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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

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

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The Liberator.

THE RELATION OF SLAVERY TO A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER, At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Wednesday Morning, May 26, 1858.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On the matter of slavery, there is a great confusion just now in the American State and the American Church.

The French Celts allow no property in man, and Napoleon's attempt to restore the doctrine and practice of the Dark Ages is now to fail.

But, in America, the Democratic party thinks slavery is indispensable to good government, and is the normal condition of one seventh part of the people.

Human experience shows that all governmental power of one man over others is abused for the advantage of the holder thereof, and the hurt of those who he holds it over, unless they have abundant means to keep him in check, and prevent his tyranny.

II. Oligarchy - The Few-Men-Power; government over all, but by a few, and often in practice it turns out to be chiefly for the sake of that one.

III. Democracy - the all-men Power; government over all, by all, and for the sake of all. Yet, practically, it must be government by the majority, and in fact, it often turns out to be chiefly for the advantage of that majority.

There are two great things to be considered in human history. 1. The Individuality of each man. He is an integer, a Unit of Humanity, impenetrable; his humanity must be respected.

Now, the Individual reaches his proper growth only in society - with the communion of his fellows. A great character cannot be built up alone; no more than a great temple. A hermit constructs no pyramid; he achieves no great nobleness of manhood.

The Substance of Society depends on the generous instinct which groups men into flocks and herds; this is always the same. But the Form of Society depends upon the will and intelligence of the controlling men.



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 fathers 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.'

THE LIBERATOR.

It is the business of statesmen to regulate the action of both the voluntary and the automatic forces of the collective mass, and make such a form of society as shall produce noble men, in the greatest number and of the best kind.

For the development of Society, there must be Government; that is, the social body must observe certain Rules of Conduct, called Laws, whereby all persons are held subject. There may be Customs which men hit upon, and become wonted to, and they are the consequences of an experiment, the product of history, the record of the past: or they may be the Ideal Aims of the people or the rulers, which anticipate experience, and are intended to shape and control the future - not representing experiments tried, but experiments in process.

All society must have its government, that is, Rules of Conduct, and Conductors to see that they are kept - Abstract Rules, Concrete Rules. The substance of government consists in these two, and is always the same; but the forms thereof vary much from land to land, and age to age; yet may they be thus grossly summed up in three:

I. Monarchy - The One-Man-Power; government over all, but by one, and often in practice it turns out to be chiefly for the sake of that one.

II. Oligarchy - The Few-Men-Power; government over all, but by a few, and often in practice it turns out to be chiefly for the sake of that few.

III. Democracy - the all-men Power; government over all, by all, and for the sake of all. Yet, practically, it must be government by the majority, and in fact, it often turns out to be chiefly for the advantage of that majority.

(2) In its Substance. There is a moralization of Government; statutes and customs conform more to the constitution of the universe; the roads laid out, the paths walked in, come nearer to an arc of that great circle which is the shortest distance between two points on the human sphere; the natural Rule of Right becomes the Rule of Conduct, and secures Justice, which is the interest of each and of all, the point common to men and mankind, to men and God.

At this day, the Caucasians are the most progressive people on earth. Their most advanced and advancing nations are the Celtic French, who have made vast strides within a hundred years, and though now checked in the march, they will not stop long; and the various Teutonic people. Among these, the English and Americans are types of progress, representative nations. Not only have they the Instinct of Progress, and advance by this automatic action, but also the Idea, the conscious Will. They look forward to the end, and devise means to help them thitherward.

This Progress appears in many things - in Agriculture, Mining, Manufactures, Commerce - the four grand divisions of the Business world. You find it in all departments of thought; even theology is amenable to improvement. Historic Universalists, Spiritualists, carry on the historic continuity of development, which reaches from the flight of Moses out of Egypt down to the meeting of this Anti-Slavery Convention.

It consists in three things: - I. The development of Personal powers in the individual man - the ultimate atom of society. II. The development of Social powers in the gregarious mass. This is done by combining men into companies - first, there is the binary union of Him and Her, and at length the multitudinous compounding of four hundred millions, despotically welded into a Chinese empire - which is a stiff, unyielding bar of iron; or of thirty-two sovereign States, federally connected into one American Commonwealth - which is a chain of many links, alike flexible and strong. To develop these powers of Society, there must be National Unity of Action - the whole mass working as a well-harnessed team of men; and also Individual Variety of action - each man enjoying his own personal freedom of nature. III. The acquisition of Power over the material world, which comes as a consequence of this personal and social development. This Power appears in two forms - 1, that of Science, which is ability to know the forces of Nature in their present and past condition, and to foretell their future condition; 2, that of Art, which is ability to control the forces of Nature, and make them producers of Use and Beauty for our own purposes.

This Progress is generic of Mankind - not an exceptional, but an instanthial fact. The Human Race, taken as a whole, never goes back, never stands still. But yet, this advance of Mankind depends mainly on the automatic forces of Human Nature; it is directed less by the foresight of man than the Providence of God acting through the great instinct of individual improvement and social progress. Mankind could not prevent it; no more than all the babies of Boston could prevent themselves from growing up to manhood. But while this progress is continual in Mankind, dependent on organic causes which are out of our reach, there are yet fluctuations in individual men, and in particular nations, that stand still, or even go back. All round us there are good men who come to their growth, and stop there, then decline, and die. It is the course of nature. But there are likewise evil men, who by their vice debar themselves from natural and healthy growth, and perish, immaturally and die not half grown. The same is true of States. I do not know that any nation has died a natural death of old age. Many adopt evil forms of government, with such ecclesiastical, political, social and domestic institutions as prevent them from advancing, force them to stand still, and so to perish. Here I notice two things.

I. In all progressive nations, there is a continual change in both the Form and in the Substance of Government.

(1) In its Form. The Monarchy tends to Oligarchy, the Oligarchy to Democracy. There is a popularization of Government, a progressive diffusion of power. Centralization yields to local Self-Government. This movement may go on by that regular slope we call Development, - where the continuity of historic action never seems to be broken, - or by those irregular stairs we call Revolution, which seems to interrupt the historic continuity of action, though it does not.

(2) In its Substance. There is a moralization of Government; statutes and customs conform more to the constitution of the universe; the roads laid out, the paths walked in, come nearer to an arc of that great circle which is the shortest distance between two points on the human sphere; the natural Rule of Right becomes the Rule of Conduct, and secures Justice, which is the interest of each and of all, the point common to men and mankind, to men and God. This change is noticeable in all progressive nations, just as clearly as the swelling of buds, the opening of flowers, and the shooting forth of leaves, is distinctive of spring.

II. In a regressive or a stationary people, the opposite takes place. There is a change in the form of Government - Democracy tends to Oligarchy, that to Monarchy; local self-government yields to centralization; political power is monopolized; Government by All shrinks to Government by a Few, that to Government by One. The change in the substance is the same sort. Statutes and customs conform less to natural Justice; the Rule of Violence becomes the Rule of Conduct. This change is noticeable in all decaying nations. It is like the fall of the leaf and the tightening of the bark when winter sets severely in.

At this day, the Caucasians are the most progressive people on earth. Their most advanced and advancing nations are the Celtic French, who have made vast strides within a hundred years, and though now checked in the march, they will not stop long; and the various Teutonic people. Among these, the English and Americans are types of progress, representative nations. Not only have they the Instinct of Progress, and advance by this automatic action, but also the Idea, the conscious Will. They look forward to the end, and devise means to help them thitherward.

This Progress appears in many things - in Agriculture, Mining, Manufactures, Commerce - the four grand divisions of the Business world. You find it in all departments of thought; even theology is amenable to improvement. Historic Universalists, Spiritualists, carry on the historic continuity of development, which reaches from the flight of Moses out of Egypt down to the meeting of this Anti-Slavery Convention.

Form and Substance of such institutions goes on with accelerated velocity.

But at the South, you do not meet with a similar improvement; nay, you often find the opposite. For Slavery has there a permanent welcome. That shout from the Upses tree of foreign barbarism has been imported and naturalized there; with its pernicious shade it hinders the growth of the fair plant of Liberty, once set even in that soil. What was once a transient exception in the history of the North, is become a typical institution there; it is a guide-board instance, pointing to the central peculiarity of the South. Under her control, the Federal Government also retrogrades in the same way, under the influence of the same exceptional cause. From the latter, I select three examples.

1. In 1793, the Federal Government took slavery under its special protection, passed the first Fugitive Slave Law, according to Property in a man a guarantee it never gave to Property in Land or Things. Here it violated both the natural and the constitutional rights of the individual States, and adopted a vicious centralization of the most dangerous character. In 1850, the Supreme Court, which is also the Prigge creature of the Slave Power, - in the Prigge case, decided that the individual States had neither duties nor rights in this matter; but the United States might kidnap a runaway on any free soil of the individual States. In 1850, by the new Fugitive-Slave Bill, the means of kidnapping were provided at the expense of the General Government, and man-stealing was made easy. In 1857, in the Dred Scott case, the Supreme Court decided that a colored man had no rights which the people were bound to respect, for he was not a citizen of the United States, - of course, he could not receive a passport enabling him to travel on the European continent, nor command a merchant vessel, nor claim a citizen's bounty in the fishery, nor pre-empt a quarter section of the public land, nor exercise any of the other rights of citizenship; yet he is made amenable to all the laws whereas he is thus habitually put to ban. Two Judges dissent from this iniquitous decision as false in history as unjust in law. Mr. McLean of Ohio, Mr. Curtis of Massachusetts - it gives me great pleasure to mention and extol his manly conduct then! This is the first example - what a striding backward for five and sixty years!

