



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. THE LIBERATOR. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1859. VOL. XXIX. NO. 28. WHOLE NUMBER, 1600.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Boston Courier.

ORATION OF MR. GEORGE SUMNER.

Our readers will find in the daily papers the oration of Mr. George Sumner, delivered before the municipal authorities of this city, on the 4th of July. It was a performance which, with more propriety than any other of the kind, was presented to the public eye. It was an oration which, in its character, was in conformity with the rules of public speaking as an art, usually more or less distinguished by a popular assembly. Still, as we are not aware that Mr. Sumner has acquired any celebrity in this respect, or makes any pretensions to it, we should be disposed to avoid criticism upon such a point altogether, if we could otherwise command the speech. This we cannot do. In general, it is the performance of a speaker, not a thinker; of a transcendentalist, not a philosopher; of a writer, not a genuine orator; of a man who, in his own mind, has a cabinet of ideas, a range of thought and a store of words, and who is capable of seeing the whole in its completeness, and discern clearly the fitness, beauty and propriety of all its parts.

But this also might be passed over in silence, were it not for its application to specific causes of offence, resulting from this constitution of mind, and from the speaker's individual turn of thought. The true judgment upon this oration may be reached by learning, as we shall, that it has given origin and stimulus to the Mutual Admiration Societies in general, to professional philanthropists, to unscrupulous sectionalists, to fanatics, sectarians, and all that miscellaneous class of persons—and that it has excited pain, if not indignation, in the breast of men of sense generally, and every true patriot. The rebuke administered by Mr. Palfrey at the dinner was honorable to him, and affords a key to the reasons of our own just disapprobation of certain portions of the oration. A day so full of patriotic feeling, and of the celebration of the anniversary of our independence from foreign trammels, ought not to be occupied in exciting hostile feelings between different portions of its citizens, or in attempting to bring upon any of its venerated and essential institutions. And when an oration, upon such a day, in which all citizens alike have a common interest, cannot be listened to by all persons of ordinary judgment and liberality—we do not say with assent, but because of the necessity of a common opinion as to what without wounding feelings, and those emotions, which, in a just and true man, revolt at what is likely to be unfriendly to the Union, the Constitution—in a word, to the peace, prosperity and happiness of our common country—then the oration is not fit to be listened to by the citizens of our common country, and ought not to be delivered at all.

The object to the flippancy of Mr. Sumner. Without staying to inquire whether he is right or wrong, his manner of undertaking to correct what he alleges to be a historical mistake on the part of ex-President Fillmore is highly indecorous towards a person of the station and character of that gentleman. We object to his allusion to Kansas, in a sentence foisted into the middle of the performance, without apparent reason or connection, and in a spirit only calculated to renew bad passions:

'Let us again remember that on this very day, three years ago, an assembly of the people in a territory of the United States, peacefully discussing the formation of their institutions, was dispersed by the bayonets of the Federal Army.'

If true, this is something that is past—a casual conflict, not a permanent disagreement—not to be remembered but forgotten by those who have the public welfare. But it is notoriously untrue. There were two sides to the question. If on one side there were 'border ruffians,' on the other there were equally ruffianly parties inside the border. They were not 'peacefully' discussing the formation of their institutions, but were holding illegal conventions inconsistent with the Federal Constitution; and the bayonets of the Federal Army were rightly there to serve the public cause, to uphold order, and to keep the peace.

If it happened and incorrect in these respects, the remarks of Mr. Sumner can scarcely be held less than superficial, or less than highly unbecoming, on the part of the Chief Justice. He charges members of the Supreme Court with exceeding their jurisdiction in discussing questions not within their province—if so, that will cure itself—but what propriety, we may ask, can there be in the presence of an orator to revise either the decisions or the dicta of the highest court in the land, in the presence of a popular assembly, upon the Fourth of July? Nor is Mr. Sumner at all fair in his statement of what was said by the Chief Justice. The judicial opinion rendered on this occasion, equally distinguished by his personal worth and his legal eminence, universally beloved and respected by those capable of estimating his ability, his learning, his honor and his worth, is thus lightly and independently spoken of by this platform orator, as 'the demagogical harangue of Mr. Taney! Let us see how he states the opinion of the Chief Justice!'

'The Chief Justice has declared that in the year 1787, colored free men in all our States had no natural rights—that this was an axiom in morals as well as politics—that they were not citizens in any of the States—and that, afterwards, citizens of the United States.'

'The Chief Justice Taney does say that for more than a century before the Declaration of Independence, and the adoption of the Constitution, negroes had been regarded as 'beings of an inferior race.' He adds, 'It is a fact, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect.' How far this is true, as a matter of history, each man can judge for himself; but he also prefaces this remark by saying, 'It is difficult to realize the state of public opinion in relation to the unfortunate race, which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the world at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the Constitution of the United States was formed and adopted.' This does not appear in the oration, and its omission evidently tends to do an injustice to the opinion of the Chief Justice. Nor did that great and good magistrate say, 'whether we agree with him or not in all of his opinions—declare that negroes were not citizens of any of the States. On the contrary, he declared that 'We must not confound the rights of citizenship which a State may confer within its own limits, and the rights of citizenship as a member of the Union.' A man may have all the rights and privileges of a citizen of the State, and yet not be entitled to the rights and privileges of a citizen of the United States. It is not, by any means, wrong because he has all the rights and privileges of a citizen of a State, that he must be a citizen of the United States.'

July. What we want on this occasion is something founded on principle, and of general and permanent interest—something cheering, comforting, genial, generous, spirited and true—something to raise our hearts, ennoble our minds, make us love our country more and our narrow prejudices less—something to make us more patriotic; not the clamor of the wire-drawer, transcendentalist, disquisitions—but a speech fit to be spoken as well after dinner as before—and not one calculated to take away our appetites, instead of invigorating and inspiring us. And surely, never a wider or nobler field was offered to the imagination and foresight of a great orator than in the present posture of the affairs of this country, and of the world.

We are not surprised that the Common Council of Boston should postpone the motion to pass a vote of thanks to George Sumner, for his oration delivered on the Fourth of July, instead of that Mr. Sumner has done; and we say for a person who, in his oration, has done so much to ennobel himself behind the scenes of his official invitation, and take advantage of his temporary entrenchment to malign men held in high respect and affection by a large portion of his audience—to pollute his own mouth, and the ears of his listeners, with the slang of brawling partizans—evincing nothing but ignorance and vulgarity—as did Mr. Sumner's reference to the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, and to Chief Justice TANNEY—there can scarcely be any condemnation so severe. Such an offence could hardly be perpetrated by one having the instincts or the generosity of a gentleman.—Boston Post.

From the N. Y. Journal of Commerce.

LETTER OF HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

The annexed letter from the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, of Massachusetts, to the Hon. Hiram Ketchum, Chairman of the Wig General Committee of this city, has been enclosed to us for publication, and we cheerfully give it a place in our columns. The sentiments which it expresses are truly patriotic and national. With a little modification, they might easily be mistaken for a Democratic manifesto. Can it be that such men will, after all, give their votes for the 'irrepressible conflict' party? They may, if they will away on a third candidate, when they know that the honest rivalry of an equal and national Democracy and sectional Republicanism?

Boston, 20th May, 1859.

Hon. Hiram Ketchum, Chairman, &c., &c. My DEAR SIR:—Your communication of the 23d ult., reached Boston just as I was leaving home on a journey from which I have but recently returned. As I am now making preparations for a still longer absence from home and country at an early day, I am constrained to reply to your inquiries less formally and less fully than I might otherwise have been disposed to do.

Indeed, I would willingly have excused myself from answering them at all, if my silence were not liable to be misconstrued, either into a want of respect for the Committee of which you are the organ, or into a want of sympathy with their general views. Retired as I have been, for some years past, from all political connection, and without an aspiration for anything which party can bestow, I am sensible how little importance can be attached to what I may say or leave unsaid. And though I have no cause for concealing any views which I entertain, I shall not be sorry if this communication should remain among the unpublished correspondence of your Committee.

You submit to my consideration a Resolution in the following words:—Resolved, That, in the judgment of this Committee, it is not expedient at this time further to discuss or agitate the question of the slavery of the African race in this country. That it be respectfully recommended to every citizen to vote and act according to his conscientious sense of right and duty; but those who, with us, believe that sufficient has been said and written for the purpose of explanation and elucidation, will forbear further discussion of the subject of slavery, and turn their attention to other topics of general importance; such as our foreign relations, including the question of the extension of territory, the building of railroads for national purposes, the improvement of our harbors, and the navigation of our rivers, to facilitate intercourse; the subjects of currency, and a tariff of duties; and other means for developing our own internal resources and home wealth, and binding together by the ties of interest and fraternal feelings the various parts and sections of our widely extended Republic.'

The sum and substance of this resolution, as I understand it, is the expression of an earnest opinion, that local and sectional questions should no longer be suffered to absorb the whole time and thought of our representatives and rulers, but that the attention of Congress, and of the Executive of the country, should once more be seriously turned to those great national interests, which the Constitution of the United States was established to promote. To such a resolution I give my cordial assent and approbation. I believe it to be one which ought to command, and will command the concurrence of all true patriots. There may be room, indeed, for difference of opinion, in different parts of the country, as to the precise extent to which this or that policy of national improvement, suggested in the resolution, should be carried. At a moment when there is so much to be done, and so many duties to be discharged, it is not to be wondered at, that the earlier periods of our Republic, is becoming obsolete, there may well be some caution in instituting a general system of internal improvements which could open still wider opportunities for corruption. But with this obvious qualification, I cannot doubt that a vast majority of the people of the Union, would give me leave to express their opinions uninfluenced by party and unswayed by patronage and power,—would give their hearty support to the views which this resolution embodies.

We have a goodly heritage to manage for ourselves, and to transmit to our children. Greatly as any of us may regret that it did not come down to us from our fathers without encumbrances or drawbacks of any sort,—we have yet enough to be thankful for, enough to be proud of, enough to occupy our most diligent and devoted attention, without 'hogging trouble' from subjects over which we have no control as a nation. Nobody pretends that there is any Constitutional power in the General Government over the institu-

tion of African slavery as it exists in the Southern States, and nobody would know what to do with such a power to-morrow, were it bestowed upon the nation. The States in which that institution exists have a sufficient weight of responsibility in regard to it, without being vexed and goaded by foreign intervention; and the intervention of the free States on this subject is foreign intervention as much as if it were that of Great Britain or France.

Incidental issues must indeed occasionally arise, as they have arisen, which bring the councils of the nation into discussion, and upon which the whole subject may be compelled to act. But I can see nothing at this moment which calls for any such action or discussion; nor any thing, certainly, which involves any inevitable or irrepressible conflict between the Northern and the Southern States. I believe, on the contrary, that the best interests of the Union, and of all, without exception, who dwell within its limits, call for a cessation of sectional strife. Interest Republic, in *unus sit hinc*.

The more I have looked over the field of past or present political controversy, the more I have been convinced that nothing but evil has thus far resulted from such agitations of the slavery question, and that they have retarded, instead of advancing, the progress of any just opinions on the subject, both at the North and at the South. Not a few of the most deplorable struggles which have been witnessed in relation to the new Territories, have been inflamed and infuriated by the animosities and recriminations which have characterized these sectional controversies. Northern men and Southern men have taken up extreme and untenable doctrines in the heat of opposition, and in order to spite each other. Principles and measures have been proposed and pressed in a spirit of retaliation, from which a sober second thought would have revolted, and would now revolt.

