serve God as one's conscience shall dictate, the worship in the same pew with their 'brethren' in right to be secure in one's individuality, complete and white. And yet it is our work that they are here at all, and their elevation in the scale of culture and perfect exemption from the selfish abuses of an organized and supercitious majority, are some of the courtesy is the inevitable result of that great act to which we look back so prougly, and which we regard as one of the brightes achievements in our core; in all of which it has proved a magnificent history. It is proved quite conclusively that the intellect of the negro is capable of a very high cul-

ence, but to see Prince Albert! and to lower him gra-ciously open his lips, and make a gracious speech! that we made a firm stand to secure for them that the inentire social equality, without which the Emancifrench pation Act is miscrably incomplete. We have no
cousins, idea that, in the long run, if things be left to take one, especially to a toreigner! But the French are, in many respects, far soperior to the English in all that relates to the courtesies of life, the graces of social intercourse, and the requirements of the decorum of public meetings.—Journal of Commerce. in the population of our northern colonies, and even in our own land. We claim for them that the man-and-brother theory shall be acted out manfully where all theories are exposed to the severest testat home. In our private society, in our Congresse and Associations, in our railways and steam-packets, and, above all, in our churches, through our broad empire, let there be neither black nor white, as there is neither bond nor free, but let all be one. We are persuaded that a firm course on our part would react most favorably on the condition and prospects of the colored race in America. While true to the brave words, 'A man's a man for a that,' in our domestic and public life, we shall achieve a second and grander Emancipation for the great race, to which God seems to have committed the future of the tropical belt of the world.

Liberator.

SPEECH OF H. FORD DOUGLASS,

One month ago, Mr. President, we were assembled in the beautiful grove at Framingham, to celebrate the try, but that on this one point, a word, a look, a emancipation of thirteen American colonies from the tone, are construed as insults by the representatives despotism of that old Saxon mother of States, England. of 'the freest people upon earth.' The most dis- To-day, we have come to join our friends here in tant allusion seems to madden them, as is mostly Abington, in honor of an event somewhat different in its character, one that will be the glory of England, ent ways. When Dr. Delany arose, and begged to and the admiration of the world, when her brightest assure the Statistical Congress ' that he was a man,' military achievements shall have faded from the memit did not need two looks at his broad strong brow, ory of mankind.

and dignified carriage, to be very sure of the fact, A proud and haughty race of oppressors, accustomed to sneer at every effort that seeks to have justice done the negro, will not care to remember this day, and the glorious results which it commemorates. It A correspondence has recently been published be- is fit and proper, therefore, that all who love justice tween Sir Samuel Cunard and some gentlemen who have passengers in one of his ships, which bears on the same subject. In this case a lady of color, having been accepted as a first-class passenger on boarding been accepted as a first-class passenger on board as a first-class passenger on board souls in the Carribbean Isles: for, the same earnestthe British mail packet between New York and souls in the Carribbean Isles; for, the same earnest-Liverpool, was not allowed to sit at table in the ness of purpose that won for British Abolitionists this the American first-class passengers; noblest triumph in the annals of the Saxon race, makes possible the total abolition of the accursed sys-

tem in ou lown country. I have found in the West, where I live, and among those of my own race, objections urged against the Cunard, and endeavored to elicit his opinion about propriety of celebrating this day, because this act of justice was performed by the people of another goverament. But, to me, this can never be a reason for withholding from the noble men and women of England our eternal gratitude for that generous act of lie against the Company, should the lady in question choose to establish her rights in a British Court mercy. Justice is of universal application, and whatever concerns the rights and liberties of one nation, or variety of men, involves all others in the common interest. The bridge that spans Niagara's mighty torrent is supported on either side by a single chain; break it in any of its parts, and that magnificent structure. the grandest monument which the science and mechanism of the centuries can boast, will disappear forat Victoria, while the other, Mr. Clarke, protested ever in the howling hell of waters beneath. So with this chain of humanity which God has stretched across the ages; no matter which of its stronglyconnected links is broken, either will destroy that continuity of progress by which man alone hopes at

The Negro and the Indian, the Malay and the Caucassian, types of an intense diversification, are nevertheless children of the same Creator, influenced turned up in a very painful way.

Emancipation has been nobly accomplished. It alike by the same elements of decay and growth. Incost us more than words. We took upon ourselves deed, no government can be complete in its social and political symmetry without this variety of race. As the blending of the productions of the four grand dian example of which there are not many parallels in the history of the world. So far all was well visions of the globe is essential to the highest artisdone. Our colonies have suffered grievous deprestic and commercial growth, so is the blending into

becoming not a speculation, but a very practical over the barbarous forms of other times, unless we matter with us in a hundred ways-how much does can forget our own clan, tribe, race, countrymen and the assertion that a Negro is 'a man and a brother' family in application of justice to all people, through practically mean? It is a very fine sentence on particle to the complicated forms of civil government, from the per; it draws, or used to draw down thunders of per; it draws, or used to draw down thunders of applause at popular meetings; but does it mean pew to the pulpit, and from the ballot-box to the what it seems to mean in familiar practical life? presidential chair. God save any decent man from Negro gentlemen and negro ladies are to be met with ever being compelled to occupy the latter, since James in abundance in our colonial possessions, and there Buchanan has been its incumbent! (Laughter and are not a few of that class in England. Nor are applause.) But, then, this is a republican govern-

lent public speaker, and he is capable of rendering I heard Mr. Garrison say, twelve years ago, that he important public services to his country and to mankind. What is the status of such men to be? Now, it is one thing to make a pet of a stray gentleman or lady of color of high talent or interesting history, to invite them to public demonstrations, dine them at a Duke's table, and perhaps get them presented to the Queen; it is another to give them religious and political self-abandonment of such a carte blanche to travel through our empire, the ac spirit that lifted the British slave out of his fetters, ture, or fortune, may be of the same level with

Mr. President, civil and religious liberty, the right

tivation, while there is a native courtesy about the race which, as a race, we might imitate with profit. The facilities now afforded to them, especially in Canada, will certainly increase every year the numpatriots of the old world, who are struggling for po-

litical rights, whether it be Victor Hugo hurling back piracy, punishable with death, and yet this very same | let us be consistent, and have a devillah good time into the teeth of the bloody usurper those memora- traffic was never so prosperous as now. Cargoes, ble words, When liberty returns to France, then soill fresh from Africa, are constantly landed in Southern I return, or the sturdy blows of Garibaldi on the ports, in open violation of our laws, and there is not plains of Palermo, to throw off the Papal power in virtue enough left in our political institutions to punlassic Italy. In me, the crowned and mitred des- ish the guilty parties. But then, upon what ethics pots who pretend to rule by right divine in the nation- does the domestic or coastwise slave-trade, carried on alities of Burope will ever find an uncompromising beneath the sheltering wings of the Republic, profoe. Yet I am ashamed to be compelled to say, that tected by Congressional law and sanctioned by the so far as human freedom is concerned, they put to utter whole people, become less a crime than the African or shame the loftier pretensions of our own government. foreign slave-trade? If it is a crime to steal men in There is, indeed, a significant fact projected from the Africa, and transplant them in the Carolinas, upon historical back-ground of two hundred years. It is what principle can you make it a virtue to steal them this; that while all the monarchical governments of in Virginia, and transplant them in Louisiana? In the the old world have been constantly tending to liber- one case, you steal ignorant savages, whose intelty, affording us unmistakable signs of progression, lectual and moral nature has been blunted and stulrepublican America, theoretically an antipode, has tifled by long centuries of barbarism, and in the other been all the while merging itself into a despotism you steal civilized Christian men and women, often baser and blacker than anything history has yet re- your own sons and daughters; for Thomas Jefferson corded. Take, for example, that great empire of Randolph said, long ago, that the best blood of Virthe North, extending from the frozen Don to the ginia now courses in the veins of her slaves." The midland sea, that only four hundred years ago began plea is perfectly absurd, that in the one case it is an to move from her icy anchorage, laden with a conflict- attempt to reduce innocent freemen to slavery, and in ing population from almost every zone-religious rites the other that it is simply a transfer of those who are the most savage, and customs the most uncivil; and (rightfully held in bondage. The Hon. Mr. Goulden vet you will find, despite the barbarous character of of Georgia, who boasted in the Douglas Convention her people, that Russia, from Ivan to Alexander II., at Baltimore, a few weeks ago, that he had slaves on has been in constant progression in the attain- his plantation fresh from Africa, has just as good a ments of more humane and liberal institutions. The title to them as property, as ever had George Washserfdom of Peter the Great, which was only a milder ington or Thomas Jefferson, or any other slaveholder type of absolute bondage, has gradually melted away that ever lived, to stain his hands with human guilt. pefore the increasing heat of democratic ideas. And If it be piracy to enslave a man born in Africa, then, on the twenty-fifth day of next November, after we by the principles of eternal justice, every slaveholder shall have elected to the Presidency of the Republic in the South deserves to die to-day. Slavery is mura man pledged not to lift a finger in the work of abol- der, for in its very essence is involved the surrender ishing slavery in this country, but, on the contrary, of all the means of protecting and preserving life. It great bid in the U. S. Senate for a Presidential nomipledged to slave-breeding, slave-trading and slave - was not poetic license for Homer to saycatching; at such a time, we are to behold thirty-five million serfs, lifted by the beneficent policy of the Czar of all the Russias, from the slavery of four hundred years to the political equality of the proudest ubject in his imperial dominions. Emerson says- Every law indicates some fact in

human nature.' Laws are the mile-stones along the pathways of history, that tell how far we have travelled from the rude barbarism of the past toward s higher and a nobler life. Laws are the test of a nation's civilization. The true man's real character the ability to do. So I measure the civilization of Russia, Austria, France, England and the United States, by what they do, each in their sphere, for civilization, progress, freedom, all that helps to produce the highest culture, and noblest spiritual derelopment. England, has done much for freedom within the last sixty years, and promises to do much more. This Government has done nothing, and promises to do less. Whatever may be the poverty wrongs which she, as a wife and mother, had been and destitution of the lower and middle classes in compelled to suffer, in her unprotected condition, England, resulting from fast-anchored customs which she has inherited from feudal times, she has still a commanding sense of right and wrong. Conservative, land-loving, money-loving, she is still libertyloving. Englishmen cling with undying tenacity to dom which Magna Charta secured to the people reach all classes and conditions of English life, from the sovereign on the throne to the beggar in the streets. Half a century ago, after the ambitious Corsican had nelled to surrender himself to the captain of an Eng- tion in the land! (Applause.) lish vessel, instructions were immediately sent by the government, warning the captain not to approach within three leagues of the shore, lest Napoleon, the disturber of the peace of nations, should avail himself of which no power on earth could prevent. Here, then, was fidelity to constitutional liberty, on the part of this old government, whose corrupt and despotic institutions we are so much accustomed to deplore and denounce, worthy our imitation as well as admira-

I realize no particular pleasure, Mr. President, in acter of our people. The Supreme Court of the United States unwittingly honored the negro race, when it declared they were not citizens under the Constitution. If I shall, by my fidelity and faithfulness to this great cause, secure for my humble name ome passing notice from the future historian who shall deign to do justice to the men and the women who in this hour of shameless hypocrisy are found faithful to freedom, I want no prouder mention than that in such an hour as this, I scorned to stand inside of these institutions of a barbarian people, or to become partner with the American Government, the bold and unblushing violator of the rights of man.

You send your boys to college to study the classics; the darkest ages of her crime, in the reign of her Douglas. (Applause.)

perfidious Tarquin or bloody Nero, never sunk, in

A pagan king, eighteen centuries ago, com acts of wanton cruelty, in open disregard of human life, in violation of every right, sacred and divine this Government stands preëminent-preëminent in guilty co-partnership with piracy, robbery and wholesale murder.

Doubtless there are many who regard such denunciation as this very unjust. The author of Marble Faun went to a foreign land to write a romance, because, as he said, no shadow or gloomy wrong had crept over the mirror of our commonplace prosperity. with the cant of the Puritans, to steal the Indian's land by the small scre. Getting bolder with our uccess, we finally took all they had, and now we don't hesitate to steel whole States from a sister Republic, and then whip them if they manifest any dissatisfaction. (Laughter.) By treaty-stipulations, we have agreed with other nations to make the slave-trade

God fixed it certain, that whatever day Made man a slave takes half his worth away.

He not only loses the will to do and to act as a natural being, but he must also give up the animal instinct of self-defence, and become at once, to use the language of that greatest of ancient philosophers, a 'living instrument.' The murderous character of the system finds daily illustrations in every Southern newspaper that reaches the North-the shooting and burning of slaves-by those infernal fiends in human shape, whose cowardly skulls, in their midnight slumbers, are consists in what he does, and not what he merely has made to see God's avenging angel of insurrection

hovering about them. Not long since, we had the report of a slave-moth er near Florence, in Kentucky, who, after she had been sold on the auction-block with her little girl in her arms-for the purpose of being sent to one of the slave-consuming States of the South, for whose benefit this internal slave-trade is carried on by the General Government-bethinking herself of the many sublime woe which has made the story of Virginius immortal, in the classics of ancient Rome-she knocked out the brains of this precious jewel which God had lent her, saying that she would never rear a child to Runnymede, whose regal splender pales its ineffectual labor for another without wages. (Applause.). This fires before the sturdy old baron who wrung from the is only one scene in the dismal history of this internal reluctant grasp of their monarch the great Charter of slave-trade, which Abraham Lincoln has never given English rights. The safeguards of individual free- himself the trouble, as a statesman, to think about. I pray God, on this anniversary day, if consistent with his almighty purposes, to comfort and bless this poor slave-mother wherever she is in her chains; but thrice-cursed, is my earnest prayer forevermore, be broken his empire against British steel at Waterloo, the man or the party that refuses to lend his or its and, flying the disastrous stroke of fortune, was com- influence to the overthrow of this abominable institu-

The Boston Atlas and Bee never gets tired with telling the people of Massachusetts about their constitutional obligations and the rights of the South, -as though a piece of paper, which our dishones the writ of Habeas Corpus, and secure his freedom, fathers put their names to, when they gave their soul to the devil, was to be regarded by us as more sacred than human freedom! If my life and liberty are made to depend upon a majority of votes expressed on a piece of paper, then there is no safety for man on earth, and our Government is nothing but the catchword of rogues, and the sooner it is dissolved, the better. Upon such ethics, the Legislature of Massamaking comparisons that reflect to the discredit of chusetts may license a man to go through the State, this government and the enlightened Christian char- and brain every baby born with blue eyes. I am not certain, however, that humanity may not yet demand such a condition of things, unless this blueeyed Saxon race can be taught better manners. Better that the whole race had been brained ere they left the German forest, than that, through their instrumentality, these millions of innocent persons should be doomed to slavery! It were better far that this

save it. (Applause.) I wouldn't secrifice a sick dog to save a State that rould set up the brazen image of Daniel Webster in her capitol, and tolerate upon the platform on commencement-day, in one of her most honorable hiethey read Roman and Grecian history, and learn to rary institutions for the advancement of fer sons, that denounce the despotism of the old nations that have most profiligate wretch and abandoned political scoundied long ago. But barbarous and infidel Rome, in drei that ever lived in any age or country, Stephen A.