2. The Federal Government has taken special pains to acquire territory, and put this exceptional institution in it. Look at Louisiana and the other States made out of the territory acquired for France; look at Florida, at Texas, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona! What pains does the Government take to spread Slavery! That is the second example.

3. It assumes that Slavery is not only consistent with the nature of a Republic, but is favorable for its development. The Slave Power controls the Government, and continually declares that 'free society is a failure'; that 'Slavery is indispensable to a Republic'; if the present and the past Administration, - I mean, the Presidential and Senatorial Executive, with their manifold subordinate, - are not personally of that opinion, they yet are officiously, for all their sly look that way. Witness the attempt to force slavery into Kansas, whose whole brief life has been the history of violent attempts to inoculate her with that disease which even in their youth makes Virginia and the Carolinas decrepid - hindering their increase in men, their acquisition of things, and degrading their intellectual and moral character. So important does the present Administration think Slavery for political welfare, that it not only allows Kansas, with but 60,000 inhabitants, to come into the Union as a Slave State now, but offers her enormous bribes if she will thus debase her maiden honor; while, if she insists on being a Free State, then shall she have no dowry at all, and shall not enter the national family until she has 93,000 inhabitants, in 1860, or 1864!

These are but three examples; I could count many more. All this wickedness comes from the adoption of Slavery by the Federal Government. Had it done nothing at all about the matter - taken sides with neither Freedom nor Slavery - how different had the nation now been! What if the Government had sided with Freedom! What a nation should we have become! What population, what industry - Agriculture, Mining, Manufactures, Commerce - should we see in the Southern States themselves! - what intelligence, what morality!

But, strange as it may seem, the Constitution of the nation contains these words: - 'The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government.' (Art. IV, sec. 4.) These are not words of idle ceremony; they are plain without any scruple, and absolute without any darning; 'prudent antiquity included much matter in few words.' The only ambiguity is in the words, 'Republican form of Government.' What do they mean? Is Slavery consistent with a 'Republican form of Government,' in the constitutional sense of the phrase? If so, then it may spread every where, and include not only black men, but also red men, brown men, yellow men, and white men - for the color is but an accident of the skin, affecting the substance of no man's nature. But if a 'Republican form of Government' be hostile to slavery, then, peaceably or forcibly, slavery must go down and perish utterly out of every 'State in this Union.' The question must now be decided, practically through custom, or intentionally by statute. It is the public who are to determine what the words mean; - the Legislature, Judiciary and Executive are but attorneys having only delegated and limited powers; while the People are the Proprietors and Sovereigns, with Eminent Domain over the premises of their vassals. The opinion of these attorneys is but advisory and provisional, while the decision of the majority of the People is declaratory and final.

Here, then, come the questions - (1) What is Slavery? (2) What is a Republican form of Government, in the constitutional sense? (3) Is Slavery compatible with a Republican form of Government? Let me say a word on each of the three. The first two are questions of definition, the last of comparison.

1. What is Slavery? I define it by its essence - Slavery is Property in Man. I make Dinah my slave. She is my property - her substance becomes my accident. She is no longer to be counted a per-

son, with free spiritual or bodily individuality; she is a thing - a chattel, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. Slavery is a condition contrary to Natural Right.

II. What is a 'Republican form of Government'? Here the dictionaries will not help us, neither will the private opinions of distinguished men living at the time the Constitution was made; for it is notorious that such men as Franklin, Jefferson, the two Adamses, Washington, Madison, and others, differed very widely on this ideal government, indicated and guaranteed by these words. The common rules of interpretation are well known, and must serve us in this as in all other cases. We are to look at the Constitution itself, to interpret its words by reference to the Purpose which the People had in view in making it, and the Principles set forth in every document of like nature coming from the People. The interpretation of this clause requires only good sense, good faith, good head, good judgment; there is nothing mysterious in the matter.

I shall seek the means of definition in two documents which are the work of the People of the United States, viz., in the Constitution itself, which is professedly and on its face the act and deed of the 'People of the United States,' and in the Declaration of Independence, which is equally their free act and deed, though not set forth and published as such in the same manner and form. The Revolutionary War is the People's Vote for accepting the Declaration. I think these two papers are the act of the People of the United States as no other in our history. Now, the meaning of the words 'Republican form of Government' is to be sought in the Constitution itself, though it occurs therein but once; yet the Declaration affords light to read the Constitution by, and as that is the older, let us look at it first, and then at the Constitution.

I. The Declaration of Independence is the National PROGRAMME OF POLITICAL PRINCIPLES, solemnly adopted by the Delegates, and subsequently by the People themselves, as their Rule of Conduct in separating from the mother country, and organizing their own voluntary and automatic powers into a new form of Government, and constructing its institutions. You all know the words; here are the principles, which, for convenience, I put into a philosophic form.

1. All men have certain natural and essential Rights; among them, the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

2. These Rights are unalienable, except by the misconduct and crime of the possessor thereof. One man cannot alienate another's rights.

3. In respect to these natural and unalienable Rights, all men are equal; with the rich, the educated, men of famous family, these rights are not quantitatively greater, or qualitatively more nice, than with the poor, the ignorant, and men born in the humblest place.

4. Governments are instituted to secure these natural, unalienable and equal Rights to all men.

5. These governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is, from the majority of the inhabitants; and accordingly, when the government does not secure them the enforcement thereof, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.

In this Programme of constructive Revolution, the government charter of American Law, these Principles are not referred back to any grant from Parliament or King, to any statute Law, nor rested on the foundation of any customs among men, or inductive reasoning of philosophers. They are founded not on the Facts of Observation in human History, but on the Facts of Consciousness in human nature itself. Our fathers said - 'We hold these truths to be self-evident.' Young Mr. Jefferson furnished the popular words, but the Ideas were of New England, and had all been passed upon in the town meetings of Boston, and other little villages in Massachusetts, where Franklin and the two noble Adams took and inspired them into the democratic young man from Virginia. New and strange to the world, when they were to have a great future, they were familiar to New England, when even then they had also a history. That is the first witness for definition; such his testimony. If the people were to establish such a government as would represent the sense of that document, a 'Republican Form of Government' must be one which in substance secures to all men their natural, unalienable and equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and has the consent of the governed.

II. The next source is the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES itself. During the war, a Confederation was made, intended to be provisional; but when the Revolution was complete, something more lasting was needed. Institutions must be invented, organized and administered, which should apply the Principles of the Declaration to actual work, and incorporate them into the political life of the People. This could not be done directly by all the People; it must be by a few - the servants of the People. So a scheme of Institutions must be prepared. For that purpose, delegates were appointed in all the States, and a Convention held. They made 'the Constitution,' and proposed it to the people, who accepted it by rather a small majority of the popular vote. The servants who wrought it out confessed that it had great defects. Such was the opinion of Franklin, the ablest man in America, of Washington, the next most distinguished; many leading men in the individual States, who voted for its acceptance, sanctioned many things in it. Such was the case with Samuel Adams and John Hancock, then the two most influential men in Massachusetts. But it was accepted as 'good for the present distress.' There is much foolish and hypocritical talk now about the 'sacredness of the Constitution,' which would sound a little contemptible to Hancock and Adams, to Washington and Franklin.

Now, the Constitution is a POWER OF ATTORNEY, by which the People of the United States, authorizing their servants to do certain matters and things pertaining to the Government of America - i. e. to invent, organize and administer such Institutions as shall introduce these Principles of the Declaration into the actual political life of the People. All officers of the

United States are sworn to keep the Constitution - i. e. to conform to that Power of Attorney, to do what it commands - of course, the agents of the People have no official authority, except what they receive under that Power of Attorney.

Now, this Power of Attorney contains two parts: (1.) The Preamble, and, (2.) the Purview, the Seven Articles making up the body of the document.

1. The Preamble is a PROGRAMME OF PURPOSES, telling the People's agents what matters and things they are authorized and instructed to do. Commonly the preamble to a statute merely recites the historical occasion of that enactment; but the Preamble to this solemn act of the whole People is quite different - it declares the Motive, the Animus propter quod, and the Purpose, the Finem usque ad quem. These are the words: 'To form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.' These are the things to be done. Nothing else is commanded or even permitted; and it is elsewhere expressly declared that 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor Inhibited by it to the States, are secured to the States respectively,' to the People. (Amendment, Art. X.) And again: 'The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the People.' (Amendment, Art. IX.)

This Programme of Purposes is unitary, in harmony with itself; and also consistent with the Programme of Principles in the Declaration.