I have a serious fear at this instant, that the revival of the Foreign Slave Trade will find any considerable number of advocates at the South, if tried from the apprehension that the question will be seized upon for party purposes at the North, and made the subject of angry, reproachful, indiscriminate denunciation. Undoubtedly, issues may be raised hereafter, as they have been heretofore, which must be met. But if I could hope that my voice would be heard or heeded anywhere, it would deprecate the disposition to anticipate such issues, or to act upon any predictions of their inevitable necessity. Let the Southern mind and the Northern mind have time to recover from the fever and frenzy of recent struggles; let them be turned once more, and turned together, to the consideration of common interests and common dangers; let them unite in devising means for maintaining an honorable and inviolable neutrality in the war which is now being waged in the world; and let it be the generous rivalry of us all, as substantial principles which were so long and so nobly advocated by Clay and Webster, which brought Harrison, and Taylor, and Fillmore, and which ought to have brought Scott, into the Presidential Chair, and which are still associated with such living names as those of a Crittenden and an Everett, a Bell and a Bates, a Rives and a Kennedy, a Hamilton Fish and a Washington Hunt.

Believe me, dear sir, with great regard, very faithfully yours, ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

BEAUTIES OF PATRIOTISM.

A striking instance of the practical working of such fraternal teachings as these inmanly, by the leaders of Abolitionism, Women's Rightsism, Non-resistance and their cognate follies and absurdities, is furnished in the will be told him by the late Mr. Hovey, the Boston dry goods dealer. It seems that he made Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Abby Foster and her husband, and other notorious agitators, the principal legatees of his property, with directions that a certain other portion of it should be expended under such auspices in putting down slavery, war, banks, taxes, monopolies, the Union, the Constitution, and the pulpit.

He particularly requests in his will that no prayers be offered at his funeral, and that no priest be invited to perform any ceremony whatever over his body; remarking (by way of accounting for the request), that the priesthood 'are an order of men, falsely assuming to be reverend and divine, pretending to be called of God; the great body of them, in all countries, on the side of power and oppression; the world too long cheated by them, and the sooner they are unmasked, the better for humanity.'

Now, this man, an unhappy victim of such doctrines as he had been in the habit of hearing inculcated by that raft of designing demagogues who occupy the platforms of anti-slavery anniversary meetings, was one of the many who acquire no small part of their wealth from the very persons whom they were endeavoring to put down. This Hovey was a fashionable mercer of Boston, and made his money under the safeguards and auspices of the institutions he would have his executors spend it in undermining and overthrowing.—New Orleans Picayune.

SELECTIONS.

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT.

Extract from an Oration delivered before the City Authorities and People of Boston, July 4th, 1859, in Music Hall, by GEORGE SUMNER, Esq. In no country has the judiciary been more constantly respected than in our own. It has deserved respect, for it has respected itself. The decisions of Marshall, of Story, and of Curtis have been adopted as law in the courts of other countries. The severe criticisms of Jefferson upon the Supreme Court of the United States have not generally been concurred in by the intelligent mind of the country. He charged it with arrogance, and with having both the power and the will to overturn the constitutional liberties of the country. Upon no point was so great a father of American Democracy more earnest than upon this; and no opinion of his brought upon him more severe attacks from his political opponents.

Hamilton, in his early days, and later the learned Justice Story, insisted, on the other hand, that it would be difficult and almost impossible for the Supreme Court to go astray—that the cases upon which it could lawfully act were strictly limited; and Story declared that, should it ever exceed its powers or make a wrong decision, the enlightened public opinion of the country, closely watching it, would recall it to a sense of duty. A recent scene in the Supreme Court of the United States has shown that Jefferson was no false prophet, and has furnished at the same time a serious warning to all who prefer a government based upon law, to either despotism or anarchy.

The Chief Justice has made the occasion taken by certain judges of the Supreme Court to speak from the bench on matters not legally before them, matters which they had no right in their judicial capacity to discuss upon—what, as judges, they could not touch without encroaching upon the functions of the Legislature—nor as individuals without prostituting the dignity of their office; converting the Temple of Justice into another Tammany Hall, and the Supreme Bench into a caucus-platform. And the most learned upon the bench, who was bound a short time after seated upon the Chief Executive Magistrate of the country, called by him a 'disgrace,' and made the justification of a particular line of policy;—a policy tending to make labor dishonorable in the Territories of the Republic.

To the honor of the judiciary, one judge, and he the most learned upon the bench, was found faithful among the faithless. Mr. Justice Curtis declared that, without violating duty, he could not follow Mr. Taney in discussing matters not before the court; and, true to judicial principles, said: 'he did not hold the opinion of that court, or any court, binding, when expressed on a question not legitimately before it.' He did not fail, however, thoroughly to examine the question before the court, and showed that upon that, the opinion of the Chief Justice was as illegal as it was the demagogical harangue of Mr. Taney.

Charles Sumner has declared that in the year 1787, the colored freemen in all our States had no rights—no rights which the white man was bound to respect—that this was an axiom in morals as well as politics—that they were not citizens in any of the States—and that therefore they could not be then, nor afterwards, citizens of the United States. Well, did Mr. Justice Curtis overthrow this monstrous assertion, by pointing to the laws of five States, among them North Carolina, which gave to free colored men the full rights of citizens, enforcing this by the decision of Judge Gaston, of North Carolina, in 1778, which upheld the Articles of Confederation of 1778, which made 'the free inhabitants of each State citizens, without distinction of color, and to the efforts of South Carolina to restrict the citizenship to whites, joined in which only one of the thirteen States effected her. Mr. Justice Curtis might also have cited the statute of Virginia of 1783, which declares that all freemen are citizens, and which repeals the law of 1779, that limited citizenship to whites.

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back to an appreciation of those elementary principles of jurisprudence and of judicial action which seem to have passed from their memories; furnish the Chief Justice with a copy of the statutes of North Carolina and of Virginia; persuade him to read the history of his country; tell them all, but in anger, but in sorrow, of the disastrous consequences of their example; show to them that whatever facilities they may have to follow their conduct, the wise and good are not with them, and that—though they may have a Senate at their elbow, ready to print and circulate their opinions through the country at the public expense—the voices of all the true and enlightened will condemn them in the present, and the Muse of History chronicle their names in the black catalogue of unworthy judges. And if with all this you find them deaf to your remonstrances,—be willing to purify the ermine which, confided to them, has been dragged and soiled,—ill, unconscious of it, their foul disfigurement. They least themselves more comely than before, you will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that you have done something to serve your country.

But this conduct of the Court, though at first it may most shock the student of history and the jurist, conversant with those principles which, through the long struggle between arbitrary power and right, have been evolved as the guaranties of justice between man and man; this usurpation on the part of the judiciary comes home to every one—to the rich as well as to the poor—to the powerful as well as to the weak—to the wise as well as to the simple—to the white as well as to the black. To-day liberty is attacked—to-morrow it may be property. Let this be calmly acquiesced in, and no interest however respectable, no right however sacred, is safe. In opposition to the monstrous conduct of these judges all of us may cordially unite,—in this all shades of party may blend; for no party, however strong it may appear—however great the selfish interests it may suppose to be flattered—no party can long bear up under the opprobrium of a measure which tends to undermine our institutions; which destroys the harmonious balance of the power delegated by the people to different branches of their government, and leads logically to anarchy or to despotism.

Let us therefore all join our efforts to restore the purity of the judiciary—to aid it to recover its self-respect; and having done this, let us prove that our celebration of this day is no mere empty show, by honoring the immortal truths of the Declaration, and by earnestly endorsing the Constitution of our country, which guarantees Trial by Jury to all—and which, in its own words, was 'ordained to establish Justice and secure the blessings of Liberty'—let us drive far away the corruption in power, and make Justice and Liberty the persistent role of action of our government.

Then shall we offer an acceptable tribute to the memory of those who founded our Republic; then shall our country present a cheering example to other nations struggling with oppression; then, to itself, it shall be stationed, 'Like a beneficent star for all to gaze at, So high and glowing, that kindoms far and foreign, Shall by its tread their destiny.'

THE DINNER IN FANEUIL HALL.

The following outbreak of slaveholding spleen and assurance, and dignified and effective rejoinder on the part of Mr. SUMNER, took place at the dinner given by the City Authorities of Boston, in Faneuil Hall, on the 4th of July:— Sixth regular toast: 'The Cotton States—Producers of the staple we consume, and consumers of the manufactures we produce. May the reciprocal ties of the Union, which springs from our mutually advantageous commerce, be cemented by continued warm and generous social relations.'

Gen. Palfrey, of New Orleans, was introduced to respond. He must, he said, that although a military man, he was taken by surprise in being called upon to speak at the present occasion, and something quite unexpected to him. He was sure, he said, that he spoke the sentiments of his fellow-citizens when he said he could heartily respond to every word contained in the sentiment just given. He was a native of the city of Boston, born within a few squares of this Hall; and although unknown to most of them, having been a resident of the city of New Orleans for about fifty years, he yet felt that he could call them all fellow-citizens. He could join with their heart and soul in every sentiment which he had heard read by the toast-master here this afternoon. But he thought it was a particularly hard case that, where he was sitting under the protection of the American flag, he was obliged to hear such sentiments as those which had been advanced by the orator of the day. (Applause.) He should not do justice to himself or his friends at home, if he allowed such sentiments to pass without calling attention to them. (Applause.) This was a day when least of all such feelings should be brought forward. He did not speak of it with any hard feelings, but he felt that the remarks of the gentlemen were unbecoming, and he should not have felt justified in allowing them to pass unnoticed. In conclusion he gave a sentiment: 'The City of Boston.'

Seventh regular toast: 'The Orator of the Day—His eloquent address adds fresh laurels to the name of Sumner, already twice distinguished, by his father and brother, on the roll of the Orators of Boston. (Cheers.) Mr. Sumner was introduced, and spoke as follows:— Fellow Citizens: I am deeply grateful for the manner in which this sentiment has been received, as it shows that the memory of my honored father and the name of my absent brother are fresh in your minds. The allusion to my father gratifies my filial feelings, but those which I have as a citizen of Boston, glad to see honor rendered to every example of integrity, justice and patriotism. You have spoken of him as one of the orators of Boston. May I be permitted to recall an occasion (not the Fourth of July) on which, as it seems to me, he spoke also for Boston, and with a certain eloquence. In 1812, the dominant interest of our city was strongly opposed to a war with England. At that time a call was made for a national loan, and subscription books were sent to Boston. These were received in no complimentary manner. In that street which witnessed the first conflict between British troops and American citizens, it was stated that no money would be given in Boston, and more-over, that any one who subscribed to the loan should be stigmatized. These menaces had their effect. Days rolled on, no money came, and the jears of the street were redoubled. At that moment, my father, then a young lawyer, sold some property, got together

Gen. Palfrey, we understand, is a brother of Hon. John G. Palfrey, and a slaveholder.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWORE FROM THE ROOF. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.'—WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

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what money he could command, paid it to the agent of the national treasury, and put his name, solitary and alone, upon an insignificant list. Two days after, the warm spirit of patriots hero rose superior to patriotism, the venerable John Adams, came from Quincy, and put his name also on the list. The subscription of my father was not large—it was the young lawyer's mite—but in standing forward when the national honor had been attacked, and in doing a patriotic act, in presence of menace, there was a civic courage, which I may perhaps be pardoned for remembering with a certain satisfaction. On that occasion, it seems to me that he was the real orator of Boston, speaking by action, not perhaps the dominant or the fashionable sentiment of the moment, but the sober second thought of this great city, which is always true to the national honor, and true to the principles of the founders of the Republic.