Government should perish to-morrow, and be blotted

from the map of nations forever, than that the poorest

man in the world should be robbed of his liberty to

her downward tendency to despotism and crime, so the death of all the male children in Judea as a govlow as the civilized Republic of the United States. In ernmental necessity, just as these political parties are now demanding the sacrifice of the negro, in order to perpetuate this Government. We ought to make it a national matter, as an set of gratitude to our patron political saint, to dig up the rotten bones of this monster of India, and carry them to the Capitol of these American States, and with splendid onlogy and pompous panegyric lift his memory from the gibbet which the accumulated diary of the ages has erected, to the loftiest nichs in the pantheon of American Heroes. Nay, more than this; we should, instead of inflicted upon feebler races. We commenced here, with the cent of the Puritage to stand the Tradicional Commenced here, with the cent of the Puritage to stand the Tradicional Commenced here, the remains of Sir John Franklin, direct them to search ocean's shore and earth's secret places for the bones of the pirate Kidd, and take them to Bunker Hill, and there erect a monument to successful vil-lany that will rival is solid grandeur that old grey shaft, with its cap-stone kissing the clouds. Since we have dethround God and enthround the devil,

(Laughter and loud applause.)

I have no respect, Mr. President, for these slave

olding institutions that men are trying to save by telling a bigger lie than their fathers. I repudiate the whole Government as one of the necessities of freedom, and would spit upon it as a mean and worthless thing-a league with Satan as black as that which bound together, for the purposes of organized plunder, the pirates of the Gulf, or the Marrells of the American Woods.

Thirty millions of white men have agreed and pledged themselves, by the conditions of this slaveholding Union, to steal and appropriate to their own use the intellectual and physical faculties of four millions black men. The bargain is complete fetuceen them. The proudest trophics of American statesmanship are the efforts of the Clays and Bentons of the South, and the Websters and Choates of the North, to keep inviolate this agreement to steal our liberty. All that either party oes affer us in return for our votes, is future devotion to the continuation of this covenant to enslave the negro. And I pledge myself here, to-day, in the sight of Heaven, that if ever I shall falter in any effort, either by word or deed, to overthrow this bloody despotism that rests with the stillness of death upon four millions of my countrymen, may my right had forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth! (Applause.)

A robber is defined to be one who takes by force or privacy that which rightfully belongs to another. By this definition, we are a combination of robber-States, instead of capital-States, as that political sphinx of New York would have it, whose soul and heart all went to head and brain when he made his If there is one thing more than another that right-

fully belongs to a man, it is his head, his hands, his heart, his body. These he received not from man, but from the God of the Universe, and by whom only he can lawfully be deprived of them. The man of government that steps between me and my God, for the purpose of robbing me of my freedom, assumes at once all the bloody habiliments of a robber, and I am morally bound to resist such an outrage at every hazard. (Applause.) I care nothing about the circumstances that influenced the actions of the mea who consented to this shameful contract, nor do I care, so far as the purposes of the discussion are concerned, whether the Constitution is pro-slavery or anti-slavery; it is enough for me to know, that so long as we, individually as men or collectively as States, remain in a state of loyalty to a Government which we are bound to assist in the slavery of every sixth person in the Government, we are simply a band of robbers; and to the overthrow and utter annihilation of such a combination is to me, and must be to every honest man, the highest test of duty. This from all support of slavery. We can never do an anti-slavery work, if we consent to compromise prin ciple in the least, in order to secure temporary success. Looking at the struggle which resulted in the bolition of slavery in the British Islands, we are taught one very impressive lesson-that God's work is not to be advanced by surrendering to the devil half of the kingdom of Heaven, if he will only let you have the other half. This will do for a success ful political juggler like Lincola, but will never serve a high anti-slavery purpose, such as ours.

When, some seventy years ago, the first organiza-

tion was effected in England for the purpose of making war upon slavery, Granville Sharpe proposed to them that, instead of directing their efforts against the slave-trade, it would be the most politic to attack the system of Colonial slavery at once. But timid men could think of no such thing; they thought it bad policy to attempt to accomplish the whole thing at once; they wanted to attack the territories. the outposts, the slave-trade. But Granville Sharpe. with a keener perception of the moral necessities of the hour, turned away from such counsel, and uttered this prophetic declaration :- You are temporising with Justice. God, when He founded the universe, made it certain that every bargain with the devil should weaken the man who makes it."

The conduct of British abolitionists, at the comnencement of that memorable struggle, was strikingly similar to that strange madness which has taken ossession of the political abolitionists of our day, who shut their eyes upon the earnest admonition of all past history, and blindly pursue the very same policy of moderation towards the American slave system that covered with defeat and disappointment those British leaders after thirty years of effort. They thought then, as the Republican party now thinks, I we can only destroy the slave-trade, the system must die out. If we can only prevent its extension into new territories,' says Henry Wilson, 'the moral influence of an advancing civilization will wear it I have, it is true, great faith in the sweet and gentle influence of Christianity as an efficient instrument in reforming the manners of men; but history has demonstrated that a race of slaveholders are seldom, if ever, reached in that way. They form a distinct class of sinners, requiring often other than Christian remedies to teach them to respect the rights of men. The moral or political forces, therefore, that can hope to accomplish its extinction, must not leave it alone to its own hateful meditations, but must grapple with it-without compromise, without co with the consistency of truth and the logic of an almighty purpose, determined that, in the Union or out of the Union, live or die, survive or perish, to unseat the bloody monster and trample him in the dust. (Applause.) To be generous with slavery, is either to underrate

its power or welcome defeat; for it is not the weak nd impotent thing that the discussions of the hour would have the masses believe, but a real power in the land, fortified by social, political and religious combinations, linked and interlinked with the selfish instincts of thirty millions of people, who need the most radical truth to be convinced that God pays, in the end, a better dividend than the devil.

To the great work of revolutionizing public sentiment are we now summoned, that this proud and guilty nation may be saved from God's avenging bolt of retributive justice; for, not till tyrants and eleveholders can looks the bettlements of heaven and drive God from his eternal throne can they trush out

Problems, it is written on every page of the to walk to liberty by a generous restoration of his rights by those who have robbed him, or else through blood over the broken body of the slave holder. If this is to be the end of alarery, and there is no secope from the dreadful necessity of revolu thes, I say, the sooner the better; and may God speed the right! (Loud applause.)

SPEECH OF WM. WELLS BROWN.

Me. PRESIDENT, AND PELLOW-CITIZENS! In taking a retrospective view of the noble band of men and women whose untiring exertions brought about the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, we cannot do so without being amazed at the amount of opposition which they had to encounter. Millions of pounds sterling had been invested in estates and slaves in Jamaics, and the warehouses in Liverpool and London grouned beneath the weight of the cotton, sugar and rice, the product of the unpaid toil of the slave. The proprietor lived in luxury in England, while the agent and overseer stole themselves rich from the hard earnings of the bondman on the plan-

The interest of the planter was represented in both branches of the Parliament, and in the most aristoeratic circles in the British empire. Casks of run and sacks of rice found their way into the palaces of the Bishops of York and Westminster, and the crumbs that fell from the tables of the prelates stopped the mouths of the clergy upon the great ques tions of Human Rights and Negro Emancipation Sharpe, Macaulay and their associates were asked why they wished to interfere with the interest of the plan-

Was man ordsined the slave of man to toil, Yoked with the brute, and fettered to the soil? Weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold? No! Nature stamped us in a heavenly mould; She bade no wretch his thankless labor urge, Nor trembling take the pittance and the scourge.

Those brave and generous hearts were impelled by pure and philanthropic motives, and onward they went, until their truthful denunciation and flery seal melted the chains from the limbs of the slave. (Ap-

Prior to the abolition of alavery, the planters urged the inferiority of the blacks, and their want of ability to provide for themselves, as a reason for keeping them in bondage. The world was told that the blacks could never take a position upon terms of equality with the whites. But the fetters had scarcely fallen from the limbs of the bondman, ere the black man took his seat in the Jamaica Assembly as a statesman, at the bar as an advocate, entered the pulpit as a preacher, and joined the social circle as a useful member of society. Like the hismellaise Hymn, which the Girondins sung at the foot of the guillotice, in ghastly gradation, dying away incone throat, the bolish cant about negro inferiority will die away with the extinction of chattel slavery. The emancipation of 500,000 slaves by the British people was a noble, heroic and just act, and one without a parallel in the history of nations; and the largesouled Curren well described English history when

I speak in the spirit of the British Law, which make liberty commensurate with, and inseparable make liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British soil—which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the Genius of Universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no mat-ter what complexion an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disas-trous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abross in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated and dis-enthralled, by the irresistible Genius of Universal Emancipation.' (Applause)

We meet to-day to commemorate the most success ful illustration of the result of free discussion ever yet given to the world. Brasmus said, 'Peaceful error is better than boisterous truth.' But a braver and any rate.' We worship to-day at the shrine of

He who seeks the truth, and trembles At the dangers he must brave, Is not fit to be a freeman: He, at least, is but a slave. (Applause.)

The oppressor is always afraid of the truth. The drama of William Tell is not allowed a representation in Vienna, for fear it may endanger the throne of the Austrian Emperor. The Marsellaise cannot be sung in Paris, because it may remind the French people that a tyrant still sits upon the throne of the Capets. The Liberator must not pass through the Charleston post-office, for some poor slave may learn that he has rights which the white man is bound to respect. But, notwithstanding that Tell is excluded from Austria, the Marsellaise from France, and the Liberator from the Carolinas, the oppressed still feel every pulsation beat for freedom. The love of liberty cannot be extinguished by municipal laws or tyrannical mandates. A cilded uniform for the French and Austrian soldier, or good food for the American slave, will not compensate for the loss of liberty. The wild beasts that roam over the prairies of the West, or the birds that twitter through the tops of these trees, help to swell the already mountainous evidence, that wherever a heart beats, it longs for freedom.

*Go, let a cage, with grates of gold, And pearly roof, the eagle hold; Let dainty viands be his fare, And give the captive tenderest care; But say, in luxury's limits pent, Find you the king of birds content?
No! oft he'll sound the startling shrick, And dash the grates with angry beak! Precarious freedom 's far more dear Than all the prison's pamp'ring cheer.'

(Applause.) This love of liberty, fellow-citizens, is universal and the African possesses his share equally with the Anglo-Saxon. But the American people consider it a crime in the black man to aspire to be free, and upon terms of equality with the whites, and the white American thinks it his duty to strike at the colored man wherever he sees him. In a World's Statistical Convention, lately held in London, Lord Brougham reminded our Minister, Mr. Dallas, that Dr. Delany, a Negro, was a member of the Congress. Our thinskinned pro-slavery editors are wonderfully troubled about what they call the insult.' Mr. South-Side Lunt, of the Courier, says, 'The dignity of Mr. Dallas, under the joint assault of Lord Brougham and his black brother, was most commendable." (Laughter.) Now, Mr. President, this reminds one of the execution of the pirate Hicks, in New York, a few days since. When Marshal Rynders saked him if he had anything to say, Hicks replied in the negativewhereupon the Captain, turning to the crowd, said-The prisoner declines to address his fellow-citizens. (Laughter.) The pirate maintained his dignity so did our Minister in London. Mr. Dallas was convicted hypocrite, and was struck dumb, before mbled influence, with the Prince Consort in the chair. (Applause.) This incident between Mr. Dallas and Dr. Delany reminds me of an act in the drams of my own experience. In the autumn of 1849, during the voyage while on my tour to the old world, had amongst our passengers on the steam-ship ids, a Judge Gwinn, of Mississippi, on his way apies, to which place he had been appointed Conto Naples, to which place he had been appointed Con-sul. The Judge was a slaveholder, and felt no little

enger; and frequently, during the passage, However, this ill-feeling on the part of the Judge did not disturb me. (Laughter.) Our steamer arrived at Wolf to man, or steal and sell and murder his brothe Liverpool, and here we separated. Three weeks later. But in all these memorials of great and good men, I was in Paris to attend the Peace Congress, to glorious events, the enunciation of saving truths, Society. Since my arrival in England, I had made the sequeintance of many persons of distinction, say-tral of whom I was which I had been delegated by the America eral of whom I met at the Prench cepital. At the The records have been written in human blood, to be close of the first session of the Congress, and just as read in the conflagration of burning cities and villages, or traced in bleaching human bones all ever the gress, M. Victor Hugo, the well-known French poet, surface of the earth. Far back in the ages, in Hebrew I observed standing near the platform, hat in hand, and apparently in a waiting attitude, Judge Gwinn.

As I was leaving the gentleman in question, the Judge stepped up to me, and, putting out his hand, said, 'How do you do, Mr. Brown?' I took his Sir; I have no recollection of your counte Ol' exclaimed he, 'I am Judge Gwinn, your fel low-passenger from America. He smilingly continued, Will you please to introduce me to Richard Cob den and Victor Hugo ? (Laughter and apolause.)

I assure you, Mr. President and fellow-citizens that I felt somewhat indignant that this slaveholder, who, while on the passage from the United States, ing for two hundred years over those beautiful isles would not have shaken hands with me with a pair of of the West, was succeeded by the mild and healthtongs ten feet long, should come and ask me to intro- ful breezes of liberty, without earthquake or hurriduce him into good society. I very politely said to cane, with a transition as gentle and instantaneous him, "As I am not acquainted with you, Judge, and as the fading of a tropic night into the broad light of would consider myself responsible for your conduct day. It was neither accompanied, nor has it been folto those to whom I might introduce you, I must re- lowed, by the neighing of the war horse, by the brayspectfully decline the honor.' (Laughter and ap- ing of trumpets, the beat of drum, the booming of plause.)

older, and, I hope, wiser. Whether my old fellow- Here were seen no desolate hearth-stones, no widowed spectable society or not, I am of course unable to say. not, but all was peace, and love, and good will. (Laughter.) But I would not be surprised, if an opportunity offered, if he should. For, although the United States Supreme Court says, 'black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect, whose race they so much dislike while in their own

We are fast approaching one of those political you this.' Now the same individual, every four years, groes excepted,) (laughter and applause,) shows them nite possibilities of future growth and happiness. the White House at Washington, and says, 'Worship me, and I'll put you in there.'

the devil, he'd give up the office, since the politicians darken the sunlight for any human soul. This is one have done so much devilish work. Now, Mr. President, I think that the devil has forsaken the parties- has been performed by one portion of mankind to certainly the Democratic party; for, at the Charleston Democratic Convention, when the party seemed upon any creature or thing in the wide world. In all broken up, and they had failed to receive assist- this espect at least, it is the most brilliant day in the ance from the Lord, one of their number appealed to calendar, and every lover of his race, every believer the devil in the following strain. I will read it :-

cratic party has received at thy hands. (Laughter and applause.) Thou hast watched over us, and spared us as monuments of thy amazing mercy. Hadst thou not been with us, we would long since have been dashed to pieces like a potter's vessel. But we know that wherever the Democracy is, thou art there to counsel and advise. (Laughter.) We bless thee that thou hast watched over us in days past, and we would ask for a continuance of thy favors. (Ap- pliment to the day, or the men who made it what it plause.) We thank thee that thou hast given us the is. We believe in work. The world opens up before plause.) We thank thee that thou hast given us the is. We believe in work.