2. The Seven Articles are a PROGRAMME OF MEANS for the attainment of the Purposes and the carrying out of the Principles mentioned before. These are not unitary. Some of them conflict with each other, some with the Principles and Purposes; but, in the great majority of cases, the means are in harmony with the ends proposed before. The others were exceptional - some of them were felt to be so at the time of making or adopting the Constitution, and hence the opposition to it in both the national and the State Conventions. But, to make clear that the natural and essential Rights of Man are to be carefully respected, to guard the rights of all men, the Constitution, in one most important particular, secures to the United States a right and a duty to watch over the institutions of the individual States, and guarantee a 'Republican Form of Government.' What do these words mean, in this place? Certainly they guarantee to each State such a Government as will accomplish the Purpose for which the People made the Constitution; and, of course, one which embodies and carries out the Principles that the Revolution was fought to secure. It must be a Government which tends to form 'a more perfect Union' amongst all the People; to 'establish Justice' for each person; to 'insure domestic Tranquillity' every where in the land; to 'provide for the common defence' of the natural rights of all men therein; to 'promote the general Welfare' of all, the enjoyment 'of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'; and 'secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity.' It is clear the People contemplate the establishment of such a Government, and nothing less. Words cannot make it more clear.

III. Now, compare Slavery and a Republican Form of Government. Slavery denies the slave all his natural rights; it is the abnegation of the self-evident Truths of the Programme of Principles; it is the nullification of the Ends proposed in the Programme of Purposes - it tends to destroy Union among the People; it entails Injustice; to prevent domestic Tranquillity; to hinder the common Defence; to disturb the General Welfare; and to annihilate the Blessings of Liberty, just so far as it extends. Not only is Slavery inconsistent with a Republican Form of Government, in the constitutional sense of the word, it is so utterly hostile thereto that the two cannot live together, but one must destroy the other.

Yet when the Constitution was adopted, almost all the States had slavery within their borders; some of the men who set their names to the paper were themselves slaveholders. But these facts do not alter the meaning of the words, or their power; for we are not concerned with the opinions, or even the intentions of those men, but only with the opinions and intentions of the People of the United States, as expressed in the words of that document. The delegates in the Federal Convention which drafted the Constitution were simply the scriveners of the People, to draw up this Power of Attorney; the delegates to the State Conventions were but the agents to examine it, and give the People's assent thereto, or withhold it therefrom. The ultimate authority is the people of the United States. I know no act of theirs, at that time, which intimates an intention to keep slavery, or that they intended it consistent with the Principles of the Declaration, with the Purposes of the Constitution, or which wreeds the words 'Republican form of Government' from their plain and natural sense in the Constitution.

Some years ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts made a law forbidding lotteries in the State. Many of the delegates who supported the measure had lottery tickets in their pockets at the moment of voting. Does that fact alter the meaning of the statute? A Massachusetts Legislature prohibited the sale of liquor in the State except for certain specified purposes, and in a manner provided for. Some of the men who voted for the liquor law daily used intoxicating drinks; others rented their shops for the sale their vote made illegal; the law has never been enforced in Boston, nay, the traffic has been more open and more extensive ever since; but do these facts alter the intention of the Legislature, and control the words of the statute?

It is now well known that many of the leading men in the Conventions, Federal as well as State, were hostile to slavery. I need only mention Franklin, Washington, Madison, Samuel Adams and John Hancock. What is still more important, it was the general opinion of the People, that Slavery would soon end if let alone, and that it would be better not to kill it violently at once by direct blows, but to let it die of the incurable disease then supposed to be eating its vitals out. So they let it remain in the States, though the Principles of the Declaration, the Purpose of the Constitution, and the guarantee of a Repub-

lean Form of Government were all hostile to it. The Northern States one by one removed this shameful exception from their institutions. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, acted with their party, and from time to time did deeds inconsistent with these Principles and Purposes, but their personal convictions still remained unaltered. When Madison and Jefferson read this clause in the preamble of the Constitution, 'to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our Posterity,' do you believe they limited its application to white men—to their posterity born free? They expected that slavery would soon end in all the States, and while for the moment they tolerated it as a measure of convenience or necessity, which either they would not or else could not then escape from, and yet denied it as a Principle of public policy and morals, and provided a clause in the body of the Constitution which would ultimately destroy it, and that without amending the Constitution itself.

But it is the words of the document we are to consider, not the opinions of contemporaries, or the conduct of individuals, parties, States, or the nation itself. It often happens that a false interpretation of a statute prevails for a long time. James L. knew this, and said, 'Let me make the judges, and I care not who makes the laws.' The South knows it as well, and as wickedly acts thereon. In 1828, the British Parliament enacted the great Petition of Right to deprive the King of the power of imprisoning men without due process of law. Charles I. asked the Judges if that would prevent him from clapping in jail whom he would, without showing cause for it. Judge Hyde answered—'Every law . . . hath its responsibility, which is to be left to the courts of justice to determine'; 'there is no fear of such a conclusion as is implied in the question.' But would that false interpretation by wicked Judges alter the plain meaning of the 'great Petition of Right'?

The common law of England did not change; under it men were held as slaves for centuries,—no questions asked; but in the Somerset case, Lord Mansfield fell back on the Principles of English Law, on the Purpose of English Law, and declared that slaves could not breathe in England—it had been said in the time of Queen Elizabeth. He knew what a change his judgment would make; that it overturned the decision of many judges, the practice of centuries; but he said, 'Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.' Justice was done, and the sky was not fallen yet. [Conclusion next week.]

LETTER FROM CHARLES SUMNER TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

To the People of Massachusetts—

Two years have now passed since, while in the enjoyment of perfect health, I was suddenly made an invalid. Throughout this protracted period, amidst various vicissitudes of debility, I seemed to be slowly regaining the health that had been taken from me, until I was encouraged to believe myself on the verge of perfect recovery.

But injuries so great as these originally received by me are not readily repaired, and a recent relapse painfully admonishes me that, although enjoying many of the conditions of a prosperous convalescence, I am not yet beyond the necessity of caution. This has been confirmed by the physicians in Boston and Philadelphia, most familiar with my case, who, in concurrence with my counsels previously given by medical authorities in Europe, have enjoined travel as best calculated to promote my restoration. Anxious to spare no effort for this end, so long deferred, I to-day sail for France.

To the generous people of Massachusetts, who have honored me with an important trust, and cheered me by so much sympathy, I wish to express the thanks which now palpitate in my bosom, while I say to them all collectively, as I would say to a friend, Farewell!

But these valedictory words would be imperfect, if I did not seize this occasion to declare what I have often said publicly, that, had I originally been the duration of my disability, I should at once have resigned my seat in the Senate, making way for a servant more fortunate than myself in the precious advantages of health. I did not do so, because, like other invalids, I lived in the belief that I was soon to be well; and was reluctant to renounce the opportunity of again exposing the hideous barbarism of slavery, now more than ever intensified into the national government, infecting its whole policy, and degrading its whole character. Besides, I was often encouraged to feel that, to every sincere lover of civilization, my vacant chair was a perpetual speech.

CHARLES SUMNER.
On board Steamer Vanderbilt,
New York Harbor, 22nd May, 1858.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

This Society has now decided that, so far as its issues are concerned, the moral and religious evils incident to slavery, or inherent therein, shall not be considered and rebuked; and this clearly on the ground either that these evils are popular and profitable in certain sections of the country, and with certain powerful classes, or that slavery has a political aspect as well as a religious, and ought therefore not to be interfered with by an Association devoted exclusively to moral and religious objects.

It is easy to denounce unpopular crimes, and it is no virtue in a Society that it is bold in that direction. It does not require superabundance of sanctity or manliness in the Tract Society to issue pamphlets against blasphemy and profanity, lying and drunkenness. Nobody defends these vices; at least, nobody who has much commercial or political or political influence to dispose of. Only 'low fellows of the baser sort,' as Paul appropriately calls them, justify such practices, and they seldom outside of the dens and holes in which they burrow in congenial darkness. It is fashionable and profitable to rebuke such sins and sinners; but when gentle and lucrative vices are to be reprimanded, then downright manliness of character is required. A great many professed ministers are so obtuse and so ignorant when popular crimes and criminals are to be handled by them, that they never give offence, and never effect a reformation. The Tract Society goes a degree beyond such ministers. It resolves that it will not utter a word against the most God-insulting and man-degrading crime of the age, and for no other reason than because it is sustained by wealth, elegance, education and political power. If piracy should happen to acquire equally essential and accomplished advantages, the Tract Society would instantly become as deferential towards it.

With right-minded men, the fact that slavery has a political aspect does not justify the Tract Society in refusing to expose and condemn the moral and religious offences which flow from it. Polygamy has its political aspect in Utah, and in nearly half the world besides. Does the Tract Society in consequence feel itself debarred from rebuking polygamy and the vice engendered thereby? In Maryland and Georgia, lottery gambling has a political sanction. Does the Tract Society feel constrained to silence in reference to that vice? In all States of the Union, except perhaps one, the traffic in intoxicating drinks is licensed, and so the means and facilities to drunkenness have a political aspect. Does the Tract Society feel it to be incumbent on it to handle Alcohol gingerly, or to mention its name or substance only to commend it? Is it much more than three-quarters of the globe, the doctrine known as 'evangelical' are condemned by law. Does the Tract Society therefore feel debarred from appropriating moneys to print and circulate pamphlets and books, advocating those doctrines in countries where the laws denounce them? If it should be decreed by Congress, as it once was by the French National Assembly, that there is no God, and that death is eternal sleep, would the Tract Society cease to assert the existence of the Almighty and the immortality of the soul? Surely the more violent and formidable the opposition to Truth, as a whole or in special, the greater should be the persistency and clearness of those set for the defence thereof.