In every part of Europe, but more especially in France, I have remembered Mr. Mayor the honor paid to our native city. Landing at Boulogne, I found myself passing through the *rue de Boston*, and in two other cities of France found the dear old name upon street corners. This honor is rendered because of the example given by Boston in her sacrifices for liberty; and because she has always recognized the necessity of basing her liberty firmly upon law, and as the guaranty of this, of keeping the legislative, executive, and judicial functions separated from each other. Permit me, sir, to propose as a sentiment: 'The City of Boston—The first to make sacrifices for the liberties of the whole country; the first in maintaining the Union formed to secure the blessings of Liberty to all.'

A 'PATRIOTIC' DEMONSTRATION.

COMMON COUNCIL OF BOSTON, July 7, 1859.

Mr. FAXON offered resolutions, tending the thanks of the City Council to Charles H. Allen, Esq., the Chief Marshal, and his Aides and Assistants, for their valuable services in the formation and management of the city procession; to Col. Robert Cowdin, the officers and members of the Second Regiment Infantry under his command, for their very prompt and acceptable manner in which they performed their duties as escort to Rev. H. H. Neale, D. D., Chaplain; and to Mr. Geo. H. Cummings, Major of the First Regiment of Independence, for the very able and appropriate performance of their duties; to H. M. Dow, the organist, Charles H. Butler and the choir of children under his charge, Dr. H. G. Clark and B. A. Burditt, for the appropriate and beautiful Odes furnished by them; to Capt. O. F. Nims and the detachment from the Boston Light Artillery under his command, for the promptness and ability with which they performed their duty as escort of our National Independence; to the Committee and Judges of the Regatta, for their very successful and acceptable services. These orders were severally adopted by a unanimous vote. Sent up for concurrence.

Mr. FAXON, in the same connexion, also offered a resolve, tending the thanks of the City Council to George Sumner, Esq., for the eloquent oration delivered on the same occasion before the City Authorities, and requesting a copy for publication. The order was read, and the question being on giving it a second reading, Mr. MOONEY said he should be reluctant to his sense of duty, and wanting in patriotism, if he allowed his name to appear as sanctioning any such sentiment as was contained in the resolution. Neither himself or other members came into the City Council either as Democrats, Republicans, Americans or Know-Nothings, but all came for the purpose of doing their duty to the country, and look after the best interests of the city, and as the representatives of the City Council, they had the right, and demanded the right, that the City Council should not be outraged by any such man as George Sumner, in attacking the President of the United States and the Chief Justice of the United States Judiciary. It is rumored that Mr. Sumner had been employed as a secret agent in prying into the affairs of other nations, and that he had delivered such sentiments as he has done on the 4th instant, he had better return to his country, and there to proceed with some other dirty work. The Chief Justice had read some of the same comments upon the Orator of the Day, calling him a 'popinjay,' an 'over-dropper,' and 'the keyholing Sumner.'

The year and days were ordered on the question of giving the order a second reading. Mr. Batchelder moved that the further consideration of the subject be specially assigned for Thursday evening next, at 8 1/2 o'clock. Mr. Clapp thought the Council were ready to meet the question at once. For himself, he had no objection to vote now as he should be at an early hour. Mr. Sears opposed the postponement of the question. Mr. Webster thought if the Council was not ready to give a vote of thanks to Mr. Sumner for the admirable oration delivered by him, they had better say so at once.

Mr. Carpenter was opposed to the postponement. Mr. Williamson was in favor of the speed of the assignment, as some members had not yet the opportunity of reading and examining the oration: the question of passing a vote of thanks should be taken into due consideration. Such proceeding was not specially precedent, and he hoped the motion to specially assign would prevail, out of regard to the orator himself, as well as out of courtesy to the gentleman who made the motion. Mr. Stedman thought the oration, especially the historical portion of it, an instructive one, and he liked it.

Mr. Batchelder liked that part of it which was taken from the New York Herald, but that portion which was not taken from that paper he did not like. Mr. Page, on account of pressing duties, had not yet had sufficient time to read the oration, and if called upon to vote at once, he should be compelled to vote against the orator. Mr. Tucker had read the oration superficially only, and favored the postponement. Mr. Sewell the year and days on the question to specially assign, which motion prevailed, and the special assignment was ordered by the following vote: YrAs—Messrs. Baker, Jr., Batchelder, Bayley, Beal, W. C. Burgess, Burr, Jr., Clapp, Jr., Faxon, Ford, Frederick, Jones, Kelly, McCarty, Moore, Page, Parkman, Paul, Pierce, Poland, Richards, Richardson, Tyler, Robbins, Sears, Slade, Stedman, Tucker, Riser, Williamson—24.

YrAs—Messrs. Bates, C. S. Burgess, Carpenter, Cowdin, Fitch, Jenkins, Lothrop, Robinson, Standish, Webster, Willcutt—11.

A NEW LAUGHING-SPOOK.

Really the gods are good. If Pan is sometimes, as during the present season, a little niggardly, or red-eyed Mars unusually rampant, have we not always Minus with us, and reason to bless the sensitive divinity that bantied him from Olympus? What an intolerably dull world this would be, if all the fools were out of it! But we need not feel a failure of the succession, while the summer season produces such a crop of this confederacy to the moly.

He thought, says the report, that it was rather hard to be invited to a celebration for the purpose of hearing the laws of the United States trampled under foot. He considered Mr. Sumner's oration ill-timed, and he was afraid to say so.

Suppose that at a Fourth of July dinner in New Orleans, some ardent New Englander, having listened to a spicy and spasmodic attack upon his opinions, or to some concentrated sneer at the home of his love and honor, should dare to rise and speak plainly in their vindication! Imagine the riot! Picture the excitement! Think how the shower of champagne glasses would thicken around his faded brows!

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We suppose that this singular lack of common courtesy, and cowardly fear of taking what they have such a will for giving, exhibited always when Southern men find the most insignificant occasion therefor, may be attributed to a certain brutality of intellect to be met in some of the lower forms of animal life.

From the Daily Atlas and Bee. MR. WINTHROP'S LETTER. A few days ago, the New York Journal of Commerce published a letter written by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of this city, upon political matters, which was addressed to the following gentlemen:

It should be the policy of the National Government should be changed; that the 'conservative' element of the nation should be united, and the agitation of the slavery question should cease.

The questions which related to slavery when they were in Congress were not half so important to the free States, and to the welfare and glory of the whole country, as those that now present themselves.

Now, we have no desire to belittle the questions we have named, and which received so much attention from Mr. Hunt and Mr. Winthrop, both in Congress and out of it; but what are they, we ask, to the question now before the country, and which the North must and will meet like brave men, and not like polltrots and cowards?

Again, every one knows, who reads the Southern papers, that the African slave trade is in fact repented; and although it is not carried on so openly as it would be were the laws of Congress, restricting it, to be repealed, to which end many of the leading politicians of the South are bending their entire energies, yet so rapid has the question grown in magnitude and importance, that Senator Douglas regards it as probable that it may become a plank of the Charleston platform, and a shibboleth of the Democratic party.

It is a subject which we must not make us very savage! We must sit quietly listen while some inane babbling blasphemes our religion, sneers at our policy, questions our patriotism, distorts our motives and insults our common sense.

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The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, JULY 15, 1859.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION-ANNIVERSARY; IN THE MONTH OF JANUARY NEXT, IN BOSTON, 1860.

In a year when Americans find themselves citizens of a country where the African slave trade is going on, and slave-hunting unforbidden, and sheltering the fugitive indicted as a crime, and the leading religious and political influences so dead to this public shame as to discountenance legislative reform, we are confident that we have only to open our subscription in order to be becomingly and effectually sustained by the awakening virtue of the people, in the enterprise to which our lives are given.

We entertain, then, all the friends of Liberty, and the foes of Slavery, everywhere, in the South as well as the North,—in Europe as in America,—philosophers as well as Christians, Catholics no less than Protestants, to subscribe to a fund and a mode of expenditure which prepares the way before every sect, every party, every association; which makes all other men's anti-slavery labor light; and which, for six and twenty years, been laying the foundations of many generations, so as to exclude slavery from American institutions, and secure to posterity those blessings of liberty which the last generation passed away without enjoying.

The undersigned, while asking the favor of their subscribers' company, on their customary Anniversary occasion, are impelled by the goodness and grandeur of the enterprise,—by its indispensable nature, by the universal and fundamental character of its principles,—to entreat also the assistance of all.

From this day forward through the year we begin to arrange our plans, organize our efforts, and economize our means, greater or smaller as the case may require, to meet this great national claim: and we desire all who would see slavery abolished, and truth, honor, peace, liberty and safety in righteousness restored, to meet us at its close, for cheer, counsel, sacrifice, resolve, and generous co-operation.

- MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, MARY MAY, LOUISA LOHING, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, 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, LYDIA D. PARKER, ELIZA F. EDDY, 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, ANNE ATHORP, ANNE LANGDON ALGER, MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT, MATTIE GRIFFITH, ELIZA ANDREW.

ANNIVERSARY OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION!

The usual 'First of August' Celebration will be celebrated, this year, on SATURDAY, July 30th, in the beautiful ISLAND GROVE, at NORTH ABINGTON.

The liberation of EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND slaves by the government under which they were held, is an act of disinterested philanthropy, as uncommon in human legislation as it is full of righteous rebuke and touching appeal to this slaveholding Republic.

Let the friends of Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation gather from every quarter, to bear anew their testimony against a Government, deaf to the cry of the victims of its relentless tyranny—and a Church, by whose remorseless consent and complicity these millions of the Israel of God were held in chains; to rededicate their 'lives and fortunes' to the redemption of 'the suffering and the dumb' of our land, and hasten the day when they, too, shall be brought forth from the infernal misery of bondage, to be compassed about with the songs of deliverance.

An able corps of eloquent speakers will be present to address the meeting. The same upon the Railroads will be reduced as usual. (Further particulars next week.)

In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President. ROBERT F. WALLACE, Secretary.

We understand that our unwearied and ever faithful coadjutors at HOPKINS, with their friends in that vicinity, will, as usual, celebrate the anniversary of West India Emancipation, by a grand Mass Meeting in the spacious Town Hall of Milford, on Monday, August 1. [Further notice next week.]

The following are the contents of the CHRISTIAN EXAMINER for July.—I. Asiatic Civilization. II. Lord Cornwallis in America. III. The Religion of the Present. IV. The Modern French Pulpit. V. The Doctrine of Endless Punishment. VI. The Lord's Dealings with George Muller. VII. Review of Current Literature. It is a number of marked ability and interest. The article on Asiatic Civilization is particularly instructive. It embraces a general survey of the nationalities of Asia, showing that the races are not stagnant but progressive, and that changes and improvements in Oriental society are coming, greater and better than we can plan, or predict, or conceive.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

THOMPSON PARKER'S EXPERIENCE AS A MINISTER. With some account of his Early Life and Education for the Ministry; contained in a Letter from him to the Members of the 28th Congregational Society of Boston.

This handsomely printed volume of 152 pages, published by Rufus Leighton, 112 Washington street, is mainly occupied by the long letter written by Mr. Parker from Santa Cruz to his congregation, in reply to a letter of affectionate sympathy from them.