Its wrong and injustice rear their hydra heads blacks for our inheritance, and we pray thee to mulus. Its wrong and injustice rear their hydra heads as the waters cover the sea. O, may we yet see land as the waters cover the sea. U, may we yet see them as thick in our cotton-fields as the frogs were in Egypt! (Laughter.) O, good and mighty Devil, wilt thou aid us in adopting a platform which shall go for the re-opening of the slave-trade and the acquisition of Cuba. We besecch thee to bless all who side of the oppressor: with passion, and prejudice, have come up to this Convention for thy glory. Reside of the oppressor; with passion, and prejudice, member our absent friends. Be with James Buand interest, and pride, and ambition, busily weaving, chanan in his declining days, for thou knowest that he has served thee faithfully, in this thy earthly repairing and extending the web of slavery, which kingdom. (Grest laughter.) Remember Breckin- holds in its powerful meshes, not only the millions ridge, and Townbar and Cooks and Townbar and Cooks. forget Stephen A. Douglas, but show him the error of his ways. (Laughter and applause.) We would ask thee to remember Edward Everett; he has long thee to remember Bdward Everett; he has long walked in the path that leads to thee. But above got to meet them with? We have all that is good, all, O good and lovely Devil, we would beg thee to got to meet them with? We have all that is good, all, O good and lovely Devil, we would beg thee to got to meet them with? We have all that is good, and true, and aspiring in man's nature. keep an eye over Caleb Cushing, the chiefest of thy servants. (Great applause.) He has labored faithfully for the building up of thy earthly kingdom, and we would ask thee to watch over him, and hold him as it the hellow of the head. and we would ask thee to watch over him, and hold him as in the hollow of thy hand. (Laughter.) Thou knowest that many of our party have strayed We beseech thee to bring them back, and cause

them to return as did the Prodigal Son.

And now, good and lovely Devil, we would once more ask thee to still be with us; to remain in our councils and aid us with thy mighty wisdom; and when we are done serving thee in this thy kingdom, and thou art making up thy jewels, (), we beg thee to gather up the members of the Democratic party as a hen gathereth her brood.' (Laugh-

Now, Mr. President, when the Devil forsakes his own, as he certainly has the Democracy, we may hope for better days. Let us only do our duty in this glorious cause, and the time will soon come when not a slave shall tread our soil, and our country will be in fact, what it has long claimed to be, 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.' (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. N. H. WHITING.

endeavor not to weary your patience by any length- that it embraces within itself, ened remarks from me at this late hour of the day, particularly as there are others who are expected to follow me, whom you will be much better pleased and more profited to hear. I do not propose to enter into any controversy with my old associates in rethat we have at heart, which is the speedy and utter overthrow of slavery in this nation. We have common principles and a common purpose; but we differ in relation to some of the measures by which it is proposed to accomplish the desired object. We have been to school so long together, that I think I do not misunderstand them, neither do I believe they will me.

But I have come up here to-day to join with you in the remembrance of one of the noblests acts, one pointing towards heaven, and presching its perpetual of the grandest events any where recorded in history. It appears to me that of all the days which men are accustomed to celebrate in commemoration of great fort which is made to feed the hungry, clothe the events, the birth of distinguished men, or the discovery and proclamation of important truths, there is none in whose ceremonies a man can participate with ty in man. The advancing civilization of all lands more complete satisfaction and unalloyed delight, than cries, 'Away with it!' Its doom is foreshadowed in in that which records the emancipation of the slaves the click of types in every printing-office, the shrick in the British West Indies. Not but that there of the locomotive on every railroad, and the silent are days in the calendar whose advent and whose his. pulsations of the electric current as it travels round tory are of equal and even greater importance considered in their relations to the wide race of men; but there is connected with the first day of August, and throw of slavery in this country, is not derived merethe event with which it will be forever associated, one ly from the ordinary evidences of progress as we are fact, which will grow brighter and brighter in contrast accustomed to measure them; not from the prospective with the deeds of cruelty and blood that darken and triumph of the Republican party in the approaching so painfully diversify the pages of human life all election, though I hall that as affording good ground through its history. In the long catalogue of crime for hope in the peaceful solution of the tren and oppression which makes up so large a portion of problem before us; not from the improved tone of the annals of mankind, there excasionally shines out press and pulpit; not even from the increasing huthe immancy of a gracious feed of justice and of manity and justice of the age; but from the fact, be love,' there peers through the surrounding darkness the sunlight of a heroic action, a spirit of sublime is throwing off all disguises, abandoning all subterself-sacrifice and undying love. Enough of these are fuges, and coming out before the world to claim resprinkled along the way-side of existence to keep cognition and protection as a legitimate child of God,

that somewhere, in some possible ers of our world, or in some ultimate phase of human life, there 'is a good time coming'; when 'man will no longer be a wolf to man, or steal and sell and murder his brother.' glorious events, the enunciation of saving truths, in all the manifestations of the divine spirit which have rayed out through individuals and nations, there are visible tokens of pain and sorrow, of tears and wo. ation from the thraldom of Egypt, in Grecian and Roman history, in the monarchies, repgress is marked by the exhibition and use of the same fell spirit of hate and murder. Even that in hand, but replied, 'You have the advantage of me, Aistory, whose complement was found in the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, becomes the mourn fulest of tragedies, and ends at last in the treason of Judes and the Cross of Calvary. The act we celebrate to-day forms one, perhaps the

only exception to the sombre coloring with which every great era or event has thus far been shaded. This seems to be pure sunshine, without storm or cloud. The simoon of slavery, which had been blowcannon, the crash of shot and shell, the sack of burn-Eleven years have gone since this interview with the ing towns, the mad struggle of contending armies, slaveholding Judge in Paris. We have both grown the prayer for mercy, and the wail of mortal agony. passenger, now Senator Gwinn of California, would wives, no orphans, no Rachael weeping for her chilask a negro's assistance to aid him in getting into re- dren, and refusing to be comforted because they were

The account that has been given of the manner in which the slaves in those Islands received their freedom forms one of the most exquisite, most precious passages, to be found any where in history. There Americans when abroad, with all their negro hate, was no boisterous outbreak; there was no indulgence are willing to seek the advice and assistance of one in drunkenness and licentious passions; no mere American Fourth of July with its dissipation, its waste of powder, its firing of guns and crackers, its airing of patriotic phrases, and exhibition of Yankee scourges which the devil, or somebody else, has im- blarney; but an honest, earnest, joyous thanksgiving posed upon us every four years—the election of a and acknowledgment of gratitude to the Divine Be President of the United States. It is written, that sing for the priceless boon of human life and liberty on a certain occasion his saturale majesty took the for the tardy recognition of their manhood by their Saviour upon an exceeding high mountain, and showed masters; for the blessing of home, and kindred, and him all the world, and said, 'Worship me, and I'll give parents, and children; for the right to the product of their own labor, for the chance of education and con takes the whole American people, (women and ne- sequent elevation in the scale of being; for the infi-

Said I not well, Mr. President, that this is one the loveliest, most glorious events in history? It My friend Mr. Ford Douglass said, that if he was dawned upon the world without a single cloud t instance, one instance where an act of simple justice another without inflicting death, or pain, or sorrow in human progress, will remember each recurring an-O thou most glorious and mighty Devil, we feel niversary with a quickening sense of the possibility of e for the many favors which the Demo- removing the wrong and oppression which beset the path of life, and that, too, by the use of means com mended alike to the judgment, conscience and under standing of all men.

But our object here to-day is not commemoration merely. We are not the natural builders of sepulchres. We did not come here to spin phrases of empty com pliment to the day, or the men who made it what it on every hand. The sun of liberty, which rose on repairing and extending the web of slavery, which 't toiling in the cotton fields and rice an tions of the South, but the prevailing politics, litera ture, aligion and physical power of the whole country

Our friends are exaltations, agonies,

And love, and man's unconquerable mind.' Though Church and State are on the side of slavery, though Mammon and Moloch are arrayed against us, yet slavery in this country must die. It is in vain that Mammon cries ruin to trade and commerce upor change, shricks treason in the capitol of the State or nation, or whines about insidelity in its pulpits. I may gain apparent victories by enlisting in its behalf, for a time, the blind prejudices of the laborer in his field or work-shop; the timid conservatism of wealth in its palaces and counting-rooms; the unscrupulous politician in his thirst for power and place; the devotees of a false religion in their love of ease, and their fear of being called to judgment for their neglect and oppression of the poor and needy; it may secure, for a time, the services of a venal press, in its faithless Couriers and rotten Posts; its blind and heartless Observers and false Recorders; still it must die, peacefully if it be possible, but still in some way this foul stain must be blotted out, this stupendous wrong must MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I will be exterminated. For truly does Longfellow declare

All evil thoughts and deeds, Anger, and lust, and pride; The foulest, rankest weeds That choke life's groaning tide.

It is a relic of barbarism, or, more properly speaking, gard to the best means of accomplishing the object a species of refined cannibalism, altogether out of place in the dawning light of the nineteenth century The spirit of the age is against it. The instincts of human nature condemn it. Rvery generous emotion. every benevolent wish, every just sentiment, every expanding and elevating thought or feeling that ever throbbed in a human heart, or sought for expression through the channels of a human brain, is against it, and on the side of freedom. Every church spire termon of immortality; every asylum for the refuge of misfortune or the reformation of crime; every efnaked, or enlighten the ignorant, gives an unmistakable verdict against that system which claims properthe globe on telegraphic wires.

But my belief in the ultimate, and even speedy overcoming more and more apparent day by day, that it alive a spark of hope in the human bosom, and in all and an essential element in all stable and well-ordered

swer to the challenge of the Abolitionists was, O, strom of slavery—in the direction of the haven of we know slavery is an evil; but then we cannot help correlves now; we did not establish it. Our and your to get rid of it, but we don't see any way out of the difficulty at present. Time and the wise dispensations of Providence must furnish the remedy and so on to the end of a pretty long chapter, and a somewhat plausible one too. But now all this is changed. In-stead of regarding slavery as an evil to be tolerated, only because no way presents itself by which it can be removed without causing greater wrong and dis-turbance than come at present from the system itself it is affirmed that slavery is a positive good, and th ground-work of all substantial and permanent society which is to continue so long as government itself en-dures. 'We do not intend,' say the South, 'to abolish slavery now, or at any future time. The natural and wise arrangement of society is that where the capitalist owns the laborer, and where those who dig the earth become part and parcel of the soil they I know Mr. Charles O'Conor, and some others

of the sham Democracy, who have come out flatfooted in favor of the righfulness of slavery, are striving to confine the doctrine, in its application, to negroes alone. But this is a flimsy gauze-covering for the naked deformity of the original proposition and assumption, which is, that capital should own labor; and it is not applicable to the case in hand for two reasons. The first is, that it is no longer the negroes only who are held in slavery at the South. A large and constantly increasing number of those in bondage have more white than black blood in their veins; and measure made up by reading the following letter :every drop that follows the application of the driver's whip claims kindred with the proudest sone and daughters of the land. Now here is a man half or three-quarters white. You claim him as a slave. On tainous region; so that I shall not be able to attend blood to what you call the wholesome discipline of back, and the blood flows-when you sell him on the auction-block-when you keep him in enforced ignorance-when you put him in your inventory of stock, worth so much in the market? Is it a white man or negro whose back you flay, whose blood you shed, whom you offer for sale, whom you shut out from mules? Is it a white or a black man whom you thus put with beasts and creeping things? I ask again, what you are going to do with the white part of this cunningest pattern of creating nature' that you claim as so much merchandise in your hands?

dote related of Curran, the celebrated Irish barrister. O'Conor, your theory is not admissible; your limi-Irishman that ever came over to this 'free country,' securged to-day, it may be his turn to-morrow. to accomplish it.

but a moment longer. With all these 'great allies' around and within us, let us go forward in our work | Come and See.' of regenerating the public sentiment of the nation Let us endeavor to array both Church and State, and because it is the only course which will insure to ourselves and our children that liberty, that culture sential to the welfare and growth of individual men. and the security and perpetuity of States and nations. It is not necessary to point out the work for each one to do. Let every one labor in his own harness, and fight with his own weapons.

The act we celebrate was the work of a nation in whose policy and institutions are still found many relies of barbarism and injustice, and whose empire has been widened and extended until its morning drum-beat is heard round the world by the exercise of a degree of violence and oppression that almost staggers belief, and absolutely appals the mind to contemplate. Yet we will rejoice at all the good she has done, directly and consciously, as well as that which has been evolved, in the wise and beneficent arrangements of Providence, from the havoc and robbery which have ever accompanied her march to this year, than in any one year since it has been peo wealth and power. Let us use our own government pled.' The report for 1853 announces 'wast increase as the philanthropists of England did theirs-place in trade. 'A great increase in the value of exports it on the side of freedom instead of slavery. We are is announced in the report of 1858. In one year in we enter it to perform our parts upon the stage : only a million of dollars. The report for 1858 in Grenada for that we consent to and connive at. Let us freely says: - State of finances most satisfactory. A greatuse the 'scenery and circumstances' of the theatre ly extended surface is covered by sugar cultivation. where we are called to act, in such a way as will best The report in 1868, in St. Kitt's, states :- 'A large enable us to play the parts which have been assigned quantity of sugar is produced now than in the tim to us. My pert, it seems to me, is to aid in turning of slavery.' In St. Lucia, between the four year the current of events-which has been sweeping us all ending 1852, and the four years ending 1858, the in-

ions; be sure that every step taken is a forward one fathers, and the government of Great Britain—they and, wherever he may be, in whatever department of the possible for its existence. We should be glad life he may be called to labor, neglect no opportunity to testify for freedom and for man.

[Mr. Whitteno's excellent speech was frequently and warmly applauded throughout.]

WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION CELEBRA TION AT MILFORD, MASS.

With an increased interest and effect, our annual atem itself, on Thursday, the 2d inst. Three sessions were held, and the suit society, of adjournment, 104 o'clock, P. M. The meeting itself enwas called to order by George W. Stacy, and the following list of officers proposed, were unani-

President-JAMES R. DAVIS. Secretary-A. T. Wilkinson

Business Committee-Parker Pillabury, George W. Stacy, Charles L. Remond, Dr. Dwight Russell, and W. W. Cook, of Hopedale. Finance Committee-C. C. Johnson, Dr. J. H. Her.

Mrs. Butterfield, and Mrs. Walker.

The President on taking the chair, made some time ly and pertinent remarks, announcing the entire free dom of the platform, and assuring all, friends and foes, of an attentive hearing.

Mr. Stacy read the 58th chapter of Isaiah, as suggested in the following letter, from our beloved pioneer, whose absence by indisposition was in a

NORTHUMBERLAND, N. H., July 31st, 1860. DEAR FRIEND,-I am two hundred and fifty miles from Milford, enjoying a little recreation in this mounwhat ground do you do it? That he is a negro? the celebration on Thursday next, in your town, as I You see it is n't true. What are you going to do with designed doing when I last saw you. But you will the white part of him, when you subject his negro have no lack of earnest, faithful, eloquent speakers, and the great historical event of British West India the plantation-when you apply the whip to his Emancipation will be commemorated, not merely for its own intrinsic moral grandeur, but to the furtherance of the Anti-Slavery struggle in our own land.