The Tract Society, so far as its action in this particular is concerned, is unblushingly atheistic. It practically asserts that the civil law and the behests of political convulsions, are the ultimate standard of Right and Wrong. In as much more than three-quarters of the globe, the doctrine known as 'evangelical' are condemned by law. Does the Tract Society therefore feel debarred from appropriating moneys to print and circulate pamphlets and books, advocating those doctrines in countries where the laws denounce them? If it should be decreed by Congress, as it once was by the French National Assembly, that there is no God, and that death is eternal sleep, would the Tract Society cease to assert the existence of the Almighty and the immortality of the soul? Surely the more violent and formidable the opposition to Truth, as a whole or in special, the greater should be the persistency and clearness of those set for the defence thereof.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.
BOSTON, JUNE 4, 1858.

THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Annual Meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention assembled in Boston on Wednesday morning, May 26th, at 10 o'clock, A. M. At the hour named for the meeting to commence, the hall (Mercantile Hall) was entirely filled,—every seat, and all available standing room, being occupied, and it was estimated that one thousand persons left, unable to get inside the hall. It was unfortunate that a large place had not been provided. So great and eager a crowd, at the opening of the Convention, had not been seen for many years. Undoubtedly the corrupt pro-slavery action of the American Tract Society and of its Boston branch had much to do in stirring a feeling of popular disgust and indignation, of which this unusual throng was one manifestation. And it was most cheering to find that the hot-bed revival of a spurious religion, which has consumed so much good during the past winter, has been powerless to injure, or even to weaken, the anti-slavery faith and conscience of the true and tried Abolitionists of New England, but has even proved the occasion of awaking in many hearts a new devotion to that great cause of Freedom and Humanity—the Anti-Slavery Cause—which is seen more clearly than ever to combine and concentrate in itself the essential elements of a pure, unadulterated, bold, faithful and genuine Christianity.

The Convention was called to order, soon after 10 o'clock, by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and it was unanimously agreed to proceed at once to organization.

Mr. Jackson said that he would submit to the meeting a list of officers prepared (in order to save time) by the Committee of Arrangements. The list was as follows:

- For President, EDMUND QUINCY, of Massachusetts.
- Vice Presidents, Francis Jackson, of Boston. Peter Libbey, of Maine. Peleg Clarke, of Rhode Island. Benjamin F. Hutchinson, of New Hampshire. Ebenezer D. Draper, of Milford, Mass. Effingham L. Capron, of Worcester, Mass. Joshua Perry, of Hanson, Mass. Prince N. Crowell, of Dennis, Mass. Josiah Henshaw, of West Brookfield, Mass. William Ashby, of Newburyport, Mass. Joseph Carpenter, of New Rochelle, N. Y.
- Secretaries of Convention, Samuel May, Joseph Howland, Charles K. Whipple.
- Business Committee, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Charles C. Burleigh, Charles L. Remond, Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Andrew T. Foss, William Wells Brown.
- Finance Committee, Elbridge Sprague, Abington. Reuben H. Ober, Boston. Sarah P. Remond, Salem. Samuel Dyer, Abington. Sallie Holley, Rochester, N. Y. Lucy Coleman, New York.

The unanimous assent of the Convention was given to the organization thus reported.

A. T. Foss, of New Hampshire, was introduced to the audience, and spoke of the Revival that has spread through the land, and said we must judge of its character, not by its professions, its outside aspects, but by its fruits. Now what are its fruits? The first fruit that has dropped from the tree, is the retrograde action of the American Tract Society at New York week before last. Mr. Foss then went on in detail to state the past and present position of the Tract Society, and said, the tree and fruit are alike; both are corrupt; the fruit of course, because the tree is so. The religion of the country is altogether corrupt in all its branches and ramifications. You may want to hear me make some exception, but I can make none: all are in harmony, and all are working together in this revival; even the liberal sects are involved with the rest in working the machinery of the American Slaveholding religion. In Ohio there are some small counter-sects, that have attempted to separate themselves from this spurious religion; but at the outset of this revival, they have rushed back, and joined with the other sects in reviving the American religion.

I reiterate this slaveholding religion. I loathe a slaveholding Christ, and all revivals of his religion. The remarks of Mr. Foss were often interrupted by the vain attempts of the crowded audience to attain comfortable positions, and the attempts of constantly increasing numbers to find standing room in the densely packed Hall, one man in the audience remarking that in 1833 it was difficult to get a Hall to get into, but now it was difficult to get into the Hall.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Committee, read the following Resolutions:

Whereas, the American Tract Society, at its recent annual meeting in New York, by an overwhelming majority reversed its action of last year, and declared its purpose never to issue a single tract in condemnation of slavery as a system, or of slaveholding as an act—not even of any evils or abuses arising therefrom—but virtually sanctioned, as compatible with 'sound morality' and evangelical religion, the enslavement of four millions of those for whose redemption Christ laid down his life—thus leaving them without God and without hope in their chains, and remorselessly consigning them, as far as in their power, to the doom of the damned in the life to come; therefore,

Resolved, That while the American Tract Society exhibits a spirit so satanic, and retains a position so impious, it must be sorely displeasing to a just God, and an act of exceeding criminality, to contribute to its treasury on the part of any church or any individual, or to give it any countenance; but the strongest testimony should be borne against it as false to Christianity, and as an organized conspiracy to shield and uphold 'the sum of all villainies.'

Resolved, That, after refusing to consider the awful condition and imperative claims of one-seventh portion of all the inhabitants in this land, and deliberately leaving them to be driven like cattle to an unrequited toil, and to perish miserably in the Southern prison-house, nothing can surpass the impudence, hypocrisy and wickedness of the American Tract Society in pretending to be concerned for the souls of men, the propagation of a pure gospel, and the triumph of Christ and his cause over Belial and his confederates; for the brand of Anti-Christ is upon it, the spirit of Belial control its operations, it carries damnation and not salvation in its train, and is less deserving of respect than a band of highwaymen.

Whereas, the Boston branch of the American Tract Society, at its annual meeting yesterday, passed no condemnation upon the recent iniquitous and horrible decision of the Society at New York, and voted to postpone for one year a proposition for withdrawal from the same; therefore,

Resolved, That the Boston branch reveals itself to be equally undeserving of respect, countenance, or pecuniary aid, with the main body; and that its wretched policy and shuffling morality are worthy of the most unprincipled political tricksters, rather than of those who profess to be the disciples of Him who came to open the prison-doors and to set the captives free.

Whereas, the people of Massachusetts declare, in the first article of their Constitution, that 'all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing and

protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness'; and

Whereas, in direct and flagrant violation of this declaration, for seventy years they have allowed fugitive slaves to be hunted on their soil, seized, and returned to bondage, in willing confederacy with Southern men-stealers; and

Whereas, this is to involve themselves in all the guilt and shame of kidnapping—to stain their Christian profession, sully their character, evince the basest perfidy, violate all the commands of God, and disregard the claims of our common humanity; therefore,

Resolved, That their first duty is to repent of this great iniquity, and to decree that, henceforth, every fugitive from slavery shall, on coming into this Commonwealth, be free, against all claimants and pursuers; and that no person shall be put on trial, before any magistrate, commissioner, or other tribunal, to decide whether he has a right to his own person, or is the property of another.

Resolved, That to secure this humane and Christian object, a memorial to the next Legislature should be circulated for signatures in every city, town and village throughout the Commonwealth, asking that body to make the decree aforesaid; and thus to deliver the people from blood-guiltiness, and enable them consistently and effectively to rebuke the South for legalizing the awful crime of making man the property of man.

Resolved, That having, in the removal of Slave Commissioner Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate, testified her abhorrence of the Fugitive Slave Law, Massachusetts is bound by consistency to pronounce that law inoperative in all cases, by allowing no Slave Commissioner to exist within her borders.

Resolved, That the bestowal of the office of Judge of Claims, at Washington, upon the aforesaid Edward Greeley Loring, by President Buchanan, as a reward for his infamous pro-slavery subserviency to the South in the illegal rendition of Anthony Burns, and as a fresh insult to the people of Massachusetts on account of their growing love of liberty, but deepens the disgrace which attaches to his character, and makes him a still more conspicuous object of righteous scorn and contempt.

Whereas, the cause of the oppressed millions in our land has lost one of its earliest, most respected, and for many years most conspicuous advocates, in the sudden death of our honored friend and coadjutor, ELLIS GRAY LORING, Esq., of this city; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention proffer its heartfelt sympathy to his afflicted family, in view of this great bereavement; and would record the expression of its high regard for his character, his valuable services in the arduous struggle with the Slave Power, his moral intrepidity exhibited at a time when the Anti-Slavery cause had few to stand by it, and his philanthropic and charitable disposition alike toward the bond and free, without regard to complexion or race.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, this Convention will adjourn its session, this afternoon, in season to enable all who desire to do so to attend the funeral services at the Church of the Disciples in Indiana Place, at 4 o'clock.