Without being hopeless, or even discouraged, in regard to his recovery from this dangerous illness, the possibilities of which, however, he looks firmly in the face, Mr. Parker seems to have felt it well to use his existing strength in making this brief record, first, of the most important incidents, influences, and educational forces of his early life; next, of the facts attending and following his entrance on the work of the ministry; and, finally, of his idea of the character and scope of that work, and of the measure of his success in carrying this idea into practice.

This bird's-eye view—giving us many important particulars, in brief space but in due proportion—of the life of one who has always shewn himself upright before God, and downright before men, is of exceeding interest, well suited to command the attention and impress the mind of the reader.

Mr. Parker possesses, in a very eminent degree, the power of seeing and stating the true merits and demerits of a subject, unbiassed by self, personal or party relations. He is able, far more than the majority, even of men of high intellectual cultivation, to make a correct estimate and a correct report of himself; and the accuracy with which the occurrences of the last thirteen years are stated, (during which time the writer has been a constant hearer of his sermons, and cognizant of other parts of his public and private life,) strengthens the confidence which his whole character tends to inspire, in the entire trustworthiness of the narration.

Readers of this book, who have not known or heard Mr. Parker, will here find the proof of two characteristics of his public teaching, both by sermons and lectures, which, though well known to his congregation, were of course unknown to those who judged of him merely by the statements of his opponents, and most of all unknown to those who believed the representations of the 'religious' press, (so called,) both Unitarian and Orthodox, concerning him.

Mr. Parker has been habitually careful (during these many years of a testimony so zealous against public and private sin, that he has become popularly known as the great Accuser, Denouncer and Exposer) not to go beyond the truth in his representations of the sins, or the sinners in question. He always kept in mind the importance of not overstating, of not exaggerating. It would be too much to claim that he always succeeded in this attempt; but that he made no mistakes in this important particular. But it is safe to say that, in nine cases of every ten in which he was accused of overstatement, it seemed so to the objector, either because he was misled by connection with the sin, or because he had less thoroughly scrutinized the facts. Mr. Parker has been, eminently, a careful, a cautious man; careful to understand before judging, careful to be in the right before speaking or acting.

His ministry also has always, and eminently, been characterized (in spite of the calumnious reports to the contrary) by the positive teaching of religious truth. He has never been a mere iconoclast, a mere puller down of false doctrine. Having been called by professional duty to combat many superstitions, many errors of doctrine and practice, he never left the hearer without a worthy object of religious love and faith, never left an inquirer spiritually poorer or weaker than he found him. On the contrary, the vast numbers of instances in which the minds and hearts of men have been changed under his preaching, have been instances of change by the acquisition of something better; a throwing away of the counterfeit article when the genuine is found; a change from the fear of God to that love of Him which casteth out fear; a change from subserviency to the traditions of the elders, into entrance upon the glorious liberty of the children of God; a change from the absurd, self-contradictory and pernicious theory of a past and finished inspiration, dogmatically taught by the popular church, to belief in a fresh, overflowing fountain of inspiration, now as heretofore offered, by the Universal Father, to all those who seek, by obedience, to conform themselves to His will.

In one most important feature of the Christian system, however, Mr. Parker's preaching was defective. He, like almost the entire body of clergymen, failed to recognize that divine truth which is briefly, but imperfectly, expressed by the word Non-Resistance. The few believers in that system who attended his preaching sensibly felt this deficiency, though they did not hear from him those calumnious representations of themselves and their doctrine which are commonly made by ministers. Mr. Parker rarely alluded to this subject, though scattered expressions in his sermons often implied his acquiescence in the popular opposite doctrine; and an inaccuracy of statement in regard to Non-Resistance (in the single place where it is mentioned in this book) confirms the impression which we have often previously felt, that Mr. Parker had not examined that subject with his wonted care. He says, p. 135:

'I have not preached the doctrine of the Non-Resistants, who never allow an individual to retaliate wrong by material violence.' For 'material' here should be read injurious. If Mr. Parker had given his deliberate attention to this subject, he would certainly have seen the essential difference between these ideas; we think he would also have seen that the duty of attempting the limitation of vice and crime, and the detention of some classes of criminals under circumstances adapted to their reformation and improvement, (a duty imperatively binding, both upon individuals and the community,) would, in the long run, be most perfectly and most beneficially accomplished by strictly and conscientiously abstaining from injury, small or great, to the criminal; and by never losing sight of the purpose of making him, as far as the whole resources of the State can avail to that end, a better man, and a good member of society.

We trust that this book may receive the careful reading, and the very wide circulation, of which it is worthy.—C. K. W.

THOUGHTS ON EDUCATIONAL TOPICS AND INSTITUTIONS. BY GEORGE S. BOUTWELL. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1859.

Mr. Boutwell very properly dedicates his volume to the Teachers of Massachusetts, whose enlightened devotion to their duties has contributed effectually to the advancement of learning. It is composed mainly of the lectures and addresses made by him before various institutions as the efficient and accomplished Secretary of the Board of Education. These relate to the intrinsic nature and value of learning, and its influence upon labor; education and crime; the care and reformation of the neglected and exposed classes of children; elementary training in the public schools; the relative merits of public high schools and endowed academies; the high school system; Normal School training; female education; the influence, duties and rewards of teachers; liberty and learning; Massachusetts school fund; a system of agricultural education. So broad a survey of the subject necessarily includes many particulars. The volume is crowded with thoughts—clear, excellent, impressive thoughts—humble suggestions, and progressive ideas. We trust those to whom it is especially dedicated will give it a careful and frequent perusal; for it will facilitate the labor of teaching, and advance the cause of education universally, so far as its principles are acted upon, and its advice followed.

THE FOURTH AT FRAMINGHAM.

(Reported for the Liberator, by J. M. W. YERINGTON.)

SPEECH OF E. H. WEYWOOD.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I don't know as I have any thing of interest to add to the very effective testimonies you have heard to-day against the outraging sin of our land—nothing more than to endorse them to the fullest extent. I believe in this occasion, I assent to its patriotism, I respond to its humanity. This struggle for the rights of the colored race is but the cropping out of the strata thrown up by the convulsions of the Revolution. The Anti-Slavery enterprise is the lineal and legitimate descendant of Plymouth Rock, the youngest born of Martin Luther. 'No Union with Slaveholders' is the inevitable corollary to 'All men are created free and equal.' The idea of the Revolution puts all men on an equal footing before the tribunal of justice and religion. It recognizes, respects, and assists the possibilities of every man. It finds human rights antecedent to human governments—hence above the reach of refusal of human laws. Faith in the divine right of man, in human rights as the gift of God, was the pillar of fire that guided our fathers through the Red Sea of that conflict. That inspired, immortal Declaration proclaims not simply the independence of America, but the independence of man. It teaches the race to look, not up to thrones and cathedra, but to the rights of man. It teaches the race to look, not up to thrones and cathedra, but to the rights of man. It teaches the race to look, not up to thrones and cathedra, but to the rights of man. It teaches the race to look, not up to thrones and cathedra, but to the rights of man.

But Americans now are dead to liberty as a principle—blind leaders of the blind. Born in the night, they refuse to believe in the daytime. (Laughter.) The age of the scaffold and the stake is past, but social proscription crushes out free inquiry more than papal supremacy ever did. Neither individuals nor institutions rise high enough to see over themselves. They shall have no other gods before themselves if the only command whose obedience is sacred. No good can come out of the Nazareth of reform. 'Professional philanthropy' is a term of reproach. It is only the 'fanatic' who gets up a thunder-storm to clear the atmosphere into which he is born.

'The man is thought a knave or fool, Or bigot plotting crime.' Who, for the advancement of his kind, Is wiser than his time. For him the hemlock shall distill, For him the axe be bare; For him the gibbet shall be built, For him the stake prepared. Him shall the scorn and wrath of men Pursue with deadly aim; And malice, envy, spite and lies Shall desecrate his name.

Every great question of justice or religion is settled by its bearing upon immediate emolument. There is no principle but interest. A Grecian said, the Athenians used the principles of Solon to roast barley with. Americans use the principles of Washington to raise corn and cotton—for white men at that. Logic, to be convincing, must have golden links. An American carries his brains as well as his conscience in his pocket. (Laughter.)

Men usually demand impartial freedom, but seldom confer it. As Mr. Quincy has just told us, this nation has always tyrannized over the Negro. It has not ascended to its present distinguished position by the path of virtue. Though Justice and Liberty have loved each other from its cradle, they are not wedded yet. We would not be wanting in reverence to those who were loins we sprung, and into whose labors we have entered. But, to be no better than those who went before us, is to be cumberers of the ground. To be as wise as they, we must be wiser. In erecting their government, the Revolutionists sacrificed the very principle to secure which themselves were buried in a baptism of fire and blood. 'It seems to me,' said Mrs. Adams to her husband, 'that while you are struggling for your own liberty, you are not applying the principle universally.' Had she been a member of the Constitutional Convention, the clear dissecting eye of woman's conscience, and the impartial, irrepresible justice of woman's heart, would have saved our compromising sires the criminal blunder of the slave clauses. (Cheers.) The Constitution was framed at the expense of the Negro. The Union was cemented with his blood. It is no honor to our ancestors to deny it. 'Paint me as I am,' said Cromwell, when he sat to young Lely for his portrait; 'you leave out the scars and wrinkles, I will not pay you a shilling.' Bunyan's Pilgrim found that the path to destruction opened up at the very gates of the heavenly city. From their high vantage ground, from the very threshold of that ideal temple of democracy of which philosophers have dreamed and poets sung, and toward which the weary burdened race has toiled, our fathers turned to the broad way of injustice and oppression. The result is what we see to-day—a nation, one-sixth portion of whose citizens are ruled by brute force—a force to whose fiendish atrocity the humane instincts of brutes are unjustly compared. On no other spot of the earth does there insult the light of heaven a government in which the strong so systematically, so persistently, and so remorselessly oppress the weak, as in ours. The half-gang Russian Autocrat, from the cold Alpine height of despotism, reaches down to lift the bondman up into the enjoyment of human rights. The Christian (!) American Democrat, with one hand upon the throat of the slave population at home, with the other unpeeped Africa to blast with oppression new domains stolen from defenceless neighbors. In 'infidel' Germany they sell a picture of us, representing a white man wielding a dripping lash above a negro, with this subscription: 'The last specimen of American Democracy!' The Church that has the Parian for its father, closes its own door to the hunted fugitive, and crying 'Havoc,' lets slip the dogs of war upon the 'merciless' Indian, Christian enough to 'hide the outcast,' and 'be away not him that wandereth.' Yet this is the people who salute us in the market-place—'We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned, and ye have not lamented.' These are the born of gods; these, to-day, from the metal tongue of stepple, from the lips of cannon, by 'bonfires and illuminations,' proclaim their high origin! 'A mountain stream that ends in mud methinks is melancholy.' (Laughter.) To-day, the air reeks with fulsome adulation of heroes dead, on every virtue of whose lives the laws and religion of this people are a scandalous libel. To-day, forty thousand churches go down on their knees 'amidst their brothers' blood, to offer mockery unto God!—churches whose meat and drink is hourly to crucify four million of Christ's flesh, and put them to an open shame! If this is patriotism, if this is Christianity, welcome treason, welcome infidelity! I feel somewhat like that little girl who was told by her mother that when she got to heaven, it would be all Sunday there. It was a terrible thought. 'Mother,' said she, 'if I get my cat-chiasm so as not to miss a word, stay in the house all day Sunday, and don't laugh one, don't you suppose some Saturday afternoon the Lord will let me go down

to hell, and have a good play!' (Laughter and applause.)