Next to the crime of enslaving human beings is the

crime of misrepresenting, for slaveholding ends, the

results of their emancipation from slavery. Ever since the liberation of the West India bondmen, the knowledge, whom you class with your horses and most systematic, persevering and unscrupulous means have been resorted to, in every portion of the United States, to create the impression that it has proved a most calamitous act; the object being to reconcile the public mind to the continuance of slavery at the South as far less an evil than its abolition, and to disnirit I do not know of but one answer to be made by the friends of impartial liberty in their labors to hastthe O'Conor tribe to this question. There is an anec- en the day of jubilee here. No fabrication has been deemed too mean, no slander too malignant, no lie which represents him as once challenging a great too atrocious, to be coined and circulated for this deburly man of twenty stone and upwards, to fight a testable purpose. These forgeries and calumnies have duel. Now Curran was a very small man, and his been readily believed, so that there is, probably, but antagonist suggested that the contest would hardly be a small portion of the people who see and know that a fair one, in consequence of the great disparity of every thing is working well in the emancipated size. Curran proposed to obviate the objection by colonies. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? How chalking out his dimensions on the body of the other, could the complete suppression of a system embodydeclaring that all the bullets which hit outside of the ing 'the sum of all villanies,' be followed by evil mark should go for nothing. I cannot see how the consequences in any direction? Whether reference pretended owner of the partially white man can es- be made to the moral condition or the material proscape from the dilemma in which his negro-enslaving perity of the colonies, how could freedom fail to prove theory involves him, except by saying it is his inten- an inestimable blessing to those who had so long been tion to buy and sell and whip negroes only, and that deprived of it? From the hour they received this if any Caucassian blood flows-if any flesh and feel- boon, on bended knee, with throbbing hearts, and ings are lacerated outside the mark of Ham, it must quivering lips, and shouts of thanksgiving to God, up go for nothing, -is not to be taken into the account. to the present time, they have been steadily advanc-The second reason why Mr. O'Conor cannot confine ing in intelligence, sobriety, industry, economy, and his slavery to negroes is, that he undertakes to justify all the moral virtues. They have magnanimously the system on the ground of a want of capacity to cast into oblivion all memory of the terrible wrongs enjoy the blessings and perform the duties of free- and sufferings they endured while toiling under the dom in those who are to be enslaved. Consequently, yoke, and smarting under the lash; and in no instance his theory runs a horizontal line through the Uni- have they resorted to any vindictive or retaliatory verse, and all who fall below the gauge in his stand- act. No life has been taken, no blood shed, no plantaard of liberty, whether they be white or black, or tion fired. In no part of the world has there been whatever color they may be, must be taken care of at seen a more orderly population, or a more pacific and once, and sold to the highest bidder. No, Mr. cheering state of things, with so little of military or constabulary espionage. Dr. John Davy, brother of tation is impossible. The only honest ground for the the celebrated Sir Humphrey Davy, testifies :- 'The advocate of slavery to take, -- if indeed there can be abolition of slavery has been in every respect advanany honesty in a proposition so monstrous as that tageous, to the negroes, to the planters, and to the which reduces nineteen-twentieths of the human race population generally. Prior to abolition, crime of to the condition of merchandise,—the only honest every kind was prevalent, especially robbery. Since position is that assumed by the principal supporters) then, [speaking of Barbadoes,] I have not heard of of slavery at the South-namely, that 'society divides the murder of a white man, nor any instance of reitself into two classes,-capitalists and laborers. The venge taken by the liberated, for cruel treatment informer must own the latter. Slavery is the normal flicted before liberation. The security, as to propercondition of the laborer in all countries and times. ty, in which the opulent live here, is remarkable. Wherever he has taken part in, and assumed control Beggars and want are almost unknown.' The same of the government, the result has been revolution witness also declares :- 'Three-fourths of the laborers and anarchy.' Now this is plain talk; within reach in Antigua have cottages of their own, and small freeof the dullest intellect, whether above or below Mr. holds. Eighty-seven villages have all been built by O'Conor's isothermal line. The freshest and greenest emancipated laborers, near the estates on which they were formerly chattels.' The Governor of Tobago and shouted for 'liberty' while he damned the says :- 'I deny that the peasantry are abandoned to 'nagers'; the meanest Yankee that ever forsook an slothful habits. On the contrary, I assert that a more honest calling to engage in the wooden-nutmeg busi- industrious class does not exist in the world; at least, ness of living by hook or by crook upon his fellow- where they are working for themselves.' Sir Charles men-can understand this, and be made to feel, too, Grey, who was Governor of Jamaica in 1850, says:though it is accidentally the negro's back which is . There are few races of men who will work harder, or more perseveringly, than the negroes, when they are When the sovereign people-the toiling millions sure of getting the produce of their labor. Thatched throughout the country-once see this, they will hovels, with mud walls, have given place to numerous make short work with the 'patriarchal institution,'- free villages, regularly laid out, and houses built of the curse pronounced upon Ham, the Ethnology of stone or wood, with shingled roofs, green blinds, and our Pundits, and even our constitutional obligations verandahs, to shield them from the sun. The names to the contrary notwithstanding. For, though they of these villages give pleasant indication of the gratimay have no love for the negro, or ever feel a throb tude of the colored people towards their benefactors. of sympathy for any human being but themselves, They are called Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton they do like number one, and they will take care of Brougham, Macaulay, Thompson, Gurney, Sligo, &c. him, even though they have to throttle number two The names given to their own little homes have almost a poetic interest, so touching and expressive is But I am extending these remarks far beyond my their simplicity. The following are samples:- Hapintention when I began, and will ask your attention py Retreat,' 'Thank God for It,' 'A Little of my Own,' 'Liberty and Content,' 'Thankful Hill.'

The Rev. Henry Bleby, whose visit to this country two years ago will ever be pleasantly remembered, now so far prostituted to the service of slavery, on says :- As for the moral condition of Barbadoes, I the side of freedom where they naturally belong. Let believe the criminal statistics, for the last five years, us do this, because it will be an act of justice to a would compare, without disadvantage, with any counwronged and oppressed portion of our fellow-men, try under heaven. I have a membership of 1700 colored persons, and during the last two years, I have not had a single case of intemperance reported to me. and that virtue, whose possession and exercise are es- Every Sabbath our churches are crowded with people anxious to receive instruction. I know of no people in the world who will make such efforts, and exercise such self-denial, to obtain education for their children as the colored people of Barbadoes. Wis a falsehood that emancipation has failed to improve the condition of the colored race. Throughout the West Indies, in every island, the condition of the people is incomparably superior to what it was in slavery. Some say if it has not ruined the laborers, it has rained the planters. I deny that statement as plainly as I deny the other. Emancipation has proved a blessing, instead of a curse, to the proprietors.'

Then as to the sugar question. In Barbadoes, be tween 1842 and 1852, the increase of sugar exported was 27,240 hogsheads. The report for 1851 states: 'There has been more sugar shipped from this island not responsible for the evil there is in the world when the Bahamas, the exports and imports increased half indignation at having an American Negro for a fet. times to sustain a respectable number in the belief governments. Formerly, you know, the plea in an onward with resistless force toward the grand met.

Trinidad, in 1862, the crop was the largest ever shipped from the island; and it has been extending since. The report for 1863 speaks of marked h provement in the cultivation of the sugar estate. Export of sugar rose from an average of 310,797 eve. under slavery, to 425,042 cwt. in the seven years end ing 1854.

And this testimony could be multiplied indefinitely, given by competent, reliable, authoritative withten Thus are the promises of God fulfilled, as set forth in Thus are the promises a chapter that ought to be read with emphasis at every celebration of West India Brancipation, as the prelude to whatever address the occasion may call forth. 'Alleluia! for the Levi God omnipotent reigneth !

Inspired by this grand example and these cheering facts, let us renew our efforts for the total and eterns everthrow of slavery in the United States, that the nation may be saved from irremediable ruin, and the nation may be saved and solices may join in the song of jubles from the Atlantic to the Pacific, every chain being broken, every bondman set free!

· Ho! children of the brave-Ho! freemen of the land-That stamped into the grave Oppression's bloody band! Come on—come on—and joined be we To make the fettered bondman free! Yours for universal freedom,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON GRORGE W. STACT.

The following sentiment was sent from Haverhall and read by Mr. Stacy, as desired by the author:-

. WILLIAM ILLOYD GARRISON, the printer philas *WILLIAM LACYD GARRISON, the printer philas-thropist. In the fitting language of nature's noble-man, Charles Sumner, "a man of the purest life and perfect integrity." Let us not trust to posterity to do him honor, but join heartily, now and forever, in the noble benediction of "the great poet of humanity, our Master of Arts and Quaker friend, Whittier:-

"Go on! for thou hast chosen well; On in the strength of God! Long as one human heart shall swell Beneath the tyrant's rod!

Speak in a slumbering nation's ear, As thou hast ever spoken Until the dead in sin shall hear-The fetter's link be broken!

Mr. Stacy followed the letter with the touching account of Thome and Kimball, giving the manner in which the boon of freedom was received by the eman. cipated thousands. He spoke of the impressive gradeur of the day we celebrate, and the manifest indifference and ignorance of the people to its historic bearing. Mr. Stacy also presented the action of the Sons of

Temperance, held at Worcester, July 18th. Conductor Sawin, of Natick, presented the following:-Whereas, it has been proved that our foreign pop. ulation can be reached by the principles of Lore,

Purity and Fidelity-therefore, Resolved, That it is the duty of the member of this Grand Division to take measures to form Divisions of the Order among our foreign population.

Rep. Cheever of No. 41, moved to amend by inserting 'and colored,' immediately after the word 'foreign,' wherever it occurs in the above preamble and resolution. On the motion to adopt the resolution as amended, the vote stood, 27 yes, 27 no-the G. W. P. gave the casting vote in favor, and the resolution was declared adopted. Mark the devillah spirit of caste! Had it not been for Judge Russell-God bless him !- by a tie vote the colored man would have been left to the drunkard's doom unpitied, so far as the Sons of Temperance are concerned. What a burlesque for the twenty-seven negro-haters, who thus trampled upon human rights, to talk about Love, Purity and Fidelity!

Parker Pillsbury followed in an earnest and telling speech, till the hour of adjournment. We refrain from the briefest synopsis of Mr. P.'s remarks, as a report of the same, with other speeches, will be reported by Miss Albee, of Hopedale, in the Liberator.

While Mr. Pillsbury was speaking, C. L. Remond and H. Ford Douglass arrived, and were received with applause. The afternoon session gave evidence of increased interest, the large hall being densely filled. Remond and Douglass filled up the time by speeches of great ability, pregnant with the work of the hour. Before the close of the afternoon session, Mr. Pillsbury, chairman of the Business Committee, introduced the following resolutions for discussion, which were unanimously adopted, and voted to be published in the Milford papers and Boston Liberator :-

RESOLUTIONS. Parker Pillsbury took the platform and read the following resolutions :-

1. Resolved. That the greatest and most important event in the present century, is that sublime and glorious conquest of justice and freedom over unrighteousness and despotism, whose 22d anniversary we this day celebrate, when 800,000 British slave were born into the enjoyment of the God-given rights, of which, through dreary generations, they and their fathers had been robbed and denied. 2. Resolved, That, while filled with joy at so sig-

nal a victory of Liberty over Slavery in a government of Kings and Queens, we will not for a moment forget, that in this Christian and Democratic Republic, there are 4,000,000 of immortal beings still held in a bondage even more dreadful than the world has ever seen, crushed between the Church and Gorernment, as between the upper and the nether millstone; and here, as in their terrible presence, and before their righteous God and Judge, we do solemnly pledge ourselves to their deliverance; nor will we faint or tire till our labors are crowned with triumph or terminated in death.

3. Resolved, That when Senator Seward, of New York, declared in his celebrated speech in Congress, the last winter, that 'the State the least developed and perfected in this Union, is wiser and better than any foreign State that I know,' he uttered a most daring blasphemy against the whole spirit and genius of Liberty, Justice and Humanity, as seen is British West India emancipation; and as also unfolding itself in Italy, in Hungary, and even under the despotic governments of Alexander of Russis and Napoleon of France.

4. Resolved, That the recent law of Arkansas, consigning to interminable slavery the whole free colored population of that State, and confiscating their property to the use of their oppressors and the State, unless they hastened out of its jurisdiction forerer, is without a parallel in the whole history of human depravity and crime-whether the appeal be to the record of legislation in the name of government, or to the black and bloody deeds of common pirates and plunderers, done in defiance of all law, and executed and punished by the common consent of mankind.

5. Resolved, That the declaration of Senster Serard just cited, viewed in connection with this law of Arkansas, shows that slavery has done its deadliest work upon him; and every true and intelligent love of liberty will rejoice that he was doomed to dissppointment in the nomination to the Presidency, even if a worse than he has been called to that distinction.

6. Resolved, That we rejoice to hear by telegraph to-day, that the city of Milwaukee in Wisconia. though an American city, is still more worthy of salvation than were Sodom and Gomorrah, since it has furnished ten righteous and brave men, to liberate by force and arms (after all legal means had failed) Mr. Shorman M. Booth, who has long been most cruelly imprisoned for resisting the Pugitive Slave Law, and siding a fellow-man to escape from the fangs of a tyrant-master.

7. Resolved, That the Government of these States is itself a bloody and unmitigated despotism, whether executed by the Whig party of 1848, the Democratic party ever since, or the Republican party of teday-as represented by the Chicago platform and the declarations of Mr. Linco'n, its present candidate; and we boldly declare that the Fugitive Slave Law perer be executed while we have the power perent it, by Abraham Lincoln or any other Prestperent it, of the shall any Slave Insurrection ever fall for test; more sympathy and such aid as we can consci mously render; and, by the sacred ashes of Lafayette should other John Browns be sacrificed in heroic ef should other some enalayed, we will not fail to sing for to draw; and we will rear their monuments of their praises, and hearts, which shall last long after Old Time has mown down the proudest marble, and umpled out the most enduring brass.

The evening session was one of rare interest, and ontinued till a late hour of adjournment. The peech of Mr. Pillsbury, in review of Dr. Gardner foring, and the guilty position of the American Spring, was graphic and scathing. Remond followed Charen, his best efforts, and closed with a touching is one of his feelings as a father watching his sleepsaranon and remembering the fate of millions of ist intant, his hated and injured race. Even at the late hour, a he masses before 10 o'clock, Douglass was called for moments the weariness of the people, he took the stand reluctantly. He soon found, however, that being and sympathetic hearts were in harmony with him, and finished our most successful meeting with remarks of great power and natural eloquence panng the speech of Mr. D. in the afternoon, a lady from the sudience threw at his feet a beautiful bouquet on the auditance so unusual to Abolitionists, that it the speaker almost into a speechless attitude, Bat God be praised, the world does move !

The announcement of the liberation of Mr. Booth br ten armed men, while the U. S. officers were at gianer, at Milwaukee, was received with rapturous applause. Let us again thank God and take courspe, and feel all the more hopeful for the future; and when our Pirst of August comes, as come it will, our allelous shall join with unfettered millions, to God who giveth the victory.

JAMES R. DAVIS, President. A. T. WILKINSON, Secretary.

Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, AUGUST 17, 1860.

LOED BROUGHAM AND MR. DALLAS. Courtesy is an excellent thing-in its place. Oberrance of conventional propriety is an excellent thing-in its place. There are, however, matters that nghtfully take precedence of both, and occasions on which both may properly be ignored and disregarded. If a precise, pompous old gentleman, whose only concern is to support his dignity, complains that mother has roughly brushed against him in the tree, disturbing at once his composure, his garwere, and his centre of gravity, we sympathize with him, we feel that he has reason for complaint.

he is an absurd and fogg, he is also a man and a brother, and has a right to walk the streets unmolested. We are disposed to biame the disturber, and to ask sup-Why did you justle the old gentleman ?- But f it then appears that the offender was rushing to reque a child from being run over, -and, moreover, that the complaint of the incarnation of dignity was made after having seen and understood that factthe case is materially altered; and we are disposed to say to the complainant-Go to the d-istant parts of the earth with your ceremonious dignity! There are some things of more importance than that ! Let it be granted that Lord Brougham violated the rais of order by introducing justice and humanity into a Statistical Association. Let it be granted that he thus introduced these foreign topics with express dearn to call the unwilling attention of a defender of slavery to them, and also to direct the notice of the sudience to him, in his pro-slavery character, regardless of any disturbance that might thence arise to his refined sensibilities. Is this course of conduct to be censured! Before we thus decide, let us look at the matter that induced it.