Whereas, a Constitution which, according to James Madison, contains a clause that was 'expressly inserted to enable masters to reclaim their fugitive slaves';—which, according to Daniel Webster, 'gives solemn guarantees to slavery';—which, according to Alexander Hamilton, could not have been adopted without its pro-slavery stipulations;—which, according to John Quincy Adams, contains 'three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of the slaveholders' dominion over their slaves,' and is 'saturated with the infection of slavery,' and that 'makes the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the national government';—which, according to Judge Story, 'makes a necessary sacrifice to the prejudices and interests of a portion of the Southern States';—which, according to Joshua R. Giddings, 'secures to the master the same right to pursue and capture his slave in a free State, that he possesses to pursue and capture his horse or mule';—which, according to Charles Sumner, contains 'three chief original compromises as essential conditions of the Union,' one of them providing for the continuance of the piratical slave trade for twenty years, and another for a slave representation in Congress;—which, according to William Ellery Channing, makes 'the free States the guardians and essential supports of slavery,' and the people of the North 'the jailers and constables of the institution';—which, according to Stephen C. Phillips, 'while it lasts, will make the free States, as well as the slave, sustain a relation to slavery indispensable to its security and continuance';—which, according to Josiah Quincy, senior, 'makes it incumbent upon the free States to deliver up fugitive slaves, and is the slaveholder's main strength';—which, according to Horace Mann, 'provides for the recapture of fugitive slaves,' and is the impregnable bulwark of the slave system;—and which, according to its universal and uniform interpretation ever since its adoption to the present time, on the part of all legislative and judicial bodies, binds the people of the North to the duty of suppressing all slave insurrections, through the national government, in every case of emergency;—allows a three-fifths slave representation in Congress, thus constituting a slave oligarchy;—and gives the slaveholder the right to make every inch of Northern soil slaveholding ground—is a Constitution 'not fit to have been made' or to be supported, but deserves to be execrated for its inherent cruelty and tyranny; therefore,

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States cannot be more truly described than by applying to it the language of Scripture—it is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell,' and ought to be instantly annulled, in the name of the living God.

Resolved, That the union existing between the free and the slave States is unnatural and wicked—an insane attempt to reconcile elements and interests eternally antagonistical to each other—and, therefore, the first duty of every true friend of freedom is to accept of his rallying-cry the motto of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'

The President then introduced Rev. Theodore Parker. [Mr. Parker's speech from his own manuscript appears in another place.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS was next introduced, and spoke briefly as follows:

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Our friend Mr. Parker has been analyzing for us to-day the meaning of the word 'Republican' in the United States Constitution. I must confess, for one, that I do not say 'Amen' to all his argument; but I do not care for that. If he will only persuade the people of the United States to say 'Amen,' and exercise the power, God speed him! I do not care whether a stamp is kicked out of the window, or out of the door. (Loud applause.)

MR. PARKER. It is easier to kick him out of the door.

MR. PHILLIPS. Doubtless. Well, I do not care which door he goes out of—the door of Revolution or the door of Republicanism; only, in God's name, get him out! (Applause.)

MR. PARKER said we could learn in a band of fire the slave States at present in the Union. True; but if we can only get his doctrine accorded to, we can do more than that; for if Congress is authorized to guarantee to the States a Republican form of government, in his sense, then Congress is authorized to clean out South Carolina of every thing else. It is not a Republic, and I vote that it be done! (Applause.)

MR. PARKER. That is my doctrine.

MR. PHILLIPS. We are advancing very fast. There are two governments in this country—Civil and Religious. The Civil government is James Buchanan. It lives at Washington. It is removed three or four steps from the people. It holds the army in one hand and the treasury in the other. It is strong enough to defy public opinion for a while. Outside of that rises the great Religious organization of the country; its large benevolent institutions, its extended and organized church establishments. They obey public opinion like the weathercock, in a moment. Now, this public opinion which we have started reaches the religious organizations first. We have worked here many a day. One friend has called the slaveholder a pirate, and another has called the church the synagogue of Satan; and you did not see exactly the reason why. Go into the American Tract Society, and look at our first class, and see if they do not get on well! They are not quite ready to graduate yet, but they bear a very good examination. (Laughter and applause.) When they are fit to graduate, I will tell you the exercises they will be put through. Dr. Cheever will look his door in the face of the American Tract Society, and say, 'No connection with the firm on the opposite side of the street! No money taken here for their till!' And the moment you stop the supplies, you bankrupt that government. Now, the American Tract Society halts in its Boston branch. They have the bliss to know that they must turn out Blas. (Laughter and applause.) They have laid one lamb on the altar, a scapegoat,—no, they have not laid him on the altar, they have turned him out of office, and let him run into the desert, for the sin of office, and let him run into the desert, for the sin of office, and let him run into the desert, for the sin of office.

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ed to see and to hear him; but he wished him to come on his own responsibility, and not by special invitation of the Committee.

At 4 o'clock the President announced the Convention adjourned, in accordance with the morning Resolution, for the purpose of attending the funeral services of the late ELLIS GRAY LORING.

Peleg Clarke of R. I., one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair, and Mr. Foster, who was speaking at the adjournment, continued to address the large audience who remained, for an hour longer. C. C. BURLEIGH then spoke in review of Mr. Foster's remarks till 6 o'clock, when the meeting adjourned.

EVERING.

The President in the chair. WILLIAM WELLS BROWN was the first speaker. He said—

We talk of the degrading influence of slavery upon the slave; and they are many and great; there is a premium upon ignorance in the slave; the slaveholder is also ignorant and degraded. The young child of the slaveholder finds his youthful companions among the ignorant and degraded young slaves. He commands them, tyrannizes over them, and forms habits of self-will and self-indulgence which last all his life. We have all read of the college students of Charleston, S. C., who held the mastery over that town for three days. The persons under such tuition cannot be chaste, honest and just.

The Northern girl who marries a Southern slaveholder knows not the horrible state of things in which she is called to live. Five thousand dollars have been offered and refused for a beautiful female slave. The slave, black or white, cannot expect justice at the hands of the slaveholder.

On my master's plantation was an old man named Jim; he worked by night, bought a calf, and by and by owned a cow. The master proposed to Jim to trade, and gave him two calves for his cow! What could Jim do? I knew a case of a free white woman who was kidnapped, who asked to be locked in jail to protect her from the villain who had stolen her. I knew a case of a white slave who ran away in company with two black ones, personating their master; the white one actually claimed the others as his property, and sold them. He had not black blood enough in him to make him honest!

I would that every one here should feel that our rights, our liberties, our duty, our God, all require our most active exertions in the Anti-Slavery cause.

MR. THEODORE PARKER said—I understand that my friend Mr. Foster, this afternoon, made some charges against this excellent Society, under whose pleasing auspices we are assembled to-night, as so many times before. It is reported to me that he charged them with asking me to give a speech in the Representatives' chamber last winter, and in this hall this morning, both of which he maintains, I think, are somewhat at variance with his own opinions, and those of the Society itself. I only wish to say, in this matter, that the Society is not at all responsible either for my speaking, or for the opinions of the speech; for it was not they that invited me, but I volunteered last winter, and volunteered again to-day. So I answered before I was called, and ran when I was not sent. (Applause.)

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., made an appeal to the Convention for contributions to the Anti-Slavery treasury; and the Finance Committee proceeded to make collections.

WENDELL PHILLIPS then addressed the Convention. [This speech will be published hereafter.]

CHARLES L. REMOND said—

We have heard to-day, and heretofore, much of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, but I deny that their superiority is one suited for mention on an Anti-Slavery platform. We have heard that the colored people can afford to wait for better times; that improvement is coming; but I think it does not become any colored man, in view of existing facts, to indulge in these pleasing fancies. We have heard of the great progress made by anti-slavery; but, while Parker and Phillips are speaking, I am declared an outlaw in my native State, by the highest judicial authority in the country. I am tolerated as a man here, but only tolerated. The high position which Edward Everett holds in this country, with such a character as his, is by itself a sufficient reason for a dissolution of the Union. The Union makes such men, and tends still more to make them, worse and worse.

MR. FOSTER said the audience would perhaps suppose, from what Mr. Parker had said, that there was a contradiction between his (Mr. P's) statement and his own, in the afternoon, but such was not the fact. The truth was, both statements were correct. Mr. Parker was undoubtedly right when he said he volunteered to speak, and he (Mr. F.) had it from a member of the Executive Committee that he was invited to speak also. Mr. F. repeated his objections to inviting speakers to that platform who did not agree with the distinctive principles of the Society.

MR. PARKER replied, and illustrated his position by telling a story of farmer Jenkins's boys, who, having invited their neighbor Tompkins's boys to help them split some chestnut logs into rails and posts, complained that, while they used their wedges, they would not touch their beetles, but used their own. 'Well,' asked the old man, 'didn't they split the logs?' 'Yes.' 'Wasn't that what you invited them to do?' (Here Mr. Parker paused, and the loud laughter and applause of the audience showed that they had made the application.)

MR. GARRISON—I do not rise to give 'railing for railing.' (Laughter.) I have been deeply interested in this discussion, and before we part, I feel that I would like to throw myself on your indulgence for a few moments.

I cannot take so sombre a view, as I think it is, of the condition of the anti-slavery cause in New England and the North as my friend Mr. Foster has taken on this occasion; yet, if power be going out of us—if we are less energetic than formerly—if we do not increase as we should in numbers and strength—if, on the whole, we seem to be standing still, rather than going forward—I am inclined to think that there are two reasons for it—to my mind, potent reasons.