Tyrants are the same, European or American, Oriental or Occidental. The citizens of our so-called free States, having trampled on the helpless, now cringe to the powerful. As a people, we are Godless; of the spirit of resistance, dead in trespass and sin. England to the Colonies was at least a decent despotism. But Slavery to us is not what George III. was to the Revolutionists—not what George III. was to England—not what the Hapsburgs were to Hungary—not what the Cæsars were to Rome—not what the Pharaohs were to Egypt. It is the Pharaoh of the Third of history distilled to the quintessence, the ethereal of tyrannic insolence and meanness. Yet the great North, with its vast super and subterranean resources, with its civil, religious, industrial and educational institutions—early established, widely spread, and still springing up like the giant-built palaces of the Arabian Nights; with a wealth sufficient to feed and clothe the world; with a commerce whirling every sea; with a population whose eight millions souls, for intelligence and vigor, are unequalled in the annals of the race—the mighty North, like an open mouth, every thing this drivelling oligarchy of oppressors cracks to cram down its throat—its pipe-livered, licks gall to make oppression bitter. The clergyman succumb to this evil, which drags in the train every sin that ever darkened the face of human nature; say that slavery is compatible with the Christian character and the law of nature, and cannot be plucked up. What infidelity, what atheism! Talk of the infidelity of the Abolitionists! Why, sir, to believe that a pro-slavery Doctor of Divinity can be saved, requires a stretch of faith which an Abolitionist alone is capable of entertaining. (Laughter.) In politicians declare slavery 'sacred in the States,' in existence to be coeval with the avicious and infernal demands of the master. I don't quote such persons because their opinions are of any value in themselves. They are the mere echo of the organizations whose slaves they consent to be. Politicians in the weather glass of public opinion. The Church warehouses towards each rising sun of worldly fortune—manufactures what the market demands.

The Republican party has not begun to attack slavery yet. It makes no progress, rows with one lead, and backs water with the other. This doctrine of the anti-slavery construction of the Constitution, true to me it seems as lame in logic as it is in accordance with the facts, the new cloth upon the old garment, the Hoosier's new barrel made out of an old bung-hole, (laughter)—but if it can be believed, may pretend, it ought to put the whole North at the back of a champion who should fling down the gauntlet of defiance to the slave system. It ought to find some Cromwell who would hurl every villain slaveholder out of Congress, as Jupiter did Vermin out of heaven. (Cheers.) But the champion does not appear. No Republican, even of the most radical school, neither Mr. Sumner, nor Mr. Seward, nor Mr. Giddings, has ever breathed such a doctrine on the floor of Congress—has ever objected to the fifth representation, has ever objected to the act of returning fugitive slaves, only to the manner in which it is done. The eye of the Republicans party is not single. It tries to serve God and mammon. It is a cowardly party—wants pluck. It attacks abolitionists at home, and its own radical members at Washington. Like the old Queen's arm, it kills (in its own) at both ends. (Laughter.) It wants faith in the North, on whose anti-slavery support its life and triumph alone depend. When a Hindoo through a microscope that the glass of water from which he had just drunk, though perfectly clear to the naked eye, swarmed with animal life, and that he had as surely swallowed meat as if a four-legged mutton had walked down his throat. (Laughter.) So this party objects to an anti-slavery policy, but insists on its existence depends upon its inhaling the branding air of free States, electric with anti-slavery laws, strangling these personal liberty bills, as its insidious, strenuously endeavoring to do, like Saturn, it butters and devours its own children. It must be aggressive. 'My power will fall to the ground,' said Napoleon, 'unless I support it with more achievement. Conquest has made me what I am, conquest alone can sustain me.' Instead of giving up the question of personal liberty on Northern soil, instead of making down into a slave State to hold its national convention, instead of putting up a slaveholder for President as Mr. Greeley proposes, it ought to put the first States in the posture of defence, throw up a mighty wall of anti-slavery bulwarks, lay a firm granite base of personal liberty bills broad enough and firm enough to sustain a direct attack upon the Slave Power. But what do we see in Ohio, to-day? A Republican jubilee covering at the feet of Judge Taylor—Ohio abolitionists in federal chains for obeying the Golden Rule; Chase and Mr. Giddings—Mr. Giddings, having the knee to the image which the Nebuchadnezzar of the very has set up! Dr. Wayland used to tell us that God gave men nothing but opportunities. (He has given Dr. Wayland many opportunities to deliver Jesus in bonds which have slipped through the fingers of timidty!) But what an opportunity was given Mr. Giddings, a few weeks ago, when he stood before this vast assembly at Cleveland, with scores of devoted hanging upon his lips, burning for a signal word to wring the neck of the Slave Democracy in Ohio! He might have gone from that platform to the gallows in sight, with ten thousand Ohio citizens at his back, like the angel at the sepulchre, the keepers behind him would have become as dead men, and the land of liberty entombed there would have been memorial of the bondage of death. (Loud applause.) The act would have transferred Bunker Hill to Cleveland, and sent Senator Toombs to respond to the roll call of his master in the bottomless pit. (Renewed applause.)

Rebellion is the lesson of this day. Afraid of setting the Church, or surrendering the Union, a confederacy of pirates and assassins on the part of the South, and of cowards and hypocrites on the part of the North! Better that every occasion of the body in the land be dashed in fragments, than the Union go down amidst the execrations of the world, to submit one instant to this blood-stained government. (Applause.) If Sam Adams were alive to-day, he would sooner blow up the continent than see Cape Horn. 'Liberty or Death!' was the slogan of the Revolution! There are some who say—'No! Seward, I think, expressed such a sentiment in a 'bold' speech at Rochester,—that if freedmen were poised in this struggle, they will flee to another land, build another Mayflower, and find another Plymouth Rock. But the real Pilgrims of New England, in whom they believe, know that this 'New' was built for liberty to inhabit, that this 'New' is an enhancing firmament' was not foredoomed to be a nest of tyrants. They have burned their ships and hid them. They have drawn the sword, and they are away the scabbard. The anchor of their faith pre-empting 'within the veil,' they responded to that intrepid declaration of Mr. Chapman, when, in the midst of '35,—in the midst of an infuriated populace clamoring for the blood of the innocent, with the very reign of Boston standing by in the person of Mary Lyman, the weakest woman of them all, I can't remember by saying, 'I can't protect you, I can't protect you,'—when that 'queen' (cheers) of the Liberty movement, with a moral courage whose radiance eclipses the heroism of the Hall of Roman Senate, exclaimed—'If this is the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here as any where.' (Renewed applause.) But, I have no fears for the result. Everything

for the cause, everything is against its adversary. Slavery must go down—it is rotten at its base—the whole of God's retribution are floating through it—it must fall. The Abolitionists have not been wanting in faith in the ultimate triumph of truth, in the sovereignty of natural justice, in the omnipotence of the arm of an enlightened, Christianized civilization. We are still our hope, as Mr. Phillips said this morning, in an enlightened, Christianized civilization. We find slavery entrenched in the Constitution, entrenched in the Union, entrenched in the Church, the Sabbath, and above an apostate Church, a Constitution which frames wickedness into a law, a blood-stained Union, which we wrap up in the external heinous of Infidelity. We wrap up this Sin, still quaking beneath the weight of Infidelity, we flash the lightning of God's word through the moral darkness and foul gloom of both Church and State, and hurl the thunderbolts of His Law against slavery, and against every delusion which it beheld which it finds a refuge. (Cheers.) Following the example of the immortal signers of the Declaration of Independence, we simply proclaim the supremacy of principles over parchment, of ideas over institutions, of God over man, of Christianity over Churchianity, of man over man. Emerson came down into this world at Boston yesterday, to tell us that, to succeed, one must launch upon thought, and forget self. Our fathers sailed out bravely at first, but soon took fright, and hauled the anchor. Ever since, their descendants have been dropping the plummet of speculation in the shallows. Mr. Garrison sounded boldly out into the great deep of actual equal rights, the Columbus of a true popular sovereignty. (Applause.) He forgot that he was a Baptist, forgot that he was a Whig, forgot that he was an American, and remembered that he was a man. (Renewed applause.) The age of bullets is past, the age of bullets is past, the age of brains has come. Ideas are the power in authority, the *tierra etat* of the modern realm. The life of institutions is their death. The outward forms vary from age to age, wax old like a garment, as a vesture they are changed, but the living principle is the same; its years have no end. That old theocracy of the Puritans, thrown up like a temporary city, on the highway of civilization, from the old world to the new, has crumbled back to dust an absolute blunder. But the virtue of the Puritans survives, like the wave-bent rock after the flood subsides. The reason why the first gun at Lexington was heard round the world, was because it was loaded with ideas. I remember, when a shaver, not higher than that bench, that the advent of Abby Kelley to a little village of Worcester North, invincible in her enthusiastic devotion to a great principle, clothed with the divine wrath of Juno, and the angelic attractiveness of Venus, created more alarm than would the approach of a mighty army with measured tramp to the field of death. (Applause.)

A CHANGE IN THE BARBAROUS LAWS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
 BRADFORD, (N. H.) July 6, 1859.
 FRIEND GARRISON—The Fourth of July is past, for this year, without such commotion among the people hereabouts—all taking the largest liberty, and passing the day or enjoying themselves as they wish. Some of us here would have been very glad to have attended the celebration at Framingham, where I trust something was said and done in aid of the cause of freedom throughout the land. I have been engaged, more or less, for many years past, principally in this town and vicinity, especially since the Concord mob of 1835,—in stirring up anti-slavery agitation, as tending to contribute something towards forming a public opinion which should compass the eventual overthrow of the infernal system of slavery in our country. I have thought, lately, that it is now about time to get up a brisk agitation upon the slavery question at the seat of the general government. By means of the Sikkist trial, and other occurrences, the attention of the people has been called to the barbarous laws, or want of law, in the District of Columbia, and I have thought that an agitation might be started by forwarding to Congress Memorials or Petitions something like the sketch enclosed. I think we have some radical Republicans in the 36th Congress, who would aid in such a movement. I make these suggestions for your consideration.
 Yours, for universal emancipation,
 W. TAPPAN.

MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS.
 Pursuant to notice, a large meeting of the colored citizens was held in New Bedford, Wednesday evening, June 29th, in the Centre Chapel, to hear the report of the Committee appointed at a previous meeting to nominate fifteen delegates to attend the New England Convention, to be held in Boston, August 1st. L. H. Brooks was chosen President, and John Briggs Secretary, and the following persons were selected, viz:—E. R. Johnson, William Jackson, B. C. Perry, H. Johnson, H. O. Remington, Wm. Piper, H. B. Freeman, J. H. Jenifer, J. C. Dunlop, Lewis A. Bell, John Goings, Wm. Berry, A. G. Jordan, Jr., and John Briggs.
 Speeches were made by John Briggs and B. C. Perry, who offered the following Preamble and Resolution, which were unanimously adopted:—
 Whereas, we believe the present and future prosperity of the colored Americans to be based upon a united organization for the advancement of their moral elevation and political influence; therefore,
 Resolved, That we, the citizens of New Bedford, do hereby instruct our delegates to encourage, by all means in their power, the great principles of Religious, Moral and Intellectual advancement, and to oppose all efforts of whatever name or nature, which tend to favor the machinations of the pro-slavery element of this country, by inducing the colored Americans to colonize themselves by emigrating to any foreign country whatever.