If it shall appear that Lord Brougham acted thus in the discharge of an immensely important duty-a duty much less frequently observed than the conventional rules which, in this case, are declared to have saman and a Christian - the duty of rem those in bonds as bound with them, the case will indeed be altered.

When a man is drowning, that person is base and usuanly, as well as narrow-minded, who declines to take the liberty of saving him, because they have not previously been 'introduced' to each other. Courtesy then becomes a mockery. Help is the one thing needful

Here are four millions of people in our country not only mocked, despised and calumniated, but trodden under foot of men : reduced to the lowest point of debasement, and firmly held there, by rich, strong, elegant and chivalrous gentlemen, merely to save those gentlemen the trouble of earning their own living It is unfortunately true that these gentlemen have hitherto successfully held their ground against the civilization and Christianity of the nineteenth century. They flaunt their defiance in the face of the world. They laugh at humanity. They have bribed the priesthood to represent religion as on their side. And, in support of this favorite iniquity, they have perverted law, government, custom, and even the English language; have abolished freedom of speech and of the press; and have established the custom of suppressing all interference in behalf of the weak by brutal violence. Only in one point can their serene audacity be disturbed-the point of perenal dignity. This, therefore, is the proper quarter in which to assail them; and Lord Brougham is enitled to the gratitude of every friend of the slave for the thorough and effective manner in which he has taken this course with Mr. Dallas; holding him up to public opprobrium as an ally of the slaveholder; and then, when this act was erroneously represented a intended to insult the United States, promptly disclaiming this interpretation of it, and leaving the personal application in full force.

Slavery wants to be let alone. It must not be let alone. The slaveholder wants to be recognized as a rentleman and a Christian; to be treated as 'a man of honor, in spite of a character stained with the height of meanness and the depth of baseness. The proper treatment for this insolent assumption is to send him to Coventry'; to refuse, as O'Connell did, to take his blood-stained hand; to make him feel, thenever he chances to be in the company of gentlewen, or Christians, that the robbery which he systematically practises, and by which he lives, is every moment present to their minds as the prominent feature in his character. Let the people of any free country, to which he goes, speak to him of slavery when they speak to him at all, and let the same treatment be applied to his allies and defenders. If they take refuge in a meeting of the Statistical Society, let the statistics of slavery be made the order of the day. And let the demeanor of all Englishmen speak so plainly their detestation of the crime in question, that an openly pro-slavery man shall feel himself scorehed with contempt whenever he appears among them, either on public business or for private pleasure. And above all, let this treatment be applied, in England, to American elergymen who are known as the defenders of slavery. To treat such persons as men of honor, as gentlemen, or as Christians, is to take part against the slave .- C. K. W.

Hoxa Again. After an absence of three weeks from his post, Mr. Garrison has returned home, much benefitted by his sojourn among the mountains, and will resume his customary labors next week.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY. Bast Lexinorou, July 31, 1860.

PRIEND GARRISON-According to notice previous given, a meeting of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Town Hall, at Concord, on Sunday, July 15th, afternoon and evening. Mr. Pillsbury read the following very spicy Rese

lutions, which he supported by a few remarks:—

Resolved, That American Slavery, in the words of Senator Sumner, is a ' Five-Headed Barbarism;' only traceable to the darkest regions of Africa, that nurs of monaters; to Guinea, Congo and Dahomey' countries which still claim the right to enslave cap tives taken in war, and to sell them to the human blood-brokers of these so-called Christian States !

Resolved, That slavery being this five-fold Bar barism, the slaveholder is necessarily a five-fold Bar-

barian. Resolved, That slaveholders, as such, have no tion of the Democracy of the present, or the Whig rights which any human being is bound to respect; or Pederal parties of the past; but we hereby solemnand all their so-called governments are but organized bands of robbers, and their religion no more Christian than the bloody rites of Moloch or Juggernaut.

Resolved, That a governmental Union with such barbarians, under the name of Democracy, which enables half the parties to the contract to practice and perpetuate their plunder and robbery by guaranteeing to them all needed aid and protection against insurrection or escape on the part of their victims, as vette, should more John Browns be sacrificed, in long as their oppressors wish to plunder them, is really the crowning curse and consummation of the praises shall be sung among the nations; and out of Barbarism itself.

nounces slavery and slaveholders, and still continues in complicity with them, boldly defending the Republican party, whose nominee for the Presidency i a declared advocate of every pro-slavery compromise in the Constitution ever claimed by Calhoun or endorsed by Webster, and whose platform (announced at Chicago) virtually pronounces Capt. John Brown the gravest of criminals ;-when Mr. Sumner can do the New York Independent-are even more to be all this, without a quiver or a blush, he proves most drended than the open spite of the older but scarcely frightfully that slavery has done its deadly work on more guilty ecclesiastical organizations; and we him, as well as on the other chiefs of his party, and rendered him utterly unsuitable to be entrusted with the interests of Humanity and Liberty.

Resolved, That if Cromwell, Washington, Lafayette, bulwarks of slavery. or Garibaldi, deserves well and honorably of mankind, then also does the brave Capt. John Brown, and the few noble spirits who attended him to Virginia; and so much more, as the Tyranny they sought to destroy is greater than was British Rule, and more insufferable than is Italian Despotism.

Resolved, That the absurdity of professing to hold to an anti-slavery interpretation of the Constitution, while supporting by vote and every way the election of Abraham Lincoln, is beyond the power of words of the election of Lincoln and Hamlin, both of whom to describe, and shows the masses of the party to be as unfortunate in their mental perceptions, as their leaders are in moral integrity and honesty.

Resolved, That every believer in forcible resistant to tyrants, and especially every admirer of Lafayette, should rejoice in the heroism of John Brown, and pray God to raise up others to complete the work he so well begun.

Resolved. That the recent attempt on the personal liberty of a citizen of this town of Concord, by the myrmidoms of the Federal Government, has demonstrated how nearly we have lost our own rights, while consenting to, and aiding in the enslavement of others; and proves, moreover, how truly the work of emancipation must begin at our own doors.

Resolved, That treason and rebellion against such a government as ours are both a duty and a virtue, and the only possible assurance we can give of our loyalty and fidelity to that higher, diviner authority emanating from the bosom of nature and of God.

Mr. Pillsbury was followed by H. Ford Douglass, in a very eloquent address of an hour. Mr. Sanborn, of Concord, explained the object of the meeting, and recommended the dissolution of the Society as an inefficient organization, and one which ought to be superseded by some more active association, and gave notice that he should no longer act as Secretary of the Society. He was very strongly opposed by Mr. Pillsbury, who thought such organization very essential. He considered the anti-slavery people dead enough now, and referred to the case of S. M. Booth, who is now lying in jail, contrary to the laws of his State, and to the decision of all the been violated -a duty imperatively binding on him Judges. He felt if there was any life in the people, they done so.]

> In the evening, Col. Whiting, the President, declined a reelection; and Samuel Barrett, of Concord, was chosen President; J. G. Dodge of West Cambridge, and Reuben Locke of South Reading, Vice Presidents; and Andrew Wellington, Secretary. Addresses were made by H. F. Douglass, Parker Pillsbury, A. Bronson Alcott, Henry D. Thorcau and others, when the resolutions were unanimously adopted. ANDREW WELLINGTON, Sec'y.

> > MEETING AT WORCESTER.

sence of the President, Abby Kelley Foster was called will no doubt, if widely circulated, do much to aug-

The following Committees were chosen, viz. :-Business Committee-Parker Pillsbury, E. H. Heywood, H. Ford Douglass, Joshua Spooner, Stephen S.

Finance Committee-W. A. Wilson, Sarah F. Barle, Boston. Sarah A. Henshaw, Charles D. Marcy.

E H. Heywood, in behalf of the Business Committee, offered the following resolutions :-

slaveholders and their abettors are criminals; and Boston, where he arrived on the 28th of last July, that personal honor, alike with every instinct of jus- without money, and with no other clothes than those tice, humanity, and religion, demands the immediate he had on when arrested. The only reason the Hayrenunciation of all compacts and compromises with tian officials gave for such inhuman treatment was them as utterly immoral and vicious; and hence, that that Philibert had private interviews, at St. Thomas, the leading churches of the North, in fellowshipping with a certain Salomon, one of the ministers of Fausslaveholders, their apologists, and the supporters of a tin I., the ex-Emperor of Hayti. No proof whateve slaveholding government, are recreant to their high could be produced to sustain such a charge against trust, and wholly unworthy the support of religious him, and it was merely on suspicion that he was arpeople: and that the American Union, in its incep- rested, incarcerated, and banished from his country, tion, its growth, and its present form, is a remorseless without a trial, or even a warning. sacrifice of the rights and liberties of the black man. a gigantic conspiracy against justice and God, a covenant with death and an agreement with hell, to be at Prench correctly; but, as he does not understand once and forever annulled.

Resolved, That since the Republican party claims to share, and aspires to control a government, of which enforce all the bloody compromises of the Constitu- mercantile pursuits. tion, the immunity and protection of slavery as a tions, and the recapture of fugitive slaves; since Abraham Lincoln is the author of a fugitive slave bill whose unprovoked and unconstitutional atrocity even from the triumph of that party.

foot the 'suffering and dumb' bondmen, while re-ceiving, with distinguished honors, Millard Fillmore, ceiving, with distinguished bonors, Millard Pillmors who signed the harrible Pugitive Slave Bill of 1860 fully justifies the charge of the Abolitionists, that the Methodist Church North is pro-slavery, and prove that, so far from being a Christian church, it has no vitality enough, is too morally corrupt and imbecile to purge even itself of the foulest abomination of th

These he followed with remarks upon the duties the hour, socially, religiously, and politically.

Parker Pillsbury, in behalf of the Business nittee, offered the following resolutions :--

Resolved. That the government of these States in itself a bloody and unmitigated despotism, and must be so, as well under a Republican administration, based on the Chicago platform, and the doctrines an declarations of Abraham Lincoln, as under the execu ly affirm that no Pugitive Slave Law shall ever be executed, where we can aid in trampling it down, no matter who is President, or what party is in power Nor shall any sable Washington or black Garibaldi fail in an insurrectionary attempt to deliver himself and his fellow victims from slavery, for want of our sympathy, or any aid which we can conscientiously render. And, by all the hallowed memories of Lafa heroic efforts for their deliverance, their well-merited grateful hearts, we will rear them monuments, that Resolved, That when Mr. Sumner so terribly de- shall stand and shine amid the generations, when old Time shall have mown down the proudest marble, and trampled out the most enduring brass.

Resolved, That the hypocritical pretensions of some of the religious bodies and journals to anti-slaverysuch as the Methodist Episcopal Church, the so-called Church Anti-Slavery Society, the American Missionary Association, the Boston American Tract Society, and would exhort all truly anti-slavery men and women, who have been beguiled by or into them, to abandon such connections, as among the last strongholds and

Resolved. That in the two recently published speeches of Charles Sumner, we see the blinding, bewildering and depraying effect of American politics. and of contact with slaveholders-the former, made in the U.S. Senate, being a four hours' argument against the 'five-headed barbarism of slavery,' and repudited by many of the leaders of Republicanism; and the latter a full admission of the constitutionality of slaveholding, and an eloquent argument in favor believe in slave-hunting as well as slave-holding, and who virtually declare in their platform that the noble John Brown was one of the gravest criminals who ever died by the halter.

These he discussed at some length, and with such force as to bring Dr. O. Martin to his feet in a very earnest and excited speech, in support of action with the Republican party.

Mr. Pillsbury answered briefly some of Dr. Mar tin's positions, when S. S. Foster made an eloquent and able speech, in review of the subject as presented by Dr. Martin. In closing, Mr. Poster offered for the consideration of the meeting the following resolution. as reflecting his views in the premises :--

Resolved. That it is morally inconsistent, and philosophically absurd, for a people who depend upon government for the protection of their own liberty and right, to attempt to abolish the institution of slavery, and protect the liberty and rights of its victims, by any other instrumentality. Hence, any scheme of emancipation which ignores political action is radically defective in principle, and, if persisted in, must end in failure and bitter disappointment. The afternoon session was occupied with addresses

by Mr. Donglass and Mr. Pillsbury. The evening session was fully attended by an interested audience, who listened to the addresses of Messrs. Douglass and Heywood till a late hour with attention. The resolutions offered by Mr. Heywood and Mr. Pillsbury were adopted, and the meeting ad-

Altogether, it was as promising a meeting as has been held in Worcester for some time.

JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, Secretary.

COMPLEXIONAL DISFRANCHISEMENT. The State of New York requires a property qualification of \$250 of every colored man, before he can exercise the elective franchise. This odious restriction is to be passed upon by all the voters at the approaching November election. The New York Tribune, of the 7th inst., denounces the clause referred

to as atrocious, and demands its abolition. By way of promoting this long-sought and muchdesired reform, William C. Nell has just compiled a cheap campaign pamphlet, containing facts from the record of patriotic services of the colored men of A quarterly meeting of the Worcester County New York, during the wars of 1776 and 1812, with a (South Division) Anti-Slavery Society was held at compendium of their present business and property Washburn Hall, in Worcester, on Sunday, August statistics. There are thousands of voters in that State 12th, commencing at 104 o'clock, A. M. In the ab- to whom these facts will be new and instructive, and

> They can be obtained for 5 cents each, or \$3 a hundred, of Thomas Hamilton, 48 Beckman street. Wm. H. Leonard, 5 Beekman street, New York; also at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street,

ment the vote in favor of 'No Property Qualification.'

A CASE OF CHARITY.

A very intelligent colored man, called Paul Philibert, a respectable Haytian trader, who has a com-Resolved, That slaveholding is a heinous crime mercial establishment in Gonaives, (Hayti,) was lately against God, and a flagrant wrong to man, and that arrested at Port au Prince by the Haytian Governnow, as heretofore, we rely with confidence, for its re- ment, as he was just returning from St. Thomas, moval, solely upon the application of God's truth to where he had been speculating. He was thrown into the hearts and consciences of the American people. | a prison, and afterwards embarked, in the night, on Resolved, That if slaveholding is a crime, then all | board the American schooner Monticello, bound to

Philibert, as we have said, is an intelligent, industrious, and polite colored man; he speaks and writes English, he cannot expect to find employment in this city. He has no means of support in Boston, but he has friends and fellow-traders in St. Thomas; and if John Quincy Adams said, the preservation, propaga- the benevolent of this community could procure him tion, and perpetuation of slavery is the vital and ani- a free passage for that Danish island, he would find mating spirit; ' since it recognizes and is pledged to there many friends to welcome and help him in his

Any benevolent person wishing to relieve Paul State institution, the suppression of all slave insurrec- Philibert in his present distress, can find him at his boarding-house, No. 423, Commercial street, Boston.