When the Anti-Slavery cause was launched, it was baptized in the spirit of peace. We proclaimed to the country and the world, that the weapons of our warfare were not carnal, but spiritual, and we believed them to be mighty through God to the pulling down even of the stronghold of slavery; and for several years, great moral power accompanied our cause wherever presented. Alas! in the course of the fearful developments of the Slave Power, and its continued aggressions on the rights of the people of the North, in my judgment a sad change has come over the spirit of anti-slavery men, generally speaking. We are growing more and more warlike, more and more disposed to repudiate the principles of peace, more and more disposed to talk about 'finding a joint in the neck of the tyrant,' and breaking that neck, 'cleaving tyrants down from the crown to the

Wherever there is a slave, there is one stolen from the family of God. Our moral instincts teach us that every man is entitled to himself. These reaffirm the great principles of Christ: Love your brother as yourself. God's justice is not different in kind from man's. God has no right to make a slave; he never will, never could make one.

Mr. GARRISON and Mr. PHILLIPS then spoke to the resolutions touching the recent death of ELLIS GRAY LORING.

His eloquent and admirable tributes to Mr. Loring's character appear in another place. The resolutions on Mr. Loring were then adopted by a unanimous vote. And the Convention adjourned to the afternoon.

Afternoon.

Vice President CLARKE in the chair. HENRY C. WRIGHT took the platform, and spoke in further elucidation of the remarks he had made in the morning, which had been approved by Rev. Mr. Spooner. He said the question often came to him, 'Do you believe in a God?' 'No,' said he, 'I do not believe in a God. I know there is a God, and I know he has no right to make a slave; he never will, never could make one.'

Mr. GIBBS, of New Hampshire, of the Free Will Baptist Church, in a few remarks moved that this Convention advise and request the Committee of the Boston branch, of the American Tract Society to publish Dr. Cheever's address made before the American Missionary Association to-day. He claimed exemption for the Free Will Baptist Church from the charges brought against the American Church, as it had no fellowship or complicity with slaveholding.

Mr. SMITH, of Boston, also a Free Will Baptist, claimed his Church the character of an Anti-Slavery Church. Mr. FOSTER made a few remarks, and the Convention adjourned.

Evening.

The President in the Chair. The Convention at this its closing session, which was attended as all the preceding ones had been by a crowded and most attentive auditory,—was addressed by Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, REV. S. S. HENNING of Brookfield, and WENDELL PHILLIPS of Boston. The substance of their addresses, which were in every respect worthy of the cause and of themselves, will appear in a future paper.

By request, the question on resolutions 10 and 11 was taken separately. They were adopted, with but two dissenting voices. The remaining resolutions, not already acted on, without a dissent.

The entire amount received by the Finance Committee, and subsequently by the Secretaries, for the expenses of the Convention and for the promotion of the cause, was \$536.33. Amount pledged, and payable during the year, \$1900.

The Convention, at 10 P. M., adjourned sine die. EDMUND QUINCY, President.

SAMUEL MAY, JR. JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, CHARLES K. WHIFFLE, Secretaries.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF ELLIS GRAY LORING, ESQ.

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, May 27, 1858.

REMARKS OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

MR. PRESIDENT: I rise, at this time, to discharge a sad, yet pleasurable duty.

Yesterday afternoon, in company with a large number of sympathizing friends, I attended the funeral obsequies of our departed friend and brother, ELLIS GRAY LORING, in the Church of the Disciples in this city. The services were highly appropriate and impressive. After every thing had been said, by Rev. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, that needed to be said, in merited praise of the deceased, whose remains were before us, ready to be conveyed to the sheltering tomb, an invitation was kindly extended by him to any in the audience who desired to say anything more, to do so. There were many present whose hearts were overflowing with emotion, and who would have found no lack of words to give expression to their feelings; but, after the additional tribute paid to the character of our departed brother by Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, Jr., a tribute full of pathos and beauty, as well as eminently just,—nothing more seemed called for; and so, for one, I was silent. Yet here, on the platform of this New England Anti-Slavery Convention, where our friend, at the earliest period, was wont to take his stand, it seems not only desirable, but a duty, that we should say at least a few words, by way of giving him our parting tribute of respect, love and gratitude.

In the first place, if it were in my power, by any thing I could say, I would like to lighten the load of sorrow which must be resting upon the hearts of the beloved wife and only child who have been so suddenly bereft of the one nearest and dearest in all the world to them. I rejoice to hear, however, that they are sustained under this great bereavement by a Divine power, which makes their strength equal to their day; that, through the gloom which surrounds them, they catch glimpses of the heavenly light; and hence nothing is needed, on the part of any of us, to make them feel that God has done all things well.

It may savor something of personal egotism, if I refer to my early acquaintance with Mr. LORING; but I do so on his account, not on my own. Twenty-seven years ago, I became acquainted with him,—then standing, as I did, solitary and friendless, in my advocacy of the cause of 'the suffering and the dumb,'—scarcely knowing where to find a friendly hand, or hearing, in any direction, a friendly voice. In that hour, my departed friend, till then a stranger to me, came forward, and gave me his hand, and his heart in his hand,—gave me his warm and cordial support,—bade me God-speed in the movement for the emancipation of those in bondage; and from that hour until the day of his death, was a fast, firm, and attached friend. His position, at that time, was one full of temptation to induce him to ignore so unpopular and despised an enterprise. Like myself, he was a young man, but full of promise, looking to professional life for success and fame, and occupying a highly respectable position in society. Moreover, he was constitutionally fitted rather for retirement than for any public controversy; a man of extreme modesty, always unnecessarily distrustful of his own powers as a public speaker, instinctively shrinking from conspicuity, and wishing to do what he could, in his own quiet way, without attracting to himself any special attention. He was made up of the finest elements of character—full of womanly tenderness, delicacy, and refinement of soul. Yet, under all these circumstances, with so much at hazard, he dared, with rare moral heroism, to stand in his lot, where the boldest were afraid, and publicly to declare, 'I am for immediate and unconditional emancipation,'—and was ready to take the consequences of the declaration.

It is impossible for me to tell you the value of a friendship like his at that time. Fifty new friends, now, would be as dust in the balance in comparison; for now, our cause spreads over the whole North; we count its friends and advocates by tens of thousands; every where it is marching on, conquering, and conquering; by and by, and at no distant day, it will not only be easy, but popular, to be an Abolitionist; and then there will be no special virtue or moral heroism in such a profession.

Mr. Loring was an early subscriber to the Liberator, and helped to insure its continuance—allowing his name, up to the last number, to appear, from week to week, as one of its Financial Committee—and thus never shrinking from public identification with it, though doubtless finding occasionally in its columns some things objectionable as a matter of taste or sound judgment. But his fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause ever commanded his respect, and secured his warmest approbation.

He was one of the little band who assembled, on the evening of January 1st, 1831, in the vestry of the colored Church in Belknap Street, to consider the expediency of organizing a New England Anti-Slavery Society. It was a memorable occasion to those who were present. After a very full and free interchange of sentiment, we found ourselves divided in opinion—alas! too few to be divided, for we were but a handful—yet our house was divided against itself. The Constitution that was submitted for adoption contained the doctrine of immediate emancipation, as the one to be set forth and proclaimed in the hearing of the nation. Among those who deemed it at least unwise to insert the word 'immediate' before 'emancipation,' was our lamented friend; not, as I remember, that he objected to it on principle, but rather because he thought, if it were omitted, we could go on quite as efficiently, and induce many more to join our standard than we should otherwise be able to secure; so that, on that occasion, he was not prepared to become a member of the Society, without further deliberation. But, almost immediately, his good sense, and great conscientiousness, and sympathy for the slave, came to the rescue, and he saw that immediatism was a very sheet-anchor of the cause, and that without it, nothing could be done towards bringing this nation to repentance, or emancipating those in bondage; and from that hour he became one of the most conspicuous and most valuable members of the Society.

It is known to very many of you, that, for a long series of years, Mr. Loring was an honored member of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. I shall do no injustice to any other member of the Board when I say, that, in all cases of doubt and difficulty, when we wanted the soundest judgment and the most reliable counsel, we all of us turned instinctively to Mr. Loring, regarding him almost as an oracle, to determine the very best thing to be done. I never met a man in council who so impressed me with his qualifications for such a position. Our friend risked, it will be remembered, his professional success in this early espousing the Anti-Slavery cause; he risked his social standing, which was one of great importance to himself; but he was willing to risk every thing—fortune, professional fame, success, reputation, life itself. He was eminently conscientious, and that made him morally courageous and independent; and wherever he felt that duty required him to stand, he had it in his nature to plant his feet, let the consequences be what they might.

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Mr. Loring set a noble example, as a lawyer, in opposition to the proscriptive and hateful spirit of color-phobia, which still prevails so extensively in our land. I believe he was the first lawyer who ever took a colored boy into his office, in order to train him up to the profession of the law. He did so, and with a resolute purpose, though there were many to laugh and sneer; and we have now, among the lawyers of Boston, that same colored boy, grown to full manhood, occupying a respectable position, and pursuing daily his professional avocation in the courts, in the person of ROBERT MONROE, Esq.

Mr. Loring also distinguished himself by his legal ability in the celebrated case of the slave girl, MEN, which came up in the Supreme Court of this State many years ago, before Judge Shaw, whereby we obtained the decision that a slave, having been brought into Massachusetts by his or her pretended owner, thereby became free.

At the time when an effort was made in the Legislature of this State, by an equivocal recommendation, on the part of Governor Everett, to secure the passage of a law in effect declaring that there should be no freedom of speech or of the press on the subject of slavery in this Commonwealth, Mr. Loring was one of the number who went before the Committee of the Legislature, to utter his solemn protest against any such action; and by his efforts helped to secure to us the liberty we are enjoying here to-day—the liberty of speech for ourselves, and for those who may come after us.