ANOTHER TREMENDOUS CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ALLIED FORCES AND THE AUSTRIAN TROOPS.
 The Battle of Salferino—6000 Prisoners, three Flags, and Thirty Cannon Captured—Austrians Re-cross the Alps.—The French pass the River—Probable Attack upon Venice.
 The following telegrams contain all that is known in regard to the great battle on the 24th of June:—
 NAPLES TO THE EMPRESS.
 CAVALLA, June 29th, 1.20 P. M. It is impossible as yet to obtain the details of the battle of yesterday. The enemy withdrew last night. I have passed the night in the room occupied in the morning by the Emperor of Austria. General Niel has been appointed a Marshal of France.
 PARIS, June 24th, 11.30 A. M. The Austrians who had crossed the Mincio for the purpose of attacking us with their whole body have been obliged to abandon their positions, and withdraw to the left bank of the river. They have blown up the bridge of Goito. The loss of the enemy is very considerable, but ours is much less. We have taken thirty cannon, more than 7000 prisoners, General Niel and his corps d'armee have covered themselves with glory as well as the whole army. The Sardinian army inflicted great loss on the enemy, after having contended with great fury against superior forces.
 PARIS, June 24th, 1.30 P. M. The Austrian Berne are spoken of as having been driven from the enormous sum of 35,000 *hous de combat*, and 15,000 taken prisoners, together with 16 flags and 75 pieces of cannon. This, however, lacks confirmation.
 The following is the order of the day published by the Emperor Napoleon after the battle of Salferino:—
 The enemy who believed themselves able to repulse us from the Chiese have re-crossed the Mincio. You have worthily defended the honor of France. Salferino surpasses the recollection of Lonata and Castiglione. In twelve hours you have repulsed the efforts of one hundred and fifty thousand men. Your enthusiasm did not rest there; the numerous artillery of the enemy occupied formidable positions for over three leagues, which you carried. Your country thanks you for your courage and perseverance, and laments the fallen. We have taken three flags, thirty cannon, and 6000 prisoners. The Sardinian army fought with the same valor against superior forces, and worthy is that army to march beside you. Blood has not been shed in vain for the glory of France and the happiness of the people.
 No circumstantial account of the battle had reached Paris. It was inferred from the telegraphs that the French army suffered so severely that two days after the battle, it was still unable to resume the offensive. There were vague rumors that 2,000 French troops having been killed and wounded.

THE GREAT JERIAL VOYAGE. Friday evening, at twenty minutes past seven, the balloon Atlantic left St. Louis for a trip to the sea-board. Messrs. Wise, Jia Mountain, Gager and Mr. Hyde, of the Republic, were the passengers. Their departure was most auspicious, and was witnessed by thousands of spectators. The balloon landed near Adams, Saturday afternoon, at twenty minutes past two—having travelled a distance of 1200 miles in nineteen hours.
 The balloon landed on the farm of Mr. Whitney, in Jefferson county, about eight miles from Adams village. It touched the water, and actually dashed into Toledo, across Long Point—passing between Buffalo and Niagara Falls, at 12 o'clock Saturday noon. After it had passed Buffalo, and just before reaching Rochester, the balloon encountered a violent hurricane, which swept it from its course, and carried the voyagers over Lake Ontario. They were intended to have followed the Central Railroad as near as possible to Albany, and but for the storm of Saturday, they would have been successful.
 The wind swept the balloon with great velocity over the lake, and before reaching within sight of the Eastern shore of Lake Ontario, the water, and actually dashed into Toledo, across Long Point—passing between Buffalo and Niagara Falls, at 12 o'clock Saturday noon. After it had passed Buffalo, and just before reaching Rochester, the balloon encountered a violent hurricane, which swept it from its course, and carried the voyagers over Lake Ontario. They were intended to have followed the Central Railroad as near as possible to Albany, and but for the storm of Saturday, they would have been successful.
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Ayer's Sarsaparilla.
 A compound remedy, in which we have labored to produce the most effective alterative that can be made. It is a concentrated extract of Para Sarsaparilla, so combined with other substances of still greater alterative power as to afford an effective antidote for the diseases Sarsaparilla is reputed to cure. It is believed that such a remedy is wanted by those who suffer from Strumous humors, and that one which will succeed in their cure must prove of immense service to this large class of our afflicted fellow-citizens. How completely this compound will do it has been proven by experiment on many of the worst cases to be found of the following complaints:—
 SCROFULA AND SCROFULOUS COMPLAINTS, Eruptions and Eruptive Diseases, ULCERS, PIMPLES, BLOTCHES, TUMORS, SALT RHEUM, SCALD HEAD, STYLLI AND SPYLLITIS AFFECTIONS, MERCURIAL DISEASE, DROPSY, NEURALGIA OR THE DOLOREUR, DRETTIT, DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION, RHEUMATISM, GOUT, RHEUMATISM OF THE JOINTS, AND THE WHOLE CLASS OF COMPLAINTS ARISING FROM IMPURITY OF THE BLOOD.
 This compound will be found a great promoter of health, when taken in the spring, to expel the four humors which fester in the blood at that season. By the timely expulsion of them the bud of many rankling disorders are nipped in the bud. Multitudes can, by the aid of this remedy, spare themselves from the endurance of foul eruptions and ulcerous sores, through which the system will strive to rid itself of corruption, if not assisted to do this through the operation of a medicine, by an alterative medicine. Cleanse out the vitiated blood whenever you find its impurities bursting through the skin in pimples, eruptions, or sores; cleanse it when you find it is obstructed and sluggish in the veins; cleanse it whenever it is foul, and your feelings will tell you when. Even when no particular disorder is felt, people enjoy better health, and live longer, for cleansing the blood. Keep the blood healthy, and all is well; but with this purgative of life disordered, there can be no lasting health. Scurvy, or other sores, must go, and the great machinery of life is disordered or overthrown.
 Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much, the reputation of accomplishing these ends. But the world has been egregiously deceived by preparations of it, partly because the drug alone has not all the virtues that is claimed for it, but more because many preparations, pretending to be concentrated extracts of it, contain but little of the virtue of Sarsaparilla, or any thing else.
 During late years the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of Extract of Sarsaparilla for the cure of the various diseases named above, and which they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter and painful disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, and the remedy for the most distressing and has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound Sarsaparilla, and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. And we think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are unobtainable by the ordinary use of the disease it is intended to cure. In order to secure their complete eradication from the system, the remedy should be judiciously taken according to directions on the bottle.
 PREPARED BY
DR. J. C. AYER & CO.
 LOWELL, MASS.
 Price, 25 cents per Bottle; Six Bottles for \$1.50.

RECENT MEETINGS AMONG THE COLORED CITIZENS OF BOSTON.
 The Liberator has already published the resolutions adopted at Zion Church, a few weeks since, with reference to pro-slavery churches and ministers. A Colored Methodist Conference had been in session, which, obeying the spirit of inquiry developing among the people, resolved itself into a Convention, when clergymen and laymen, white and colored, entered the arena of debate, which terminated in the adoption of the resolutions as above.
 These being disposed of, an incidental discussion occurred, in the course of which, Rev. Leonard A. Grimes, although complimenting the citizens of Boston for their favors, remarked that colored ministers and churches were not generally encouraged and patronized by colored people. He expressed the opinion that colored ministers were ready and willing to do their part in promoting reform, and asked what special duty was now demanded of them. To this, Mr. John J. Smith replied in substance, that the rising generation needed a more intelligent ministry; and that, no matter what the virtues or intentions of the present incumbents of the pulpit are, if incompetent for the important mission of teaching and guiding the people, they should stand out of the way. He thought the colored clergy were generally paid as much as their services were worth.
 These remarks of Mr. Smith were delivered with an unctious, which, considering that he has been from boyhood a church member, created quite a sensation. I remember a discussion at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in 1840, based upon some resolutions denying a Christian character to churches or ministers who occupy, in any respect, a pro-slavery position, and warning abolitionists against supporting either; which elicited some stirring and searching speeches—one in particular by the lamented CYRUS M. BURLINGTON, from which I quote as follows:—Suppose the teacher of his children to be a good clever man—clever in the New England sense of the word, which means not otherwise will it be enough for Yankees that such a man teaches their children as well as he knows? Such a man might teach the children that two and two made five, or that Massachusetts was bounded North by Cape Horn; and when the parents questioned him about it, might reply that he really thought it was so—he was honest in it. . . . Would not the community cease to employ such a man?
 And this reminiscence suggests another, none the less pertinent to the subject.
 In the year 1842, a People's Convention was held in this same Zion Chapel, when the following resolutions were discussed and adopted:—
 Resolved, That the apathy manifested by our colored ministers of the gospel, in reference to the promulgation of the arts and sciences among us as a people, tends more to retard our intellectual emancipation, than the influence of any class of persons, except the slaveholders.
 Resolved, That it is the duty of our people to give their support to such ministers of the gospel as show proof of the best intellectual and spiritual cultivation.
 Other passages occurred which branched out into a public debate, occupying two subsequent evenings, between Rev. J. B. Smith and Wm. Wells Brown, on the following question:—
 Is the condition of the colored people of the United States worse now than it was fifteen years ago?
 Though likely to provoke a smile of incredulity from anti-slavery people, and all other discerners of the signs of the times, that such a question could have been propounded in sober earnest, yet it is but fair to say that it created much interest, and drew crowded and intelligent audiences on both evenings. The disputants—Mr. Smith affirmative, Mr. Brown negative—acquitted themselves with great ability, and received a unanimous vote of thanks.
 The idea that the hand upon the dial-plate of anti-slavery progress is either retrograding or standing still, is to our vision superficial and unphilosophical one. Although clouds do occasionally obscure the sun, no one in his sober senses doubts its existence, or lacks faith in its effulgent rays re-appearing, and the glorious orb shining all the more brightly from their partial eclipses. Of course, there are continual obstacles in our pathway; but no one should ignore the accumulating facts of anti-slavery progress, offsetting the calamities of our enemies and undermining the bulwarks of oppression.
 The colored people should take counsel of their hopes, rather than be depressed by their fears. Never before have there been so many friends enlisted in their cause—never so many voices, presses and pens, wielded in their behalf, as within the last twenty-five years—all contributing to swell that stream of public sentiment which is destined, ere long, to sweep away Fugitive Slave Laws, nullify Dred Scott decisions, and secure to the colored American here, in his own native land, the equality so long denied him.
 Colored people, all over the country, are arousing themselves for an unflinching conflict with the Slave Power. To sustain themselves, they need rather the voice of encouragement than the wallings of despondency. Their ardor should not be dampened, nor their confidence impaired. 'Hope on, hope ever!' From all unnecessary fears and untimely alarms, 'Good Lord, deliver us!'
 W. C. N.
 Boston, July 11, 1859.