In Mr. Douglass's admirable and eloquen Senator Mason was not base and heartless enough to speech, which we give on our first page, and which copy; and since, if not the open defender, certainly we were obliged to print before it was revised by the he is the persistent apologist of slavery in the District author, (it being prepared for the press by one inexof Columbia, the interstate slave trade, the admission perienced in that line,) the following corrections of more slave States, and the discenchisement of the should be made :- At the close of the first parablack man under State legislation,—the cause of im- graph in the third column, instead of 'whose cowpartial freedom has little to hope, and much to fear, ardly skulls in human shape," read, " who are made rom the triumph of that party.

to dream in their midnight slumbers of God's Resolved. That the recent cignal failure of the avenging angel of insurrection hovering about Methodist General Conference, at Buffale, to apply them. In the last paragraph of the same column, the Gospel of Jesus to slaveholders, trampling under read 'Judea' for 'India'-also, 'decay' for 'diary.'

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

By H. Ford Doug In Milford, N. H., S. Newmarket, " Rochester, " Dover, Milford, Mass., By Miss Caroline F. Patnam, for the Tract Fund In Newport, R. I., Mrs. Henry Jacks In Sterling, Mass., C. H. Loring, Other friends,

" C. W. Carter Friends. John Heyw Mrs. AbbyP. Forbush Friends, Hubbardston, Mass., Friends, Mrs. Ripley, Fred. Parker, Others, Templeton, Millbury, Mass., John Dove. John Smith, Mrs. R. H. Foster,

In Oakdale, Mass.

Paxton.

S. Cogswell, Mrs. L. S. Gray, Fitzwilliam, N. H., Mrs. S. Kendall, I Others, Marlboro'. Misses Payson, Eliza Morrison, Dr. Badger, Others, Milford, N. H. Dr. Daracott.

MissE. A. Livermore, 1 00 Amherst, N. H. North Weare, N. H., Manchester, Bradford.

" Mrs. Dr Morrill, Mrs. J.A.Gilmore,1 00 Rev. J. H. Moore, 1 00 Mrs. Dumas, Mrs. Chas. Smart, Mrs. N. White, Mrs. Greenleaf, 1 W.L. Foster, Esq., 1

Others, Valley Falls, R. I., Samuel Chase, Mrs. A. E. Chase. Benj. Fessenden, Others, Providence, R. I., Geo. A. Snow,

Pawtucket, R. I., J. M. Ryder, 2 00 Wm. T. Adams. James Davis, E. Despau, W. Higginson, 1 00 1 00 1 00 S. Thornton, James Dennis, 1 00 Mrs. G. C. Smith.

0 50 C. P. Adams, Mason, R. Bliss. 0 50 Mrs. Claffin, Charles Noyes, 0 50 Zelotes Wetherell, 0 25 , Mary Metcalf, Sarah Metcalf, Diamond Plain, R. I. Sarah Metcalf, 2 00 Celinda Metcalf, 2 00

Bunice Metcalf. Joanna Pierce, R. M. Walloott, By R. F. Wallout. In Cambridge, Mass., Miss Francis, 0 50 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Anti-Slavery Cause, at Abington, Aug. 1, 1860.

J. H. Stoddard

Charles Follen

F. H. Cowing

\$1 00 Adeline May 1 00 Mrs. Mary Crocker

1 00 0 25

Mrs. Chas. Meserve J. Harding 0 50 Geo. J. Peterson L. Leach D. Holbrook Edward Bennett 1 00 1 00 R. Loud Wm. C. Haskeil 1 00 Alden Sampson M. R. Buswell R. Joseph M. Perry Thomas B. Joslin Seth Jones 1 00 Betsey Thomas Samuel Barrett Francis Jackson L. H. Noyes Thos. J. Hunt 1 00 Mr. Cowing B. Quincy P. W. Bird C, K. Whipple 1 00 1 00 E. H. Heywood 1 00 E. H. Bradford D. B. Morey 1 00 A. J. H. B. Young C. Bradford 1 00 S. L. Harris Lewis McLauthlin C. M. Leonard B. Arnold Russell D. Gardner S. C. Beal R. W. Henshaw Charles Meserve H. W. Blanchard S. Dyer John Wright 0 25 Mary L. Richmond 0 50 J. C. Lindsey Bourne Spooner William Lewis 1 00 M. W. Stetson P. B. Coggswell Jacob Leonard John Jone H. J. Prentiss Asa Brett R. R. Crosby E. Hewitt 0 50 Mrs. Stetson Wm. Ashby Branch B. 0 25 C. Ross Miss Putnam 5 00 James Seymour, 0 25 5 00 George W. Gilmore 0 50 1 00 Cash in various sums from other forms R. Richards Susan C. Cabot

Anna Gardner Mary May Pledge. D. F. Goddard, Weymonth. D. F. Goddard, weymount,
Whole amount contributed, including
\$90 30

DEATH OF J. S. ROUNDS. It is with the deepest feelings of sympathy with his afflicted relatives, and the profoundest sense of the loss which society has sustained, that we record the death of Jabez S. Rounds; which event occurred at his place of resi-dence on Summer street in this town, this morning, at about 11 o'clock, at the age of 44 years.

It may not be in accordance with the wishes of his

friends, as it certainly would not have been with his own, to see a long paragraph, reciting the virtues and graces which will long endear the memory of this eseemed man to so many hearts; but it is the occasion of such a death should not be lost upon those who survive, and that a bright example for purity of character, benevolence, unselfishness, and practice of those virtues which alone truly exalt any one above his fellows, should be urged upon all, especially the young, as worthy of imitation.

We are informed that our friend passed away without trepidation, and in the full confidence which his

road and generous ideas of Christianity will always inspire, of a better and eternal state of existence and progress in the spiritual world .- Taunton Democrat.

A meeting to strengthen free thought, to encourage

rue and free speech, to awaken and increase active highest reputation are employed.

The Principal and associate teachers receive pupils come! men and women who would examine the into their families at \$250 per annum, including board. interest in reforms, freedom, and spiritual life.

The Cummington convention of the friends of impartial liberty in Cummington and vicinity will be held in the Free Church, on Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 1st and 2d, opening at 10 o'clock, A. M., Saturday, and continuing day and evening, at sessions. C. C. Burlinuing. Parker Plilabury and H. Ford Douglass will be present as speakers. All friends of the cause and the public generally are cordially invited.

LF EMPLOYMENT WANTED ON A SEW-ING MACHINE.—A young lady, skilled in the use of Grover & Baker's sewing machines, wishes employment either at her residence, No. 9 Columbia street, or in families in the city or vicinity where the machine is used, or taking her own with her, if desired.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH National Anti-Slavery Anniversary.

When the claim for Universal Liberty was fire made in our country, the best part of a life-time ago, the work lay wholly in futurity. The idea and the principles of Human Rights were to be re-planted the justice and necessity of their cause as against Slathe justice and necessity of their cause as again, our very to be proved, the prevailing apathy to be broken, the public mind to be awakened and enkindled, the insufficiency of a Church and State controlled by Sta-very to compass Preedom to be demonstrated, the re-trogression of the land towards barbarism under their way to be made manifest, and freedom of spethe press, and of a new specific association to be claim ed and exercised as the only sufficient instrumen

talities of progress.

This is the initiatory work that has been done, and by it, abundant opportunities of direct action have been rendered practicable. The work result, in thousand shapes, now lies before us, whose privilege it has been to make ready for it. The despoti driven into open day. To meet it, requires devotion industry, and the sacred fire of a true enthusiasm. It requires energy, cooperation, and the discipline of self-control. It requires generous contributions of money. We trust that all these indispensable requisites are now, as ever, ready.

We earnestly and cordially entreat all who low our native land in sincerity, whether Europeans of 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 Freedo has been sought from among a dominant people for a down-trodden one, on so grand a scale as this i We sak aid of Europeans, while we bid them observe that their freedom makes progress only in exact proportion as our alavery is brought into discredit We sak aid of Americans; for where is the American to whom this Cause of ours is not the supreme in terest 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 aid in th work they can neither do, nor do without. We cordially 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, FRANCES 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. ELIZABETH VON ARNIM. ANNA SHAW GREENE, ELIZA APTHORP, MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT. MATTIE GRIFFITH, ANNE LANGDON ALGER. MARY E. STEARNS.

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. Chas. L. Remond, H. Ford Douglass and other

will address the meeting. CHAS. LENOX REMOND, President. LYDIA M. TENNEY, 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. FORD DOUGLASS will speak. JOSHUA T. EVEREIT, President. Moses H. Minick, Sec'y.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings Burlington, Vt., the second and third Sundays in August, 12th and 19th; and, August 24th, 25th and 26th, will attend a Convention in South Royalton, Vt.

WM. WELLS BROWN will lecture at Mo-Indoes Falls, Vt., on Friday, Aug. 17.

MISS HOLLEY, Agent of the Massachuset A. S. Society, will lecture on Sunday afternoon Aug. 19, at half-past 1 o'clock, in West Wrentham.

CAPE COD ANNUAL MEETING .- The innual Anti-Slavery Convention for Barnstable Coun ty will be held at Harwich, on Saturday and Sunday Sept. 22d and 23d, commencing on Saturday, at M. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, CHARLES L. REMOND E. H. HETWOOD and other speakers will be presen friends of impartial liberty and the public generally are cordially invited to attend.

Z. H. SMALL, J. H. ROBBINS, Committee ELKANAH NICKERSON, Arrangements

DIED-In North Bridgewater, July 21, Mrs. Louisa, wife of Charles Gurney, and daughter of the late Perez Crocker, Esq., aged 58.

WEST NEWTON English and Classical School. HB Fall Term will begin Wednesday, Sep

It is intended that, in this Echool, youth of both sexes shall be, not only well instructed in the branches usually taught in our best schools and scademie MICHIGAN YEARLY MEETING OF but they shall be trained both in the sch FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—At Stur-gis, (Mich.) Saturday and Sunday, August 25th and 26th, commencing at 10 o'clock. A. M. and manners, will have equal consideration with the d science. Teachers of the

great living questions of to-day.

S. J. Finney of Ohio, J. M. Prebles of Battle fifteen years of age, \$300.

Creek, T. L. H. Willis of Coldwater, G. B. Stabbins of Ann Arbor, and other speakers, will be present to take part. The people of Sturgis will hold open doors for streamers.

New York Central College: THE Pall Term of this Institution will commence on Wednesday, August 22. Circulars will be towarded on application. By order of the Trustees,

N. H. OSBORNE, Sec.

Is there any virtue in MERE S. A. ATTEMP

EMARKE RADSHORADIE 2

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR

YOURSELP. To the Ro's or Byangement: "My age is sixty. One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had become quite thin. 'About the let of March, of the present year, I commenced using Mra. S. A. Allen's 'Restorer,' No. 1, according to the directions, and have continued to apply a slight dressing of the same once in three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair is now almost restored to its original color, and the hue appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION 18 NOTHING LIKE A DAYR RITT OPERATES UPON THE SECRE. DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRETIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly an advantage to one who was in danger of becoming bald.

Roy. M. THACHER,

Bridgewater, Onelda Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1855. President J. La BATON, LL. D., Union University.

MADAN—I would state, that some time last spring found MY HAIR PALLING OFF. I concluded to purchase a bottle of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorchase 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 PALLING OW OF HAIR CHARD, and my locks,
which before were quits GRAY, WREN CHARGED TO
BLACK. 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., PARTHE HAIR FROM FALLING OVF, and to RESTORE
GRAY LOCKS TO THERE ORIGINAL COLUMN. Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK,

Editor 'Ladies' Repository, Cincinnati, Ohio.
'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsamum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles manufactured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recommending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in any position desired. Rev. JOHN B. ROBIE, Editor . Christian Advo-

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

Rev. B. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. Americas and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City.

'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa mum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparatio

Rev. A. WRBSTER. Editor . Christian Era. Boston

'Having used numerous specifics to little purpose, I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. Bo I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zylobal-samum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with good effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bale 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 good effects.'

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church Attleboro', Mass.

I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Re-'I have used Mrs. S. A. Alten's word a 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 directions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair.'

Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

'My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and put on a very lively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD 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. are thankful to you, and feel that we have full value of our money.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOR, Prescot, Lancashire,

Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hair was restored to its natural color,—not the wig-like pearance produced by dye 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 n [The above clergyman is well known throughout Great

Britain, and to many in the United States.]

HAYTL Rev. Mrs. B. S. ANDRUS, (many years Missionary

to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. 1 In consequence of her long residence in aforename d In consequence of her long resimence in alorenamed island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealthy condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,'—'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsamum; I have

any thing that so materially and permanently benefit-ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen.

tried many other remedies for my hair, but never

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.'

Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyterian Witress.' Cincinnati, Ohio.

*It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till we know 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 pleased to insert adversisement. &c. Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Ed-

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

original glossy and beautiful black." Rev. JAS. McPARLANE, Paster Prot. Dutch Church Esopus, Ulster county, N. Y.

I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobelsamum have produced all the effects described in her salvertisement, in restoring the color and increasing the growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fail in color or decrease in luxuriance.

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattsburg, N. Y. 'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon turned as black as when I was a young man.' Rev. M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvania

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

"We think very highly of your preparations, have no doubt, if you had an agent in this vicin a large quantity might be disposed of."

LEF We think that if these fall 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 treater on having these. These are the only preparations exported in any

quantity to Europe. We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1.50 a bottle. Balsam, 374 cents per bottle.

Address all letters for information, Sq., to 'Mess. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 355 Broome Street, New York.' The Generics has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Int to outside wrappers, and in Black Int to directions pasted on bottles. Done other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be proceduted by us as a criminal offence.

SOLD BY EVERY DEUG AND FANCY GOODS DEALER. Oct lyeop

Por the Liberator THEODORE PARKER versus THE CLERGY.
Come on, ye hireling priesthood...

Of slander on his grave ! Vainly 'gainst him who sleeps beneath, Your puny hosts enrol; His memory is engraven deep On many a loyal soul.

Thousands who never heard his voice, Yet glory in his fame; And the heart's pulses quicken At the echo of his name. Where'er the soul of honor

And manliness is known.

Where Freedom's hosts are rallying, There shall he hold his throne. When crime o'ershadow'd all the land, And few the truth would hear,

His voice rang like a trumpet blast, And tyrants paled with fear. Where were ye then, ye destard throng,

Who dare malign his name? Mid the spoilers of the weak ye dwelt, And spake no word of blame!

His brave words and heroic deeds, Spoken and acted here, Rise up a giant monument To muck your craven fear.

They laugh to scorn your faltering praise, Or bolder words of blame; And down the rushing tide of time Shall waft his deathless name. Ye may grasp the fleeting honors

Of your own age and clime; He chose free thoughts, and world-wide aims, And utterances sublime. Posterity shall honor him,

And crown his radiant brow; While ye sink beneath the turbid stream, Refore whose waves ve bow. His mantle, held by unseen hands, Yet waits a fit successor;

Th' expectant host of Freedom stands To hail the new possessor. Lowell, Aug. 5, 1860. AMELIA.

For the Liberator.

THE GATHERING STORM. And the rod of the oppressor shall be broken, an the oppressed go free.

A storm is gathering o'er the land-Hark ! hear the thunder roar ! Soon shall the clash of arms be heard Upon Columbia's shore ! Boon, hand in hand, shall formen meet.

In Freedom's last dread fight : Fear pas! ' Jehovah guards the just-He will wefend the right. Th' oppressed to heaven for vengeance cry-

They shall not cry in vain : Tyrant, thou yet shalt see the hour, And own Messiah's reign! Up, freemen, up ! Jehovah cries :

Men shall my will perform; By them the powers of hell shall fall, But I will guide the storm. Up, freemen, up ! your Master cries-

Pear not the powers of hell; The God of heaven shall guard the just-. He doeth all things well. Up, freemen, up l'tis justice calls-

Up in your power and might; And may this prayer to Heaven be raised-· Great God, defend the right !' Up, freemen, up! a storm is nigh!