There are many who will feel his loss very deeply; but, in such a case, I always think of the bereavement experienced by the millions in bondage. Of course, they did not know him personally,—except in the case of fugitives coming to Boston, many of whom found in him a warm friend to succor and to aid; but if they could know, as we do, where he stood, and what he did, and how his heart beat high with sympathy in their behalf, there would be four millions of wailing mourners around his bier to-day, bathing it with their tears. Surely, 'the memory of the just is blessed'; and if we have ever had a just man in Boston, it is the cherished friend who has been called from his labor to his reward.

Mr. President, we are all mortal—al! steadily on the march to the spirit-world. Our days are numbered, and short at the longest. 'The line is forming on the other side. How much work remains to be done! Let us who are left behind endeavor to be all the more zealous, active, determined, in prosecuting the noblest cause that can challenge human sympathy and effort, and thus be instrumental, under God, in putting an end to the most dreadful system of oppression the world has ever known.

I stand here to bless the memory of ELLIS GRAY LORING—to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to him for his early kindness, efficient co-operation, and lasting friendship. I stand here, also, to express my heart-felt sympathy for his beloved wife and almost idolized daughter, whose sorrow I would share and alleviate. Let me say, in justice to Mrs. Loring, and as an act of grateful remembrance, that she was as early in the field in behalf of the oppressed as her lamented husband. In this cause, from the start, the twin were one—with but one heart, one pulsation, ever seeing eye to eye, and working steadily together.

Let no one infer from the fact that, for a few years past, he has been comparatively out of sight, that Mr. Loring had lost his interest in the Anti-Slavery cause—for that he never lost. But, after the cheering exertion of the cause, and its friends had become multitudinous, he followed his natural bent, which was always for retirement, and not for publicity. Enough that when there were few to plead for those in bondage,—in spite of his taste and temperament, his social position and professional respectability,—in the darkest and stormiest period of our terrible struggle, he was ready for public exposure and popular contumely—for self-denying labor and heroic enterprise—graciously withdrawing himself from observation only as others advanced, yet keeping the flame of his philanthropy as pure and bright as in the beginning.

Mr. President, I leave it to others, who will be better able to do justice to his memory, to speak further; but I could do no less than to pay this poor, unpremeditated, but heart-felt tribute.

REMARKS OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. CHAIRMAN—Mr. Garrison has spoken so truly and so fully as to leave nothing to be added to his sketch of the character of our beloved friend; still, I cannot let the resolution pass in silence. With my whole heart, I second every word Mr. Garrison has said. I only wish I had the right to speak, as he does, from an early acquaintance and an early personal intimacy with Mr. Loring. I only wish that I had the

pride satisfaction of having been present, and siding in those hours to which he has referred. I never think of those early days, and of that little band of which Mr. Loring was one, without, as a Massachusetts man, thanking them, that when you and I were dumb, heedless, indifferent or hostile, he, and a few other young men like him, rising above temptation, clear-sighted, fearless, saved the statute-book of Massachusetts from that law which Governor Everett, with his usual effort to face both ways, half hinted the Legislature ought to put there, making it a penal offence to hold such a meeting as this.

I thank him for another thing. This cause taught him, as it does every man, something more than his duty to the slave; it taught him, as it teaches all of us, his duty to freedom every where; and I remember that the first knowledge I had of him was when an obsolete statute, dug up from oblivion by religious prejudice, was beating down freedom of speech in the person of Abner Kneeland,—tyranny always chooses a hated man when it aims a blow at a dear right,—to meet that attack on freedom of speech, it was ELLIS GRAY LORING who drafted the petition, and circulated it, that opened that prison door. (Applause.)

I never think of these things, without remembering the letter of Henry the Great, from the battle-field of victory: 'We have conquered, Crillon, et tu n'y es pas'—and you were not there! You and I, young friends, were not then in this field. It is this half-sore of earnest, devoted, self-sacrificing, fearless souls that saved us free lips, our own freedom, awakens us to thought, built us this free platform, and welcomed us to it. And although Mr. Garrison has referred to the latter years of Mr. Loring's life, when, the ranks full and the laborers many, he yielded to his peculiar taste, dislike of controversy, love of private life, and withdrew from the more conspicuous service of the cause, still, even then, it was under his roof that Ellen Craft found refuge when the United States officers, hounds of an infamous slave hunt, sought to lay hands on her as a fugitive. (Applause.)

To ELLIS GRAY LORING belongs the honor, one which history will never forget, of having argued the *Mad case*—the Somerset case of our struggle. Shrinking from jury practice, with no taste for the struggles of courts, he threw aside his dislike, and, opposed by all the whole Bar, led the way in settling for Massachusetts and the North the principle that a slave brought here is free. Friends, he leaves us to-day the legacy of seeing that no corrupt Judge of any Bench make vain that glorious and hard-won decision. If 1836 could infuse so much justice into law, learn of so bright an example, and see if 1858 cannot lift it up still higher, and make Massachusetts safe shelter for the fugitive also. To be like our noble predecessors, we must do not only what they did, but what they would have done.

The great merit of Mr. Loring's Anti-Slavery life, it seems to me, that he laid on the altar of the slave's need all his peculiar tastes. Refined, domestic, retiring, contemplative, loving literature, art, the culture and the grace of literary intellectual ease, he saw there was no one else to speak, therefore he was found in the van. It was the uttermost instance of self-sacrifice,—more than money, more than reputation,—though he gave both.

He is gone! The second, third, or fourth, I cannot now recall which of that little band, who met to lay the corner-stone of this enterprise. They say the circle is small. 'The narrower it becomes, let us draw the closer together.' It was my privilege to know him in days when we were so few, we seemed but one family, and called each other by our first names,—when persecution had driven us so close together that there was no point of division between us. We have grown larger, and some have passed onward, but no one dies. A man who links his name with the wealth, the material growth of a country, we may forget him when his body ceases to hold our sight; but one who comes to us in all ways when we think of some great and living principle, is with us after his body is gone, as really as when it is present. He lives, as he always did, in loyalty to truth. Call not his life short. 'His life is long that answers life's great end'; and who, in fifty years, has done more than this man to redeem the community in which he lives? Whoever writes his history must place his name high on its pages as having labored earnestly, devotedly, successfully to keep its life, its soul-life, bright, vital, fresh. The man who lifts up his age belongs to the few that are not born to die.

I stand here, as my friend Garrison did, to thank him. It was from one living under his roof I received the first anti-slavery message that called me into anti-slavery being. It was from his hand, marked with his now so familiar writing, that I received the first anti-slavery pamphlet, in the record of his appearance before the Senate to protest against the attempt to punish meetings like these with the State Prison. I thank him for his good service in the Thermopylae of 1835 and 1840—thank him for his example, always the more devoted, the greater the need. I rejoice, as his near friend, in the worthy distinction he has of having been among the very first to rally round the banner of the noblest moral movement of our day. Ours may be a scanty eulogy, but coming time will confirm and enlarge it. Ours is but a feeble, though hearty blessing, but the gratitude of the poor and the hunted whom he has helped and sheltered will make all other blessings needless.

The community was much startled yesterday at hearing of the death of Mr. Ellis Gray Loring, after an illness so short that most persons did not hear of it at all till they learned at the same time its fatal termination. Mr. Loring was about fifty-five years old, and has been for some thirty years engaged in the practice of the law. He was an accurate and excellent man of business. He rarely appeared before the courts, but as a chamber counsel he enjoyed in a high degree the confidence of his clients. He was a man of much general cultivation, and had a keen and just perception of what was beautiful and good in literature and art. Formerly, his name was much before the public as a zealous friend of the anti-slavery cause; but of late years, though his convictions and sentiments remained unchanged, he has rarely sought occasion for public expression and manifestation. He has never taken any part in politics. He was a most amiable man in all the relations of life; and his loss will be irreparable to his family, and severely felt by a large circle of attached friends.—Boston Courier.

IN A PRIVATE LETTER FROM OUR ESTEEMED FRIEND JOHN G. WHITTELL, HE SAYS—

'Congressional Border-ruffianism pales before that of the Tract Society. But if it calls out a few such speeches as Dr. Cheever's, it will only hasten the day of deliverance.'

We are under the necessity of postponing to next week an article on the 'Christian Anti-Slavery Meeting' which was not held in Park Street Church on Wednesday, May 29th, at half-past 7, P. M., and therefore was not addressed by Rev. Dr. Bacon, Rev. Dr. Storrs, Rev. Dr. Ide, and Rev. Horace James, as advertised.

WORCESTER, May 31, 1858.

MR. GARRISON—I wish to call the attention of those interested in Reform lectures and Sunday meetings, to the very excellent address on 'Woman as Mother,' by Mrs. Frances D. Gage, of St. Louis. She spoke on that subject before our Free Church yesterday, and every body was interested and delighted. It was simple, practical, sensible, and full of valuable suggestions. I do not think one sermon in a thousand is calculated to make such an impression, or do so much good; and I wish she could repeat it everywhere.

T. W. HIGGINSON.

What with the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York, and the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in this city, &c., our columns are crowded to overflowing, to the exclusion of much other matter.