THE BATTLE OF SALFERINO—PASSAGE OF THE MINCIO.
 The news which we publish this week renders it certain that the Allies have beaten the Austrians in a general battle on the 24th of June, in the Mincio, which river they had crossed with the entire strength of their army on the 24th of June. The details of the battle and the respective losses of the two armies are not furnished; but it appears that the Austrians advanced from the right bank of the Mincio towards the Chiese, occupying Carrara and Salferino, which after a heroic assault and defence were carried by the Allies. The line of battle seems to have extended along the range of hills reaching Northwesterly from the Mincio through Volta, Cavriana, Salferino, and towards and not far from Castiglione, at which last named town on the 23d of August, 1796, one of the most successful battles of Napoleon's first campaign in Italy was fought. The Austrian despatches admit the defeat in the clearest language, and, indeed, no further proof is needed than the fact of their retreat across the Mincio, their withdrawal from the river, and its subsequent passage by the Allies. Some 150,000 Austrians took to the mountains, and the remainder of the army of the Allies; making the second equal number in the present campaign, in which more troops were engaged than on the famous field of Waterloo.

KIDNAPPING WHITES IN MISSISSIPPI. A dispatch was received here from Jackson, from Richard Cooper, Esq., the District-Attorney, ordering the arrest of A. R. Burks, on the charge of kidnaping. He was accordingly arrested at the Washington Hotel, together with a woman and a child, in an examination of the case, Burks was taken to the jail, and on the 10th inst. Charles L. Mack and E. G. Walker, Esqrs., appeared for the prosecution, and Gov. Foote and Col. T. S. Martin for the defence. It was proved by Mr. Carter of Neshoba County, that the woman and her three children were free persons, and that the Burks family were brought in and sold, as free Africans were being brought in and sold. He offered to divide with Mr. C., provided he would assist in the disposal of them. This Mr. C. refused, and testified that they were forcibly taken away before his eyes, the woman and children pleading to remain.
 Mr. C. also testified that the accused endeavored to raise money on them, claiming them as his property.
 After argument by the counsel, the Mayor ordered him to give bail in the sum of \$5,000, for his appearance before the Circuit Court next in session. Failing to give the required bail, he was remanded in jail, and attending this case, an atrocious and atrocious, according to the testimony of Mr. Carter, but as the accused had no witnesses, nor made any effort to obtain them on this examination, we shall await the progress of the case in the Criminal Court.
 The Mayor, feeling fully satisfied that the woman and child were not being held as a descendant of a white woman, allowed them to go free. This is what we would call re-opening the slave-trade with a vengeance!—*Vicksburg (Miss.) Whip.*

ACQUISITION OF CUBA. Says the *National Intelligencer*—Recent information has reached us from many quarters, both public and private, to the effect that our late Minister to the Spanish Court, Mr. Dodge, has, in all respects, been successful in his mission, and has unequivocally avowed the opinion, that any attempt to induce the Government of Spain to alienate this valuable dependency for a pecuniary consideration, however great, are destined to prove abortive under the present temper and disposition of the Spanish Court. This intelligence, we may add, has confirmed the sober judgment of all who have been in a position to acquire correct information on this point; and coinciding, as it does, with what might have been antecedently inferred from those motives of pride and interest which prevail in Spain no less than among ourselves, we should think that it deserves to receive some little consideration in the hands of the Statesmen of this country. It is a matter of course, that Cuba is desirable, have rather prematurely jumped to the conclusion that it is equally attainable.
 The Boston City Council had the annual report about their Fourth of July orator, on Thursday evening, and some of the members, in passing a vote of thanks to Mr. Sumner, and some did not hesitate to utter the worst and most insulting language in relation to him. He was used very much by Rev. Mr. Alger was last year; and finally by a vote of 21 to 11, the motion for the customary vote of thanks was postponed one week. Some of the members thought that the speech was a disgrace, and that the City of the State will very generally agree in that opinion.—*Nesburyville Herald.*
 Mr. Eugene Fuller, who threw himself overboard from the steamer Empire City on the 21st ult., and was drowned, was a brother of the late Margaret Fuller. Mr. Fuller had, some years since, a stroke of the sun, and has since been subject at intervals to temporary attacks of insanity, and it was while suffering from one of these, that he fell overboard, and was rescued. He was a merchant in New Orleans, and was on his way North to visit his friends.
 The late Arkansas legislature passed a law to take effect January 1st, 1859, prohibiting the employment of free colored persons on water-craft navigating the rivers of that State, under heavy penalties.
 The Kansas Constitutional Convention has organized at Wyandotte, and consists of 35 Republicans and 17 Democrats.
 During the burning of a millinery establishment on Broadway, New York, lately, the owner threw her two children, aged respectively two and three years, out of the third story window, and jumping, she was broken by an awning, and they were not much injured.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
 Donations to the Society, through Mrs. F. H. Drake.
 Mrs. S. Giege, Boston, \$2 00
 Robert R. Crosby, do. 1 00
 Friend, Lowell, 1 00
 T. S. Stone, Worcester, 1 00
 Mrs. Cowdry, Leominster, 50 25
 Collections by Mrs. Drake, for the Tract Fund.
 Rev. M. Richardson, Worcester, 50 50
 Friend, do. 25 25
 Joseph Orfall, do. 1 14
 Mrs. J. A. Proctor, Lunenburg, 0 25
 Friends, do. 0 73
 P. R. Meriam, Ashburnham, 0 25
 Friends, do. 0 35
 Mr. Bond, do. 0 25
 L. H. Ober, Boston, 1 00
 Moses Richardson, Leominster, 0 25
 W. W. Bond, do. 0 25
 Collections by C. L. Remond, 5 00
 Donation.
 Mrs. Sarah S. Russell, Roxbury, 100 00
 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

A CALL FOR A CONVENTION OF THE COLORED CITIZENS OF THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.
 We issue this call to invite you to attend a Convention to be held in the City of Boston, commencing at 10 o'clock, on Monday, the 1st day of August, 1859.
 The primary object we have in view is, to take into consideration the Moral, Social, and Political elevation of those with whom we are identified, by complexion and condition, in the New England and other States. To all, except five of the Eastern States, the colored citizens are deprived of the privilege of voting on equal terms with the whites.
 Free suffrage is the basis of a free government, the safeguard of a free people, the strength of the strong, the defence of the weak, a powerful auxiliary to respectability, wealth and honor; and just in proportion as men are deprived of this, they are shorn of their strength, and are subject to poverty, disgrace and abuse.
 We are convinced, fellow citizens, that not only our political, but our depressed condition in all other respects in the Free States, is owing to a great degree to the fact, that we are politically weak, not possessing the unrestricted use of the elective franchise. The national body politic see in us nothing to fear, and no favors to court.
 We therefore urge upon colored men in all sections of New England, to endeavor their self-respect and love of freedom in efforts to promote their moral, social and political elevation, by assembling at the above time, a day consecrated by the signal and successful example of Great Britain emancipating 800,000 men, women, and children, in her West India colonies, and hence eminently suggestive to us to strive in securing equality to the half free colored citizens of the Northern States, and thus hasten the day of full emancipation to the millions yet groaning in the Southern prison-house of our country.
 WILLIAM WELLS BROWN,
 LEVITAS HAYDEN,
 WILLIAM C. NEILL,
 JEREMIAH HARVEY,
 JOHN J. SMITH,
 NELSON L. PERKINS,
 HENRY WEIDEN.
 Committee.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY.
 ANN ARBOR, (Mich.) June 30th, 1859.
 FRIEND GARRISON—Last year, I sent you a word in regard to the Commencement at Rochester University. It may be of interest to hear something of that in our State University, which took place yesterday. Such occasions are signs of the times.
 At Rochester, ladies were admitted in large numbers, filling most of the hall, to the exclusion of men who came many miles. Here, each senior student was allowed to pass in a limited number of friends; then the procession entered; then men and women together. A more just arrangement.
 A heavy rain kept away many, and in the morning there were only some 900 present; in the afternoon. There were some thirty-five speakers, limited to five or eight minutes. Too short a time, especially as all the graduating class were not able to take part. The standard of scholarship seemed to me equal to Rochester, and there was much more earnest outspoken thought here than there; more living sympathy with Progress.
 An address on 'Individualism,' by J. R. Carey, of Ganesvoort, N. Y., was a clear and many illustrations of an excellent topic.
 'Worth, not Success, the measure of Greatness,' by A. A. Chapin, of Orland, Ind., was excellent. He made a good point by bringing in the mob of 'property and standing' in Boston, in the early days of Anti-Slavery, with its wrath against yourself.
 'Religious Rigidity,' by C. B. Hankinson, of Vienna, C. W., was a strong, frank speaking out against Pharisaism, old and new, really refreshing to hear.
 'The Reclamation of Gallies,' by C. B. Sanborn, Knemest Square, Pa., showed touches of the free spirit of that noted locality.
 'The Progress of the Nineteenth Century,' by J. C. Lowell, Romeo, Mich., had a fair infusion of the ideas of the Spiritual Philosophy.
 'The Two Inheritances,' by A. F. Butts, Auburn, O., was scholarly, and flashed out there and there with liberal views.
 There was but little sneering at unpopular views; but, as usual, at such times, a display of sophomoric eloquence in lauding popular men and things—the ubiquitous and senseless policy on 'Washington' not the lesser leader of the British forces, in their blood, work in the late India insurrection, included.
 Heavy words of sympathy for Italy were spoken;—more for the oppressed there than the enslaved at home, who were not, however, forgotten.
 On the whole, the exercises were encouraging; showing a growth of thought, a love of true freedom beyond any previous Commencement here, as I am told.
 The Literary Societies of the students showed their activity, a few days since, by a decided vote against the admission of women into the University! Yet a good number of students are in favor, it is said, as are half the Professors, or more.
 Petitions, I judge some thousands of names, have been sent in to the Board of Regents, for admitting women. They do not grant the request, but the end is not yet.
 Several hundred names were obtained here to the petition, and I found some 125 at Sturgis, last week, at a meeting on the opening of a Free Church built by Spiritualists and others.
 Yours, truly,
 G. B. STEBBINS.

THE RELEASING OF THE OBERLIN RESCUERS. Messrs. H. E. Peck, Ralph Plumb, J. M. Fitch, John Watson, J. H. Scott, James Bartlett, David Watson, Henry Evans, William Evans, A. W. Lyman, Richard Windsor and W. E. Lincoln, have all been set free!

THE BIRTH OF A NATION. The birth of a nation is a subject which has been in the minds of the States, for the change which has been made in my sentence, and to assure them that my future conduct shall show that their interest has not been felt, or mercy shown to a bad or unworthy man.

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For the Liberator.
THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1776.
 When, gathered on that signal day,
 To learn how best to tear away
 The chains which on our fathers lay,
 Division was their remedy.
 From parchment which they then unrolled,
 The glowing words from spirits bold
 Shone through the earth, in beams of gold,
 'No union now with tyrannical Britain.'
 As then, so ever must it be,
 If virtue's sought—'from crime we'd flee;
 The watchwords are, 'Come out!—Be free!'—
 'High treason to iniquity!'
 If Slavery's curse and guilty stain
 We'd wholly sweep from sea and main,
 'No union' with her crimes will gain
 A union based on liberty. S. H.

THE LIBERATOR.
 THE METHODIST CHURCH AND SLAVERY.

What is the relation of the Methodist Church to Slavery? We shall look, for information upon this point, first to its 'Discipline' and other official documents, and next to the statements of its Bishops, ministers, elders and lay members.