Soon shall the tempest pour! Soon shall the clash of arms be heard Upon Columbia's shore!

MOSES H. GALE. Bedford, July 23, 1860.

THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM. When, in the future, one shall ask of men, Where are their names who shrank in silence when A man was made a slave, and Church and State Joined hands to bar more close his prison gate? Beho shall answer, ' Where ?'-but if he ask, . Where are their names to whom the hardest task. And loss, and e'en a death of obloquy Were welcome, so that all men might be free?" Bach child of God, with grateful starting tear, And hand upon his heart, shall answer, 'Here!' M. A. T.

> From the New York Independent. A SALE! HO, A SALE! BY C. H. WEBB.

FIFTY NEGROES. This day, at 10 o'clock, will be sold 50 likely Negroes, consisting of Men, Boys and Girls, and Women and Children. DICKINSON, HILL & CO., Auctioneers. Richmond Enouirer.

It may be, my friend, you have been on the deep, And this cry from the mast-head has broken your

sleep, When a distant ship's trucks, as first traced on the sky.

Seemed the pendants of clouds that swept hurrying by, And the look-out aloft to the deck sent his hail.

Here, broad on the quarter, A sail! Ho, a sail! But I question if you at the first understand This cry from the depths of our granite-ribbed land :

A sale ! Ho, a sale ! and due south it would seem-Off Washington's grave, of Mount Vernon abeam; Half a hundred of slaves, 'neath our starry flag's fold, With the sanction of law and of priests to be sold! A sale of our honor! A sale of our name! Brothers' blood for red gold; oh, bargain of shame

Yes, there where each valley, each hill that w Is yet big with the bones of the patriot dead;

Where our fathers poured out the best blood of their

To wash from the soil the corrosion of chains; While their ashes yet beat, lo! above their gree graves

You are holding an auction of manacled slaves! Alsa! for the nation, oh weep for its shame-Whose flag is a falsehood, whose freedom a name; Alas! for the banner that vauntingly waves, Its stars for the masters, its stripes for the slaves ! Down, down with its folds-until such scenes are past Let the flag-misnamed free-be displayed at balf-

mast : From its field pluck the stars, and place fetters and chains. Fitter emblems to float over slave-tainted plains!

Hark ! from Burope's far shore comes the loud mock ing hail, You boast of your freedom-A sale! Ho, a sale! HOME,

Make home a hive, where all beautiful feelings Cluster like beeves, and their honey-dew bring ; Make it a temple of holy revealings, And love its bright angel with shadowing wing.

CONVENTIONS IN ILLINOIS AND IOWA-CLINTON, (Iowa,) July, 1860. PRIEND PILLABURY: We have had, of late, severs

Progressive, or Pree Conventions, in this pretty 'far West,' wherein the claims of the slave, Garrisonian

vidual soul, also, to judge for itself in matters of religion, was thoroughly considered. These Conventions have sprung up, not so much by an elaborate

· Call, signed by our noted ones, as by the spontane-

ous upheaval of what of manly liberality remains in

and there an obscure soul has felt the necessity of a

Convention of free minds, and made its move accord-

ingly. No previous consultation was had by the

movers of these different Conventions and yet, from

their simultaneous efforts, and from the miraculous gathering together, in this busiest season of the year,

First came the Convention at Descitt, Iowa,-of

which an account has been printed in a late Liberator.

I will only add, that, at that meeting, was a venerable

old gentleman, (Mr. Church,) who was formerly a

clergyman, or, (as he had it,) a Reverend damner of

the Bible with great clearness for one so old, and pro-

nounced our meeting the best he had ever attended.

He should go home thinking better of human na-

ture. I shall send you a full sketch of the proceed-

Next came a Convention at Cambridge, Henry Co.,

Ill .- held on the 23d and 24th of June last. One of

its objects was to effect some sort of a permanent

organization among progressive minds-whereby

money could be raised to sustain a system of

Liberal Lecturing among us. No creed was to be

adopted-still, members might be received and

dropped. Nothing was done, however, in the way of

such organization. It was generally deemed that the

H umanity, and pay our own salary. Mr. A. has la-

the Liberator, and I wish he might be better known

The Conventisn was addressed by numerous others,

the want of a more general acquaintance among

Western reformers, and the certainty of a future ral-

The next Convention was held at Independence, a

town of some 1800 people, eighty miles west of Du-

buque. It is the county seat, and as much blessed

with Spiritualists and other free minds as it is cursed

by a narrow-minded Orthodoxy, that used what

and otherwise discommode the Convention. The

tion. It commenced on July 12th, inst., and held

· Revelation, Inspiration and Religion,' in his usually

lucid and logical way, and endorsed the most libe-

ral ideas on those subjects. As a citizen of Wiscon-

sin, and a member of her Constitutional Convention,

Mr. Chase formerly did the cause of civil freedom

vention, and did it great service.

God-send, at least the people so regarded it.

Convention is at Sterling, Illinois, when I expect to part with our friend Foes, but not with the good work

in which he is engaged.

Yours, &c.,

Chase, of Michigan, addressed the Convention,

to our liberal friends East.

subscribers for the Liberator.

and North West?

ings of that Convention.

Abolition, the Rights of Woman, and Spiritual have been freely discussed. The right of each indi-

TOBACCO, PAUPERISM, CRIME : AN APPEAL TO GOVERNOR DANKS,

n the Use of Tobscoo in the State's Prison an

I address your EXCELLENCY from a sense of duty; and the fact that you have my uniform respect and suffrage is a guaranty that I address you with kindness and becoming deference.

For ten years and more, I have labored to arouse public attention to the evils of Tobacco. During this period, I have occasionally called on the Institutions above named, and, with a genial welcome from the officers, have addressed their inmates. In a recent visit of this sort, however, I learned that I could not as aforetime address the prisoners, because tobacco was no longer a forbidden article—that the Governor and those having the immediate control of the Institution had sanctioned its use.

It seems that gentlemen outside the prison, of a the popular heart. As by some sort of magic, here

It seems that gentlemen outside the prison, of a speculative turn, enter it, and hire squads of bands to hew stone, manufacture furniture, brushes and the like, and, in order to secure a larger amount of of Spiritualists, Abolitionists and Infidels, -of Liberator readers, Banner of Light and Investigator men, work, they are slowed to pander to a vicious and slambering appetite, by doling out tobacco to con-victs. Horses flanks are lashed for the race—bull-dogs and boxers are flesh-fed for the ring—but the in large numbers—can it be a great sin for one, not technically a Spiritualist, to suspect that some greathearted and powerful spirit from the upper regions muscles of the convicts at Charlestown are madder (let it be that of your good and noble Hovey?) has by tobacco to gratify the cupidity of men who mak haste to be rich. been looking after the higher interests of the West

It seems this Narcotic is beginning to have from course in our State Pauper Houses. Our goodly Commonwealth is saddled with a bill for tobacco snuff, and pipes, by the Bridgewater establishment to the amount of two hundred and nineteen dollars Our establishments at Tewksbury, Monson, and elsewhere, tax us with a bill of the same sort, to all who did not believe his creed. He has been for the amount of seven hundred and forty-one dollars. years, and is now, a reader and correspondent of the This bill is not frightful in magnitude, but as i bids fair to become ten times greater, we think it deserves some notice; and, as we claim for the man-Boston Investigator. He discussed the true merits of agement of these Institutions, under your adminis-tration, the virtue of unrivalled economy, we mistake your good sense, sir, if, on reflection, you do not think the same.

I object, sir, to this pandering to paupers and criminals,

1. Because tobacco is a mighty cause of pauperism and crime. It is as plain as day that it wastes time, mone

and strength, and by its soporific power tends to render paupers satisfied with pauperism, and to extinguish every noble desire for competency and independence. It is identified with poverty in the Indian wigwam, in the Irish mud-hole, and whereever gaunt famine and rage have ascendency.

Many paupers were made such by this very drug. They smoked and chewed—their fathers before them time was not come for any such movement, and that smoked and chewed; they lost their health, amany association among reformers more stringent than bition, and money, and gravitated towards the poorfree and popular Conventions would soon generate house as naturally as a rock falls to the earth. Dr. Alcott tells us of dependent families whose expenditures for this article fairly computed during sectarianism, and degenerate into mere bigotry and intolerance. A chief speaker in this Convention

forty years exceeded two thousand dollars. I have was W. T. ALLEN, of Geneseo, Ill. Mr. A. spokes milies of the same order who have consumed with great effect on Plenary Inspiration, and showed seen enough in this way to buy a clever farm, and stock the folly of popular beliefs in that doctrine. He is it into the bargain. a native of the South, (Alabama,) son of a Presbyterian clergyman of the straitest kind, who inflicted on type famine? Why should laborious yeomanry young W. T., at an early age, the awful horrors of a from Berkshire to Cape Cod be taxed for tobacco to

feed foreign paupers, with this fact staring them in the face, that tobacco multiplies paupers, and that foreign pauperism already bangs like a millstone on the neck of State? belief in a future hell. The son, however, found his way to Oberlin Theology, and added Lane Seminary's course, became acquainted with Theodore Parker's Vices, sir, range under certain laws of affinity: works, and, 'through much tribulation,' preached Orthodoxy a spell, but finally landed, with the rest they are gregarious—Tobacco, blasphemy, cards, of us, on a Free Platform, to preach the Gospel of rum, whoredom, and state-prison offence. Tobacco here and everywhere commonly heads this infernal gang. It is Satan's seed-corn-it is Satan's masterbored for years for the poor slave,-has long read with this he begins to discipline millions of

oys for misery here and hereafter. Hence, to sanction its use is to augment the source of evil and its Strong drink is usually the immediate cause of in short speeches, all indicating a tolerant spirit, and crime, but the artificial thirst for this liquid death is usually generated by tobacco. I might inundate Western reformers, and the certainty of a future ral-ly among them to break in upon, and break up, the surrounding intolerance and bigotry. Mr. Foss and vestibule to the temple of Bacchus—the drunkard's

your humble servant were present, and were freely Pandemonium! Ten years ago, there was but one convict at heard. We found many liberal minds, and some new Charlestown who was not a victim of tobacco before

> commitment. I have examined prisons where there was not on exception to this rule. Moses Grant, Esq., says . For over thirty years I have visited jails and house of correction all over the United States, and there I find smokers and chewers of the dirty weed. Is it not plain that tobacco as well as rum has much to with crime?'

power it had to prevent our use of the Court-House, The chaplain of the Reform School at Westboro Call for this meeting was addressed, specially, to states, that nearly seven-eighths of the inmates of · Spiritualists,' and generally, to 'all friends of Prothat establishment were addicted to tobacco before they came there. Rev. Mr. Spear, the prisoners friend, says this corresponds with all his observagress.' Wm. Chandler and other Spiritualists of Independence were active in getting up the Conven-

Convicts, sir, understand the affinities of vice, over three days, with increasing interest. Warren and, hence, never, in addressing them on the drug, dram, and crime--never when to death, and the steps which take hold on hell, do they fail, by looks more expressive than words, to say, He is right, tobacco led to the bottle, the bot-

tle to crime—and we are here.' Such, sir, being the effects of this destructive drug, why should we give it to convicts and paupers, some service by preventing the adoption of any re-some service by preventing the adoption of any re-lations test of citivenship in that State—and Iowa Is this wise? Is this statesmanlike?

ligious test of citizenship in that State, -and Iowa 2. I object, sir, to pandering to paupers and culfollowed suit. Mr. C. also moved (though unsuccessprits in this respect, because, in reality, it ministers to their misery, and not to their happiness. True, it fully) to strike out the words 'white' and 'male' in the Constitution of Wisconsin, so that color and sex gratifies a vicious appetite for the time; so does should be no test of citizenship. How our friend C. rum, so does an explosion of malig-with such liberal views, can be accepted South as a nant passion; but who vindicates villainy and the lecturer, is past solution, except on the hypothesis outrage of law on the score of momentary gratifica-

that he is careful to conceal his Anti-Slavery views tion? The convict, sir, is usually better off for the time South, or has a special cortege of spirits about him for than if he were at large. Prison-life withdraws special protection against Southern tyranny. Mr. him from dens of infamy, cools his blood, calles his Chase expressed the most radical views in the Con-passions, and, coming in contact with Christian vention, and did it great service.

Mrs. Brown, of Cleveland, Ohio, was also present. But here is a drawback-we give him a rank poi-She is known, I believe, as editor of the Agitatorson in this Narcotic, and what are its effects? has published something on woman's wrongs, etc. deranges his whole system; it coats his stomach and She addressed the Convention most acceptably on tongue, it gives him a diseased and capricious ap-'Objections to Spiritualism,' on 'Woman's Position petite; and every crust of bread, and every plate of in Society,' and on the 'Progress of the Past.' It is soup, he receives with diminished enjoyment, beimpossible to convey any just idea of the benign in-fluence such a woman has on such a Convention.

Cause the sensation of taste is absorbed and pervert-ed by this acrid and abominable poison.

The rich clutter of the distance of the benign in-

Though a Spiritualist, she presents in her public effort his luxuries on this filthy aftar; but the pauper or nothing of the sublime nonentities of Spiritualism. the convict needs the full enjoyment of all which is She paid a most happy tribute to John Brown, and nutritious and grateful in his meagre fare; and prespoke of woman's false position as only woman can.

Cisely in proportion as he obeys the laws of God in With all due respect to all reporters who lay 'just his physical nature, he will be the happier mun.

We can name alms-houses, where every inmate commendation on thick betimes, I have a right was induced to drop tobacco who used it, and so to say the presence of Mrs. Brown so far West was a much better did they enjoy food and sleep that they rejoiced and blessed God that they were required to The Convention was greatly indebted to the Chair-

man, Judge Taber, who presided with unusual ability though it may soothe, excite, and please at first, it ultimately maddens the sensibilities, and tends to ultimately maddens the sensibilities, and tends to The Judge was formerly connected with the Press in turn its victims into hypochondriacs, misanthropes New York, I believe, and has written for the Investi- and insane beings. It multiplies haggard and gator. He avowed himself not of the Spiritualists, gloomy creatures on our streets by scores, and why which fact redounds greatly to their credit in selecting him as their Chairman. He spoke most electronic and the s ing him as their Chairman. He spoke most elo-quently several times on topics before the Conven-authority ascribes fifty or more diseases, should be tion, expressing the heartiest welcome to all Reform-ers. He was exceedingly ready on any subject up, would be ridiculous, were it not pitiable. Were it and no marvel. He has found his way into one of our object to array the felon's cell in deeper gloom. Iowa's favorite spots, with a fine library of 3000 volumes—many of them of the rarest kind. I shall think better of our State as I think of this library.

Our mutual friend, A. T. Foss, has attended all

Our mutual friend, A. T. Foss, has attended all Those gentlemen, sir, who give convicts tobacco these Conventions, and in each, has been cordially to keep them good-natured, and to coin more money invited to speak. He has done so freely, on Garrisonal Abolition, on Authority, and the Blighting Effects of American Theology. Mr. Foss has done for us a noble work—has helped us all to a better knowledge of the position of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and has surprised me with the toleration with which his views have been heard. The people hear him gladly. He has helped us to a complete demonstration of the fact, that Reformers of exceedingly diftion of the fact, that Reformers of exceedingly dif-

profitable Conventions.