GREAT EXCITEMENT AT PETERSBURG. PETERSBURG, Va., Monday, May 31, 1858. The schooner Keah, of Wilmington, Del., Capt. Baylis, cleared from this port on Saturday night. Since then, several slaves have been found to be missing, and a steamer was sent to overhaul the Keah, which she did below the City Point. Five slaves were brought aboard, and lodged in jail. The excitement here is immense. Two thousand people were at the wharf when the steamer landed, and were with great difficulty restrained from violence. The vessel was also towed back.

SLAVE RESCUE IN SANDHURST CITY. A Kentucky slaveholder, accompanied by the U. S. Marshal of Cincinnati, yesterday morning made a descent upon a colored waiter at the St. Lawrence Hotel, Sandusky, and captured him while in bed, and took him to the depot of the Little Miami Railroad, preparatory to leaving for the South. But this was his flight to be done. At the depot, a vast crowd of citizens collected, and rescued the victim, who took his flight to parts unknown. In the melee, the Marshal was knocked down, and otherwise severely handled. He fired a pistol at the crowd, and the ball passed through a man that, for what set he was arrested, and gave him a mortal wound. John M. Brown, P. M., is his bondsman.—Milan Free Press.

ABOLITIONISTS CAUGHT.—A week or two ago, two men were arrested in Warren county, charged with aiding in the escape of a slave from his master, in that county. One of them was pursued, captured in St. Charles, and the negro with him. Facts afterwards disclosed, led to the arrest of Lee as an accomplice in this business, and he was arrested and put in prison. Of his guilt, no doubt exists. On Tuesday last he attempted to commit suicide, by opening the veins of both his arms, and at the last moments there was very little hope of his recovery.—Southern paper.

DEATH OF GEN. PETER SKEN SMITH. Peter Sken Smith, who was well known in this city, died in Springfield, Massachusetts, on the 6th instant, of a complication of brain and heart disease. He was at one time a prominent leader in the Native American party in this city, and a warm friend of Zachary Taylor, for whom he served in the Florida war. He was a brother of Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro', N. Y.—Phil. Press.

Hon. Charles Sumner has been elected an honorary member of the Scotch Literary Institute, in common with the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Campbell, Lord Brougham, and Mr. Disraeli. Mr. Sumner sailed from New York for Europe, on the 22d ultimo, for the restoration of his health, which is still very precarious. [For his farewell letter to the People of Massachusetts, see another column.]

SAN ACCIDENT. Mr. J. W. Pillsbury, of Milford, N. H., brother of Parker Pillsbury, and a devoted friend of the slave, was thrown from his carriage on Monday night, while en route to the depot, by the fall of his shoulder, and severe bruises on the head. He was taken to the house of Joshua Hutchinson, where he remained insensible until the following morning. But we are glad to learn that his injuries are not so serious as were at first apprehended. He is now doing as well as could be expected.

FREE CONVENTION.

TO THE FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS. The disenthralment of humanity from all such influences as fetter its nature and vital growth, is too evidently the condition of all Progress, and, therefore, the duty of Philanthropy, to need enforcement in this Call. The history of the past is beautiful only in the places where it records the encroachments of human freedom on the natural limitations of artificial tyrannies imposed upon thought and action. And the future is hopeful only in such proportion as it points towards a wise and well-grounded emancipation of the race from the spiritual despotisms that, on the one hand, now control thought, and the civil and social disabilities that, on the other, restrain action, into that free and pure thought, both are yet destined to attain. Philanthropist, therefore, welcome to the increasingly manifest tendencies of the present age, to challenge the institutions that claim control over humanity, and to insist that those claims shall be appealed to the tribunal of demonstrable facts and rigid inductions, rather than to the traditions of the elders.

The signers of this call desire to aid in carrying up this appeal. They believe the time has come when the friends of Free Thought in Vermont will find it both pleasant and profitable to take counsel together, and have a mutual interchange of sentiment on the great topics of Reform. That those would be welcome to the harmony of doctrine and symbol among us, is not to be expected, but it is believed that in purpose, we should 'see eye to eye,' and it is purposes, not creeds, that vitalize and harmonize effort.

With the convictions, we whose names are appended to this call, do most cordially and earnestly invite all Philanthropists and Reformers in and out of the State, to meet in FREE CONVENTION, at Rutland, Vt., on the 25th, 26th and 27th of June next, to discuss the various topics of Reform that are now engaging the attention and effort of Progressive minds. By reference to the names appended to this call, it will be evident that it is not the project of any special branch or division of Reformers—having some Shibboleth of its own to be mouthed with provincial acclamation—but the unanimous movement of those who hail from every section of the great Army of Reform, and have a mutual interchange of sentiment on the great topics of Reform. That those would be welcome to the harmony of doctrine and symbol among us, is not to be expected, but it is believed that in purpose, we should 'see eye to eye,' and it is purposes, not creeds, that vitalize and harmonize effort.

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POETRY.

THE WOMEN AT THE TOMB.
Heroes! though not of the battle-field,
Ye had heard Christ's words of love and power;

THE ORPHANS:
AN OLD ENGLISH BALLAD.
My chaise the village inn did gain,
Just as the sun's last setting ray

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The Liberator.

SPEECH OF PARKER FILLBURY.

At the Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New York, May 12th.

MR. PRESIDENT: It is more than three months since I have attempted any public speaking.

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or fondness for him. But I will not stop to speak of the political relations of the country to slavery.

Now, I honor these men, probably, as highly as they themselves would wish me to honor them; and yet, what does Dr. Cheever say of the great revival through which we have just passed?

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THE AFRICAN APPRENTICE SYSTEM.

The Augusta (Ga.) Constitutional publishes a communication from a returned missionary to Africa (who has spent six years in that country, and travelled extensively over the continent), which presents some facts relating to the African apprentice system, which demand the consideration of those who are disposed to regard the project with favor.

There is a point beyond which no nation can go, and live. The slaveholders have time and again come up to that point, and seen their best and strongest men abandon them, but till now they have not dared to cross that line.

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didn't see them at the reporters' tables. A gentleman undertook to reply to Mrs. Farnham's assertion of feminine superiority, stating that he had suffered severely in his own domestic relations, in consequence of several attempts to enforce that position.

It is the peculiar province of children, fools and fanatics to exhibit their spite by calling names. It is the only resort of impotence when it grows malicious.

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IT IS NOT A DYEBI
MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S
WORLD'S
HAIR RESTORER
AND
WORLD'S
Hair Dressing.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE A EUROPEAN REPUTATION!!
The Restorer, used with the Zylabalsam on the hair, restores GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL COLOR!

The Zylabalsam or Dressing alone is the best hair dressing extant for young or old.

REV. W. B. THORNELO, President, Lancaster, says—Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam are perfect marvels.

REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, for many years Missionary to Haiti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y. The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp, she has derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam.

J. H. EATON, Pres. Union Unit, Tenn. I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam but very irregularly, but notwithstanding, its influence was distinctly visible.

REV. H. V. DEGAN, Ed. 'Guide to Holiness', Boston, Mass. That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam promotes the growth of the hair where baldness has commenced, we now have the evidence of our own eyes.

REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, Cor. Sec. of the N. Y. City. I procured Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorative and Zylabalsam for a relative. I am happy to say it prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it, from being gray, to its natural glossy and beautiful bloom.

REV. JNO. E. ROBBE, Ed. 'Chr. Adv.', English, N. Y. Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam are the best hair preparations I have ever known. They have restored my hair to its original color.

REV. J. WEST, Brooklyn, N. Y. I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam, and also to acknowledge its curing my greyness and baldness.

REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, Apt. Dep. Penn. Pa. We cheerfully recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam.

REV. J. P. GRISWOLD, Washington, D. C. Please inform Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam can be had in Boston. You may say in my name that I know they are what they purport to be.

REV. MOSES THACHER (60 years of age), Fairlee, N. Y. Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam, my hair comes off, and is restored to its natural color. I am satisfied 'tis nothing like a dye.'

REV. D. T. WOOD, Middletown, N. Y. My hair has greatly thickened. The same is true of most of my family, whose head we thought would be almost bare. Her hair has handsomely thickened, and has a handsome appearance since using Mrs. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam.

REV. S. B. MORLEY, Attleboro', Mass. The effect of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam has been to change the 'crown of glory' belonging to old men, to the original lust of youth. The same is true of others of my acquaintance.

REV. J. P. TUSTIN, Ed. 'South Baptist', etc., Charleston, S. C. The white hair is becoming abundant by new and better hair forming, by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam.

REV. C. A. BUCKBEE, Treas. Am. Bible Soc., N. Y. I cheerfully add my testimony to that of numerous other friends, to Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam. The latter I have found superior to anything I ever used.

REV. JOS. McKEE, N. Y. City. 'Recommendations.' REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, Ct. 'I think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam.'

REV. WM. PORTWICK, Stamford, Ct. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam have met my most sanguine expectations in exactly my hair to grow where it had fallen.'

REV. D. MORRIS, Cross River, N. Y. 'I know a great many who have had their hair restored by the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam.'

REV. E. EVANS, Delhi, O. 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam. They have changed my hair to its natural color, and stopped its falling off.'

REV. WM. R. DOWNS, Howard, N. Y. Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Dressing has no superior. It cleanses the hair and scalp, removes hardness and dryness, and always produces the softness, brilliancy and natural gloss so requisite to the human hair.'

REV. C. M. KLINCK, Lewisport, Pa. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylabalsam has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth.'

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