The constitution and rules, the articles and canons of the Methodist Church, are contained in a little volume of 240 pages, known as 'The Discipline,' and entitled—'The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.' The latest edition, (of 1855,) from which we quote, is certified as correct, and recommended to all Methodists as needful, 'next to the word of God,' for their instruction and guidance, by the signatures of the Bishops, as follows:

- Beverly Waugh, Matthew Simpson,
- Thomas A. Morris, Osmon C. Baker,
- Edward S. James, Levi Scott,
- Edward R. Ames,

This volume, after the 'Articles of Religion,' gives the 'General Rules' of the Methodist Church. In this chapter, following the statement that a religion really fixed in the soul will be shown by its fruits, and that these fruits must be shown—'By doing no harm, by avoiding evil of every kind, especially that which is most generally practised,' comes the following specification, distinguished by italics among the things to be avoided—

'The buying and selling of men, women and children, with the intention to enslave them.'

Chapter iii., of Part I. of the Discipline, treats—'Of the Rights and Privileges of our Colored Members,' and its first specification is as follows:—

'I. Our colored preachers and official members shall have all the privileges which are usual to others in Quarterly Conferences, WHERE THE USAGES OF THE COUNTRY DO NOT FORBID IT.' p. 26.

This concession to the usages of a slaveholding country, in a book of religious principles and rules, addressed to men presumed already to be Christians, is somewhat remarkable; but the closing chapter of Part III., expressly devoted to the subject of Slavery, makes still greater concessions. We quote it entire, as follows:—

CHAPTER VII.
OF SLAVERY.

Quest.—What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?

Ans.—1. We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, WITHIN THE LAWS OF THE STATE IN WHICH HE LIVES WILL ADMIT OF EMANCIPATION, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our Church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the law of the State in which he lives.

3. All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching THEIR SLAVES to read the word of God; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service.' pp. 212, 213.

John Wesley declared slavery to be—the sum of all villainies!

When the Bishops, his successors, in answer to their own question, above, declare themselves 'as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery,' and commence their rule upon this subject with the words—'therefore, no slaveholder'—should we not naturally look for an absolute prohibition of the receiving, or retaining, slaveholders in church-membership?

We find it, however, assumed in the above rules, as a matter of course, that some of the members, and some of the local preachers, will be slaveholders, and remain such, without rebuke; and also, that wherever iniquity shall be framed into a law so atrocious as to forbid emancipation, those who practise it shall be eligible to any official station in the Methodist Church, even though this law may have been made by their own votes as citizens!

It is well known that there was made, in 1845, a division of the Methodist Episcopal Church into two parts, Northern and Southern. The volume we are examining (bought at the Methodist book-store in Boston) says nothing whatever about this separation, and does not proclaim itself to be the Discipline of the Methodist Church North. Its provisions in favor of slaveholders (in spite of the rule first quoted, against the buying and selling of slaves) look as if designed for the Southern Church. How is this doubtful point to be settled?

The answer to this question is found only by examining the 'Boundaries of the Annual Conferences,' pp. 153-175, from which it appears that all the free States and Territories are embraced under its jurisdiction, and also the following slave States, either entire or in part:—

- Delaware, Maryland,
- Virginia, Kentucky,
- Missouri, Arkansas,
- Texas.

The following questions then arise for our consideration:—

1. Are these rules, now existing in the 'Discipline' of the Northern Methodist Church, and tolerating not only unjust distinctions between white and colored preachers, and white and colored church-members, but the actual holding of slaves by church-members, and also by local preachers—are these obstacles rules, carelessly suffered to remain in the Discipline, though disused in practice; or do preachers and members of the Northern Church actually use the shameful license thus given?

2. In the division of 1845, did the Northern portion of the Church withdraw on account of the slaveholding practised by the Southern portion?

3. After the division was made, did the Northern Church, and does it now, receive and retain slaveholders as church-members in its Conferences in the border slave States, or only such persons in those States as refuse to hold slaves?

We shall present evidence upon these points from the testimony of well-known, trustworthy and responsible Methodist ministers and church-members; and we shall first answer the second question.

The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1845, though made upon a point connected with slavery, was neither a protest against slaveholding by the Northern Church, nor a separation made by that Church at all; it was a secession by the Southern Church, because the Northern brethren, who had permitted the enlargement and the strengthening of slavery at several successive periods, and in various ways, would not go the further length of consenting that the Bishops should be slaveholders!

The latest of the triumphs of slavery, in the Methodist Church, referred to, had been carried at the General Conference of 1840; among these were the adoption of the two resolutions following:—

1. A resolution offered by Rev. Dr. Ignatius A. Few, seconded by Dr. George Peck, and adopted by the Conference, 74 to 46, as follows:—

'Resolved, That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher among us to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons in any State where they are denied that privilege in trials at law.'—Journal, vol. II, p. 60.

2. A resolution (the conclusion of a report made by a Committee of nine, upon a memorial, presented from fifteen official members of Westminster Circuit, Baltimore Conference, complaining that ordination had been withheld from some of their local preachers, merely because they were slaveholders), adopted by the Conference, as follows:—

'Resolved, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences assembled, That, under the provisional exception of the general rule of the Church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, in any State or Territory where the laws do not admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and cannot, therefore, be considered as operating any forfeiture of right in view of such election and ordination.'—Journal, vol. II, p. 171.

Since the General Conference of 1840 had so far endorsed the doctrine that slaveholding should be no bar to the ministry, it is not strange that at their next session, 1844, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. James O. Andrew, was found to be a slaveholder.

The Committee on Episcopacy were directed to inquire into the facts in the case of Bishop Andrew, and report them to the General Conference the next day. They did so, and presented a report, containing a statement drawn up by Bishop Andrew himself, admitting that he held the legal relation of slaveholder, and claiming the right to hold it.

The Bishops united in an Address to the Conference, speaking of this admitted and defended slaveholding as 'the embarrassment of Bishop Andrew,' and earnestly recommending the postponement of further action in his case until the ensuing General Conference, four years after. The Conference, however, were not willing to let the matter rest thus, and finally adopted the following, by a vote of 110 to 68:—

'Whereas, the Discipline of our Church forbids the doing of any thing calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and whereas, Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general superintendent; and if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of his office as long as this impediment remains.'—Journal for 1844, pp. 65, 66.

A full account of the proceedings of the General Conference in this case, with the most important official papers connected with it, and specimens of speeches made on both sides, may be found in Rev. Dr. James Dixon's 'Methodism in America,' pp. 424-462. A brief statement is made of it, too, in a recent pamphlet, by Rev. H. Mattison, of the Black River, (N. Y.) Conference, entitled 'The Impending Crisis of 1860: or, the Present Connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church with Slavery, and her duty in regard to it.' Of the action of the General Conference in regard to Bishop Andrew, (expressed in the foregoing preamble and resolution.) Mr. Mattison justly says—p. 36—

'No complaint is here made on moral grounds against episcopal slaveholding. It is solely on the ground that a slaveholding Bishop would be well received in New England and other Northern States. Besides, the Bishop was left a Bishop still, and a slaveholding Bishop, with his name in the Discipline and Hymn-book, and drawing his salary the same as other Bishops.'

And he adds, briefly sketching the secession, and the grounds on which, and the party by which, it was made—

'The Southern delegates, finding that a slight check was about to be put upon slavery, so far as the episcopacy was concerned, first protested, then got a plan of separation adopted, and finally went home and seceded, taking with them most of the membership in the slaveholding States. In due time they sued the Book Agents, and pro-slavery judges gave them a large share of the Church property; and they now constitute the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and are breeding, buying, selling, owning, and whipping negroes to their hearts' content, having stripped every thing out of the Discipline that would even forbid their bishops from going into the African slave-trade.'—pp. 35, 36.

The action referred to in the last clause of this extract was taken May 10th, 1853, by the fourth 'General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,' held at Nashville, Tennessee, and is as follows:—

'Whereas, the rule in the General Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, forbidding the buying and selling of men, women and children, with an intention to enslave them, is ambiguous in its phrasing, and liable to be construed as authorizing the institution of slavery, in regard to which the church has no right to meddle, except in enforcing the duties of masters and servants, as set forth in the Holy Scriptures; and whereas, a strong desire for the expunction of said rule has been expressed in nearly all parts of our ecclesiastical connection; therefore,

Resolved, 1. By the delegates of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in General Conference assembled, that the rule forbidding the buying and selling of men, women and children, with an intention to enslave them, be expunged from the General Rule of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Resolved, 2. That in adopting the foregoing resolution, this Conference expresses no opinion in regard to the African slave-trade, to which the rule in question has been understood to refer.

The vote on these resolutions stood—Ayes, 140; nays, 8; absences, 3. The debates and proceedings of the Conference are reported in full in the Nashville Christian Advocate.

Before leaving the proceedings of a Committee which expunged this General Rule, because it was liable to be construed as antagonistic to the institution of slavery, with which they affirm that 'the church has no right to meddle' (except in the way of protecting it)—we will give two specimens of their action in regard to practices which they really wished to oppose.

In regard to dress, the following was adopted: (Christian Advocate, June 1st.)

Question—Shall we insist on the rule concerning dress?
 Answer—By all means. This is no time to give encouragement to superfluity of apparel. Therefore let each preacher in charge direct the attention of those committed to his care to the general rule on this subject, and to the Holy Scriptures on which it is based; mildly yet earnestly urging them to keep the same.

And, in regard to sundry other evils, the following: (Ib.)

Quest. 2. How shall we guard against bribery, dancing, attending circuses and theatres, Sabbath-breaking, and the other evils forbidden in the general rules?
 Ans. 1. Preach expressly on them, and circulate tracts denouncing them, whenever necessary.

2. Let the leaders closely examine and exhort every person to put away the accursed things.
 3. Let the people be admonished that none who practise any of these evils can remain in our Church.

4. In denouncing bribery, strongly advise our people to discontinuance all treats given by candidates before or at elections, and not to be partakers in any respect, of such iniquitous practices.'

Such are the provisions inserted in that 'Discipline' of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, from which the general rule on slavery is expunged.

Having seen that the division in the Methodist Church was made by the act of its Southern, not of its Northern portion—and that the Northern Church includes under its jurisdiction seven slaveholding States (wholly or in part)—and that the 'Discipline' of the Northern Church still retains the allowance of slaveholding, and of unjust distinctions between white and colored members—we have now to inquire, Are slaveholders still tolerated as members, in good standing, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North?

In evidence upon this point, we first present a letter published in Zion's Herald, [Boston] in October, 1857, from a minister of the Providence Conference:—

Mr. Ennon: Will you allow a word of correction in respect to one or two sentences of an editorial headed 'Our South-western Border,' in the Herald of Sept. 16th? I feel assured you wish to state the truth, and would not have made those statements if you had been personally acquainted with the facts in the case. Speaking of the objections many have to the appropriation of missionary money to build up pro-slavery churches in the Border Conference, you say: 'Our territory is shared equally by an anti-slavery Church.' Again, 'Our Church is a great anti-slavery vanguard in those States.' I wish it were even so; then would there be hope for our Church and our country. But nothing is further from the truth.

Some months since, I resolved to ascertain personally the facts in the case. I travelled extensively in Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky and Virginia, and the result of that thorough examination was, that I found no Methodists more intensely pro-slavery in Alabama, Louisiana, or in any of the 'fire-eating' parts of the South, than I found the members of our mission Churches to be in the Border Conference; they utterly abjure the name of abolitionists, or of having any sympathy with the anti-slavery movements in the free States. It matters not how many slaves a man owns, it is no objection to his becoming a member of those mission Churches. It is true, as you say, 'Our territory is shared equally by an anti-slavery Church.' Again, 'Our Church is a great anti-slavery vanguard in those States.' I wish it were even so; then would there be hope for our Church and our country. But nothing is further from the truth.

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