Besides these Conventions Mr. Poss and myself the reduced incidental meetings in places on our route, and with good attendance and attention. Our next Convention is at Sterling Illinois. him a slave. Where is there a dog in our streets that we should not think the worse of for using a thing so vile?

In addressing prisons in other States, I have felt a manly pride when I could say, Massachusetts proscribes tobacco in these Institutions. Hence, I am

sorry for this retrogressive action—that the hand on the dial-plate of our Commonwealth is turned back-

I never supposed these establishments were paradises; but I supposed their inmates, withdrawn from the songs of the drunkard and the vices of the gutter—subjected to wholesome, dietetic regimen, and blessed with the Gospel of Christ, were many of them in a fair way of becoming confirmed in habits of virtue; and of becoming better men. Thank God, many of them have become better men. But, sir, if our paupers and criminals are to be systematically drugged, or pampered with a drug which keeps the thirst for rum sternally alive—a drug which delases every noble passion and inflames every vile one, then adieu to reform, name and thing.

I shall have, sir, few thanks, and many jeers and frowns, for thus addressing you. The devotees of smoke will laugh at this appeal, and think it too unimportant for your notice. Stupefied by this soporific, they are unable to perceive that it is 'a great power on earth.—that mighty men and mighty nations bow before it. It is no exaggeration to say that if any man had the entire control of the tobacco crop, it might give him a power greater tobacco crop, it might give him a power greater than a monarch's. He might effect extraordinary changes about us. He might change Republicans into Democrats and Democrats into Republicans, bid tobacco victims do his behests at the ballot-box, and choose our President; for, make light of it as we may, the herd of voters care more about this nauscous, noxious drug than they care about any candi-

date, any platform, or politics of any 'stripe.'

It requires, sir, gigantic talents, or adventitious advantages of an extraordinary kind, to raise a to-bacco victim superior to smoke. Had a half dozen self-made men about us begun life as smokers, our State affairs had now been in differenent hands: the culture, wealth, pomp, and pride of Boston had still reigned over us. Henry Wilson had still been at his lapstone-George S. Boutwell had still beer a salesman at the counter, and your Excellency, whom we delight to honor, once the bobbin-boy had been the bobbin-boy still in all essential respects. A devotee to smoke, you would have spent your time, your ambition, and money, in luxuriating in this tashionable indulgence; you would not have been well-informed, for you would not have bought or read books, and, if not well-informed, your constituents would not have given you their suffrage, and hence you never could have reached the pinnacle you now occupy, but, beginning your career in smoke, you would have ended it in smoke.

You love 'self-made men,' and furnish us with a happy specimen. You love to see convicts and paue in virtue, and become happy citizens; but pers rise in virtue, and become happy citizens; but how can they rise whilst debased by this debasing drug, which seizes on their sensibilities like the nightmare?

Sir, I respectfully ask you to remove this nuisance from our State Institutions. I make no appeal to Senates or Legislatures—this would be superfluous. For his I know my ground. I labor under no misapprehension touching your influence in the introduction of this Narcotic. I appeal to you. If your Excel-lency will use the same influence in banishing this evil which was used in its introduction, it will soon be accomplished. I have somewhere read that a Pope was once in jail, and an Emperor, who was a stupendous hypocrite, with solemn pomp ordered all the churches of God to pray for his deliverance, when one streke from the Emperor's pen would have set his Holiness free. Sir, you are above such subterfuges. God and the State have invested you with power to retrieve this mistake in the mar with power to refrieve this mistake in the manage-ment of our State Institutions, and to banish this poisonous nuisance. Therefore, I trust that your Excellency will see it done.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant. GEORGE TRASK.

Гиснеика, Mass., 1860. [This Appeal has no limited application; it is wide as the nation.]

> From the Herald of Progress. THE CHICAGO ZOUAVES.

The thanks of all lovers of good morals and friends of temperance are due to the people of Chicago, who have been instrumental in sending out this band of 'missionaries,' inculcating the simple pulpit! 'I have uniformly found it to be true,' he lesson of the possibility of a company of fifty or sixty young men, upon a festive excursion, abstaining totally from intoxicating liquors or immoral excesses. Humiliating us the confession may be, we are forced to admit that the spectacle is exceedingly rare. Even high officials, State Legislative bodies, Congressmen, and Editors, when on excursions, whether of business or pleasure, rarely have furnished such an example. Indeed, the reverse—a career of dissipation and folly—has been the almost

All thanks, then, to this proud company of Western youth for such a puble example. If, indeed, excellent code of regulations as current report con-cedes they are—notwithstanding their warlike mis-his whole vocabulary for epithets of derision and sion and character-deserving a place among the contempt in which to clothe it. He once professed world's Moral Police! And to the credit of hu- to have found a philanthrony (it called itself such manity, we venture the opinion, that this feature - pedantry, arrogance, folly, cruelty, impious-of their code and practice has nearly as much to do ness,' he called it,) which was 'fit enough for a with their enthusiastic reception everywhere, as pulpit, TOTALLY UNFIT FOR A PEOPLE; fit enough for their gay dress and brilliant evolutions.

sorry to conless that there is another side to the pic-they ignore the resident, essential nature of Right ture—reflections in looking upon them irresistibly and Wrong—they elevate Circumstance above Prin-

are still a military company, armed with deadly weapons, and drilled with special reference to skill wickedness. As an educated man, as a religious in the work of slaying human beings! Disciplined man, as a student of morals,' the minister, he said

And have we in this nineteenth century reached this hight, and no more: that our government pays millions of dollars annually to support an army and of cannon on 'Independence Day;' our manufac

Truly there is here great occasion for self-abasewith a government declared by religious papers to rest upon the basis of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth-a man of peace, who would suffer wrong his enemies and murderers, but would not deliver

acter of their organisation; and to condaily invite them to the broad platform of Universal Brotherhood, to spend their money and their strength in promoting peace on earth, and good will among men.

To his client, himself, and the occasion; and who offers appeared to the condition was 'never found even partially unprepared' for desirable, the hood, to spend their money and their strength in promoting peace on earth, and good will among of the same, afterwards sent him, managed in the April 20.

From the Cincinnati Dial. BUFUS CHOATE.

In summing up the career of a man of real genius and power, it is a sorrowful thing to find that it has been chiefly productive of cvil; that this and com-ing generations must reap the ill which be has sown. ing generations must reap the ill which he has sown.
Rufus Choate was a man of uncommon gifus, of rare
powers, and with rare opportunities for beneficent
work; but after his sixty years of active, toilsome
living, we find no good thing done, and weep over
the end wreek of his life. The claim that he was a great man has been almost universally made. We will dispute this at the outset by asking what constitutes true greatness. Does it consist in wealth, power, influence? This is certainly the 'dog-estimate' of greatness. There is also a certain educated canine instinct with which intellect is the signum verson; but will not those to whom the dog say rather that one must be morally and spiritually above his fellows, in order to be truly great? Let us reflect, too, that morality and spirituality, posor renect, too, that morality and epirituality, pos-sessed in an eminent degree, must result in holy liv-ing; that whatever comes short of this is incom-patible with true greatness—nay, subversive of all greatness; and that holy living is made up of per-sonal purity, of high, abstract ethics reduced to concrete human life, of supreme devotion to God's higher law, and of constant endeavor to elevate and beautify mankind. Now, to try Mr. Choate by this standard, who will have the audacity to assert that his life was an exemplification of greatness? It is impossible to place a finger upon one moral entor-prise in which he ever engaged, or upon one un-equivocal sentiment uttered by him in favor of any moral reform whatever. We are sorry to know that his life was not otherwise consistent with the highest standard of morality, and have no hesitawho, if he had noble and generous instincts, is so much the more to be reprobated for having basely perverted them. Nowhere in his public career do we find a love of truth and justice for their own sake—nowhere that he delighted in the disenthralment and moral elevation of his race. On the contrary, it was, or seemed to be, his office to ridicule, to sneer and scoff at every philanthropic movement, to traduce and belie the advocates of reform, to pervert their language, and to poison the public mind in regard to their objects. Was there an effort to be made on behalf of the slave? Mr. Choate was ready to compass beaven and hell to defeat it. Were new inroads to be made upon the liberties o the people; had the Southern Oligarchy a new triumph in view; were its lash and its chains to sink more deeply into the flesh of the negro, or its bludgeon into the brain of a Massachusetts Senator? Mr. Choate was the grand magician of the Slave Power who invoked the hosts of darkness to help on

For his political career, the country owes him nothing but exceration. Everywhere, and on all occasions, his influence was on the side of oppression. There is no national institution not accursed in itself or some of its associations, which owes anything to his genius or industry. Whatever the natural range of his sympathies, all his early culture, all his associations through life, religious, political, and personal, tended to parrow and warr them to sectional uses and ends. With him religion was a seventh-day virtue-a practical, all-embracing righteousness, no virtue at all. He was wholly ignorant of the true Christian life. That piety, that stern morality, which should control every volition, every desire, and pervade every relation in life, he had no conception of whatever. Both his professional and political life were entirely divorced from his religion, nor did he ever seem to de-sire their reconciliation. He evidently intended to escape that perdition, in which he seemed to believe, by the eleventh-hour-repentance scheme, and by what little negotiation be could make towards that end on the Sabbath day; for 'a layman,' he said, 'has no chance but on Sanday.' Some of our readers will remember what he said of the ministry of Rev. Southside Adams, and of his own connection with that. He had 'uniformly reconciled his attendance upon that church' by the consideration that 'no manner of politics, State or National, di-rectly or indirectly,' was ever preached from that said, 'that I was burt by nothing, was assailed by nothing, was secularized by nothing, was defended or attacked by nothing which I had done, for which I had voted or acted in the political world without. I thank my rastor that I am able to that never in an introductory prayer, never in a hymn, occasionally or in the ordinary course of public worship selected, never by any il-

lustration in any sermon, by any train of associa-tion, right or wrong, [have I been] carried back into the world that I had left.' What a shameful estimate did Mr. Choate put

upon the office of a teacher of religion-an office Chicago Zouaves have been as faithful to their which we at one time find him professing to reverhave thus far taken the bright, cheerful view moralist, he was the embodiment of the most truckof this company and their operations. We are ling expediency. All his ethics ignore the Absolute

ciple, and deny Conscience its proper authority.

It is the thought that, with all the beauty and 'Of religion, and a correct moral and personal life,' gracefulness of motion, gayety of dress, and high he went to church to hear; there must be no word moral character of these United States Cadets, they in rebuke of great State or National sins—sins which are the culmination of individual, personal to fight! Exercised in handling the sword, rifle, and bayonet!

Probably not one in ten of the members of this learned from his Bible that the race of man is of company has had a serious thought of applying kindred blood, all of it, and he will have learned their lessons to actual use (?) in the regular service. from his Bible, or from Nature, that all men stand Few among them anticipate being called upon to do on an equality of right, and responsibility, and duty, what they are learning to do so efficiently. They before God. But how far these glorious generalities perhaps have never contemplated exchanging the are modified and controlled by civil society, of any happy, cheerful, and attractive surroundings of description, does he know aught of this?' their peaceful drills, for the dread realities of mor- It is easily seen what Rufus Choate required at a tal combat on the field of battle. Our word for it, pastor's hands: he must be able to make broad gen-were the actual horrors of war before the minds of cralizations on the obligations of conscience, the these young men, as the necessary consequence of equality of man, duty to God, and the penalties of their present training, (ew would be found remain- violation—very broad generalizations, perhaps on ing in the company. Yet no other conclusion can be reached than that, if for any reason the few responsible parties at the head of this and any other government, were to declare war, these Chicago Zouwes would be among the first to volunteer for of New England, and turn upon him every eye in a convergence. the congregation.

'Where, where, for shelter, shall the guilty fice?' We find no enduring basis of Principle underlying millions of dollars annually to support an army and the life of Mr. Choato; nor does he anywhere in navy; our children are taught to burn gunpowder, his philosophy betray that he honored such a basis, and train their ears to hear unmoved the booming or thought it necessary. He laid his foundation of cannon on 'Independence Day;' our manufac-tories turn out thousands of deadly weapons; and our best young men in times of peace prepare them-openly and in secret, lauded the spot on which his se was built. He was wholly given over to the devil of ambition, and thus to party, to whatever ment and shame. Ours, a so-called Christian land, would serve his ends. He who declaimed most loudly against sectionalism was the most sectional; for it was in sectionalism that he found his encouragement and his remuneration. He early committed rather than resist evil by violence-who prayed for himself to that class which thinks itself bound by every dollar it owns-it knows no higher obligation himself from their hands! And yet war, armies -to perpetuate American slavery. He sold himself and navies, military schools, and militia companies, to the wealthy party, the mercantile interest, and gunpowder and pistols, are popularized—we might he never forsook it. He sought to make everything almost say Christianized-by at least a studied si-else subservient to that. He was far-sighted in that lence on the part of the thousands of pulpits, and the interests of the merchants the hundreds of religious presses over the land. better than they did themselves. Poor souls! once While Garibaldi and his liberty-loving followers they were subject to fits of independence, indignare forced, with their circumstances and views of right, to resist wrong at the point of the bayonet, gotten over that now. It was one of the diseases gotten over that now. and to 'conquer peace,' cannot we in this Western of mercantile infancy, in which the wise physicial Republic, with a prosperous career of more than saw that the patient only needed to be kept quiet, in half a century, and a people marked for intelligence order to get well of himself, and to which at a more and progressive principles, show a better way ? mature age he would not be subject. In illustra-Can we not test among the nations of the earth the tion of this, we remember that, when South Caropower of moral weapons, the force of an example of lina, having seized and imprisoned Massachusetts seamen for no crime save that of color, obliged Mr. Is it not time for the organization of a peace par- Hoar, who was sent by that State to secure the legal ty, for a practical application of the essential truth rights of the citizens—obliged him to flee for his of Christianity, for a hearty recognition of the life, Boston merchants, of respectability and standblessed gospel of a harmonial religion, for the dis-countenance of all warlike manifestations and sem-blances, and a practice of the arts of peace? In the hands of Senator Choate a peti-tion to Congress, asking that Massachusetts men might be protected in the exercise of their constitu-We desire, after our words of hearty commenda-tion of the deportment of the Chicago Cadets, to utter an earnest protest against the combative char-to his client, himself, and the occasion.' and who

same mysterious way to 'fall out'-or, at less never to get presented.

Another circumstance we remember: Charles Sumner had been struck down and brutally base Summer had been struck down and brutally baren in the Senate Chamber; good citizens of Manachusetts were all in a flame about it. Would Mr. Choate go to Faneuil Hall, and help express their in dignation? Oh, no! although possessed of that spirit which 'made him true to all time and place,' he would not go. But still 'humane and true in humanity in the broadest acceptation of the word he is said, with 'that amenity and unforced our tesy, so graceful and so uniform,' to have asked the committee which waited upon him, 'if blores as the tesy, so graceful and so uniform, to have asked the committees which waited upon him, 'if blores on the head with a gutta percha stick would hart a men much?' Ah, yes! was he not far-sighted; he not his reward? Was it not yesterday that he not his reward? Was it not yesterday that he not his reward? Was it not yesterday that he not his reward? he not his reward? Was it not yesterday that Massachusetts shame on her!—was it not jesterday, when told she had looked for the last time on all that was mortal of him, that she lifted up her eyes in sad affliction, bathed herself with hot tan. eyes in sad amiceout, mother, consoled herself by necounting and ascribing to him in extravagant has

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